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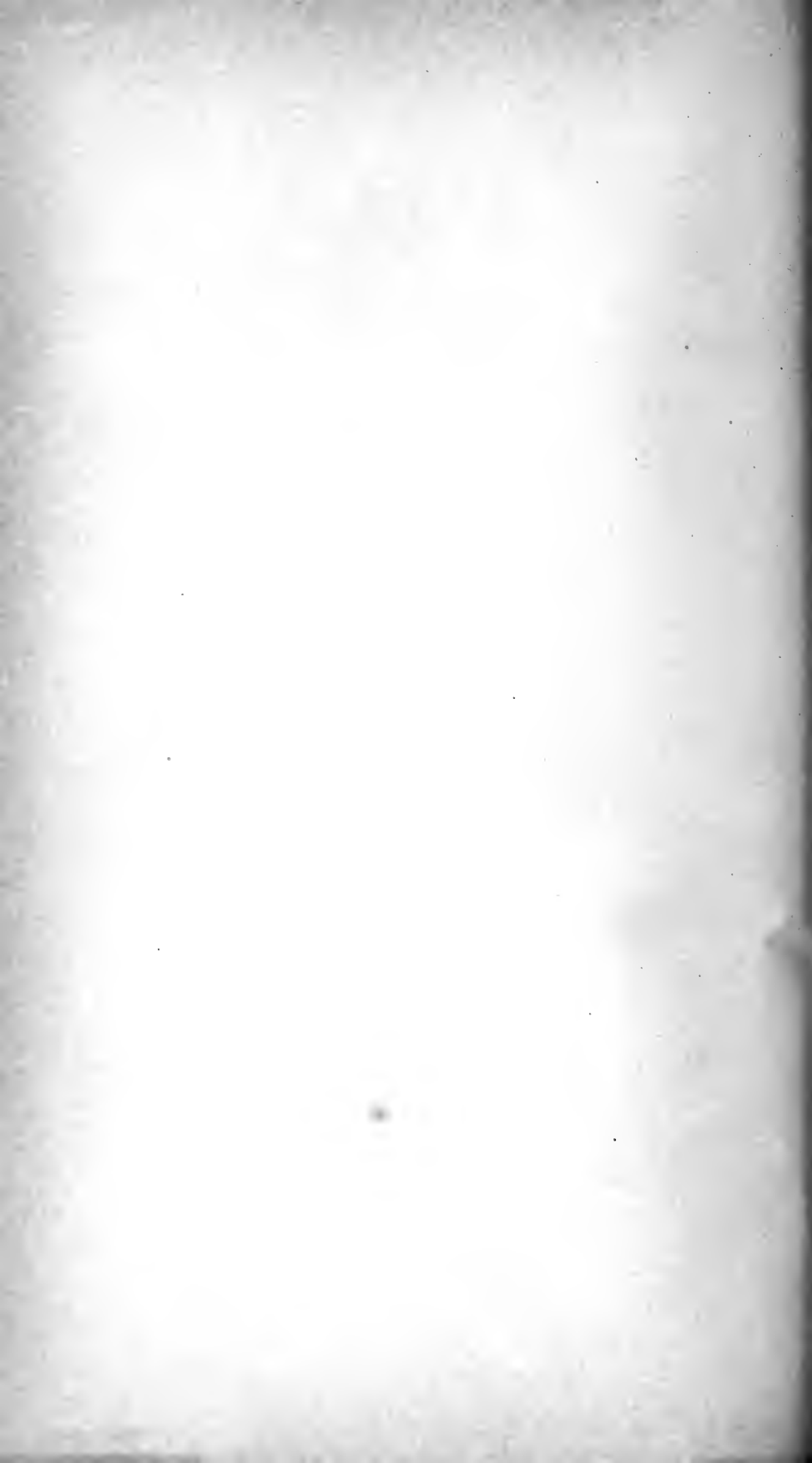
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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND

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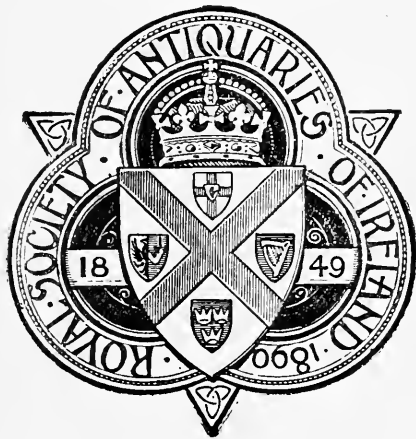
The Royal Historical and Archaeological Association
OF IRELAND

FOUNDED, IN 1849, AS

The Kilkenny Archaeological Society

VOL. XXXVI.—CONSECUTIVE SERIES

[VOL. XVI.—FIFTH SERIES]



1906

DUBLIN
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1907

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THE COUNCIL wish it to be distinctly understood that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Society, and here printed, except so far as No. 26 of the General Rules of the Society extends.

P R E F A C E.

THE present volume of the *Journal* will probably be found to be of as much interest as any of its predecessors in the long series which, for nearly sixty years, have recorded so much that is connected with our national history and antiquities. In previous volumes some leading characteristic will generally be noticed as having predominated: at one time the prehistoric, at another the architectural, or, again, the ecclesiastical. If any such marked feature be noticeable in the year 1906, it may well be the subject of epigraphy.

Mr. R. A. S. Macalister deals with nine Oghams from county Cork now in English museums; and also describes eight Ogham Stones in the same county, hitherto undescribed. It is gratifying to find a new worker—Mr. H. S. Crawford—discovering and illustrating a fresh Ogham inscription found at Ballingarry, near Kilmallock.

Dr. Joyce (Hon. President) and Mr. Macalister discuss, from different standpoints, the puzzling Inchagoill inscription, which many of the older school of antiquaries regard as that of Lugnaed, St. Patrick's nephew. A careful study of the shape of the letters and peculiarities of the language is needed before any certain basis for agreement between scholars who take different views of the matter can be arrived at.

Mr. Macalister contributes a valuable paper on the inscriptions at Iniscaltra, Lough Derg. It is gratifying

to find that the curious slab of Coscrach, the Leinsterman, with its cross and footprints—long regarded as stolen—has been found still resting in its old position, hidden for over ten years by overgrowth. The question as to what stone was actually removed is, as yet, unanswered; for that mentioned by Mr. Macalister is shown by Mr. Westropp's note in "Miscellanea," to be preserved at Adare Manor.

Turning back to the Prehistoric Period, Mr. Milligan and Mr. Knowles, in important papers, describe, respectively, an extensive Urn Cemetery at Gortnacor, county Antrim; and a veritable manufactory of flint implements at Tamnaharry, near Cushendall. In breaking up a field there, a vast number of specimens were found; and further explorations disclosed on the slopes of Tievebulliagh Hill numbers of unfinished and broken axes, hammerstones, flakes, &c.

Several of the Kerry dolmens and stone forts are described by Mr. P. J. Lynch, who also notes some stones carved with cups, circles, and other markings, in that county. These Kerry districts are well worthy of systematic investigation; and Mr. Lynch has done good work in elucidating these antiquities of this interesting county.

Mr. Crawford supplies photographs of the Broadstone and Finvoy dolmens in county Antrim; and also describes the circle of stone pillars at Temple Bryan, between Bandon and Clonakilty. Mr. R. Welch supplies a note on kitchen-middens of whelk and limpet-shells, at Cranfield Point, county Down. Mr. Westropp gives the results of a systematic survey of thirteen promontory forts in county Waterford, supplying sketch-plans of each, and giving, incidentally, notes on a killeen and

other earthworks in their neighbourhood. In his introduction, he gives a list of the Irish promontory forts, fuller than those previously published by him.

Some curious small earthworks at Rathnarrow, county Westmeath, of a type hitherto unmarked in Ireland, are illustrated and described by Rev. W. F. Falkiner; our records of bullauns, as apart from cup and circle markings, have received additions by notes from Mr. Stanley Howard, who describes examples at Burren, county Down, and Mr. Falkiner, who notices one at Joristown, near Killucan, county Westmeath.

The field of Topography is illustrated by some valuable papers. Mr. Goddard H. Orpen deals with the site of the Fair of Carman in a contribution displaying wide research, and his labours seem to confirm the view that this famous legendary site is to be looked for in the Liffey valley rather than at Lough Garman, Wexford, so long thought to be the place where the fair was held. In a second most interesting topographical study, Mr. Orpen identifies the place-names in a charter of Raymond le Gros with places around the mote of Castlemore, county Carlow, which was probably once the older fort of Rathsilan, on the site of which Raymond's Castle was afterwards erected.

Professor W. F. Butler reconstructs the tribe lands and sub-divisions of the Lordship of MacCarthy Mór, giving a valuable map of the district between Dingle and Bantry Bays, which shows the lands of the Mac Carthys, O'Sullivan's, O'Donoghues, and their kindred. The paper, founded on original material among the Carew MSS. at Lambeth, supplies a list of the various "rents and duties" payable to the chieftains.

Mr. Stanley Howard describes the antiquities round Faughart, county Louth, in a paper which affords much information as to the church, well, and mote at St. Brigid's native place, which was also the scene of the overthrow of the Scotch invaders under Edward Bruce.

Lord Walter Fitz Gerald collects and locates on a map the place-names at the Seven Churches, Glendalough. Mr. Westropp supplies a note refuting a suggestion that the name "Bro" House, near Newgrange, was later than the Ordnance Survey (about 1837), by citing documents of the reigns of Henry VIII and James I, in which the name "Brow" occurs. There can be little doubt that the opinion prevalent amongst antiquaries is correct, that the word comes from the famous "Brugh" of the Boyne.

Mr. Orpen discusses the identity of Liamhain with Newcastle Lyons rather than with Dunlavin; and contributes a note on the Battle of Glen-mama.

A valuable addition to our manorial history is Mr. G. D. Burtchaell's full and careful account of the Manor of Erly, county Kilkenny. He proves that the family of Erly, or Erleigh, owned, from an early period, Newtown in Coillagh, now Erley, or Erlestown—a fact at one time strongly denied.

The very curious German account of Ireland in 1720, unearthed by Mr. Macalister, affords the strongest contrast between the modern critical methods of the papers already noticed, and the untrustworthy legends and travellers' tales served up by the older topographer for his readers' delectation, many of which seem taken from Giraldus—the British Herodotus of the twelfth century.

Turning to the later medieval buildings, the first place must be given to Mr. R. Langrishe's paper on Jerpoint Abbey, which affords an interesting study of the subject—fuller and more elaborate than any description of this structure yet published. Father Carrigan, in his "History of the Diocese of Ossory," may have dealt more fully with it from a historical point of view; but Mr. Langrishe has paid special attention to the architecture and monuments. The full text of Prince John's Charter to the abbey is given, and will be valuable for reference.

A full account of the Abbey of Killagha, county Kerry, a hitherto undescribed ruin, of which Rev. James Carmody, P.P., is the writer, will be greatly appreciated.

Mr. J. Commins gives some interesting particulars with regard to various places visited by the Society in county Kilkenny, with a note on the Abbey of Kells, in Ossory.

Castles are not unrepresented, for, apart from Mr. Orpen's claim for the mote of Castlemore, there are illustrations of the castles of Moyry, near Faughart, and Ballynahinch, in county Tipperary, with a plan of the latter by Mr. Crawford. This latter castle, and that of Ballyfinboy, near Borrisokane (p. 88), as noted by Mr. R. O'Brien Smyth, possess carvings of "Sheelana-gigs," which will be of interest to students of those obscure and curious objects.

Social and family questions have light thrown on them in several papers and notes. Mr. H. Grattan Flood follows up his studies of Irish music by a paper on the "city music" of the metropolis from 1560 to 1780. This body seems to have existed from 1498,

though only fully organised in 1560. It appears that during the first twenty years of Elizabeth's reign the music of the Dublin cathedrals was at its lowest ebb.

Mr. Westropp collects from the little known Cromwellian Account Books, in the Public Record Office, material for a sketch of the Puritan "local government" of Limerick, which fully confirms the tradition of the stabling of horses in the cathedral. He has again to record the demolition of a church—on this occasion that of Templenaraha, county Clare, a curious little early oratory in a stone ring-fort.

Among notes on objects of art, it is matter of regret to find that the inscription on the old chalice used by the Franciscans of Ennis has been obliterated during the process of repair and re-engraving.

Mr. O'Shaughnessy completes his study of the Jacobite tract known as "A Light to the Blind."

Rev. Joseph Meehan describes a curious casting of 1680, made for one of the O'Rourkes, and with it gives the history of some iron-works in county Leitrim, at which the casting was executed. Dr. Laffan publishes some records of Fethard Corporation, with notices of the family of Everard of that place.

The interesting question as to the descent of the family of Moore, of Moore Hall, county Mayo, from Thomas More, great-grandson of the ill-fated Chancellor of Henry VIII, is discussed in an able article by Mr. Martin J. Blake. Rev. William Latimer prints a series of letters of Rev. Alexander M'Cracken, Presbyterian clergymen of Lisburn, dating between 1707—1713, which are of great local interest; and Mr. Garstin has a note on the family of Hewetson, or Hewson.

Standing by itself as to subject, Dr. E. Mac Dowel

Cosgrave's continuation into the nineteenth century of his Catalogue of Dublin Engravings, so fully illustrated, is of great value and interest.

Attention may be called to Mr. M'Enery's note on the arbutus (*Arbutus unedo* Linn.) at Killarney, as mentioned in 1583 in the great roll of the Desmond confiscations.

It will be observed that the "Proceedings" contain some important notices, with illustrations, of many of the places visited during the excursions, especially in connexion with the Killarney meeting. The ogham inscription at Aghadoe is noticed (page 337); a very curiously carved stone, with a triple cross, near Killorglin, is illustrated (page 341); and plans are reproduced, from actual measurements, of the hitherto unnoticed churches of Knockane and Dromavally, county Kerry.

Included with the "Proceedings" are descriptions and illustrations of some interesting exhibits at the meetings, viz.: the Hiberno-Danish bronze pin found at Clontarf; and the bronze brooches and bowl found at Ballyholme, county Down. The latter "find" is one of the most important of bronze objects found in Ireland to which a period or date can be definitely assigned.

ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN,

31st December, 1906.

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LIST OF FELLOWS AND MEMBERS

WITH

LIST OF OFFICERS

FOR THE YEAR 1906,

AND

GENERAL RULES OF THE SOCIETY.

THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.

THIS Society, instituted to preserve, examine, and illustrate all Ancient Monuments of the History, Language, Arts, Manners, and Customs of the past, as connected with Ireland, was founded as THE KILKENNY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY in 1849. Her late Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, on December 27th, 1869, was graciously pleased to order that it be called THE ROYAL HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND, and was further pleased to sanction the adoption of the title of THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND on 25th March, 1890.

The Society holds four General Meetings in each year, in Dublin and in the several Provinces of Ireland, when Papers on Historical and Archæological subjects are read, Fellows and Members elected, Objects of Antiquity exhibited, and Excursions made to places of Antiquarian interest. The Council meets monthly, at 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin. Evening Meetings of the Society are also held monthly in Dublin during the Winter. Honorary Provincial and Local Secretaries are appointed, whose duty it is to inform the Hon. Secretary of all Antiquarian Remains discovered in their Districts, to investigate Local History and Traditions, and to give notice of any injury inflicted on Monuments of Antiquity, and Ancient Memorials of the Dead.

The PUBLICATIONS of the Society comprise the *Journal* and the "Extra Volume" Series. The "Antiquarian Handbook" Series was commenced in 1895, of which five sets have been published.

The *Journal*, now issued Quarterly, from the year 1849 to 1906, inclusive, forming thirty-six Volumes (royal 8vo), with more than 2000 Illustrations, contains a great mass of information on the History and Antiquities of Ireland.

The following Volumes are now out of print:—First Series, Vols. I. (1849-51) and III. (1854-55); New Series, Vols. I. (1856-57) and III. (1860-61); Fourth Series, Vols. IV. (1876-78), VIII. (1887-88), and IX. (1889). Of the remaining Volumes, those for 1870-1885 can be supplied to Members at the average rate of 10s. each. Odd

Parts, included in some of the Volumes out of print, can be supplied at an average of 3s. each. Part I. of the Fifth Series (1890) is out of print; the other Parts of this, the present Series, can be had for 3s. each.

The Extra Volumes are supplied to all Fellows, on the roll at date of issue, free, and may be obtained by Members, at the prices fixed by the Council.

The Extra Volume Series consists of the following Works:—

1853.—“Vita S. Kannechi, a codice in bibliotheca Burgundiana extante Bruxellis transcripta, et cum codice in bibliotheca Marsiana Dublinii adservato collata.” Edited by the Most Hon. John, second Marquis of Ormonde. 100 copies presented by him to the Members of the Society. (*Out of print.*)

1855 and 1858.—Parts I. and II. of “Social State of S.E. Counties” as below.

1865-7.—“Observations in a Voyage through the Kingdom of Ireland: being a collection of several Monuments, Inscriptions, Draughts of Towns, Castles, &c. By Thomas Dineley (or Dingley), Gent., in the Year 1681.” From the original ms. in the possession of Sir T. E. Winnington, Bart., Stanford Court. Profusely illustrated by fac-simile engravings of the original drawings of Castles, Churches, Abbeys, Monuments, &c. Price of issue, £1 10s. (*Out of print.*)

1868-9.—“Social State of the Southern and Eastern Counties of Ireland in the Sixteenth Century: being the Presentments of the Gentlemen, Commonalty, and Citizens of Carlow, Cork, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, and Wexford, made in the Reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth.” From the originals in the Public Record Office, London. Edited by Herbert F. Hore and Rev. James Graves, M.R.I.A. Price of issue, £1. (*Out of print.*)

1870-8.—“Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language.” From the earliest known to the end of the twelfth century. Chiefly collected and drawn by George Petrie, Esq. With Topographical, Historical, and Descriptive Letterpress. Illustrated by 107 plates and numerous woodcuts. Edited, with an Introductory Essay, by M. Stokes; revised by the Rev. William Reeves, D.D. 8 Parts in 2 Vols. Price of issue, £4. Price to Members, 10s., for Parts I., II., III., IV., VI., and VII.

1888-9.—“Rude Stone Monuments of the County Sligo and the Island of Achill.” With 209 Illustrations. By Colonel Wood-Martin. (*Out of print.*)

1890-1.—“Account Roll of the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, 1337-46. with the Middle English Moral Play, *The Pride of Life.*” From the original in the Christ Church Collection in the Public Record Office, Dublin. With fac-simile of the ms. Edited, with Translation, Notes, and Introduction, by James Mills, M.R.I.A. Price to Members, 10s.

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	1896	* Linn, Richard. 38, Worcester-street, Christchurch, New Zealand.
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DATE OF ELECTION.

MEMBER.	FELLOW	
	1899	Macan, Sir Arthur, M.B. 53, Merrion-square, Dublin.
1889	1893	Mac Ritchie, David, F.S.A. (Scot.) 4, Archibald-place, Edinburgh.
1864	1870	Malone, Very Rev. Sylvester, P.P., V.G., M.R.I.A.. St. Lenanne, Kilrush, Co. Clare.
1891	1896	MARTYN, Edward. Tulira Castle, Ardrahan. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1897-1900.)
1863	1871	Mayler, James Ennis. Harristown, Ballymitty, Co. Wexford.
1893	1896	McCREA, Rev. Daniel F. , M.R.I.A. (Rome.)
	1897	McGeeney, Very Rev. Patrick, Canon, P.P., V.F. Parochial House, Crossmaglen.
	1897	Mellon, Thomas J., Architect. Rydal Mount, Milltown, Co. Dublin.
1884	1888	MILLIGAN, Seaton Forrest, J.P. , M.R.I.A. Bank Buildings, Belfast. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1895-1899 and 1900-1903.)
1889	1892	Mills, James, I.S.O., M.R.I.A. Public Record Office, Dublin. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1904.)
	1906	Modi, Edalji M., D.Sc., LL.D., Litt.D., F.C.S. (Lond. & Berlin). Opposite Grand-road Station, Sleator-rd., Bombay, India.
1870	1871	MOLLOY, William Robert, M.R.I.A., J.P. 78, Kenilworth-square, Dublin.
1869	1888	Moran, His Eminence Cardinal, D.D., M.R.I.A. Archbishop of Sydney, New South Wales. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1888-1896.)
	1897	Murphy, J. H. Burke. Cultra Lodge, Cultra, Holywood, Co. Down, and St. Patrick's, Dunfanaghy, Co. Donegal.
1889	1889	MURPHY, Michael M. , M.R.I.A. Troyes Wood, Kilkenny.
	1888	Norman, George, M.D. 12, Brock-street, Bath.
	1889	O'BRIEN, William, M.A., LL.D. 4, Kildare-street, Dublin.
1892	1893	O'Connell, John Robert, M.A., LL.D. Ard Einin, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
1887	1890	O'Donovan, The, M.A. (Oxon.), J.P., D.L. Liss Ard, Skibbereen. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1890-1894.)
	1890	O'NEILL, His Excellency The, Comte de Tyrone , (Grand Officier de la maison du Roi). 59, Rua das Flores, Lisbon, Portugal.
	1890	O'NEILL, Hon. Robert Torrens, M.A. (Oxon.), J.P., D.L., M.P. Tullymore Lodge, Ballymena, Co. Antrim.
	1895	O'REILLY, Rev. Hugh , M.R.I.A. St. Colman's Seminary, Newry.
1894	1898	O'Reilly, Patrick J. 7, North Earl-street, Dublin.
	1889	ORMSBY, Charles C. , M.I.C.E.I. District Engineer's Office, M.G.W. Railway, Galway.
	1894	O'Shaughnessy, Richard, B.A., C.B., M.V.O., Barrister-at-Law. 3, Wilton-place, Dublin. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1904.)
	1889	OWEN, Edward. India Office, Whitehall, London, S.W.
	1875	Palmer, Charles Colley, J.P., D.L. Rahan, Edenderry.
	1903	Peacock, Dr. Charles James, D.D.S. 57, Queen's-road, Tunbridge Wells.
1867	1888	Perceval, John James, J.P. 41, Waterloo-road, Dublin.
	1873	Phené, John S., LL.D., F.S.A., F.G.S. 5, Carlton-terrace, Oakley-street, London, S.W.
	1888	Plunkett, George Noble, Count, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., Barrister-at-Law. 26, Upper Fitzwilliam-street, Dublin.

DATE OF ELECTION.

MEMBER.	FELLOW.	
	1896	Plunkett, Countess. 26, Upper Fitzwilliam-street, Dublin.
1889	1890	Polson, Thomas R. J., M.R.I.A. 13, Wellington-place, Enniskillen.
1889	1893	Pope, Peter A. New Ross.
	1872	Prichard, Rev. Hugh, M.A., F.S.A. (Scot.) Dinam, Gaerwen, Anglesey.
	1902	RATH-MERRILL, Mrs. M. E. 80, North Weiner-avenue, Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A.
1894	1894	Robinson, Andrew, C.E., Board of Works. 116, St. Laurence-road, Clontarf.
	1894	ROBINSON, Rev. Stanford F. H., M.A. 17, Lower Leeson-street, Dublin.
1880	1888	Rushe, Denis Carolan, B.A., Solicitor. Far-Meehul, Monaghan.
	1898	SAUNDERSON, Rev. Robert de Bedick, M.A. (Dubl.) Milton House, Sittingbourne.
	1891	Scott, William Robert, M.A. (Dubl.), D. Phil. 3, Queen's-terrace, St. Andrews, N.B., and Lisnamallard, Omagh.
	1904	* Shallard, L. Stafford, F.R.H.S., A.V.C.M., F.N.A.M., F.S.S., L.N.C.M. Lyndenhurst, Camden-road, North, London.
	1896	Shaw, Sir Frederick W., Bart., J.P., D.L. Bushy Park, Terenure.
	1892	Sheehan, Most Rev. Richard Alphonsus, D.D., Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. Bishop's House, John's Hill, Waterford. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1896-1899 and 1901-1904.)
	1892	Smiley, Sir Hugh Houston, Bart., D.L. Drumalis, Larne.
1875	1875	Smith, Joseph, M.R.I.A. Hood-road, Sankey Bridge, Warrington.
	1873	Smith, Worthington G., F.L.S., M.A.I. 121, High-street, Dunstable, Beds.
1892	1902	Somerville, Belingham Arthur. Clermont, Rathnew, Co. Wicklow.
	1894	Stevenson, George A., M.V.O., Commissioner of Public Works, 6, Upper Merrion-street, Dublin.
1898	1902	Stokes, Henry J. Rookstown, Howth; and 24, Clyde-road, Dublin. (<i>Hon. Treasurer</i> , 1903.)
	1905	Stonestreet, Rev. W. T., D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.L. Arnside, Prestwich Park, Manchester.
1890	1890	Stoney, Rev. Robert Baker, M.A., D.D., Canon. Holy Trinity Rectory, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
	1904	STRANGWAYS, Leonard Richard, M.A., M.R.I.A. 56, Holland-road, London, W.
1895	1902	Strangeways, William N. Lismore; 17, Queen's-avenue, Muswell Hill, London, N.
1885	1888	Stubbs, Major-General Francis William, J.P. 2, Clarence-terrace, St. Luke's, Cork. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1901-1905.)
1890	1900	STUBBS, William Cotter, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 28, Hatch-street, Dublin. (<i>Hon. Treasurer</i> , 1900-1902; <i>Vice-President</i> , 1903.)
1892	1893	Swan, Joseph Percival. 22, Charleville-road, N.C.R., Dublin.
	1898	**Tallon, Daniel. 136, Leinster-road, Rathmines.
	1900	Tate-Stoate, Rev. W. M., M.A., M.R.I.A. Pebworth Vicarage, near Stratford-on-Avon.

DATE OF ELECTION.

MEMBER.	FELLOW.	
	1893	Tenison, Charles Mac Carthy, M.R.I.A. Barrister-at-Law J.P. The Old House, Hatfield, Broad Oak, Harlow, Essex.
	1904	Thorp, John Thomas, LL.D., F.R.S.L., F.R. Hist. S. 57, Regent-road, Leicester.
	1892	Tighe, Edward Kenrick Bunbury, J.P., D.L. Woodstock Inistioge.
	1893	***Uniacke, R. G. Fitz Gerald, B.A. (Oxon.). Schopwick-place, Elstree, Herts.
1896	1899	Upton, Henry Arthur Shuckburgh, J.P. Coolatore, Moate, Co. Westmeath.
1884	1890	Vinycomb, John, M.R.I.A. Riverside, Holywood, Co. Down.
	1905	WALES, H. R. H. Prince of. <i>Patron.</i>
1900	1906	Warnock, Frank H. 9, Herbert-road, Sandymount.
1890	1897	Warren, the Rev. Thomas. Belmont, 29, Gipsy Hill, London, S.E.
1871	1871	Watson, Thomas. Ship Quay Gate, Londonderry.
	1905	Weldrick, John Francis. 12, Booterstown-avenue, Co. Dublin.
1886	1893	WESTROPP, Thomas Johnson, M.A., C.E., M.R.I.A. 115, Strand-road, Sandymount, Dublin. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1901.)
	1896	Windle, Bertram C. A., M.A., M.D., D.Sc. (Dubl.), F.R.S., President, Queen's College, Cork. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1905.)
1889	1890	WOOLLCOMBE, Robert Lloyd, M.A., LL.D. (Dubl. Univ.); LL.D. (Royal Univ.); F.I.Inst., F.S.S., M.R.I.A., Barrister-at-Law. 14, Waterloo-road, Dublin.
1887	1887	WRIGHT, Edward Perceval, M.D., M.A. (Dubl.); M.A. (Oxon.); M.R.I.A., F.L.S., F.R.C.S.I., J.P. 5, Trinity College, Dublin. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1898-1899 and 1903; <i>President</i> , 1900-1902.)
	1903	Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George, M.P. 35, Park-lane, London, W.
1891	1891	Young, Robert Magill, B.A., C.E., M.R.I.A., J.P. Rathvarna, Antrim-road, Belfast. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1898-1900 and 1904.)

HONORARY FELLOWS.

Elected 1902	Allen, J. Romilly, F.S.A., F.S.A. (Scot.). 28, Great Ormond-street London, W.C.
1891	Avebury, Right Hon. Lord, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., M.P. High Elms, Farnborough, Kent.
1891	D'Arbois de Jubainville, H., Editor of <i>Revue Celtique</i> . 84, Boulevard Mont Parnasse, Paris.
1902	Evans, Sir John, K.C.B., D.C.L. (Oxon.), LL.D. (Dubl.), D.Sc., F.R.S., F.S.A., Hon. M.R.I.A. Britwell, Berkhamsted, Herts.
1902	Montelius, Oscar, Ph. D., Prof. at the Nat. Hist. Museum, Stockholm.
1891	Munro, Robert, M.A., M.D. (Hon. M.R.I.A.), Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Elmbank, Largs, Ayrshire, N.B.
1891	Pigorini, Professor Luigi, Director of the Museo Preistorico-Etnografico Kircheriano, Rome.
1891	Rhys, John, M.A., D.Litt., Professor of Celtic, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford.

Life Fellows,	46
Honorary Fellows,	8
Annual Fellows,	136
Total 31st December, 1906,	190

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

(Revised 31st December, 1906.)

A star [*] preceding a name denotes that the Subscription for 1906 was unpaid on 31st December, 1906; two stars denote that the Subscriptions for 1905 and 1906 are unpaid; and three stars that the Member owes for three years. The Names of those who have paid the Life Composition, and are Life Members, are printed in heavy-faced type. (See Rules 4, 8, and 9, page 39.)

Elected

- 1896 Acheson, John, J.P. Dunavon, Portadown.
 1898 Adams, Rev. William Alexander, B.A. The Manse, Antrim.
 1901 Adams, Walton. Reading, England.
 1892 * Alcorn, James Gunning, Barrister-at-Law, J.P. 2, Kildare-place, Dublin.
 1887 Alexander, Thomas John, M.A., LL.D. 1, Bellevue Park, Military-road, Cork.
 1900 Allen, C. F., 2 Newtown-villas, Rathfarnham.
 1905 * Allen, Herbert W. Rosemount House, Dundrum, Co. Dublin.
 1903 Allen, Mrs. Ailsa Lodge, Kilrane, Co. Wexford.
 1890 Allingham, Hugh, M.R.I.A. The Mall, Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal.
 1891 Alment, Rev. William F., B.D. Drakestown Rectory, Navan.
 1894 Anderson, William, J.P. Glenarvon, Merrion, Co. Dublin.
 1896 Annaly, The Lady. Holdenby House, Northamptonshire.
 1897 Archdall, Right Rev. Mervyn, D.D., Bishop of Killaloe, &c. Clarisford, Killaloe.
 1902 Archer, Miss Brenda E. The Rectory, Ballybunion, Co. Kerry, and Roslyn, Dundrum, Co. Dublin.
 1891 Archer, Rev. James Edward, B.D. Seagoe Rectory, Portadown, Co. Armagh.
 1894 Ardagh, Rev. Arthur W., M.A. The Vicarage, Finglas.
 1905 Ardagh, Mrs. Robert. Pouldrew, Portlaw, Co. Waterford.
 1868 Ardilaun, Rt. Hon. Lord, M.A., M.R.I.A. St. Anne's, Clontarf.
 1906 Armstrong, Edmund C. R. Cyprus, Eglinton-road, Donnybrook.
 1890 Atkinson, Ven. E. Dupre, LL.B. (Cantab.), Archdeacon of Dromere. Donaghcloney. Waringstown.
- 1894 Babington, Rev. Richard, M.A. Rectory, Moville.
 1895 Badham, Miss. St. Margaret's Hall, Mespil-road, Dublin.
 1890 Baile, Robert, M.A. Ranelagh School, Athlone.
 1893 Bailey, William F., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 3, Earlsfort-terrace, Dublin.
 1894 Baillie, Col. John R., M.R.I.A., J.P. Strabane, Co. Tyrone.
 1897 Baker, Samuel. The Knowle, Howth.
 1898 Ball, H. Houston. 21, Wimbourne Gardens, Ealing, London, W.
 1885 Ballard, Rev. John Woods. 21, South-parade, Ballynafeigh, Belfast.
 1890 Banim, Miss Mary. Greenfield, Dalkey.
 1890 * Barnd, Patrick. Coralstown, Killucan.
 1893 Barrett, John, B.A. 7, Westview-terrace, Blackrock, Co. Cork.
 1889 Barrington, Sir Charles Burton, Bart., M.A. (Dubl.), J.P., D.L. Glenstal Castle, Co. Limerick.
- 1868 **BARRINGTON-WARD, Mark James, M.A., S.C.L. (Oxon.), F.R.G.S., F.L.S.** Thorneioe Lodge, Worcester.
 1890 Barry, Rev. Michael, P.P. Ballylanders, Knocklong, Co. Limerick.

- Elected
 1877 Barry, James Grene, D.L. Sandville House, Ballynecty, Limerick.
 1906 Barton, Miss. Eden, Rathfarnham.
 1894 Battley, Colonel D'Oyly, J.P. Belvedere Hall, Bray, Co. Wicklow.
 1902 Bayly, Colonel W. H. Debsborough, Nenagh.
 1891 Beardwood, Right Rev. J. Camillus, Abbot of Mount St. Joseph, Roscrea.
 1904 Beary, Michael, Borough Surveyor. Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
 1898 Beater, George Palmer. Minore, St. Kevin's Park, Upper Rathmines.
 1903 Beatty, Arthur W. Norham Maia, Zion-road, Rathgar.
 1891 Beere, D. M., C.E. G. P. O., Melbourne, Victoria.
 1893 Begley, Rev. John, C.C. St. Munchins, Co. Limerick.
 1898 Bell, Thomas William, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. Philipstown, Dundalk.
 1902 Bellew, the Hon. Mrs. Jenkinson Park, Kilkenny.
 1903 Bennet, Mrs. 1, Tobernea-terrace, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
 1890 Bennett, Joseph Henry. Blair Castle, Cork.
 1895 Beresford, Rev. Canon, M.A. Inistioge Rectory, Co. Kilkenny.
 1889 **BERESFORD, Denis R. Pack.** Fenagh House, Bagenalstown.
 1895 Bergin, William, M.A., Professor of Natural Philosophy. Queen's College, Cork.
 1888 Bernard, Walter, F.R.C.P. 14, Queen-street, Derry.
 1897 Bestick, Robert. 5, Frankfort-avenue, Rathgar.
 1890 Bewley, Joseph. 8, Anglesea-street, Dublin.
 1901 Bewley, Dr. H. T. 89, Merrion-square, Dublin.
 1901 Bewley, Mrs. S. Knapton House, Kingstown.
 1897 Biddulph, Lieut.-Col., Middleton W., J.P. Rathrobin, Tullamore, King's County.
 1901 Black, Joseph. Main-street, Bushmills, Co. Antrim.
 1902 Blake, The Lady. Myrtle Grove, Youghal, Co. Cork.
 1896 Blake, Mrs. Temple Hill, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
 1904 Blake, Martin J. 13, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, London.
 1900 Bleakley, John T. Avenue-road, Lurgan.
 1904 Boeddicker, Dr. Birr Castle Observatory, Birr, King's Co.
 1902 Boland, John, M.P. 4, New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.
 1893 Bolton, Charles Perceval, J.P. Brook Lodge, Halfway House, Waterford.
 1899 Bolton, Miss Anna. Rathenny, Cloughjordan.
 1906 Bompas, Charles S. M. 121, Westbourne-terrace, London, W.
 1903 Boothman, Chas. T., Barrister-at-Law. 14, Clarinda-park, W., Kings-town.
 1905 Borrowes, Lady. Barretstown Castle, Ballymore Eustace, Naas, Co. Kildare.
 1889 Bowen, Henry Cole, M.A., J.P., Barrister-at-Law. Bowen's Court, Mallow.
 1858 Bowers, Thomas. Cloncunny House, Piltown.
 1904 Bowes, Mrs. E. R. Bowes Villa, Meath-road, Bray.
 1894 Boyd, J. St. Clair, M.D. Chateworth, Belfast.
 1905 Boyle, E. M. F. G. Solicitor, Limavady.
 1903 Boyle, Rev. Henry, P.P. Mount St. Michael, Randalstown.
 1905 Brady, Rev. James. The Presbytery, 47, Westland-row, Dublin.
 1904 * Brady, Sir Francis William, Bart. 26, Upper Pembroke-street, Dublin.
 1891 Bray, John B. Cassin. 56, Grosvenor-road, Rathmines.
 1889 Brenan, James, R.H.A., M.R.I.A., 140, Leinster-road, Rathmines.
 1883 Brennan, Rev. Samuel Arthur, B.A. Strand House, Cushendun, Co. Antrim.
 1892 Brereton, Fleet-Surgeon R. W. St. Nicholas' Rectory, Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim.
 1891 Bridge, William, M.A., Solicitor. Roscrea.
 1891 **BRODIGAN, Mrs.** Piltown House, Drogheda.
 1904 Brodrick, Hon. Albinia L. District Infirmary, Ashton-under-Lync.
 1893 Brophy, Michael M. 48, Gordon-square, London, W.C.
 1888 Brophy, Nicholas A. Glenlevan, Lansdown-road, Limerick.
 1894 Brown, Miss. 2, Lethendry, Brighton-road, Rathgar.
 1900 * Browne, Charles R., M.D., M.R.I.A. 66, Harcourt-street, Dublin.
 1906 Browne, Miss Kathleen A. Bridgetown, Wexford.
 1902 Browne, Thomas. Mill House, Dundalk.

Elected

- 1906 Brunker, J. Ponsonby. 18, Grosvenor-place, Rathmines.
 1906 Brunker, Thomas A. Provincial Bank of Ireland, Carlow.
 1894 Brunskill, Rev. K. C., M.A. Carrickmore, Co. Tyrone.
 1866 Brunskill, Rev. North Richardson, M.A. Kenure Vicarage, Rush.
 1903 Brunskill, Rev. T. R., M.A. St. Mary's Rectory, Drogheda.
 1896 Buckley, James. 11, Homefield-road, Wimbledon, Surrey.
 1890 Budds, William Frederick, J.P. Courtstown, Tullaroan, Freshford.
 1903 Budds, Mrs. Zoë M. 82, Leinster-road, Dublin.
 1884 Buggy, Michael, Solicitor. Parliament-street, Kilkenny.
 1890 Burgess, Rev. Henry W., M.A., LL.D. 20, Alma-road, Monkstown.
 1890 Burgess, John, J.P. Oldcourt, Athlone.
 1903 **Burke, Miss A. Westport House, Middletonow, Co. Armagh.
 1895 Burke, John, J.P., Consul for Mexico and Uruguay. Corporation-street, Belfast.
 1897 Burke, Rev. Thomas, P.P. Kinvara, Co. Galway.
 1897 * Burke, Rev. W. P. St. Maryville, Cahir.
 1899 Burnard, Robert, F.S.A. Thiccaby House, Princetown, S. Devon.
 1892 Burnell, William. Dean's Grange, Monkstown.
 1905 Burnett, George Henry. Cnoc Aluin, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.
 1891 Burnett, Rev. Richard A., M.A. Rectory, Graignamanagh, Co. Kilkenny.
 1906 Bute, the Marchioness of. Mount Stuart, Rothesay, N.B.
 1903 Butler, Mrs. Cecil. Milestown, Castlebellingham.
 1904 Butler, Miss E. The Lodge, Waterville, Co. Kerry.
 1898 Butler, William F., M.A., F.R.U.I., Professor of Modern Languages. Registrar's House, Queen's College, Cork.
 1902 Butler, Lieut.-General Sir W. F., K.C.B. Bansha Castle, Tipperary.
 1903 Byrne, Mrs. L. 5, Prince of Wales-terrace, Bray.
- 1891 Cadie de la Champignonnerie, M. Edward, F.R.U.I. Mon Caprice, Pembroke Park, Dublin.
 1904 Caldwell, Charles Henry Bulwer, J.P. Antylstown, Navan; and The Cedars, Wyndlesham.
 1896 Caldwell, Charles Sproule, Solicitor. Castle-street, Londonderry.
 1904 Callanan, Martin, Physician and Surgeon. The Square, Thurles, Co. Tipperary.
 1896 Callary, Very Rev. Philip, P.P., V.F. St. Brigid's, Tullamore, King's County.
 1897 Campbell, A. Albert, Solicitor. 4, Waring-street, Belfast.
 1891 Campbell, Rev. Joseph W. R., M.A. 34, Dartmouth-road, Dublin.
 1890 Campbell, Very Rev. Richard S. D., M.A., D.D., Dean of Clonmacnoise. The Rectory, Athlone.
 1890 Campbell, Rev. William W., M.A., R.N. Maplebury, Monkstown.
 1898 **CARDEN, Lady.** Templemore Abbey, Templemore.
 1893 Carey, William, Solicitor. 47, Grosvenor-square, Dublin.
 1893 Carmody, Rev. William P., B.A. Carrowdore Rectory, Donaghadee, Co. Down.
 1900 Carmody, Rev. James, P.P. St. Colman's, Milltown, Co. Kerry.
 1894 Carolan, John, J.P. 77, North King-street, Dublin.
 1900 Carolin, Geo. O., J.P. Iveragh, Shelbourne-road, Dublin.
 1888 Carrigan, Rev. William, C.C. Durrow, Queen's County.
 1893 Carrigan, William, B.L., Solicitor. 13, Herbert-street, Dublin.
 1889 * Carroll, Anthony R., Solicitor. 47, North Great George's-street, Dublin.
 1890 Carroll, William, C.E., M.R.I.A.I. 18, Rue de la Culture, Brussels.
 1901 Carter, Mrs. Hugh Foxley, Burnham, Bucks.
 1904 Carter, John Campbell. 7 and 8, Bachelor's-walk, Dublin.
 1901 **Carter, Joseph S., Solicitor. Veteran Lodge, Galway.
 1897 Caruth, Norman C., Solicitor. Flixton-place, Ballymena.
 1904 Cassidy, C. D., D.D.S. 29, Westland-row, Dublin.
 1895 Casson, George W., J.P. 25, Clyde-road, Dublin.
 1893 Castle Stuart, Right Hon. the Earl of, J.P., D.L. Drum Manor, Cookstown; Stuart Hall, Stewartstown, Co. Tyrone.

Elected

- 1901 ***Cavanagh, James A. 62, Grafton-street, Dublin.
- 1906 Cavenagh, Lieut.-Colonel Wentworth Odiarne. St. Margarets-at-Cliff, Dover.
- 1894 Chambers, Sir R. Newman. 15, Queen-street, Londonderry.
- 1905 Chambré, Mrs. C. Northland-row, Dungannon.
- 1895 Christie, Robert William, F.I.B. 21, Elgin-road, Dublin.
- 1906 Chute, J. H. C., A.M.I.C.E. Castle Coote, Roscommon.
- 1896 Clark, Miss Jane. The Villas, Kilrea, Co. Londonderry.
- 1889 Clarke, Mrs. Athgoe Park, Hazelhatch.
- 1890 **CLEMENTS, Henry John Beresford**, J.P., D.L. Lough Rynn, Leitrim.
- 1874 Clonbrock, Right Hon. Lord, B.A. (Oxon.), H.M.L. (*Vice-President*, 1885-1896.) Clonbrock, Aghasragh.
- 1904 Coakley, Rev. Cornelius, C.C. Farran, Co. Cork.
- 1893 Coddington, Lieut.-Colonel John N., J.P., D.L. Oldbridge, Drogheda.
- 1900 Colahan, Rev. Richard Fallon, C.C. The Presbytery, Herbert-road, Bray.
- 1898 Coleman, Rev. Ambrose, O.P. Dominican Priory, Drogheda.
- 1888 Coleman, James. 2, Rosehill-terrace, Queenstown, Co. Cork.
- 1893 Colgan, Nathaniel, M.R.I.A. 15, Breffni-terrace, Sandycove, Co. Dublin
- 1894 Colles, Alexander. 3, Elgin-road, Dublin.
- 1891 Collins, E. Tenison, Barrister-at-Law. St. Edmunds, The Burrow, Howth.
- 1903 Colvin, Miss Carolin, Ph.D. Orono, Maine, U. S. A.
- 1903 **Comerford, William. Urlingford National School, Co. Kilkenny.
- 1897 Commins, John. Desart N. S., Cuffe's Grange, Kilkenny.
- 1897 **CONAN, Alexander**. Mount Alverno, Dalkey.
- 1876 Condon, Very Rev. C. H. St. Mary's, Pope's-quay, Cork.
- 1893 * Condon, Frederick William, L.R.C.P.I., &c. Ballyshannon.
- 1894 Condon, James E. S., LL.D., Barrister-at-Law. 10, Herbert-place, Dublin.
- 1892 Conlan, Very Rev. Robert F., P.P., Canon. The Presbytery, Rathmines.
- 1889 Connellan, Major James H., J.P., D.L. Coolmore, Thomastown.
- 1904 Connor, G. W., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., L.D.S. 77, Hill-street, Newry.
- 1898 Conyngham, O'Meara. Hotel Metropole, Sackville-street, Dublin.
- 1896 Cookman, William, M.D., J.P. Kiltrea House, Enniscorthy.
- 1900 Cooper, Joseph Ed. Hibernian Bank, Strabane.
- 1894 **CORBALLIS, Richard J.**, M.A., J.P. Rosemount, Roebuck, Clonskeagh,
- 1899 Corcoran, Miss. The Chesnuts, Mulgrave-road, Sutton, Surrey.
- 1896 Corcoran, P. Abbey Gate-street, Galway.
- 1894 Cosgrave, E. Mac Dowel, M.D. 5, Gardiner's-row, Dublin.
- 1890 Cosgrave, Henry Alexander, M.A. 67, Pembroke-road, Dublin.
- 1899 Costello, Thomas Bodkin, M.D. Bishop-street, Tuam.
- 1892 ***Costigan, William. Great Victoria-street, Belfast.
- 1903 Coulter, Robert, Merchant. Thomas-street, Sligo.
- 1895 Courtenay, Henry, I.S.O. Hughenden, Grosvenor-road, Rathgar.
- 1904 Courtenay, Mrs. Louisa. Rathscar, Dunleer, Co. Louth.
- 1905 Courvoisier, Mrs. 5, Windsor Gardens, Belfast.
- 1892 **COWAN, P. Chalmers**, B. Sc., M. Inst. C.E. Local Government Board, Dublin.
- 1891 Cowell, Very Rev. George Young, M.A., Dean of Kildare. The Deanery, Kildare.
- 1889 **COX, Michael Francis**, M.D., F.R.C.P.I., M.R.I.A. 26, Merrion-square, Dublin.
- 1905 Coyle, Rev. James, P.P. Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow.
- 1900 Craig, William Alexander, M.R.I.A., Fellow Inst. Bankers. Frascati, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
- 1904 Crawford, Henry Saxton, C.E. 113, Donore-terrace, S. C. Road, Dublin.
- 1896 Crawford, Robert T. Estate Office, Ballinrobe.
- 1892 Creagh, Arthur Gethin, J.P. Carrahane, Quin, Co. Clare.
- 1890 Craghe, Philip Crampton, M.R.I.A. Kilcreene House, Kilkenny.
- 1893 Crone, John S., L.R.C.P.I. Kensal Lodge, Kensal Rise, London, N.W.
- 1898 Croke, T. Evans Beamish, J.P. Lettercollum, Timoleague.
- 1898 Crookshank, Major Richard R. G. 1, Sloper-ton, Kingstown.

- Elected
 1891 Crossley, Frederick W. 30, Molesworth-street, Dublin.
 1904 Crowley, Timothy, M.D. Larchfield, Conchford, Co. Cork.
 1882 Cuffe, Major Otway Wheeler. Woodlands, Waterford.
 1896 Cullen, T. W., Manager, National Bank. Dundalk.
 1894 Culverwell, Edward Parnall, M.A., F.T.C.D. The Hut, Howth.
 1895 Cummins, Rev. Martin, P.P. Clare Galway, Co. Galway.
 1895 Cunningham, Miss Mary E. Glencairn, Belfast.
 1897 Cunningham, Miss S. C. Glencairn, Belfast.
 1890 Cunningham, Rev. Robert, B.A. Ballyrashane Rectory, Cloyfin, Belfast.
 1891 Cunningham, Samuel. Fernhill, Belfast.
 1906 Curran, John. Ventry N.S., Ventry, Co. Kerry.
 1899 Cuthbert, David, Superintendent, Pacific Cable Board. Norfolk Island, Australia.
- 1889 Dallow, Very Rev. Canon Wilfrid. Upton Hall, Upton, Birkenhead.
 1891 Dalrymple, J. D. G., F.S.A., F.S.A. (Scot.). Meiklewood, Stirling, N.B.
 1891 Dalton, John P., M.A., D.I.N.S. Taylor's Hill House, Galway.
 1898 **DALY, Rev. Patrick, C.C.** The Palace, Mullingar.
 1897 Daniell, Robert G., J.P. Newforest, Tyrrellspass, Westmeath.
 1906 D'Arcy, Right Rev. Charles Frederick, D.D., Lord Bishop of Clogher. Bishops-court, Clones.
 1895 D'Arcy, S. A., L.R.C.P.I., L.R.C.S.I. Etna Lodge, Clones.
 1892 * Dargan, Thomas. Belview Villa, Cave Hill-road, Belfast.
 1899 Darley, Arthur. 15, Pembroke-road, Dublin.
 1905 Darling, Rev. J. Lindsey. Mariners' Rectory, Kingstown, Co. Dublin.
 1900 * Davids, Miss Rosa. Greenhall, High Blantyre, N.B.
 1891 **DAVIDSON, Rev. Henry W., M.A.** Abington Rectory, Murroe, Limerick.
 1904 * Davis, Rev. James, C.C. Belmullet, Co. Mayo.
 1890 Davy, Rev. Humphry, M.A. Kimmage Lodge, Terenure.
 1903 Davys, Miss Teresa. Mount Davys, Lanesborough, Co. Longford.
 1895 Dawkins, Professor W. Boyd-, F.S.A., F.K.S., F.G.S., &c. Fallowfield House, Fallowfield, Manchester.
 1895 Dawson, Joseph Francis. Inspector, Munster and Leinster Bank, Dame-street Dublin.
 1868 Deady, James P. Hibernian Bank, Navan.
 1905 Deane, Arthur, Curator, Public Museum, Royal-avenue, Belfast.
 1893 Deane, Mrs. J. William. Longraigue, Foulksmill, Co. Wexford.
 1902 Delaney, James, County Surveyor Tullamore, King's County.
 1894 Delany, Rt. Rev. John Carthage, Lord Abbot of Mount Melleray, Cappoquin.
 1889 Denny, Francis Mac Gillycuddy. Denny-street, Tralee.
 1884 Denvir, Patrick J. 29, Adelaide-street, Kingstown.
 1890 D'Evelyn, Alexander, M.D. (Dubl.). Ballymena, Co. Antrim.
 1906 De Ros, Lady. Old Court, Strangford, Co. Down.
 1895 Devenish-Meares, Major-General W. L., J.P., D.I. Meares Court, Ballinacargy, Co. Westmeath.
 1896 Diamond, Rev. Patrick J. 29, Mott-street, New York, U.S.A.
 1899 Dickenson, Col. Wykeham Corry. 22, Hereford-square, South Kensington, London, S.W.
 1905 Dickie, Thomas Wallace. 22, Trinity College, Dublin.
 1893 Dickinson, James A. 5, Belgrave-square, North, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
 1891 Dickson, Rev. William A. Fahan Rectory, Londonderry.
 1905 Digby, Cecil, M.D. Knockane, Beaufort, Co. Kerry.
 1892 Dillon, Sir John Fox, Bart., J.P., D.L. Lismullen, Navan.
 1897 Dixon, Henry, Jun. 12, Cabra-road, Dublin.
 1905 Dobbyn, William A. Riversdale, Waterford.
 1904 Doherty, E. E. B. Oaklands, Bandon.
 1903 **DOLAN, Joseph T.** Ardee, Co. Louth.
 1901 Domville, Major Herbert W., J.P. (High Sheriff of Dublin). Loughlins-town House, Co. Dublin.
 1903 **Donnelly, Rev. Michael. St. Macartan's Seminary, Monaghan.
 1903 Donovan, Richard, D.L., I.L.B., J.P. Ballymore, Camolin.

Elected

- 1887 Donovan, St. John Henry, J.P. Seafield, Spa, Tralee.
 1898 Doran, George Augustus, J.P. Dunottar, Malone-road, Belfast.
 1890 Doran-Falkiner, Rev. T. Howth, Co. Dublin.
 1891 Dougherty, Sir James B., M.A., Assistant Under-Secretary. Dublin Castle.
 1887 Douglas, M. C. Beechville, Carlow.
 1889 Dowd, Rev. James, M.A. 7, Swansea-terrace, Limerick.
 1899 Doyle, Edward. Charleville Lodge, Cabra, Dublin.
 1903 Doyle, Very Rev. Canon James, P.P. St. Canice's, Kilkenny.
 1896 Doyle, Rev. Luke, P.P. St. Mary's, Tagoat, Wexford.
 1897 Doyle, M. J. N. S., Windgap, Co. Kilkenny.
 1904 Doyne, Miss M. Josephine. Rossbegh, Shrewsbury-road, Dublin.
 1894 Drew, Lady. Gortnadrew, Alma-road, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
 1905 Drew, Thomas, Secretary, Committee of Agriculture and Technical Institution. Courthouse, Kilkenny.
 1893 * Drought, Rev. Anthony, M.A. Kilmessan Rectory, Navan.
 1904 Duffy, Joseph J., 5, Brighton Vale, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
 1885 Duke, Robert Alexander, J.P., D.L. Newpark, Ballymote.
 1891 Duncan, George. 82, Ranelagh-road, Dublin.
 1893 Dunn, Michael J., B.A., Barrister-at-Law. 42, Upper Mount-st., Dublin.
 1892 ***Dunn, Valentine. 3, Raglan-road, Dublin.
 1900 ***Dunne, Rev. E., C.C. Presbytery, Rathmines.
 1901 Dunseath, David. Sea Cliff, Bangor, Co. Down.
 1872 Durham, Dean and Chapter of, *per* C. Rowlandson. The College, Durham.
 1890 Dwan, Rev. John J., P.P., V.F. Murroe, Co. Limerick.

 1904 Eeles, Francis Carolus. 105, Adelaide-road, London, N.W.
 1887 Elcock, Charles. 19, Hughenden-avenue, Belfast.
 1890 * Elliott, Rev. Anthony L., M.A. Killiney Glebe, Co. Dublin.
 1892 Elliott, Charles. 223, Amhurst-road, Stoke-Newington, London, N. E.
 1895 Ennis, Michael Andrew, J.P. Ardruidh, Wexford.
 1884 Erne, Right Hon. the Countess of, care of Rev. J. H. Steele, The Cottage, Crom Castle, Belturbet.
 1894 Everard, Rev. John, P.P. Ballyporeen, Cahir, Co. Tipperary.
 1893 Everard, Colonel Nugent Talbot, J.P., D.L. Randlestown, Navan.

 1890 Fahey, Very Rev. Jerome, P.P., V.G. St. Colman's, Gort.
 1889 Fahy, Rev. Canon John G. Rectory, Waterville, Co. Kerry.
 1896 **FALKINER, C. Litton**, M.A., M.R.I.A., Barrister-at-Law. Mount Mapas, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
 1888 Falkiner, Rev. William F., M.A., M.R.I.A. Killucan Rectory, Co. Westmeath.
 1897 Faren, William. Mount Charles, Belfast.
 1906 Farragher, Rev. Murtagh, P.P. Kilronan, North Aran, Co. Galway.
 1904 Farrington, Thomas Edward (retired Collector of Inland Revenue). Baythorpe, Holywood, Co. Down.
 1891 Fawcett, George. Montevideo, Roscrea.
 1904 Fayle, Edwin. Kylemore, Orwell Park, Rathgar, Co. Dublin.
 1905 Feely, Frank Michael, D. L., R. I. C. Killarney.
 1892 Fegan, William John, Solicitor. Market Square, Cavan.
 1901 Felix, Rev. John. Cilcain, Mold, North Wales.
 1887 Fennessy, Edward. Ardsradawn House, Kilkenny.
 1898 Fenton, Rev. Charles E. O'Connor, M.A. Roundhay, Leeds.
 1898 Fenton, Rev. Cornelius O'Connor, M.A. 22, Great George's-street, Liverpool.
 1898 Fenton, Rev. S. L. O'Connor, M.A. St. Paul's Vicarage, Durban, South Africa.
 1902 Ferguson, Rev. Samuel, B.A. Waterside, Londonderry.

- Elected
 1904 Ferrar, Benjamin Banks, B.A., M.D. (Univ. Dubl.). 7, Beresford-row, Armagh.
 1897 Field, Miss. 6, Main-street, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
 1891 Fielding, Patrick J. D., F.C.S. 66, Patrick-street, Cork.
 1906 Figgis, William Fernsley. Rathmore, Brays.
 1902 Finegan, Rev. Peter, C.C. St. Patrick's, Dundalk.
 1894 Fisher, Rev. John Whyte, M.A., Canon. The Rectory, Mountrath, Queen's County.
 1906 Fitz Gerald, Rev. James K., P.P. St. Brendan's, Ardfert, Co. Kerry.
 1890 FitzGibbon, Gerald, M. INSR. C.E. Cawood, Apperley Bridge, Leeds.
 1892 * Fitz Patrick, P. D.I.N.S. Sligo.
 1899 ***Fitz Simon, D. O'Connell. Moreen, Dundrum.
 1868 Fitzsimons, John Bingham, M.D. The Cottage, Lymstone, South Devon.
 1904 * Flannery, Rev. Daniel, P.P. Silvermines, Nenagh.
 1891 Fleming, Hervey de Montmorency, J.P. Barraghcore, Goresbridge.
 1899 Fleming, Miss H. S. G. Pallisade House, Omagh.
 1893 Flood, Rev. James. 611, Eighth-avenue, Brooklyn, New York, U.S.A.
 1899 Flood, William H. Grattan. Rosemount, Enniscorthy.
 1894 Flynn, Very Rev. Patrick F., P.P. St. Anne's Presbytery, Waterford.
 1901 Fogerty, George J., M.D., R.N. 67, George-street, Limerick.
 1896 Foley, J. M. Galwey, C.I., R.I.C. Newtown Manor, Kilkenny.
 1906 Forde, Rev. George H. 2, St. John's-place, Kilkenny.
 1893 Fortescue, Hon. Dudley F., J.P., D.L. 9, Hertford-street, Mayfair, London, W.
 1904 Fottrell, Miss Mary Josephine. 1, The Appian Way, Leeson Park, Dublin.
 1904 Fox, Rev. Arthur W., M.A. (Camb.). Fielden Hotel, Todmorden, Lancashire.
 1903 French, Edward John, B.A. (Dubl.), Solicitor. St. Ann's, Donnybrook, Co. Dublin.
 1903 Fricker, Rev. M. A., Canon, P.P. The Presbytery, 25, Rathmines-road, Dublin.
 1898 Fry, Matthew W. J., M.A., F.T.C.D. 39, Trinity College, Dublin.
 1891 Furlong, Nicholas, L.R.C.P.I., L.R.C.S.I., M.R.I.A. Lymington, Enniscorthy.
- 1906 Gaffney, James S., B.A. 86, O'Connell-street, Limerick.
 1903 Gallagher, Miss Jane. Eglisli, Dungannon, Co. Tyrone.
 1904 Galway, William Berkeley, M.A., Solicitor. Scottish Provincial Buildings, Donegall-square, W., Belfast.
 1894 Gamble, Major G. F. Mount Jerome, Harold's-cross, Dublin.
 1905 Gamble, Robert C. Elagh Hall, Londonderry.
 1905 Geoghegan, John Edward. Rockfield, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
 1890 Geoghegan, Michael. P. W. Hotel, Athlone.
 1891 Geoghegan, Thomas F. 2, Essex-quay, Dublin.
 1890 George, William E. Downside, Stoke Bishop, Clifton.
 1903 * Geraghty, Rev. Bernard, P.P. Kilbegnet, Roscommon.
 1897 Gibson, Rev. Thomas B., Canon, M.A. The Rectory, Ferns.
 1892 **GILFOYLE, Anthony Thomas**, M.A., J.P., D.L. Carrowcullen House, Skreen, Co. Sligo.
 1900 Gillespie, Rev. Ed. Acheson. Balteagh Rectory, Limavady.
 1887 Gillespie, James, Surgeon. The Diamond, Clones.
 1901 Gilligan, Rev. Laurence, P.P. Shinrone, Co. Tipperary.
 1905 * Given, Maxwell, C.E. 3, Ardbana-terrace, Coleraine, Co. Derry.
 1894 **GLEESON, Paul**. Kilcolman, Glenageary, Co. Dublin.
 1899 * Gleeson, Michael, Crown Solicitor. Nenagh.
 1897 Gloster, Arthur B., B.A. Beechfield, Fermoy.
 1898 **Glover, Edward, M.A., M. Inst. C.E., F.R.I.B.A. County Surveyor's Office, Naas.
 1901 Glynn, Joseph A., B.A., Solicitor. Beech House, Tuam, Co. Galway.

- Elected
 1891 **Glynn, Thomas.** Meelick Villa, 87, Aden Grove, Clissold Park, London, N.
 1897 **Glynn, William, J.P.** Kilrush.
 1903 **Goddard, Norris, Solicitor.** 52, Merrion-square, Dublin.
 1897 **GODDEN, George.** Phoenix Park, Dublin.
 1890 **Goff, Rev. Edward, B.A.** Kentstown Rectory, Navan.
 1894 **Goodwin, Singleton, B.A., M. Inst. C.E.** Tralee.
 1901 **Gordon, Mrs., F.R.S.S., M.S.A.** Auchintoul, Aboyne, N.B.
 1902 ****Gordon, Patrick, D.I., R.I.C.** Dunmanway.
 1897 **Gore, John.** 4, Cavendish-row, Dublin.
 1900 **Gore, Mrs.** Derrymore, O'Callaghan's Mills, Co. Clare.
 1901 **Gorman, Major Lawrence.** 37, Brighton-road, Rathgar.
 1852 **Gorman, Venerable Wm. Chas., M.A.,** Archdeacon of Ossory. Rectory, Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny.
 1902 **Gormanston, the Viscountess.** Gormanston Castle, Balbriggan.
 1891 **Gosselin, Rev. J. H. Prescott, B.A.** Muff Parsonage, Londonderry.
 1891 **Gough, Joseph.** 88, Grosvenor-square, Rathmines.
 1904 **Gould, Mrs. Ellen Louisa.** Stradbrook House, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
 1894 **Gray, Robert, F.R.C.P.I., J.P.** 4, Charlemont-place, Armagh.
 1896 **GRAYDON, Thomas W., M.D.** La Fayette Circle, Clifton, Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A.
 1900 **Green, T. Geo., H., M.R.I.A.** Lisnagar, Temple Gardens, Palmerston Park, Dublin.
 1896 **Greene, Mrs. T.** Millbrook, Magency.
 1897 **Greer, Thomas MacGregor, Solicitor.** Ballymoney.
 1901 **Griffen, Mrs. C. M.** Suir Valley Lodge, Carrick-on-Suir.
 1899 **Griffith, John E., F.L.S., F.R.A.S.** Bryn Dynas, Bangor, N. Wales.
 1899 **Griffith, Miss Lucy E.** Arianfryn, Barmouth, N. Wales.
 1902 **Griffith, Patrick Joseph, Professor of Music.** 13, York-road, Rathmines, Co. Dublin.
 1885 **Grubb, J. Ernest.** Carrick-on-Suir.
 1902 **Grubb, Miss Rosa F.** Cooleville, Clogheen, Cahir.
 1890 **Guilbride, Francis, J.P.** Newtownbarry, Co. Wexford.
 1905 **Guinness, Miss Beatrice Grace.** Burton Hall, Stillorgan, Co. Dublin.
 1995 **Guinness, Miss Eva Frances.** Burton Hall, Stillorgan, Co. Dublin.
 1904 **Guinness, Henry Seymour.** Eversham, Stillorgan, Co. Dublin.
 1895 **Guinness, Howard R.** Chesterfield, Blackrock.
 1899 ****Hackett, T. Kirkwood.** General Valuation Office, Ely-place, Dublin.
 1891 **HADDON, Alfred Cort, M.A., F.R.S., F.Z.S.** Inisfail, Hill's-road, Cambridge.
 1892 **Hade, Arthur, C.E.** Carlow.
 1895 **Hales, Mrs. Arthur.** 17, Lansdown-crenset, Bath; and Charmouth, Dorset.
 1899 **Hall, Ernest Frederick.** The Lodge, Westport.
 1893 **Hall, Thomas.** Derrynure House, Baillieborough.
 1906 **Hall-Dare, Robert Westley, D.L.** Newtownbarry House, Newtownbarry.
 1904 **Halpin, Rev. James, P.P.** St. Colman's, Seariff, Co. Clare.
 1889 **Hamilton, Everard, B.A.** 30, South Frederick-street, Dublin.
 1900 **Hamilton, Rev. James, M.A.** Clara, King's County.
 1889 **Hanan, Ven. Denis, D.D.,** Archdeacon of Cashel. The Rectory, Tipperary.
 1890 **Harman, Miss Marion.** Barrowmount, Goresbridge.
 1890 **Hart, Henry Chichester, B.A., M.R.I.A., F.L.S., J.P.** Carrabeagh, Port-salon, Letterkenny.
 1897 **Hartigan, P.** Castleconnell, Limerick.
 1891 **Harty, Spencer, M. Inst. C.E.I.** City Hall, Dublin.
 1893 **Hastings, Samuel.** Church-street, Downpatrick.
 1898 **Hayes, James.** Church-street, Ennis.
 1889 **Hayes, Rev. William A., M.A.** The Deanery, Londonderry.
 1895 **Hayes, Thomas, C.I., R.I.C.** Belgrave-place, Glenbrook, Passage West, Co. Cork.

- Elected
 1891 Headen, W. P., B.A. (Lond.), D.I.N.S. 11, Charleville-road, North Circular-road, Dublin.
 1891 Healy, George, J.P. Glaslyn, Clontarf.
 1888 Healy, Rev. John, LL.D., Canon. The Rectory, Kells, Co. Meath.
 1869 Healy, Rev. William, P.P. Johnstown, Co. Kilkenny.
 1895 Healy, William, J.P. Donard View, Downpatrick.
 1897 **HEMPHILL, Rev. Samuel, D.D., M.R.I.A., Canon.** Birr Rectory, Parsons-town.
 1897 Hendersen, William A. Belclare, Leinster-road, West, Dublin.
 1901 **HENSER, Rev. Herman J.** Overbrook, Pa., U.S.A.
 1892 Heron, James, B.E., J.P. Tullyvery House, Killyleagh, Co. Down.
 1890 Higgins, Rev. Canon Michael, P.P. Castletownroche, Co. Cork.
 1889 Higinbotham, Granby. 46, Wellington Park, Belfast.
 1878 Hill, William H., B.E., F.R.I.B.A. Audley House, Cork.
 1871 Hinch, William A. 24, Cambridge-road, Rathmines.
 1892 Hitchins, Henry. 2, Crosthwaite Park, S., Kingstown.
 1893 Hoare, Most Rev. Joseph, D.D., Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnois. St. Mel's, Longford.
 1896 Hobson, C. J. 239, 13, 125th-street, New York, U.S.A.
 1890 Hodgson, Rev. William, M.A. 32, Holford-square, London, W.C.
 1891 Hogan, Rev. Henry, B.D., Canon. All Saints' Vicarage, Phibsborough-road, Dublin.
 1890 Hogg, The Right Hon. Jonathan, D.L. 12, Cope-street, Dublin.
 1898 Holmes, Mrs. Severnbank, Shrewsbury, Shropshire.
 1889 Horan, John, M.E., M. Inst. C.E., County Surveyor. 4, Pery-square, Limerick.
 1893 Hore, Philip Herbert, M.R.I.A. 121, Colehern Court, Earl's Court, London, S.W.
 1906 Horgan, Rev. Michael A., P.P. Sneem, Co. Kerry.
 1899 Horner, John, Chelsea. Antrim-road, Belfast.
 1895 Huband, Rev. Hugo R., M.A. (Cantab.). Killiskey Rectory, Ashford, Co. Wicklow.
 1904 Hudd, Alfred E., F.S.A. 108, Pembroke-road, Clifton.
 1895 Hughes, Benjamin. *Independent Office*, Wexford.
 1905 Hughes, Edwin, B.A., J.P. Dalchoolin, Craigavad, Co. Down.
 1895 Hughes, Miss Helen. 34, Brighton-road, Rathgar, Dublin.
 1900 Hughes, Wm. C.E. Ahenny, Carrick-on-Suir.
 1895 **Humphreys, Rev. John, B.A.** The Manse, Tullamore.
 1901 Hunter, Samuel C. Norcroft, Ballyholme, Bangor, Co. Down.
 1890 Hunter, Thomas. Post Office, Glenarm.
 1890 Hurley, Rev. Patrick, P.P. Inchigeela, Co. Cork.
 1858 Hyde, Henry Barry, F.S.S. 5, Eaton Rise, Ealing, London, W.
 1899 Hynes, Miss. 6, Home Ville, Rathmines.

 1896 Ireland, William. 44, Arthur-street, Belfast.
 1893 Irwin, Rev. Alexander, Canon, M.A. Church Hill Cottage, Wicklow.
 1902 Irwin, Rev. George F., B.D., M.A. Raglan Cottage, Mortlake, London, S.W.

 1903 Jackson, Charles James, J.P., F.S.A., Barrister-at-Law. 19, Langland Gardens, London, N.W.
 1890 Jeffares, Rev. Danby, M.A. Lusk, Co. Dublin.
 1889 Jennings, Ignatius R. B., C.I.R.I.C. Elysium, Waterford.
 1895 Jephson-Norreys, Mrs. Atherton. The Castle, Mallow.
 1901 * Johnston, Professor Swift Paine, M.A. 6, Trinity College, Dublin.
 1900 Joly, Miss Anna M. 5, Upper Ely-place, Dublin.
 1894 **JONES, Capt. Bryan John.** 1st Leinster Regiment, Limawilly, Dundalk.
 1902 **** Jones, Cromwell Walter, B.A., T.C.D.** Hollygrange, Ellesmore Park, Eccles.

- Elected
 1895 Jones, Rev. David, M.A., Canon of Bangor Cathedral. Llandegai, N. Wales.
 1905 Jones, Ireton A. 135, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.
 1904 Joyce, Mrs. Frank. Issercleran, Craughwell, Co. Galway.
 1904 Joynt, Alfred Lane, B.A. 5, Pembroke Park, Clyde-road, Dublin.
- 1905 Kavanagh, Mrs. H. Borris House, Borris, Co. Carlow.
 1896 Kavanagh, Very Rev. Michael, D.D., P.P., V.F. New Ross.
 1891 Keane, Lady. Cappoquin House, Cappoquin.
 1893 Keane, Marcus, J.P. Beech Park, Ennis.
 1891 Keane, Miss Frances. Glenshelan, Cappoquin.
 1895 Keatinge, Rev. P. A., O.S.F. Franciscan Convent, Waterford.
 1906 Keaveny, Thomas, D.I.R.I.C. 59, Clifton Park-avenue, Belfast.
 1898 Keelan, Patrick. 13, Greville-street, Mullingar.
 1889 Keene, Charles Haines, M.A. 19, Stephen's-green, and University Club, Dublin.
 1889 Keene, Most Rev. James Bennett, D.D., Bishop of Meath. Bishops-court, Navan.
 1888 Kelly, Edmund Walsh. Bella Vista, Tramore.
 1885 Kelly, Ignatius S. Bunnyconnellan, Myrtleville, Croshaven, Co. Cork.
 1899 Kelly, Rev. James, Adm. St. Colman's, Inisbofin, Co. Galway.
 1905 Kelly, Rev. Joseph, C.C. Episcopal Residence, Mullingar.
 1890 Kelly, Very Rev. James J., P.P., V.F. St. Peter's, Athlone.
 1904 Kelly, Rev. J. Herbert, M.A., Rector of Dunany Union, Diocese of Armagh. Clonmore Rectory, Dunleer, Co. Louth.
 1896 Kelly, Rev. John, C.C. Sandyford, Co. Dublin.
 1898 Kelly, Dr. Joseph Dillon, J.P. 31, Earl-street, Mullingar.
 1902 Kelly, Mrs. Owen J. Blackrock, Dundalk.
 1891 Kelly, Richard J., Barrister-at-Law, J.P. 10, Mountjoy-square, Dublin.
 1891 Kelly, Thomas Aliaga. 1, Mountjoy-square, Dublin.
 1899 ***Kelly, Thomas J. 32, Salisbury-road, Wavertree, Liverpool.
 1903 Kennedy, R. R., M.A. 8, Royal-terrace, Kingstown, East.
 1903 Kennedy, Thomas Patrick. 12, Alwyne Mansions, Wimbledon, Surrey.
 1898 Kennedy, Rev. Thomas Waring. Camolin, Ferns.
 1906 Kenny, Miss Elizabeth. Gráce Dieu, Clontarf, Dublin.
 1895 Kenny, Thomas Hugh. 55, George-street, Limerick.
 1893 ***Kenny, William F., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 69, Fitzwilliam-sq., Dublin.
 1905 Kent, Ernest Alexandre Harry. 26, Sunnyside-road, Ealing, London, W.
 1894 Kernan, George. 50, Dame-street, Dublin.
 1891 Kerman, Rev. Richard Arthurs, B.D., Canon. The Rectory, Hillsborough.
 1889 Kerr, Rev. Wm. John B. Irchester Vicarage, Wellingborough.
 1898 Kerrigan, Dr. Owen P. Ardna Greina, Castletown-Geoghegan, Co. Westmeath.
 1905 *Kidd, James. 55, Antrim-road, Belfast.
 1905 Kiernan, Michael K. 24, Eustace-street, Dublin.
 1897 Kiernan, Mrs. Leitrim Lodge, Dalkey.
 1897 Kiernan, Thomas. Leitrim Lodge, Dalkey.
 1904 Kincaid, Mrs. M. M. University Station, Seattle, Washington.
 1890 King, Lucas White, LL.D., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., C.S.I. Roebuck Hall, Dundrum, Co. Dublin.
 1885 Kirkpatrick, Robert. 1, Queen's-square, Strathbungo, Glasgow.
 1904 Kirwan, Denis B., Jun. Dalgin, Milltown, Tuam.
 1905 Knabenshue, S. S., American Consul, Belfast.
 1899 Knox, Mrs. Godfrey. 66, Upper Sackville-street, Dublin.
 1902 Kyle, Valentine Joyce. Gortin, Co. Tyrone.
- 1890 **LANGAN, Rev. Thomas, D.D.** Abbeylara, Granard.
 1906 La Touche, Christopher Digges. 53, Raglan-road, Dublin.
 1901 Laughlin, Robert C. Gortin, Co. Tyrone.

- Elected
1902 Lavery, Rev. Francis. P.P. St. Mary's Presbytery, Portglengone, Co. Antrim.
- 1904 Lavery, John, 58A, Brougham-street, Belfast.
- 1903 Lawler, Chas., J.P. 62, Leinster-road, Rathmines.
- 1900 Lawless, Rev. Nicholas, C.C. Kileurry, Dundalk.
- 1891 Lawlor, Rev. Hugh Jackson, M.A., D.D. Trinity College, Dublin.
- 1904 Lawrence, Arthur. Lavernock House, Penarth, South Wales.
- 1891 Lawson, Thomas Dillon. Manager, Bank of Ireland, Galway.
- 1901 Lebane, Daniel, District Inspector N. S. 1, Zion-road, Rathgar.
- 1893 Ledger, Rev. William Cripps, M.A. 14, Winton-avenue, Rathgar.
- 1894 Leeson-Marshall, M. R., Barrister-at-Law. Callinafercy, Milltown, R.S.O., Co. Kerry.
- 1892 Le Fanu, Thomas Philip, B.A. (Cantab.). Chief Secretary's Office, Dublin Castle.
- 1906 Lenehan, N. V., Solicitor. 24, St. Andrew-street, Dublin.
- 1892 Leonard, Mrs. T. Warrenstown, Dunsany, Co. Meath.
- 1891 Lepper, Francis Robert, Director, Ulster Banking Co., Belfast.
- 1903 Leslie, Rev. J. Blennerhassett, M.A. Kilsaran Rectory, Castlebellingham.
- 1880 Lett, Rev. Henry Wm., M.A., M.R.I.A., Canon. Aghaderg Glebe, Loughbrickland.
- 1883 Lewis, Professor Bunnell, M.A., F.S.A. 49, Sunday's Well, Cork.
- 1884 * Lewis, Thomas White, M.D. Kingscliffe, Wansford, Northamptonshire.
- 1903 * Librarian. Public Library, Capel-street, Dublin.
- 1903 Librarian. Public Free Library, Town Hall, Clonmel.
- 1868 Librarian. Public Library, Armagh.
- 1869 Librarian. Belfast Library, Linen Hall, Belfast.
- 1891 Librarian. Belfast Free Public Library, Belfast.
- 1891 Librarian. Free Public Library, Liverpool.
- 1890 Librarian. Public Library, Boston, U. S.
- 1890 Librarian. Detroit Public Library, Michigan, U. S., c/o B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4, Trafalgar-square, London.
- 1890 Librarian. Public Library, New York, U.S., c/o B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4, Trafalgar-square, London.
- 1868 Librarian. King's Inns Library, Henrietta-street, Dublin.
- 1888 Librarian. Library of Advocates, Edinburgh.
- 1894 Librarian. Limerick Protestant Young Men's Association. 97, George-street, Limerick.
- 1899 Librarian. Natural History and Philosophical Society, Armagh.
- 1903 * Librarian. Public Library, North Strand, Dublin.
- 1882 Librarian. Public Library, Melbourne, *per* Agent-General for Victoria. 142, Queen Victoria-street, London, E.C.
- 1864 Librarian. Queen's College, Belfast.
- 1868 Librarian. Queen's College, Cork.
- 1888 Librarian. Queen's College, Galway.
- 1874 Librarian. Berlin Royal Library, *per* Messrs. Asher & Co., 13, Bedford-st., Covent Garden, London.
- 1899 Librarian. St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.
- 1900 Librarian. Marsh's Library, St. Patrick's Close, Dublin.
- 1905 Librarian. Royal Library, Copenhagen, c/o William Dawson & Sons, St. Dunstan's House, Fetter-lane, Fleet-street, London, E.C.
- 1869 Librarian. Board of Education, South Kensington, London, S.W.
- 1901 Librarian. Reform Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.
- 1903 Librarian. Public Library, Thomas-street, Dublin.
- 1903 Librarian. London Library, St. James'-square, London.
- 1890 Lindsay, Rev. William O'Neill, M.A. Sealawn, Baldoyle, Co. Dublin.
- 1892 **LINDSAY, Dr. David Moore**, L.R.C.P.I., &c. 373, East Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A.
- 1896 Lindsay, Rev. Samuel, B.A. Prospect House, Dungannon.
- 1904 Little, E. A., M.A., LL.D. 55, Lower Baggot-street, Dublin.
- 1901 Little, Very Rev. R., P.P. Pairc-an-Tobair, Quin, Co. Clare.
- 1903 * Lloyd, Miss Annie. 16, Pembroke Park, Dublin.
- 1904 Lloyd, Edwin M., Solicitor. 4, Lower Ormond-quay; and Donore-terrace, South Circular-road, Dublin.

Elected

- 1889 Lloyd, William. 1, Pery-square, Limerick.
 1894 Long, Mrs. 16, Appian-way, Dublin.
 1898 Longfield, Robert O. 19, Harcourt-street, Dublin.
 1893 Longford, Right Hon. The Dowager Countess of. 24, Bruton-street, London, W.
 1893 Lopdell, John. Stamer Park, Ennis.
 1887 Lough, Thomas, M.P. 14, Dean's Yard, London, S.W.
 1896 * Lovegrove, E. W., M.A., M.R.I.A. The Schoolhouse, Old Glee, Grimsby.
 1896 Lowe, William Ross Lewin. Middlewych, St. Albans, Herts.
 1899 Lowry, Thomas. 2, Clarinda Park, East, Kingstown.
 1897 Lucas, Rev. Frederick John, D.D. 2, Cliff-terrace, Kingstown.
 1868 Lunham, Colonel Thomas Ainslie, M.A., M.R.I.A., C.B., J.P. Ardfallen, Douglas, Cork.
 1894 Lyle, Rev. Thomas, M.A. Dalriada, Howth-road, Dublin.
 1893 **LYNCH, J. J.** Towanda, Pa., U.S.A.
 1888 Lynch, Rev. Patrick. St. Wilfrid's, Hulme, Manchester.
 1905 Lyons, Patrick, Sergeant, R. I. C. Ballyhaunis, Co. Mayo.
 1891 Lyster, Rev. H. Cameron, B.D. Rectory, Enniscorthy.
 1902 * Lytle, Samuel Douglas. Maghera, Co. Londonderry.
- 1895 Macalister, R. Alexander Stewart, M.A., F.S.A. Torrisdale, Cambridge.
 1890 Macauley, Joseph, J.P., Solicitor. Donegall Chambers, Royal-avenue, Belfast.
 1900 Mac Clancy, James. Milltown Malbay, Co. Clare.
 1900 Mac Corkell, The Rev. Joseph. The Manse, Moville.
 1899 Mac Eerny, Rev. Francis, C.C. Westland-row, Dublin.
 1891 Mac Gillycuddy, Major John, J.P. Ballinagroun, Annascaul, Co. Kerry.
 1893 Mac Ilwaine, Robert. Secretary, County Council Office, Courthouse, Downpatrick.
 1902 Mac Inerney, T. J. 27, Lower Sackville-street; and 8, Shamrock-villas, Drumcondra, Dublin.
 1892 Mackenzie, John, C.E. Scottish Provident Buildings, Belfast.
 1892 * Mac Mahon-Creagh, Mrs. Dangan, Kilkishen, Co. Clare.
 1894 Macmillan, Rev. John, M.A. 76, South Parade, Belfast.
 1890 Mac Mullan, Very Rev. Alexander, P.P., V.G. Ballymena.
 1894 Macnamara, George Unthank, L.R.C.S.I. Bankyle House, Corofin.
 1902 Mac Namara, Rev. John. St. Joseph's, Dundalk.
 1894 Maconachie, Rev. James H., B.A. Heaton Presbyterian Church, Newcastle-on-Tyne, England.
 1852 Macray, Rev. Wm. Dunn, M.A., F.S.A. Ducklington, Witney, Oxon.
 1895 M'Aleer, H. K. X. L. Bar, Sixmilecross, Co. Tyrone.
 1887 M'Arthur, Alexander, J.P. Knox's-street, Sligo.
 1894 M'Bride, Francis, J.P. 39, Grosvenor-square, Rathmines.
 1894 M'Bride, Joseph M. Harbour Office, Westport.
 1893 * M'Burney, James. Loughconnolly, N.S., Broughshane.
 1888 * M'Carte, James. 51, St. George's Hill, Everton, Liverpool.
 1898 M'Carthy, Charles. 2, Emmett-place, Cork.
 1904 M'Carthy, James. Newfound Well, Drogheda.
 1892 M'Carthy, Samuel Trant, J.P. Srugrena Abbey, Cahirciveen, Co. Kerry.
 1890 M'Clintock, Rev. Francis G. Le Poer, M.A. (Cantab.), Canon. Drumcar Rectory, Dunleer.
 1899 M'Clintock, Miss Gertrude. Drumcar, Dunleer, Co. Louth.
 1897 *** M'Connell, James. 48, Lower Sackville-street, Dublin.
 1899 M'Connell, John, J.P. College-green House, Belfast; Rathmona, Donaghadee.
 1902 M'Connell, Sir Robert, Bart. Ardanreagh, Windsor-avenue, Belfast.
 1891 M'Cormick, H. M'Neile. Cultra House, Cultra, Co. Down.
 1904 ** M'Cracken, George, Solicitor. Martello, Bangor, Co. Down.
 1892 M'Creery, Alexander John. John-street, Kilkenny.
 1905 M'Crum, Mrs. Elizabeth Jane. Ballyveasy, Carmoney, Co. Antrim.

Elected

- 1884 M'Crum, Robert G., J.P. Milford, Armagh.
 1897 M'Cutchan, Rev. George, M.A. Rectory, Kenmare.
 1906 M'Donnell, James. Dungarvan N. S., Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny.
 1895 M'Elhatton, Rev. John, P.P. Strabane.
 1892 M'Enery, D. T., M.A., D.I.N.S. Marlfield, Clonmel.
 1890 M'Enery, M. J., B.A. Public Record Office, Dublin.
 1890 M'Fadden, Right Rev. Monsignor Hugh, P.P., V.G. Parochial House, Donegal.
 1892 M'Gee, Rev. Samuel Russell, M.A. The Rectory, Narraghmore, Co. Kildare.
 1901 M'Getrick, James Finn, Government Revising Valuer. 6, Ely-place, Dublin.
 1903 M'Glade, Patrick. Knockloughrim, Co. Derry.
 1896 M'Glone, Rev. Michael, P.P. Annalore, Clones.
 1906 M'Goldrick, Right Rev. James, D.D., Bishop of Dunluth. Minnesota, U.S.A.
 1901 M'Grath, Rev. Joseph B., C.C. 1, Clonmore-villas, Summerhill Bridge, Dublin.
 1891 M'Inerney, Very Rev. John, P.P., V.G. Kilrush, Co. Clare.
 1898 M'Kean, Rev. William. The Manse, Strandtown, Belfast.
 1892 M'Kee, Robert, M.A. Harlesden College, Bramshill-road, London, N.W.
 1893 M'Keefry, Rev. Joseph, C.C., M.R.I.A. Garvagh, Co. Derry.
 1895 M'Kenna, Rev. James E., C.C., M.R.I.A. St. Michael's Presbytery, Enniskillen.
 1882 M'Kenna, Very Rev. James, P.P., Canon. Osier Hill, Brookeborough.
 1890 M'Knight, John P. Temple Gardens, Palmerston Park, Dublin.
 1900 M'Mahon, Rev. John, P.P. Clare Castle, Co. Clare.
 1890 M'Manus, Very Rev. Canon, P.P. St. Catherine's, Meath-street, Dublin.
 1890 M'Neil, Charles. Hazelbrook, Malahide.
 1906 M'Sweeny, William, M.D. Park-place, Killarney.
 1905 M'Ternan, Miss Mary. Kilworth House, Kildare-street, Dublin.
 1898 M'William, William. Corlatt House, Monaghan.
 1900 Maffett, Rev. R. S., B.A. 17 Herbert-road, Sandymount.
 1900 ***Magill, Rev. Robert, M.A., Ph.D. The Manse, Maghera.
 1890 Mahony, Daniel, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. Mount Alverno, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.
 1891 Mahony, Denis M'Carthy, B.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1, Herbert-street, Dublin.
 1898 Mahony, Rev. Henry. Cambridge House, Cambridge-road, Rathmines, Dublin.
 1887 Mahony, J. J. Leeview-terrace, 44, Sunday's Well, Cork.
 1895 Mahony, Thomas Henry. 8, Adelaide-place, St. Luke's, Cork.
 1899 Malone, Laurence. Innismaan, Queen's Park, Monkstown.
 1899 Malone, Mrs. Innismaan, Queen's Park, Monkstown.
 1906 Mangan, Most Rev. John, D.D., Bishop of Kerry. Killarney.
 1891 Mangan, Richard. 5, Brighton Villas, Western-road, Cork.
 1899 Manning, John Butler. 18, Upper Sackville-street, Dublin.
 1899 Mannion, Very Rev. Patrick, P.P., Canon. The Presbytery, Elphin.
 1891 Mara, Bernard S. Tullamore, King's County.
 1895 March, Henry Colley, M.D. (Lond.), F.S.A. Portesham, Dorchester.
 1894 Martin, R. T. 25, St. Stephen's-green, Co. Dublin.
 1903 ***Martin, William, Solicitor. Mill-street, Monaghan.
 1900 Mason, J. J. B. 6, Ely-place, Dublin; and Glenmahure, Bushy Park-road, Terenure.
 1887 Mason, Thomas. 5, Dame-street, Dublin.
 1906 Mason, Thomas H. 5, Dame-street, Dublin.
 1889 Maunsell, William Pryce, B.A., Barrister-at-Law. 5, Martello-terrace, Kingstown.
 1891 Mayne, Thomas, F.R.G.S.I. 9, Lord Edward-street, Dublin.
 1906 Mayne, Gerald. 19, Lord Edward-street, Dublin.
 1893 Mayo, Right Hon. the Earl of, J.P., D.L. Palmerstown House, Straffan.

- Elected
 1893 Meade, Right Rev. William Edward, D.D., Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross. The Palace, Cork.
 1865 Meagher, Very Rev. William, P.P., Canon. Templemore.
 1906 Mecredy, R. J. Vallombrosa, Bray, Co. Wicklow.
 1897 Meehan, Rev. Joseph, C.C. Belhavel, Dromahair, Co. Leitrim.
 1904 *Meehan, Rev. J. W., B.D., B.C.L., Professor. St. Jarlath's College, Tuam, Co. Galway.
 1901 Mescal, Daniel. H. M. Patent Office, London.
 1903 Metford, Miss Isabella. Glasfryn, Dinas, Powys, Cardiff.
 1889 Middleton, Shireff. 73, Eccles-street, Dublin.
 1899 Micks, William L., M.A. Local Government Board, Dublin.
 1898 Miller, Mrs. The Manse, Armagh.
 1900 Miller, Rev. Richard M., M.A. Monaincha, Roscrea, Co. Tipperary.
 1901 Milliken, James. 146, Anfield-road, Liverpool.
 1891 **MILLNER, Colonel Joshua Kearney.** Galtrim, Bray, Co. Wicklow.
 1904 Minchin, Mrs. Edith Margaret. Boskell, Cahircionlish, Co. Limerick.
 1906 **MITCHELL, Thomas.** Walcot, Birr.
 1891 Mitchell, William M., R.H.A., F.R.I.B.A. 10, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.
 1891 Moffatt, Rev. John E., M.D. 1, Palmerston Villas, Rathmines.
 1900 Moffett, Rev. Benjamin, M.A. The Glebe, Carrickmacross.
 1898 Moloney, Maurice T. Ottawa, Illinois, U.S.A.
 1891 Molony, Alfred. 12, Vincent-square Mansions, Westminster, London, S.W.
 1897 Molony, Henry, M.D. Odellville, Ballingarry, Limerick.
 1904 Monahan, Miss M. A. 63, Northumberland-road, Dublin.
 1897 Monahan, Rev. Daniel, P.P. Tubber, Moate, Co. Westmeath.
 1901 Monteagle and Brandon, Right Hon. Lord. Mount Treuchard, Foynes, Co. Limerick.
 1892 Montgomery, Archibald V., Solicitor. 13, Molesworth-street, Dublin.
 1904 Montgomery, Henry C. Glenoe, Bangor, Co. Down.
 1892 Montgomery, John Wilson. The Esplanade, Bangor, Co. Down.
 1897 Moony, George M. S. Enraght, J.P. The Doon, Athlone.
 1887 Moore, Rev. Courtenay, M.A., Canon. Rectory, Mitchelstown.
 1905 Moore, Edward R. Langara, Glenageary, Co. Dublin.
 1889 Moore, Rev. H. Kingsmill, D.D., Principal, Training College, Kildare-street, Dublin.
 1902 Moore, John. 117, Grafton-street, Dublin.
 1892 Moore, John Gibson, J.P. Llandaff Hall, Merrion.
 1885 Moore, Joseph H., M.A., M. Inst. C.E.I. 63, Eccles-street, Dublin.
 1905 * Moore, Miss P. Ballivor Rectory, Ballivor, Co. Meath.
 1889 Moore, William. Castle Mahon, Blackrock, Co. Cork.
 1889 * Morgan, Arthur P., B.A. (Dubl.), D.I.N.S. 5, Richmond-terrace, Armagh.
 1903 Morris, Henry, Eudan-na-Greine, Dundalk.
 1889 Morrison, Alexander Kerr. Maghera, Co. Derry.
 1905 Morrogh, Mrs. W. Ballineurrig Lodge, Douglas-road, Cork.
 1889 Morton, John. 45, Wellington-road, Dublin.
 1906 Moulder, Victor J. 7, Lower Downs-road, Wimbledon, London, S.W.
 1903 Mulhall, Mrs. Marion. 19, Via Boncompagni, Rome.
 1889 Mullan, Rev. David, M.A. 22, Cambridge-terrace, York-road, Kingstown.
 1902 Mullan, James. Castlerock, Co. Londonderry.
 1891 Mullan, Robert A., B.A. Cairn-hill, Newry.
 1889 Mullen, Frank. Custom House, Belfast.
 1901 Munton, Rev. Henry J. Wesley Ville, Fermoy, Co. Cork.
 1905 Mulligan, John. Greina, Adelaide-road, Glenageary.
 1902 Mulvany, Rev. Thomas, C.C. The Presbytery, St. Columbkille's, Kells.
 1890 Murphy, Rev. Arthur William, P.P. Brosna Abbeyfeale.
 1901 Murphy, Francis. 284, Newport-road, Cardiff.
 1904 Murphy, H. L., B.A. 15, Herbert-sreet, Dublin.
 1900 Murphy, James Edward. Bank of Ireland, Limerick.
 1892 * Murphy, Rev. James E. H., M.A., M.R.I.A., Professor of Irish, Dublin. University. Rathore Rectory, Enfield, Co. Meath.
 1889 Murphy, Very Rev. Jeremiah, D.D., P.P. Macroom.

Elected

- 1895 Murphy, John J., H. M. Customs. 1, Mount Charles, Belfast.
 1896 Murphy, M. L. Ballyboy, Ferns.
 1897 Murphy, Miss. 26, Ulverton-road, Dalkey.
 1889 Murray, Archibald. Portland, Limerick.
 1899 Murray, Daly, J.P. Beech Hill, Cork.
 1895 Murtagh, Mrs. 11, Wellington-road, Dublin.
 1904 Musgrave, Miss. Grange House, Whiting Bay, Youghal; and 63, Cadogan Gardens, London, S.W.
- 1889 Nash, Lieut.-Colonel Edward, J.P. 94, Piccadilly, London, W.
 1895 Nash, Richard G., J.P. Finnstown House, Lucan.
 1905 Nash, Sir Vincent, Knt., D.L. Tivoli, Limerick.
 1897 Nason, William H., M.A. 42, Dawson-street, Dublin.
 1902 Neale, Walter G. 87, Grosvenor-square, Dublin.
 1896 *Neeson, Rev. Arthur J., P.P. Braid, Ballymena, Co. Antrim.
 1892 Neill, Sharman D. 12, Donegall-place, Belfast.
 1890 Nelis, John. Londonderry.
 1891 Newell, P., B.A., D.I.N.S. Galway.
 1904 Nichols, James. 85, Ranelagh-road, Dublin.
 1899 Nichols, Mrs. Kilbrack, Doneraile, Co. Cork.
 1893 Nixon, James H. F., F.R.G.S., J.P. Cragbeg, Clarina, Co. Limerick.
 1902 Nolan, Rev. John, P.P. Kireubbin, Co. Down.
 1906 Nolan, Miss Louisa A. 69, Northumberland-road, Dublin.
 1889 Nolan, Michael J., M.D. The Asylum, Downpatrick.
 1890 Nolan, Pierce L., B.A., Barrister-at-Law. 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.
 1896 Nolan, William R., B.A. Brookville, Simmonscourt-avenue, Donnybrook.
 1898 Nooney, Thomas F., J.P. Earl-street, Mullingar.
- 1904 Oakden, Charles H., F.R.P.S. 30, Meadow-road, Shortlands, Kent.
 1902 O'BRIEN, Conor. Commonsides, Shalford, Guildford.
 1898 O'Brien, Daniel. 2, Belfast-terrace, N. C. Road, Dublin.
 1900 O'Brien, Mrs. South Hill, Limerick.
 1889 O'Brien, Rev. Lucius H., M.A., Dean of Limerick. The Deanery, Limerick.
 1871 O'Brien, Robert Vere, B.A. (Oxon.), J.P. Ballyalla, Ennis.
 1901 O'Byrne, William L. Woodville, The Hill, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
 1890 O'Callaghan, Mrs. Maryfort, O'Callaghan's Mills, Limerick.
 1890 O'Callaghan-Westropp, Colonel George, J.P. Coolreagh, Bodyke.
 1903 O'Conchobhair, Domhnall. 46 and 47, Dame-street, Dublin.
 1901 O'Connell, Daniel, J.P., D.L. Derrynane Abbey, Waterville, Co. Kerry.
 1902 O'Connell, Mrs. Mary. Killeen, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
 1893 O'Connor, Charles A., M.A., K.C. 50, Upper Mount-street, Dublin.
 1906 O'Connor, Rev. H. Vicar's Lodge, 11, Wellington-place, South Circular-road, Dublin.
 1897 O'Connor, M. J., Solicitor. 2, George-street, Wexford.
 1890 O'Connor, Rev. T. C., M.A., Canon. Donaghmore, Baltinglass.
 1906 O'Crowley, James J. The Mall, Youghal, Co. Cork.
 1904 Odell, Mrs. Cloncoskraine, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
 1902 O'Doherty, Rev. Philip, P.P. Claudy, Londonderry.
 1902 *O'Donovan, Rev. J., P.P. Loughrea, Co. Galway.
 1897 O'Duffy, John, L.D.S., R.C.S.I. 54, Rutland-square, Dublin.
 1900 O'Duffy, Kevin E. 85, Harcourt-street, Dublin.
 1904 O'Grady, John Shiel, J.P. Rickardstown, Newbridge, Co. Kildare.
 1906 O'Halloran, Thomas Patrick. The Town, Enfield, Middlesex.
 1889 O'Hanrahan, Timothy Wm., J.P. Parliament-street, Kilkenny.
 1890 O'Hara, Right Rev. John M., Monsignor, P.P., V.F. Crossmolina.
 1896 O'Hennessy, Bartholomew. Killee.
 1889 O'Keefe, Stephen M., B.A., Barrister-at-Law, J.P. Delville, Glasnevin.

- Elected
- 1895 * Oldham, Miss Edith. 2, Anglesea Villas, Ball's Bridge, Dublin.
- 1903 O'Leary, Very Rev. Canon David, P.P. The Presbytery, Dingle.
- 1891 O'LEARY, Rev. Edward, P.P. Portarlington.
- 1888 * O'Leary, John. 17, Temple-street, Dublin.
- 1892 O'LEARY, Rev. John, P.P. Freemount, Charleville.
- 1884 O'LEARY, Patrick. Main-street, Graiguenamanagh, Co Kilkenny.
- 1899 O'Malley, Arthur M. The Quay, Westport.
- 1891 O'Meara, John J., Solicitor, T.C. 211, Great Brunswick-street, Dublin.
- 1894 O'Morchoe, The. Kerrymount, Foxrock.
- 1891 O'Morchoe, Rev. Thomas A., M.A. Kilternan Rectory, Golden Ball.
- 1903 O'Neill, Mrs. Jocelyn-street, Dundalk.
- 1863 O'Neill, Very Rev. Archdeacon, P.P., V.F. Clontarf, Dublin.
- 1896 O'RIORDAN, Rev. John, C.C. Cloyne.
- 1904 O'Ryan, Rev. T. W., C.C. Presbytery, Golden Bridge, Dublin.
- 1870 Ormonde, Most Hon. the Marquis of, K.P. The Castle, Kilkenny.
- 1887 Orpen, Goddard H., B.A., Barrister-at-Law. Monksgrange, Enniscorthy.
- 1903 Orpen, Miss Lillian Iris. Monksgrange, Enniscorthy.
- 1890 Orpen, Ven. Raymond d'A., M.A., Archdeacon of Ardferit. Rectory, Tralee.
- 1904 O'Sullivan, Dr. W. J. Maiville, Lisdoonvarna, Co. Clare.
- 1898 O'Toole, Arthur. 5, Foster-place, Dublin.
- 1890 Oulton, Rev. Richard C., M.A., B.D., Glynn Rectory, Glynn, Belfast.
-
- 1900 Palmer, Miss. Dunkerrin, Kenmare, Co. Kerry.
- 1879 Palmer, Mrs. Carrig House, Lower Road, Cork.
- 1896 Parkinson, Miss. Westbourne, Ennis.
- 1899 Paterson, Thomas. Tildarg, Merrion-road, Dublin.
- 1892 Patterson, Mervyn S. St. Helen's, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
- 1868 Patterson, William Hugh, M.R.I.A. Garranard, Strandtown, Belfast.
- 1890 Pentland, George Henry, B.A., J.P. Black Hall, Drogheda.
- 1893 Peter, Miss A. 80, Pembroke-road, Dublin.
- 1900 Peyton, Geo., LL.D. 4, Prince Arthur-terrace, Leinster-square, Rathmines.
- 1890 Phelps, Ernest James. 9, Lower Hatch-street, Dublin.
- 1905 Phillips, G.T. 3, Patrick-street, Kilkenny.
- 1888 * Phillips, James J., C.E., Archt. 61, Royal-avenue, Belfast.
- 1906 Pilkington, Richard Grant. 55, Rutland-square, Dublin.
- 1903 Pim, A. Cecil. Monarna, White Abbey, Co. Antrim.
- 1900 Pim, Miss E. M. Newtown Park, Waterford.
- 1898 Pim, Edward W., J.P. 27, High-street, Belfast.
- 1902 Pim, Miss Ida. Lonsdale, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
- 1903 Pim, Jonathan, Barrister-at-Law. 10, Herbert-street, Dublin.
- 1903 Pirrie-Conerney, Rev. John, M.A. The Rectory, Dunfaughy, Letterkenny.
- 1904 Place, G. W., Barrister-at-Law. 9, Ailesbury-road, Dublin.
- 1903 Place, Thomas. Dumayne, Rosemount, New Ross.
- 1887 Plunkett, Thomas, M.R.I.A. Enniskillen.
- 1891 Poë, Colonel Wm. Hutcheson, C.B., J.P., D.L. Heywood, Ballinakill.
- 1864 POER, COUNT DE LA, Lord le Power and Corrogmore, D.L. Gurteen le Poer, Kilsheela, Co. Waterford.
- 1899 Pollock, Hugh, Barrister-at-Law. 50, Northumberland-road, Dublin.
- 1893 Pounder, Festus Kelly, B.A. St. John's-terrace, Enniscorthy.
- 1904 Powell, Miss Una T. E. Bella Squardo, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
- 1892 Powell, Rev. William H., D.D. Garrycloyne Rectory, Blarney.
- 1897 Power, Ambrose William Bushe. Glencairn Abbey, Glencairn S. O., *viâ* Mallow.
- 1884 Power, Rev. George Beresford, B.A. Kilfane Glebe, Thomastown.
- 1876 Power, Rev. John, P.P. Kiltely, Pallasgrean, Co. Limerick.
- 1868 Power, Laurence John, J.P. Parade House, Kilkenny.
- 1884 Power, Rev. Patrick. John's Hill, Waterford.
- 1890 Preston, Captain John, R.M. The Moorings, Athlone.
- 1902 Prochazka, the Baroness P. Leyrath, Kilkenny.

- Elected
1894
1898
- Purefoy, Rev. Amyrald D., M.A. The Rectory, Chapelizod, Co. Dublin.
Puxley, Rev. Herbert Lavallin, M.A. (Oxon.) Luther Vestry, Llanddarog, Carmarthen, South Wales.
- 1890
1906
1893
- Quan-Smith, Samuel A. Bullock Castle, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.
Quiggin, Edmund Crosby, M.A. Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
Quinn, Rev. Bartholomew, P.P. Laveragh, Ballymote.
- 1896
1880
1891
1898
1903
- Rankin, Rev. R. B., B.A. All Saints, Newtown-Cunningham.
Raphael, George. Galgorm House, Ballymena.
Rapmund, Rev. Joseph, P.P. Parochial House, Silverstream, Co. Monaghan.
Redington, Miss Matilda. Kilcornan, Oranmore.
Reeves, Jonathan Towaley. Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bank of Ireland, Dublin.
- 1891
1902
1905
1881
1897
1904
1897
- Reynell, Miss. 22, Eccles-street, Dublin.
Reynolds, Mrs. Kate Isabella. The Mullens, Ballyshannon.
Rice, Ignatius J., Solicitor. 1, Waltham-terrace, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
Rice, Lieut.-Colonel Richard Justice, J.P. Bushmount, Lixnaw.
Rice, Thomas. 5, Carlisle-street, Dublin.
Robb, Alfred A., M.A., Ph. D. Lisnabreeny House, Castlereagh, Belfast.
Roberts, Edward, M.A., H.M. Inspector of Schools. Plâs Maesincla, Carnarvon.
- 1890
1902
1900
1902
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1900
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1892
1896
1892
- Roberts, George C., J.P. Summer Hill, Enniscorthy.
* Roberts, W. Johnson. Solicitor. D'Olier Chambers, D'Olier-street, Dublin.
** Roberts, Rev. W. R. Westropp, F.T.C.D. Priorsland, Carrickmines.
Robertson, Hume. Rose Park, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
Roche, H. J. The Castle, Enniscorthy.
Rochfort, William., J.P. Cahir Abbey, Cahir, Co. Tipperary.
Rock, Thomas Dennis. 62, Leadenhall-street, London, E.C.
Rogers, William E. Belfast Banking Company, Portaferry.
Roice, Bernard Herron. Churchtown House, Tagoat.
Rolleston, Thomas William, B.A. Hollywood House, Glenealy, Co. Wicklow.
- 1905
1905
- Roper, Charles Edward A. 55, Leeson-park, Dublin.
Ross-Lewin, Rev. Canon G. H., M.A. St. Cuthbert's Vicarage, Shotley Bridge, Co. Durham.
- 1894
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- ROTHERAM, Edward Crofton.** Belview, Crossakiel, Co. Meath.
Royeroft, Andrew. 57, Grosvenor-road, Rathgar.
* Russell, John, C.E. 16, Waring-street, Belfast.
Ryan, Very Rev. Arthur, P.P., V.G. The Presbytery, Tipperary.
Ryan, Rev. Edmond J., C.C. Kilcommon, Thurles.
Ryan, Rev. James J., V.-P. St. Patrick's College, Thurles.
Ryland, Richard H., B.A., Barrister-at-Law. 9, Mount-street Crescent, Dublin.
- 1895
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- Salazar, Count Lorenzo, Consul for Italy in Ireland. 22, Lower Mount-street, Dublin.
Sankey, Lieut.-General Sir Richard H., K.C.B., M.R.I.A. 32, Grosvenor-place, London, S.W.
Scott, Rev. Charles, M.A. St. Paul's Parsonage, Belfast.
Scott, Conway, C.E. 15, Wellington Park, Belfast.
Scott, Geo. Curraghower, Limerick.
Scott, John Alfred, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.S.I. 36, Lr. Baggot-street, Dublin.
Scott, Samuel. Adengorm, Campbeltown, N.B.
Scriven, Rev. Rowland, M.A. (Cantab.), M.R.I.A. Balbriggan.
Seton, Malcolm Cotter Cariston. 13, Clarendon-road, Holland Park, London, W.

- Elected
- 1896 Shackleton, George. Anna Liffey House, Luean.
 1892 Shackleton, Mrs. J. F. Anna Liffey House, Luean.
 1902 Shaw, Frederick, M.R.I.A. 20, Laurence-street, Drogheda.
 1895 Shaw, His Honor Judge, M.A. 69, Pembroke-road, Dublin.
 1898 Shaw, Thomas J., J.P. 58, Earl-street, Mullingar.
 1900 Shea, Wm. Askin, J.P. 8, Westland-row; and 27, Belgrave-road, Rathmines
 1905 Shekelton, William A. Kilkenny College, Kilkenny.
 1905 Sheridan, George P. 25, Suffolk-street, Dublin.
 1896 * Sheridan, Mrs. 26, North Earl-street, Dublin.
 1896 Sheridan, Rev. N. T. Ramsgrange, Arthurstown, *via* Waterford.
 1898 Sherwin, Rev. James P. University Church, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.
 1902 Sheil, H. Percy. Benedine, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary.
 1896 Shore, The Hon. Mrs. Ballyduff, Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny.
 London, S.W.
 1890 Simms, James. Abercorn Arms, Strabane.
 1895 Simpson, Mrs. West Church Manse, Ballymena.
 1887 Simpson, William M. Walmer, Ballyholme-road, Bangor, Co. Down.
 1893 Sketlington, Joseph Bartholomew, M.A., LL.D., S.I.N.S. Waterford.
 1888 Sloane, Mrs. Moy Hill, Co. Tyrone.
 1893 Small, John F., Solicitor. 37, Hill-street, Newry.
 1906 **SMITH, Mrs. Augustus.** Sion Lodge, Waterford.
 1902 Smith, Blair, J.P. Errigal House, Laurence-street, Londonderry.
 1894 Smith, Rev. George Nuttall, M.A. The Rectory, Wynberg, Cape of Good
 Hope, South Africa.
 1898 * Smith, John, B.E., M. Inst. C. E., Co. Surveyor. Ballinasloe.
 1887 Smith, Owen. Nobber, Co. Meath.
 1900 * Smyth, Major B. W., M.V.O., Roy. Hib. Military School. Phoenix
 Park.
 1893 Smyth, Edward Weber, J.P. 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.
 1895 Smyth, Mrs. E. Weber. 73, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.
 1894 Smyth, Richard O'Brien, C. E., Archt. 2, Kenilworth-square, Dublin.
 1895 Smyth, Robert Wolfe, J.P. Portlick Castle, Athlone.
 1897 Smyth, Thomas. 2, Lower Ormond-quay, Dublin.
 1902 Spring, Richard Francis, C.E. Polehore, Wexford.
 1890 **STACK, Rev. C. Maurice,** M.A. The Vicarage, Magheraclone, Kells.
 1904 Stacpoole, Capt. Guildford William Jack. Ardavilling, Cloyne, Co. Cork.
 1904 Stacpoole, Miss Gwendoline Clare. Newmarket House, Newmarket-on-
 Fergus, Co. Clare.
 1903 Stacpoole, Mrs. J. Ardavilling, Cloyne, Co. Cork.
 1893 Stanley, Rev. William Francis, P.P. Catholic Church, New Brighton,
 Cheshire.
 1894 Steele, Charles W. 18, Crosthwaite Park, Kingstown.
 1895 Steele, Rev. William B., B.A. Levally Rectory, Enniskillen.
 1891 Stephens, Pembroke Scott, K.C. 30, Cumberland-terrace, Regent's Park,
 London, N.W.
 1894 Stephens, Samuel. Ardshane, Holywood, Co. Down.
 1903 Stevenson, Mrs. James. Fort James, Londonderry.
 1903 Stevenson, James. Fort James, Londonderry.
 1893 Stewart, Rev. Harvey, M.A. All Saints' Rectory, Blackrock.
 1898 Stewart, Rev. Joseph Atkinson. Killowen, Lisburn.
 1889 Stirrup, Mark, F.G.S.L. High Thorn, Bowden, Cheshire.
 1899 Stoney, Robert Vesey. Rossturk Castle, Westport.
 1900 Stourton, Miss. South Gate, Castlebellingham, Co. Louth
 1893 Stubbs, Henry, M.A., J.P., D.L. Danby, Ballyshannon.
 1879 Swanston, William. 4A, Cliftonville-avenue, Belfast.
 1901 Swanzy, Rev. Henry Biddall, M.A. Ivy Lodge, Newry, Co. Down.
 1889 Synnott, Nicholas J., B.A. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law. Furness, Naas.
- 1890 Tarleton, Mrs. The Abbey, Killeigh, Tullamore.
 1898 Tarleton, Thomas. 30, Ormond-road, Rathmines.
 1894 Telford, Rev. William H. Reston Free Church Manse, Berwickshire.

- Elected
 1890 Tempest, William, J.P. Douglas-place, Dundalk.
 1901 Tenison, Arthur Heron Ryan, F.R.I.B.A. 12, Little College-street,
 Westminster, London, S.W.; and Elm Dene, 32, Bath-road, Bedford
 Park, Chiswick, W.
 1887 Ternan, Obadiah, M.D. Enniskillen.
 1897 Thomas, W. J. Mullingar.
 1905 Thompson, Dr. Cuthbert. Anchorage, Kentucky, U.S.A.; and Longfield,
 Eglinton, Londonderry.
 1895 Thunder, Francis P. Grása Dá, Upper Drumeondra, Dublin.
 1903 Tibbs, John Harding, B.A. Ginnett's Great, Summerhill, Co. Meath.
 1901 Tighe, M. J., M.R.I.A.I. Merville, Galway.
 1896 Tivy, Henry L., J.P. Barnstead, Blackrock, Cork.
 1893 Tohill, Rev. John, Adm. Cushendall, Co. Antrim.
 1890 Toler-Aylward, Hector J. C., J.P., D.L. Shankill Castle, Whitehall, Co.
 Kilkenny.
 1889 Toner, Rev. Joseph. St. Lawrence, Atlantic-avenue, Pittsburg, U.S.A.
 1892 **TORRENS, Thomas Hughes, J.P.** Edenmore, Whiteabbey, Co. Antrim.
 1895 Townshend, Thomas Courtney, B.A. (Dubl.). 23, South Frederick-street,
 Dublin.
 1883 Traill, William A., M.A., C.E. Giant's Causeway, Bushmills.
 1891 Tresilian, Richard S. 9, Upper Sackville-street, Dublin.
 1897 Tuite, James, M.P. 14, Greville-street, Mullingar.
 1906 Tuthill, Lieut.-Colonel Phincas B., R.A.M.C. Summersdale, Chichester.
 1902 Tweedy, John. Friendly Brothers' House, 22, St. Stephen's-green, North,
 Dublin.
 1904 Twigg, Thomas S. 16, Royal-terrace, West, Kingstown.
 1901 Twigg, R. W., F.S.A. Reform Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.
- 1904 Ussher, Beverley Grant. H. M. Inspector of Schools. Meole Brace,
 Shrewsbury.
 1893 Ussher, Richard John, J.P., D.L. Cappagh House, Cappagh R.S.O., Co.
 Waterford.
- 1900 * Vandeleur, Capt. Hector, Lieutenant of Co. Clare. Cahereon, Co. Clare.
 1897 **VANSTON, George T. B., LL.D.,** Barrister-at-Law. Hildon Park, Terenure-
 road, Rathgar.
 1890 Vaughan, Joseph, J.P. Mount View, Athlone.
 1891 Venables, William J. Gortalowry House, Cookstown.
 1901 Vereker, Henry. 89, Upper Leeson-street, Dublin.
 1903 Verlin, W. J., Solicitor. Youghal.
- 1890 Waldron, Laurence A., M.P., M.R.I.A. 10, Anglesea-street, Dublin.
 1904 Walker, Richard Crampton, Solicitor. Fonthill Abbey, Rathfarnham,
 Co. Dublin.
 1892 * Walkington, Miss, M.A., LL.D. Edenvale, Strandtown, Co. Down.
 1901 Wall, Rev. Francis J. St. Mary's, Haddington-road, Dublin.
 1897 Wallace, Colonel Robert H., C.B. Downpatrick.
 1894 Walpole, Thomas, C.E., M. Inst. N.A. Windsor Lodge, Monkstown, Co.
 Dublin.
 1896 Walsh, John Edward, M.A. (Dubl.), Barrister-at-Law, J.P. Belville,
 Donnybrook.
 1890 Walsh, Rev. James H., D.D., Chancellor. 44, Upper Mount-street, Dublin.
 1903 Walsh, Richard Walter, J.P. Williamstown House, Castlebellingham, Co.
 Louth.
 1891 Walsh, Rev. Robert, D.D., Canon. St. Mary's Rectory, Donnybrook.
 1890 Walsh, Thomas Arnold, Kilmallock.
 1899 Walsh, V. J. Hussey. 81, Onslow Gardens, London, W.

- Elected
 1898 Walsh, Captain Walter H. Hussey-, Leicestershire Regt. Field Post Office, Shan-hai-Kwan, North China.
 1899 Walshe, Richard D. 20, Harrington-street, Dublin.
 1902 Ward, Edward. Ulster Bank, Dundalk.
 1896 Ward, H. Somerset. Dunibert House, Balfrou, N.B.
 1904 Ward, Joseph, J.P., Chairman, Killiney District Council. Ardmore, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
 1906 Ward, Hon. (Miss) Kathleen A. N. Castle Ward, Downpatrick.
 1896 Wardell, John, B.A. (Dub.), M.R.I.A., Professor of Modern History, Dublin University; and of Political Economy, Queen's College, Galway. 34, Trinity College, Dublin.
 1905 Warren, Miss Edyth G. 12, Fitzwilliam-square, Dublin.
 1905 Warren, Miss Mary Helen. 12, Fitzwilliam-square, Dublin.
 1903 Watters, Rev. Thomas F., B.A. St. John's, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
 1901 Weaver, Lawrence, F.S.A. 25, Victoria-street, Westminster, London, S.W.
 1884 **WEBB, Alfred.** Shelmaker, Orwell Park, Rathgar.
 1890 Webber, William Downes, J.P. Mitchelstown Castle, Co. Cork.
 1896 Webster, Henry, M. Inst. C.E., Co. Surveyor. Cliff House, Enniscorthy.
 1898 Webster, William, Solicitor. 35A, Church-street, St. Helens.
 1888 Welch, Robert. 49, Lonsdale-street, Belfast.
 1889 Weldrick, George. 40, Park-avenue, Sandymount, Co. Dublin.
 1905 Wells, Samuel W. 216, Beechcliffe, Keighley, Yorkshire.
 1901 West, Capt. Erskine Eyre, Barrister-at-Law. 32, Crosthwaite Park, East, Kingstown.
 1906 West, Miss. Kilcrouney, Bray, Co. Wicklow.
 1895 Westropp, Miss. Park House, Clonlara.
 1895 Wheeler, Francis C. P. 1, Lisgar-terrace, West Kensington, London.
 1891 Whelan, Rev. Percy Scott, M.A. Swords Rectory, Swords.
 1892 White, Very Rev. George Purcell, M.A., B.D., Dean of Cashel. Cashel.
 1887 White, Rev. Hill Wilson, D.D., LL.D., M.R.I.A. Wilson's Hospital, Multifarnham, Co. Westmeath.
 1889 White, James, L.R.C.P.S.E., J.P. Kilkenny.
 1883 White, Colonel J. Grove, J.P. Kilbyrne, Doneraile, Co. Cork.
 1899 White, John. Malvern, Terenure-road, Dublin.
 1880 White, John Newsom, M.R.I.A., J.P. Rocklands, Waterford.
 1896 **WHITE, Rev. Patrick W.**, B.A. Stonebridge Manse, Clones.
 1896 **WHITE, Richard Blair.** Ashton Park, Monkstown.
 1889 White, Robert. Scotch Rath, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.
 1889 White, W. Grove, LL.B., Crown Solicitor for Co. Kildare. 18, Elgin-road, Dublin.
 1901 Whitfield, George. Modreeny, Cloughjordan, Co. Tipperary.
 1905 Whitton, Joseph, B.A., B.E. Board of Works Office, Tralee.
 1889 Wilkinson, Arthur B. Berkeley, B.E. Drombroe, Bantry, Co. Cork.
 1902 Wilkinson, George, B.A. Ringlostown, Kilmessan, Co. Meath.
 1900 Wilkinson, W. J. Newtown Park, Trim.
 1888 Willcocks, Rev. Wm. Smyth, M.A., Canon. Dunleckney Glebe, Bagenalstown.
 1868 Williams, Edward Wilmot, J.P., D.L. Herringston, Dorchester.
 1894 Williams, Rev. Sterling de Courey, M.A. Durrrow Rectory, Tullamore.
 1874 Williams, Mrs. W. Parkside, Wimbledon Common, London, S.W.
 1899 Williamson, Rev. Charles Arthur, M.A. The Vicarage, Bobbington, Stourbridge, Staffs.
 1889 Willoughby, John, High-street, Kilkenny.
 1904 Wilson, Charles J., Barrister-at-Law. 17, Pembroke Park, Dublin.
 1903 *Wilson, George James. 8, Cope-street, and Tavistock, Ranelagh-rd., Dublin.
 1887 Wilson, James Mackay, M.A., J.P. Currygrane, Edgeworthstown.
 1872 Windisch, Professor Dr. Ernst, Hon. M.R.I.A. Universitäts Strasse, 15, Leipzig.
 1900 Wood, Herbert. 6, Clarinda-park, E., Kingstown, Co. Dublin.
 1890 Woodward, Rev. Alfred Sadleir, M.A. St. Mark's Vicarage, Ballysillan, Belfast.
 1890 Woodward, Rev. George Otway, B.A. St. John's Vicarage, Hillsborough, Co. Down.

Elected	
1887	Wright, Rev. Wm. Ball, M.A. Osbaldwick Vicarage, York.
1888	Wybrants, W. Geale, M.A., J.P. 55, Pembroke-road, Dublin.
1905	Yates, Rev. John Henry, D.D. Summerhill, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary.
1904	Yeates, Miss Ada. 39, Ormond-road, Rathmines.
1890	YOUNGE, Miss Katharine E. Upper Oldtown, Rathdowney.
1901	Zimmer, Heinrich, D. PHIL., Professor of Celtic Philology in the University of Berlin. Halensee, Berlin, Auguste Viktoriastrasse, 3.

Total number of Fellows, . . .	190	(Life and Hon. Fellows, 54.)
„ „ Members, . . .	1007	(Life Members, 41.)
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Total, 31st December, 1906,	1197	

N.B.—The Fellows and Members of the Society are requested to communicate to the Honorary Secretary, 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin, changes of address, or other corrections in the foregoing lists which may be needed.

SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS WHICH RECEIVE THE QUARTERLY
JOURNAL

OF THE

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland

FOR 1906.

- American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., U. S. A.
Antiquary (Editor of), 62, Paternoster-row, London, E.C.
Architect, The (Editor of), Imperial Buildings, Ludgate Hill, London, W.C.
Architects of Ireland: The Secretary, Royal Institute of, Dublin.
Belfast Naturalists' Field Club: The Museum, Belfast.
Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society: Rev. William Bazeley, M.A.,
Librarian, The Society's Library, Eastgate, Gloucester.
British Archaeological Association: Hon. Secretary, 32, Sackville-street, Piccadilly,
London, W.
Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society: Rev. C. H. Evelyn
White, F.S.A., Hon. Secretary, Rampton Rectory, Cambridge.
Cambridge Antiquarian Society: J. E. Foster, Secretary, 10, Trinity-street,
Cambridge.
Cambrian Archaeological Association: c/o the Rev. Canon Trevor Owen, M.A., F.S.A.,
Bodelwyddan Vicarage, Rhuddlan, R.S.O., N. Wales.
Chester and North Wales Archaeological and Historic Society: John Hewitt, Hon.
Librarian, Grosvenor Museum, Chester.
Cork Historical and Archaeological Society: Hon. Secretary, care of Messrs.
Guy & Co., 70, Patrick-street, Cork.
Folk Lore (Editor of), 270, Strand, London, W.C.
Galway Archaeological and Historical Society: The Secretaries, Queen's College,
Galway.
Glasgow Archaeological Society: W. G. Black, Secretary, 88, West Regent-street,
Glasgow.
Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire: The Secretary, Royal Institution,
Colquitt-street, Liverpool.
His Majesty's Private Library: The Librarian, Buckingham Palace, London.
Irish Builder, Editor of: R. M. Butler, Esq., Dawson Chambers, Dawson-street,
Dublin.
Kent Archaeological Society: The Hon. Secretary, Maidstone, Kent.
Kildare (County) Archaeological Society: c/o Sir Arthur Vicars, Ulster's Office,
The Castle, Dublin.

- Louth (County) Archæological Society : c/o Henry Morris, Secretary, Endan-na-Greine, Dundalk.
- National Library of Ireland. Kildare-street, Dublin.
- Numismatic Society : The Secretaries, 22, Albemarle-street, London, W.
- Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia : Hall of the Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U. S. A.
- Palestine Exploration Fund (Secretary of), 38, Conduit-street, London, W.
- Paris, Museum of St. Germain.
- Royal Institute of British Architects : The Librarian, 9, Conduit-street, Hanover-square, London, W.
- Royal Institution of Cornwall : The Hon. Secretary, Museum, Truro, Cornwall.
- Royal Irish Academy : 19, Dawson-street, Dublin.
- Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland : The Hon. Secretary, 20, Hanover-square, London, W.
- Société des Bollandistes, 14, Rue des Ursulines, Bruxelles.
- Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord : Messrs. Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta-street, Covent Garden, London.
- Society of Antiquaries of London : W. H. St. John Hope, M.A., Assistant Secretary, Burlington House, London, W.
- Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne : Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
- Society of Antiquaries of Scotland : Joseph Anderson, Esq., LL.D., National Museum of Antiquities, Queen-street, Edinburgh.
- Society of Architects, Staple Inn Buildings, South Holborn, London, W.
- Smithsonian Institution : Washington, D. C., U.S.A., c/o Wm. Wesley, 28, Essex-street, Strand, London.
- Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society : William Bidgood, Taunton Castle, Taunton.
- Stockholm, Academy of Antiquities.
- Suffolk Institute of Archæology. The Librarian, Athenæum, Bury St. Edmunds.
- Surrey Archæological Society : Hon. Secretaries, Castle Arch, Guildford.
- Sussex Archæological Society : Care of Hon. Librarian, The Castle, Lewes, Sussex.
- The Copyright Office, British Museum, London.
- The Thoresby Society, 10, Park-street, Leeds.
- The Library, Trinity College, Dublin (5 & 6 Vict. c. 45).
- The University Library, Cambridge (5 & 6 Vict. c. 45).
- The Bodleian Library, Oxford (5 & 6 Vict. c. 45).
- Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society : Honorary Secretary, Waterford.
- Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society : The Secretary, Devizes.
- Yorkshire Archæological Society : E. K. Clark, Esq., Hon. Librarian, 10, Park-street, Leeds.

GENERAL RULES

OF THE

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

(As Revised at the Annual Meeting, 1898.)

OBJECTS.

1. The Society is instituted to preserve, examine, and illustrate all Ancient Monuments and Memorials of the Arts, Manners, and Customs of the past, as connected with the Antiquities, Language, and Literature of Ireland.

CONSTITUTION.

2. The Society shall consist of FELLOWS, MEMBERS, ASSOCIATES, and HONORARY FELLOWS.

3. FELLOWS shall be elected at a General Meeting of the Society, each name having been previously submitted to and approved of by the Council, with the name of a Fellow or Member as proposer. Each Fellow shall pay an Entrance Fee of £2, and an Annual Subscription of £1, or a Life Composition of £14, which includes the Entrance Fee of £2.

4. MEMBERS shall be similarly elected, on being proposed by a Fellow or Member, and shall pay an Entrance Fee of 10s. and an Annual Subscription of 10s., or a Life Composition of £7, which shall include the Entrance Fee of 10s.

5. ASSOCIATES may be elected by the Council, on being proposed by a Fellow or Member, for any single Meeting or Excursion of the Society at a Subscription to be fixed by the Council; but they shall not vote, or be entitled to any privileges of the Society except admission to such Meeting or Excursion.

6. All Fees due on joining the Society must be paid either before or within two months from the date of Election. Fellows and Members failing to pay shall be reported at the next General Meeting after the expiration of this period.

7. Any Fellow who has paid his full Annual Subscription of £1 for ten consecutive years may become a LIFE FELLOW on payment of a sum of £8.

8. Any Member who has paid his full Annual Subscription of 10s. for ten consecutive years may become a LIFE MEMBER on payment of £5.

9. Any Member who has paid his Life Composition, on being advanced to the rank of Fellow, may compound by paying a sum of £7, which sum includes the Entrance Fee for Fellowship.

10. A Member paying an Annual Subscription of 10s., on being elected to Fellowship, shall pay an admission Fee of 30s., instead of the Entrance Fee of £2 provided for in Rule 3.

11. All Subscriptions shall be payable in advance on 1st day of January in each year, or on election. The Subscriptions of Fellows and Members elected at the last Meeting of any year may be placed to their credit for the following year. A List of all Fellows and Members whose Subscriptions are two years in arrear shall be read out at the Annual General Meeting, and published in the Quarterly Journal of the Society.

12. Fellows shall be entitled to receive the Journal, and all extra publications of the Society. Members shall be entitled to receive the Journal, and may obtain the extra publications on payment of the price fixed by the Council.

13. Fellows and Members whose Subscriptions for the year have not been paid are not entitled to the Journal; and any Fellow or Member whose Subscription for the current year remains unpaid, and who receives and *retains* the Journal, shall be held liable for the payment of the full published price of 3s. for each quarterly part.

14. Fellows and Members whose Subscriptions for the current year have been paid shall alone have the right of voting at all General Meetings of the Society. Any such Fellow present at a General Meeting can call for a vote by orders, and, in that case, no resolution can be passed unless by a majority of both the Fellows and of the Members present and voting. Honorary Fellows have not the right of voting, and are not eligible for any of the Offices mentioned in Rules 15 and 16, nor can they be elected Members of Council. In cases where a ballot is called for, no Candidate for Fellowship or Membership can be admitted unless by the votes of two-thirds of the Fellows and Members present, and voting.

OFFICE-BEARERS AND COUNCIL.

15. The Officers of the Society, who must be Fellows, shall consist of a Patron-in-Chief, Patrons, President, four Vice-Presidents for each Province, a General Secretary, and a Treasurer. All Lieutenants of Counties to be *ex-officio* Patrons on election as Fellows.

16. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting in each year. The nominations for these offices must be received at the Rooms of the Society on or before the first day of December preceding the Annual General Meeting, addressed to the General Secretary, and endorsed "Nomination of Officers." Each Nomination Paper must be signed by seven or more Fellows or Members as proposers; and in the case of a Candidate who has not held such office before, his Nomination Paper must be accompanied by an intimation under his hand that he will serve in that office if elected. In case the number of persons so nominated shall exceed the number of vacancies, a printed Balloting Paper, containing the names of all such Candidates arranged in alphabetical order, distinguishing those recommended by the Council, shall be sent by post to every Fellow and Member whose name is on the Roll of the Society, directed to the address entered on the Roll, at least one week before the day of election. Each person voting shall mark with an asterisk the name of each Candidate for whom he, or she, votes. The Voter shall then return the Balloting Paper to the General Secretary, on or before the day preceding the Election, in an addressed envelope, which will be supplied; sealed, and marked *Balloting Paper*, and signed outside with the name of the Voter: the Balloting Paper itself must not be signed. In case a Voter signs the Balloting Paper, or votes for more Candidates than

the number specified thereon, such vote shall be void. The Balloting Papers shall be scrutinized on the day of election by at least two Scrutineers appointed by the Council, who shall report the result at the General Meeting held on the evening of that day. The Treasurer shall furnish the Scrutineers with a List of the Fellows and Members whose Subscriptions have been paid up to the day preceding the Election, and who are consequently qualified to vote at such Election. Those Candidates who obtain the greatest number of votes shall be declared elected, subject to the provisions of Rule 17, provided that, when there appears an equality of votes for two or more Candidates, the Candidate whose name is longest on the books of the Society, shall be declared elected. The President shall be elected for a term of three years, and the same person shall not be elected for two consecutive periods. The four senior or longest elected Vice-Presidents, one in each province, shall retire each year by rotation, and shall not be eligible for re-election at the General Meeting at which they retire. The Council may submit to the Annual General Meeting the name of a Fellow, Hon. Fellow, or Member, who will act as Hon. President, and the Meeting may adopt the name submitted, or may elect another by a majority of votes, such Hon. President to hold office for one year, and shall not be elected for two consecutive periods.

17. The management of the business of the Society shall be entrusted to a Council of Twelve, eight of whom at least must be Fellows (exclusive of the President, Past Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Honorary General Secretary, and Treasurer, who shall be *ex-officio* Members of the Council). The Council shall meet on the last Tuesday of each month, or on such other days as they may deem necessary. Four Members of Council shall form a quorum. The three senior or longest elected Members of the Council shall retire each year by rotation, and shall not be eligible for re-election at the Annual General Meeting at which they retire. In case of a vacancy occurring for a Member of Council during the year, the Council shall at its next Meeting co-opt a Fellow or Member, to retire by rotation. A Member of Council who has failed to attend one-third of the ordinary Meetings of the Council during the year shall forfeit his seat at the next Annual General Meeting. The vacancies caused by the retirement by rotation of Members of Council shall be filled up in the manner prescribed for the election of President and Vice-Presidents in Rule 16.

18. The Council may appoint Honorary Provincial Secretaries for each Province, and Honorary Local Secretaries throughout the country, whose duties shall be defined by the Council, and they shall report to the Honorary General Secretary, at least once a year, on all Antiquarian Remains discovered in their districts, investigate Local History and Tradition, and give notice of all injury inflicted, or likely to be inflicted, on Monuments of Antiquity or Ancient Memorials of the Dead, in order that the influence of the Society may be exerted to restore or preserve them.

19. The Council may appoint Committees to take charge of particular departments of business, and shall report to the Annual General Meeting the state of the Society's Funds, and other matters which may have come before them during the preceding year. They may appoint an Hon. Curator of the Museum, and draw up such rules for its management as they may think fit. The Hon. General Secretary may, with the approval of the Council, appoint a paid Assistant Secretary; the salary to be determined by the Council.

20. The Treasurer's Accounts shall be audited by two Auditors, to be elected at the Annual General Meeting in each year, who shall present their Report at a subsequent General Meeting of the Society.

21. All property of the Society shall be vested in the Council, and shall be disposed of as they shall direct. The Museum of Antiquities cannot be disposed of without the sanction of the Society being first obtained.

22. For the purpose of carrying out the arrangements in regard to the Meetings and Excursions to be held in the respective Provinces, the Honorary Provincial Secretaries may be summoned to attend the Meetings of Council *ex-officio*. Honorary Secretaries of the County or Counties in which such Meetings are held shall be similarly summoned.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

23. The Society shall meet four times in each year on such days as the Council shall ascertain to be the most convenient, when Fellows and Members shall be elected, Papers on Historical and Archæological Subjects shall be read and discussed, and Objects of Antiquarian Interest exhibited. Excursions may be arranged where practicable.

24. The Annual General Meeting shall be held in Dublin in the month of January; one Meeting in the year shall be held in Kilkenny; the other Meetings to be held in such places as the Council may recommend. Notice of such General Meetings shall be forwarded to each Fellow and Member. Evening Meetings for reading and discussing Papers, and making exhibits, may be held at such times as shall be arranged by the Council.

PUBLICATIONS.

25. No Paper shall be read to the Society without the permission of the Council having previously been obtained. The Council shall determine the order in which Papers shall be read, and the time to be allowed for each. All Papers listed or Communications received shall be the property of the Society. The Council shall determine whether, and to what extent any Paper or Communication shall be published

26. All matter concerning existing religious and political differences shall be excluded from the Papers to be read and the discussions held at the Meetings of the Society.

27. The Proceedings and Papers read at the several Meetings, and where approved of by the Council, shall be printed in the form of a Journal, and supplied to all Fellows and Members not in arrear. If the funds of the Society permit, extra publications may be printed and supplied to all Fellows free, and to such Members as may subscribe specially for them.

GENERAL.

28. These Rules shall not be altered or amended except at an Annual General Meeting of the Society, and after notice given at the previous General Meeting. All By-laws and Regulations dealing with the General Rules formerly made are hereby repealed.

29. The enactment of any new Rule, or the alteration or repeal of any existing one, must be in the first instance submitted to the Council; the proposal to be signed by seven Fellows or Members, and forwarded to the Hon. Secretary. Such proposal being made, the Council shall lay same before a General Meeting, with its opinion thereon; and such proposal shall not be ratified unless passed by a majority of the Fellows and Members present at such General Meeting subject to the provisions of Rule 14.

ROBERT COCHRANE, I.S.O., LL.D., F.S.A., M.R.I.A.,
Honorary General Secretary.

ST. STEPHEN'S-GREEN, DUBLIN.
31st December, 1906.

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PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART I., VOL. XXXVI.

Papers.

ON THE HEADSTONE OF LUGNA, OR LUGNAED, ST. PATRICK'S
NEPHEW, IN THE ISLAND OF INCHAGOILL, IN LOUGH
CORRIB.

BY PATRICK WESTON JOYCE, LL.D., M.R.I.A., HONORARY PRESIDENT.

[Read FEBRUARY 27, 1906.]

WHEN St. Patrick came to Ireland, A.D. 432, he brought with him from Gaul, to aid him in his great work, a number of young men, all ecclesiastics, who are referred to in our ancient records by the two designations, *Galls* and *Franks*. After he had been several years on the Mission, traversing the country in all directions, and successful everywhere, he arrived at a place called *Uaran*, now Oran, in the County Roscommon. Here, according to the old Lives of the Saint, fifteen of his Gallic followers and disciples, probably grown weary of their wanderings, requested him to assign them places where they might spend their lives in prayer and contemplation, and in attending to the spiritual wants of the people round their several abodes. Their master granted the request; and they settled down and founded churches in the country lying adjacent to Lough Mask.

Among these were seven brothers, sons of Restitutus the Lombard, and of his wife Liemania, St. Patrick's sister, otherwise called Darerea,

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the youngest of whom was Lugna, or Lugnaed, the only one of the brothers that concerns us here. Of him we are told :—“ The presbyter Lugnai, *i.e.*, the fosterson of Patrick, and son of his sister, was the seventh son of the Bard [Restitutus], and located at Ferta of Tir Feic, on Lough Mask ” (Petrie, “ Round Towers,” 2nd ed. 167).

The Book of Lecan (quoted by O’Donovan in Ordnance Survey Letters, Mayo, vol. E. 19, p. 59) is more detailed :—“ Presbyter Lugna, otherwise called Lugnath, was the alumnus of St. Patrick and the son of his sister ; and he was located at a place called *Ferta Tire Fheig* on Lough Mask, where Duach Teanga Umha, . . . king of Connaught, gave him and his fellow-labourers the land extending from that part of Lough Mask called *Snabh Tire Fheig to Sail Dea*.” In the same MS. we are told that Lugna was St. Patrick’s *luamaire* or pilot.

It is not necessary for my purpose that I should bring forward any further ancient notices of Lugna. One thing is certain, that though there are some difficulties and contradictions in the old accounts of him, no doubt can be entertained that he stands out clearly as a well-recognized historical personage, all the more clear in the light of the evidence from local sources.

Let us now see how far the ancient accounts are borne out by existing monuments and traditions, and how far he is remembered in the neighbourhood. It is necessary to observe that this saint’s name in its several forms—Lugna, Lugnat, Lugnath, Lugnaed—is pronounced ‘Loona,’ as it ought to be, in accordance with the Irish phonetic law, and as it is pronounced in the neighbourhood to this day.

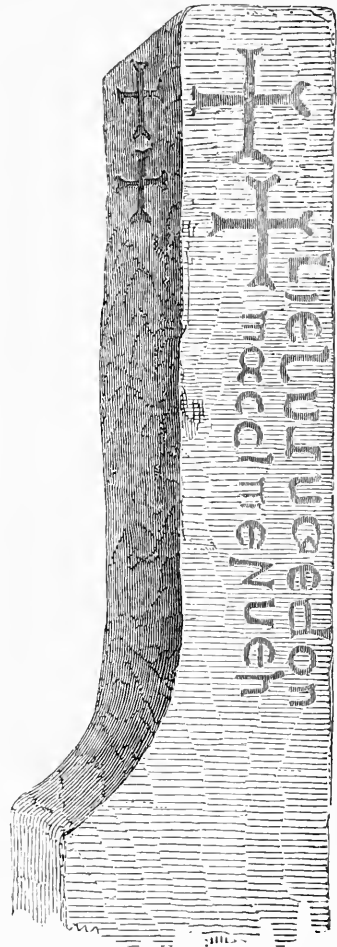
One English mile from the eastern shore of Lough Carra in Mayo, which lies beside Lough Mask, stands a little ruined church dedicated to him, and beside it a holy well, revered by the people, and known to all by the name of Toberloona, St. Lugna’s well. Church and well are in the townland of Cornfield, parish of Robeen. They are marked and named on the Ordnance 1-inch map, Sheet 85, where they can be easily found, as they lie three miles nearly due north from Ballinrobe : both are marked on the 6-inch Ordnance Sheet, Mayo 110.

North of this, at a distance of nine miles, beside a little lake called Walshpool, lies the townland of Loona, now divided into two—Loona-more and Loonabeg. It takes its name from another of St. Loona’s churches, now in ruins, in the townland and at the hamlet of Loona-more ; and beside the church is another holy well called Toberloona. Both well and church are still revered and well known among the people by their proper names ; and the church is marked, with its name, on the 6-inch Ordnance Mayo Map, Sheet 90. They are in the parish of Drum, two miles from the village of Balla, well known in our ecclesiastical history. So far, then, we are on solid ground ; for Lugna—as already remarked—stands well defined in our ecclesiastical records, and these records are borne out by ancient monuments and by ancient nomenclature, which have descended and are preserved to this day.

The two ancient establishments described above are nine miles asunder. We have now to turn thirteen miles southward to a spot more interesting than either, to which our present inquiry is mainly directed. In the northern expansion of Lough Corrib, midway between Cong in Mayo, and Oughterard in Galway, is a narrow little island, three-quarters of a mile in length, called Inchagoill; but its full Irish name, which is well known all round, and has descended from time beyond memory, is *Inis-an-Ghail-Charabhthaigh*, the 'Island of the devout *Gall*.' On this island stand the ruins of two primitive little churches, one of them called Templepatrick, which Petrie believes is coeval with St. Patrick and his disciple Lugna, though we have no statement in the authorities regarding its foundation. Beside this church is a small pillar-stone, now standing nearly three feet overground, with an inscription.

In the year 1839, Dr. O'Donovan, in the course of his travels in connexion with the Ordnance Survey, visited this island, and examined most carefully the two churches and the pillar-stone; and Mr. Wakeman took a very careful drawing of stone and inscription, which Dr. Petrie subsequently printed in his great book on the Round Towers (2nd ed., p. 165). I give here from this book a copy of Mr. Wakeman's drawing, which I have compared with photographs recently taken. O'Donovan and Petrie concur in reading the inscription—LIE LUGNAEDON MACC LMENUEH; and translate it, "The Stone of Lugnaedon, Son of Limenuch." And these two men were no novices in Irish inscriptions; they had been copying, studying, and deciphering them all their lives.

Subsequently, however, this interpretation was disputed, and a different reading has been proposed by three distinguished scholars — Dr. Whitley Stokes, Sir Samuel Ferguson, and Miss Margaret Stokes. Mr. R. A. Stewart Macalister assents (*JOURNAL R.S.A.I.*, 1898, p. 176), but



LUGNAED'S HEADSTONE.

does not appear to have examined the question for himself.¹ It is of course a formidable undertaking to question the opinions of such scholars as these. As to Miss Stokes, we know that she has been, next to Petrie, the chief illustrator of the antiquities and antiquarian literature of Ireland; and this criticism of mine must not be taken as in any sense disrespectful or depreciatory. We have, however, on the other side of the question two scholars of equal eminence in this branch of antiquarian study—O'Donovan and Petrie.

It is better, at the outset, to draw attention to one circumstance of supreme importance in this inquiry, that Sir Samuel Ferguson and Miss Stokes found their conclusions on the bare inscription—the inscription as it stands—without looking right or left for any other evidence; and if the matter were to be determined finally by the inscription alone, we should concede that they could hardly have taken any other course.

Dr. Stokes was the first to give the new reading in his edition of Cormac's "Glossary" (1868, p. 101), viz. :—

LIE LUGUAEDON MACCI MENEUH.

He simply gives this reading without a translation, merely to illustrate the oldest example of the use of *Lie*, 'a stone'; and he makes no further remark. He does not enter on the question of identifying Luguaedon, whose name he reads in the inscription.

Sir Samuel Ferguson (then Mr. Samuel Ferguson) comes next in a Paper in *Proc. R.I.A.*, 1872, p. 259. He adopts Stokes's reading, and rejects O'Donovan's and Petrie's translation. Yet his words plainly indicate that he is not confident in the matter: he evidently has misgivings in setting aside Lugnaed on the evidence of the inscription alone. He says:—

"Having regard to the Ogham taste displayed in the use of *macci*, and considering the unconformable appearance of *menueh*, taken alone, with its minuscular (small) initial *m*, it may be, after all, that this inscription has been conceived according to a method of which Ogham texts seem to furnish examples—of dividing proper names by the interjection, as it were, of other members of the legend between their component parts; so that the associations originally called up by Petrie may possibly yet reconstitute themselves around this monument, although coming together in a new combination, and owing their disclosure to lights reflected from a sphere of inquiry in which Petrie saw nothing but darkness. *Meneuh*, in any case, must be regarded as a singular proper name, standing alone."

This last sentence conveys the idea that he distrusts the reading that makes *Meneuh* a proper name.

Miss Stokes, in her "Christian Inscriptions" (1878, vol. ii., p. 10), adopts the same reading, and gives this translation:—

"THE STONE OF LUGAED SON OF MEN."

¹ Mr. Macalister hopes shortly to communicate to the Society his own views regarding the interpretation of this inscription.—ED.

Here she takes *Luguaedon* to be the genitive of *Lugaed*, and *Menuch* to be the genitive of *Men*, after which follow some highly interesting observations on the linguistic relations of several words of the inscription which need not be quoted here, as they do not bear directly on the case.

In Miss Stokes's translation it is assumed that *Luguaedon* is a genitive, of which the nominative form is *Lugaed*, for which assumption there is no reference to any authority, and no other example of such a nominative with such a genitive is given. But we have a very decided example of a genitive of *Lugaed*, showing that it is not *Luguaedon*, but *Lugaedon*. It occurs in a note in the Reichenau copy of Bede (eighth or ninth century), which is given in Stokes and Strachan's "Thesaurus" (vol. i., p. 256), viz., "Cronan filius Lugaedon," which Dr. Stokes translates "Cronan son of Lugaed." It appears, then, that *Luguaedon* is not the genitive of *Lugaed*, and that, so far as we know outside this inscription, the form *Luguaedon* is fictitious. Moreover, the name *Lugaed* does not occur at all in the inscription, but is merely inferred or evolved to answer as a supposed nominative to the genitive *Luguaedon*.

In like manner, giving *Men* as the nominative of *Menuch* is also conjecture, for which no authority is given, and for which, as I believe, no authority can be found.

Questions of this kind must be determined, not by any one testimony, but by considering the whole evidence available, and attaching to each part its due share of weight. In the present case the evidence we have to weigh consists of inscription, history, and local tradition and topography with its nomenclature. Ferguson evidently felt—as a lawyer would naturally feel—that he had not the whole of the evidence before him. that he was still, more or less, in the dark, and he had a suspicion that other important testimonies bearing on the point might be obtained by a search in the locality; for he says in the same article (p. 259):—"Besides the identity of the names [in the histories and in the inscription], there is a local historical association, which should lead us to look for traces of *Lugnad* in this district." His suspicion—the instinctive suspicion of a cautious lawyer—was well founded, inasmuch as there are still traces—and very decided traces indeed—of *Lugnad* in the district, as has been shown above.

Miss Stokes closes her observations on this stone by the remark:—"It was suggested to Dr. Petrie by O'Donovan, in a letter dated June 9, 1839, that this name might be identified with that of *Lugnaedon*, or *Lugnadan*, son of *Liemanian* (*Liamhain*), sister of *St. Patrick*; and this reading was adopted by Dr. Petrie when he published, in his 'Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland,' p. 162 (p. 165 in 2nd ed.), a drawing of the stone which was made for him by Mr. William F. Wakeman at the same period."

Here, however, are O'Donovan's very words in a letter of 25th June,

1839, to Sir Thomas Larcom (Ordnance Survey Letters: Galway, vol. D, 3, p. 53):—

“This stone is a cotemporaneous monument, and should be received as historical evidence to prove that he [the Lugnaedon commemorated on the monument] was the son of Liemanía. This inscription is the oldest Christian monument I have yet seen; and, whatever doubts there may be about the history of this saint as given in the Irish MSS., there can be none about the authenticity of this inscription.”

Ferguson speaks, towards the end of the quotation at p. 4, above, of “a sphere of inquiry in which Petrie saw nothing but darkness.” Petrie’s pronouncement on this stone (“Round Towers,” 2nd ed., pp. 164, 165) is, however, as clear and decisive as O’Donovan’s:—“I trust I shall be able to show from an ancient sepulchral inscription—the only one on the island—that this devout foreigner [commemorated in the name of the island]—was, at least, a cotemporary of the Irish apostle.” And again, on p. 168:—“I cannot help thinking that the very ancient inscription which I have copied at the Church of Templepatrick, in Inchaguile, or the island of the Gaul, will be considered by the learned and unprejudiced as a very singular and interesting evidence of the truth of these [afore-mentioned Irish] authorities.”

Inscriptions have been long recognised as an important aid in historical research. But it is notorious that they require to be carefully examined and checked, exactly like literary evidence, especially when they seriously clash with historical records. In the first place, if a doubt arises, the investigator has to make sure that the engraver may not, by some inadvertence or momentary absence of mind, have committed a blunder. We all know how liable letter-painters and engravers are to blunders of this kind down to the present day, in the words we see over shop doors, or on cars, or on tombstones; and “th’ unlettered Muse” was at least as liable to error 1,400 years ago as she is now. Although it is not necessary to give examples, I think it worth while to adduce a curious one here. We are all familiar with the notice on the side of the stairways of our trams:—WAIT UNTIL THE CAR STOPS: all in bold, well-formed capitals, evidently painted by an expert set apart for this special duty—a master-hand. But about three years ago, riding on one of these trams, I was amused to see a notice enjoining us to WAIT UNTIL THE SAR STOPS, where the capital s of SAR was well-shaped and unmistakable, exactly like the other letters. This, of course, was not the result of ignorance, but of mere momentary absence of mind: and it was soon corrected.

In the second place, the inquirer has to look closely to any of the letters that vary either in shape or in position, or that resemble other letters: and here special caution is necessary. It would be easy to multiply examples; but it is not necessary to go farther than the instances found in Miss Stokes’s book on Irish Inscriptions. It is to be remembered that the inscriptions given in facsimile by Miss Stokes were nearly all

drawn by Petrie, and edited by her with learned and valuable notes in her two splendid volumes.

She tells us that the letters *n*, *x*, *s*, are sometimes turned backwards, as we often see in inscriptions of our own day; *s* is also sometimes placed on its side, and the letter *r* is often turned upside down ("Inscriptions," vol. ii., p. 178). In Welsh inscriptions *a* is occasionally turned upside down, and this occurs at least once in Ireland, viz., in an inscription on the doorway of Killeshin Church in Queen's County ("Inscriptions," vol. ii., p. 135 bot., and note *b*). Capital *L* is turned on its side in the alphabetical inscription on a stone in Kilmalkeder Church in Kerry, as figured by Petrie in his "Round Towers" (2nd ed., p. 134), and noticed by Miss Stokes ("Inscriptions," vol. ii., p. 7).

Let us now look closely at the letters of our inscription, and see how far they bear close examination. This little headstone was erected at a period when the Irish were learning to write the words of their language in Roman letters; and the inscription plainly indicates that the engraver was no great proficient in his work. There is no question about the first five letters, but the sixth letter has an odd shape, which is found nowhere else, and, as a matter of fact, no one could tell what it is if it were detached from the context. But all take it as intended for *g*. It strikes one irresistibly that the engraver did not know how to make a *g*, but attempted it from memory as best he could. Ferguson says of it:—"What he [Petrie] has taken for a *g* . . . has been shown to be a boldly cut and complete character, resembling a reverted *z*, which if in MS. would be considered to be *s*, but which Dr. Whitley Stokes, coerced by the context, agrees with Petrie, although on different grounds, in accepting as *g*" (*Proc. R.I.A.*, 1872, p. 259).

The next letter is the one which seems to have introduced all the dissension. Were it not for this letter standing as it is, I fancy the reading of O'Donovan and Petrie would never have been questioned at all. Petrie and O'Donovan take it as *x*, the others as *u*. In regard to this, however, it is to be observed that in Irish inscriptions the forms of the letters *x* and *u* are sometimes very nearly alike, and sometimes identical. For instance, in the names *Snedgus* and *Cirini*, seen in Miss Stokes's "Inscriptions," vol. i., pl. xxvi., figs. 62 and 66, the *u* of *Snedgus* and the *x* of *Cirini* are identical in shape—same as shown in the above illustration: so that it should be no cause of surprise if these two letters were sometimes confounded. And as an illustration of the uncertainty of the shape of *x*, we see it in two different forms in one single inscription given in Miss Stokes's "Inscriptions," vol. ii., pl. vii., fig. 12. If Dr. Stokes—as Ferguson expresses it—was "coerced by the context" to agree with Petrie in regarding the apocryphal sixth letter as a *g*, though it has not the least resemblance to a *g*, so we may regard ourselves as coerced,



not only by the context, but by the whole body of the evidence, to agree here also with Petrie in regarding this next letter as *x* turned upside down, just as *a* and *t* are turned upside down elsewhere.

There is no question of any other letter till we come to the character after *MACC*: and here we find serious disagreement. Petrie and O'Donovan read it *L* and connect it with *MENUEH*; the others take it for *I* and connect it with *MACC*, to form the genitive *MACCI*. It would be impossible to decide from the mere shape whether the letter is *I* or *L*, for in Irish inscriptions these two letters are often made very like each other, or identically the same, as in the case of *x* and *v*. For instance, the last *I* of the "VII Romani" inscription ("Round Towers," p. 139) is exactly the same as *L* No. 11, in Miss Stokes's "Inscriptions," vol. ii., plate liii.

It is not unlikely that the engraver, in his first attempt, omitted altogether this letter, or perhaps the two letters *L* and *I*, and wedged one of them in, as best he could, between *c* and *m*. Everyone knows that this is quite a common occurrence in modern inscriptions of all kinds; and we find instances of it everywhere in old Irish inscriptions. For example, *I* was omitted and afterwards inserted in pl. xxiii., fig. 57, Miss Stokes's "Inscriptions," vol. i. Similarly, *a* in "Inscriptions," vol. i., pl. lxx., fig. 155; *h* in vol. i., pl. vii., fig. 19; *L* in vol. ii., pl. xlv., fig. 94; and *x* in vol. i., pl. viii., fig. 21. In this last (which is shown in the illustration), while the general inscription is in capitals, the letter subsequently inserted is a small *r*. Lastly, in the Roman alphabet of Petrie, "Round Towers," p. 134, the *I* was obviously wedged in after the whole inscription had been engraved, exactly as the *L* of our inscription was inserted after *MACC*.

As to the supposed genitive *macci*: we know that in Ogham inscriptions the forms *magi*, *maggi*, *maci*, etc., occur as a genitive of *Mag* or *Macc*, a son; but outside this Inchagoill Monument it is not found in any Roman letter inscription in all Ireland. This fact of itself should be sufficient to raise grave doubts that *macci* is the word intended here, all the more so as there is another allowable reading, by connecting the last letter with *Menueh*, which has the support of history, while the other reading has no support at all.

It may be objected that if *Macc* were intended to be a genitive it should be *Maice*, in accordance with the usual grammatical rule. But this raises no difficulty; for those old engravers often omitted the attenuating *i* of the genitive. For example, we find *MAC THAGGAN*, in Miss Stokes's "Inscriptions," vol. i., pl. xxxviii., fig. 98; and *Mael Chiaran*, in vol. i., pl. lxii., fig. 149, where the *i* that should mark the genitive (*Mac Thaggain*: *Mael Chiarain*) is omitted in both cases.

It is obvious, then, that this inscription, taken by itself, is too uncertain to found any conclusion exclusively on it. But this is exactly

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^r
 RemiD

what those who oppose O'Donovan and Petrie have done. They have taken the inscription as it stands, without doubt or question, as if it were infallible. They quite ignore the testimony of history, and they ignore what is perhaps the strongest concurring testimony of all—that of local ancient monuments, nomenclature, and tradition. Indeed, I believe they were not aware of the present existence in the locality of churches and wells dedicated to St. Lugna, and bearing his name. The only notice in any printed document of Toberloona, and of Lugna's connexion with it, that I can find, is in the Most Rev. Dr. Healy's "Life of St. Patrick," p. 239, which was published last year.

To sum up. The name Lugaed does not occur on the inscription at all; and Lugaedon is not the genitive of Lugaed, nor, so far as we know, is it the genitive of any other name.

One letter, though all are agreed that it is intended for G, is no letter at all; and the engraver seems not to have known how to make a G. The other two letters in dispute are so uncertain in their shapes as to render it impossible to found any conclusion on their testimony alone. The whole inscription, consisting of twenty-three letters, by adopting O'Donovan's and Petrie's reading of the two variable letters in dispute, falls naturally into conformity with history, local topography, and tradition, and brings us to solid ground: but by adopting the other reading, with its proposed translation, we are led to uncertainty among unfamiliar names—in fact, we are led nowhere.

We have then the following cumulative testimonies, quite independent of each other, and all pointing to the same conclusion:—

1. The History of Lugna in the old records, which state that he settled on Lough Mask.

2. The traditional name of the little island—*Inis an Ghaill Chrabh-thaigh*, the island of the devout Gaul—now shortened by English speakers to Inchagoill: rendering it certain that it was once the abode of some saintly native of Gaul.

3. The existence to this day of two churches and two holy wells in the neighbourhood of Lough Mask, and not very far off from Inchagoill: all four still called by his name.

4. The inscription, which taken by itself would be obscure and uncertain, but which, when brought into the open, face to face with the other evidences, at once (by adopting Petrie's reading) falls into rank with them to help us to a correct conclusion.

It is permissible to remark—not as an argument, but as an illustration—in connexion with the statement that Lugna was St. Patrick's *Lumaire* or pilot, that the two of his little churches known to us, with their two holy wells, are situated beside two lakes, as if he loved the presence of water. And we may well believe—though we are nowhere

told so—that he ultimately retired to Inchagoill, where he was always within sight and hearing of the waves of Lough Corrib.

On a broad view of the whole of the evidences, and especially taking into account that they are independent and cumulative, I submit that O'Donovan and Petrie were right, and that this venerable little monument was erected and engraved to commemorate Lugnaed, the son of Liemania.

AENACH CARMAN: ITS SITE.

BY GODDARD H. ORPEN.

[Read JANUARY 30, 1906.]

AENACH CARMAN, the great Pagan Festival of Leinster, which continued to be held in a modified form for at least six centuries after the introduction of Christianity—to hold which was one of the prerogatives of the kings of Leinster,¹ and was at one time considered essential to secure a prosperous reign—where was it held? It so happens that of all the great fairs or festivals of early Ireland a fuller account of this one than of any other has been preserved: an account, indeed, largely concerned with later developments and modifications due to Christianity and advancing civilisation, but still giving some indications of archaic usage, and pointing back traditionally to very primitive times. Like the great national festival at Tailtín in Meath, Aenach Carman has been compared, not altogether inaptly, to the Olympic Games of Greece.² It seems strange that the question should still have to be asked, Where was it held?

The question has, indeed, been almost universally answered, at Loch Garman, the ancient name of the town of Wexford, or rather, originally, of Wexford Haven. To mention, in the first place, our greatest topographer, whom, no doubt, the rest have followed, John O'Donovan—in his Ordnance Survey Letters,³ he writes:—"According to all the ancient Irish authorities, this town (Wexford) has been called Carman, or Loch Carman, or Loch Garman, from the earliest dawn of Irish history." And again (p. 19):—"There is every evidence that Wexford was a celebrated place from the very dawn of Irish history, for it appears from the *Dinnseanchas* and other documents that the kings of Leinster celebrated fairs and *encoenia* here every third year for the purpose of regulating the affairs of their province. It was exactly such a place with the Lagenians as Tailtinn was with the Meathians; but all traces of its primitive antiquities have been long since removed." To this identification of Loch Garman, or Wexford, with the site of *Aenach Carmain*, or the Fair of Carman, O'Donovan appears to have adhered.⁴

¹ "Book of Rights," pp. 4, 14, *cluichi Carmuin*, 'the games of Carman.'

² First by Keating: cf. Mr. Nutt, "Voyage of Bran," vol. ii., p. 185; but, perhaps, with Prof. Rhys ("Celt. Heath.," p. 519), we should rather compare the Lugnasad Festival with the Panathenæa, held at the same season of the year.

³ Preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy (Wexford volume, pages 17 and 19).

⁴ *Cluichi Carmuin* ("Book of Rights," page 15, note); the battles of Carman (FM. *annís nuaid*, 3727, 3790, 4608, and A.D. 840); *Dun Carmain* ("Three Fragments of Annals," p. 219); *Carman*, as a district ("Book of Rights," pp. 40, 203).

Of those who have followed O'Donovan in this identification, I need only mention Eugene O'Curry and Dr. Joyce. The former, when translating parts of the tract on the Fair of Carman, in the Books of Leinster and Ballymote, identifies the place with Wexford,¹ in which he was followed by his editor, W. K. O'Sullivan, who gives a more complete version of these tracts,² and by Dr. Joyce, who considers "the Faythe" just outside the town of Wexford as representing the *faithche*, or fair green, on which Aenach Carman was celebrated.³

It is only when very sure of his ground that the prudent writer will venture to differ from O'Donovan's deliberate opinion on a point of Irish topography. Nevertheless, I hope to prove in the present Paper—first, that Aenach Carman was certainly not held at, or near, Loch Garman (Wexford), nor in Ui Ceinnsealaigh at all; second, that it was held on *Cuirrech Liff*, now represented by the Curragh of Kildare; third, that Carman, in the sense of a dun or residence of the kings, was no other than the famous Aillenn, now Knockaulin.

Now, O'Donovan appears to have been led to the identification of Carman with Loch Carman, or Loch Garman, as it is usually written, solely from the similarity of the names.⁴ He records no tradition that Aenach Carman was celebrated there. He refers, indeed, to the Dindsenchas, and we shall accordingly turn to the Dindsenchas to see what light that ancient compilation throws on the question. The Dindsenchas professes to give the origin of the names of a number of remarkable places in Ireland, and more or less imperfect copies of it are found in some six or seven manuscripts, of which the oldest is the Book of Leinster. It is called on the authority of O'Donovan "a compilation of the twelfth century"; and Dr. Stokes says:—"Philological considerations prove that this is right, though some of the metrical materials may possibly be older."⁵ Worthless, in general, as a scientific dictionary of

O'Donovan was, perhaps, not the first to fall into this error. In the "Annals of Clonmacnoise" (of which the Irish original has been lost, and of which we have only an English translation by Conall Mageoghagan, made in 1627, and edited from a transcript by the Rev. Denis Murphy), under the year 838, the name which, in the Annals of Ulster and the Four Masters, appears as Carman is rendered "Loch Carman, *alias* Weixford." Perhaps this should only be regarded as a slip of the translator's pen. In any case, I hope to show that it was a mistake.

¹ "Manners and Customs," vol. ii., p. 38.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii., App. iii., p. 523.

³ "Social History of Ancient Ireland," vol. ii., p. 447, published in 1903.

⁴ I do not think the simple name 'Carman' (*i.e.* without the *loch* before it) is ever applied to the town now called by the Scandinavian name 'Wexford,' though Loch Carman is sometimes written for Loch Garman; nor do I know of any evidence that there was a town, or even a royal residence or stronghold, at Loch Garman prior to the advent of the Northmen in the ninth century, and then, of course, it was a stronghold of the foreigners, and not of the Irish. As the pirates settled down, and became traders, a town grew up, and the name 'Loch Garman,' which properly denoted the estuary, adhered to it.

⁵ We may accept this date for the compilation, and yet hold, with Mr. Nutt, that "much of the matter contained in it may go back to the earliest stage of Irish story-telling, but each special item has to be tested upon its own merits" ("Voyage of Bran," vol. ii., p. 168).

place-etymologies, it is often valuable (*inter alia*) as throwing light upon the situation of the places named, written as it was at a time when, it may be presumed, the situation of the places was well known. Now, we find the Dindsenchas of Carman and that of Loch Garman told separately, each under its own heading; and that in itself would seem to imply that they were different places. The legends, too, mentioned in connexion with the two names are totally different, though that difference should not be allowed much weight, seeing that variant versions of the origin of the same name are very frequently given; but we may note that the principal legend giving the origin of the name Loch Garman is placed in the time of Cathair Mor, who was King of Ireland according to the annalists in A.D. 122, while both the legends in connexion with the origin of Aenach Carman go back to the misty antiquity of the Tuatha Dé Danann.

I do not propose to transcribe the accounts of these places given in the Dindsenchas. They are easily accessible, both transcripts and translations, to those interested in the question.¹ I shall only quote or shortly summarise such passages from these and other headings of the Dindsenchas as seem to throw light on the situation of Carman. In the first place, then, it may be observed that under Loch Garman there is no reference to an Aenach, or games, or anything associated with Carman. It merely states, in a pseudo-historical way, that the lake burst forth when Garman Garb was drowned there by Cathair Mor in the spring of Cael-rind—for that was its first name—and that this was done because Garman, taking advantage of the drunkenness of the court at Tara during the feast of Samain (*i.e.* about the 1st of November), stole the queen's diadem. There is nothing to suggest Carman here (beyond the name); and the season of the year seems to negative any connexion with the fair, which was, as we shall see, a *lugnasad*, and held on the 1st of August. When we turn to the Dindsenchas of Carman, we find ourselves in an atmosphere of almost pure mythology. The three sons of Dibad (extinction), son of Dorcha (Darkness), son of Ainchas (Ailment), namely, Dian (Violent), Dubh (Black), and Dothur (Evil), together with their mother Carman, come to Ireland, and by their incantations blight the corn of the island. The Tuatha Dé Danann (tribes of the goddess Danu) overcome them with more potent incantations, drive the three men from Ireland, imprison the mother—who soon died of grief—and at her request, in the place of her burial, celebrate her fair. Hence Carman, and the fair of Carman.

Next follows an alternative story to account for the name, which we

¹ The Dindsenchas of Loch Garman, both the prose and the metrical version, was edited by J. O'Beirne Crowe for our *Journal* for the years 1872-3, pp. 26-49. The prose version may also be found, edited by Dr. Stokes, in the *Revue Celtique*, vol. xv., p. 428; also another version from the Bodleian Dindsenchas in "Folk-Lore," vol. iii., 1892. The Dindsenchas of Carman (prose and verse) forms the third Appendix to O'Curry's "Manners and Customs," vol. iii.; and the prose account was also edited by Dr. Stokes in the *Revue Celtique*, vol. xv., No. 18.

shall mention by and by; and then comes a sort of historical or antiquarian account of what took place at the fair:—"The Leinstermen used to hold their fair according to habitations and hearths down to the time of Cathair Mor. Cathair, however, left it to his own hearths only, and precedence in the rank of the fair with the race of (his son) Ross Failge, their dependent branches, and their exiles, as are the Laigsi and the Fothairt."¹

Does not this passage at once suggest that we should look for the site of Carman somewhere near the territory of Ui Failghe (Offaly), and not in Ui Ceinnsealigh? The passage is important from another point of view. It seems to indicate a tradition that what was at first a mere family or perhaps tribal observance was converted by some strong king into a great provincial celebration. But I cannot pursue this idea here. To continue: "There were seven horse-races there, and a week for promulgating the judgments and laws of the province for a year [*rectius*, three years]. 'Twas on the last day thereof that the Leinstermen of South Gabur² held [their horse-race]. Thence is said 'Ossory's horse-

¹ I have emended Stokes's translation as printed (*Revue Celtique*, vol. xv., p. 314), in the light of his additional note (*ibid.*, vol. xvi., p. 308), when he says, "*ilurg* here seems to mean the rank." This seems to make good sense. The precedence in rank is, perhaps, indicated later on in the passage, which says that the King of Ui Failghe sat on the left of the King of Carman. The Laigsi are the men of Læighis, or Leix ("Book of Rights," p. 214, note); and by the Fothairt are here meant the Fothairt of Cruachan Bri Ele in Ui Failghe ("Book of Rights," p. 221).

² It will be useful at many points of this inquiry, and, indeed, necessary for a right understanding of Leinster history, to have a clear idea of the division of Leinster into *Laighin tuath Gabhair* and *Laighin deas Gabhair*. The former included (speaking broadly) the southern part of County Dublin, the eastern parts of King's and Queen's Counties, the whole of Kildare, and the northern part of County Wicklow. This was the region more immediately subordinate to the Kings of Leinster for the six centuries following the introduction of Christianity. From a passage quoted by O'Donovan from LL ("Book of Rights," p. 1x), it may be inferred that *Gabhair* was a road, or track, leading from the valley of the Barrow, over the Slieve Margy hills to Magh Arget Ros, in the valley of the Nore, north of the well-known Bealach Gabhrain. There was a hill in Ui Drona (now represented by the baronies of Idrone, County Carlow), called Ceann Gabhra (*gabra*, genitive of *gabair* = 'a horse' or 'a goat'), which, if we could identify it, would probably indicate the road or track; but its exact position can only be guessed at ("Book of Rights," p. 213). My guess is, that Ceann Gabhra is to be looked for on the Slieve Margy hills, near the present boundary between the barony of Slieve Margy, in Queen's County, and that of Idrone West, in County Carlow, and that the road or track of *Gabhair* followed approximately this boundary. My reason for this is, that Ui Ceinnsealigh, and its dependent tribes, including Ui Drona, Fotharta Fea, and Ui Feidliuidh tuath (Tullow), were in *Laighin deas Gabhair*, while Ui Muireadhach and Ui Bairrche were in *Laighin tuath Gabhair*. Thus, in Cathair Mor's will (a most valuable instrument, *because* written long after his time, when the position of his descendants was well known) occurs this passage, addressed to his son, Daire Barrach:—

"O Daire, with boldness
Sit on the frontier of Tuath Laighin;
Thou shalt harass the lands of Deas Gabhair."

This Daire Barrach was the eponymous ancestor of the Ui Bairrche who settled in Slieve Margy and adjoining districts, including Glen Uissen, or Killeshin, near Carlow ("Book of Rights," pp. 194, 212).

The important point to bear in mind is that the expression '*Laighin deas*

contest.' Their king's high seat was on the right of the King of Carman :¹ the high seat of the King of Hui Failgi was on his left. Thus, too, were their wives. They entered the fair on the kalends [*i.e.* the first] of August, and left it on the sixth of the ides [*i.e.* the eighth] of August. Every third year they held it, two years being given to preparing it."²

Finally, we have a valuable tradition of the object for which the fair was held. "For holding it the Leinstermen (were promised) corn and milk, and freedom from control of any (other) province in Ireland; that they should have men, royal heroes; tender women; good cheer in every house; every fruit like a show (*i.e.* in great abundance); and nets full of fish from waters. But if it was not held, they should have decay and early grayness and young kings." (Stokes.)

From the above extracts, which might be largely amplified from the metrical version, we may perceive that Aenach Carman was an assembly of the same nature as *Aenach Tailten*, held at the place now called Teltown in Meath. The origin of the latter is expressly attributed to Lug,³ the sun-god, or god of light and life, the opponent of the Firbolg and Fomóiri, or gods of darkness and death—a god whose cult was as widespread as the Gaels. Both fairs were celebrated on the 1st of August, the Saxon Lammas-day, the Celtic Lughnasad; and the ritual in both appears to have been essentially of an agricultural nature. In our modern language we might call them festivals of first-fruits; but it is probable that they originally included a ritual sacrifice of some kind to ensure a prosperous harvest. I need not labour this point, as it has already been elucidated by our best folklorists, such as Principal Rhys and Mr. Alfred Nutt. The former sums up his remarks as follows:—"The

Gabhair' is sometimes used to denote Ui Ceinsealaigh, and sometimes to denote Ossory, and only the context can tell us which is meant. Thus, in the above passage from the *Dindsenchas*, it clearly refers to Ossory; so, in the "Book of Rights," the tribute due from Laighne deas Gabhair (p. 223) is said, in the prose version (p. 219), to be due from Ossory. On the other hand, in the *Annals*, many of the kings of Ui Ceinsealaigh are called kings of Laighin deas Gabhair, and, in one passage, the two phrases are expressly equated (FM. 920). For a different, but, I think, mistaken, view of this division, see Mr. John Hogan's Papers in our *Journal* for 1862-3, p. 252, &c., and his map (*Journal*, 1864-6, p. 191).

¹ "The King of Carman" here means the King of Leinster, as, indeed, the name appears in the "Book of Leinster" version, given in a foot-note to O'Curry, p. 530. Carman, or rather *dun Carmain*, was, as we shall see, one of the seats of the earlier Kings of Leinster.

² There can be no doubt that *Aenach Carmain*, like *Aenach Tailten*, and *Aenach Marthemne*, and other seasonal festivals, was originally held annually: cf. *Rennes Ds.*, *Nás*, No. 20, "Lugh gathered the hosts of the Gaels from Tailtiu to Fiad in Broga to bewail those women (his two wives, *Nás* and *Bóí*) on the first day of August in each year; so thence was the *nasad*, 'assembly,' of Lugh, whence *Lugh-nasad*." See, too, *Serg. Conculaind*, Ir. Texte, i. 205.

³ It is worth noting that Lug, or Lugaid mac Ethlenn, was regarded as the founder of Naas, so closely connected, as we shall see, with Carman, and hence Naas was called *Lis Logha* and *Lis Luigdech* (O'Curry's "MSS. Mat.," p. 478, note): cf. *Rennes Ds.*, No. 20, where *Nás* is expressly connected in its origin with Lug and Tailtiu and the *Lughnasad*.

Lammas fairs and meetings forming the Lugnassad in ancient Ireland marked the victorious close of the sun's contest with the powers of darkness and death, when the warmth and light of the luminary's rays, after routing the colds and blights, were fast bringing the crops to maturity. This, more mythologically expressed, was represented as the final crushing of Fomóiri and Fir Bolg, the death of their king, and the nullifying of their malignant spells, and as the triumphant return of Lug with peace and plenty to marry the maiden Erinn, and to enjoy a well-earned banquet, at which the fairy host of dead ancestors was probably not forgotten. Marriages were solemnized on the auspicious occasion; and no prince who failed to be present on the last day of the fair durst look forward to prosperity during the coming year."¹

Not to omit all notice of the alternative account of the origin of the fair given in the prose and barely alluded to in the metrical version, it may be briefly summarized as follows:—Old Garman had followed the seven cows of Eochaidh, which cows had been carried off by Lena, the son of Mesroed, and others (named). Old Garman discovered them at Rathbeg, on the south side of Dathó's dun. He killed there the people who had taken away the cows, and drove the cows to Mag Mesca (*i.e.* the plain where Bodb's daughter, Mesc, Garman's wife, had been buried). Here the four sons of Dathó overtook him and killed him; "and they made his grave there, and so he begged them to institute a fair of mourning, and that the fair and place should bear his name for ever, and hence Carman and Old Carman have their names."

The only topographical indications here are Dathó's dun and Mag Mesca. The former appears to have been somewhere in the south of County Kildare, or the north of the County Carlow. This, at any rate, was Magh Aille,² called after Dathó's hound. It would be more to the purpose if we could locate Magh Mesca, but this has not been done; and it must be remembered that, according to the story, the name was superseded by Carman. Mythologically, the story presents difficulties, as the sons of Dathó (the two dumb ones), unlike Lug and the Tuatha Dé, appear to have been gods of darkness and death, possessors of a monstrous pig and a fabulous hound of the Cerberus type.³ It may, however, be observed that both accounts of the origin of Carman, as well as the account of the origin of Tailltiu, represent the eponymous individual as having been buried there; and both places are described as royal cemeteries. Now, it must ever be borne in mind that a legend purporting to give the origin of a rite is a comparatively late way of accounting for it, and probably took form at a time when the real

¹ "Celtic Heathendom," p. 418; but the whole section (pp. 409-431) should be read: cf. Mr. Nutt's remarks ("Voyage of Bran," vol. ii., p. 184).

² "Book of Rights," p. 16*n*.

³ The story should, perhaps, be regarded mythologically, as belonging to the Cow-spoil-from-Hades type.

nature of the rite was forgotten and its significance blurred; and that it is, therefore, usually vain to attempt to ascertain the nature of the rite from the legend: but after having established the nature of the rite by the comparative method from contemporary records of its employment and actual observation of peoples who still employ it, we can often see how the story to account for it arose. Now, Mr. J. G. Frazer, in his great work, "The Golden Bough," has collected a vast amount of evidence pointing to the widespread belief amongst primitive people that the killing and burial of a human victim, or the torn shreds of a human victim, were essential to ensure good harvests and immunity from disease and accident; and that in particular, in the cult of the corn-spirit or spirit of vegetation, in addition to the sacramental eating of the first fruits, there was a sacrifice to the god of the priest-king or his consort, or of a king created *ad hoc*, regarded in each case as the god himself. It was important, too, that the victim should be a willing victim, or regarded as such. These rites and ceremonies seem to supply a clue to the curious fact that the legend of Tailtiu and the two legends of Carman ascribe in each case the origin of the fair to the request of the person about to die or be killed, that it should be celebrated at his or her grave, and be called by his or her name.¹

We could hardly expect to find many direct references to human sacrifice in Irish story. But in addition to the well-known statement about the sacrifice of "the chief scions of every clan" to Cromm Cruaich, in the Dindsenchus of Magh Slecht,² I should like to call attention to a passage quoted by Professor Kuno Meyer from an inedited middle-Irish tale, *Echt ra Airtmie Cuinn oeus Tochmarc Delbháime*, from the Book of Fermoy. On the occasion of a general dearth and famine, the druids advise "that the son of a sinless married couple should be brought to Ireland to be killed in front of Tara, and his blood mixed with the soil of Tara." Such a youth is afterwards discovered by them. "When the druids saw the youth by the side of Conn, they gave the advice that he should be killed, and his blood mixed with the blighted earth, and with the withered trees; for then their due mast and fruit, fish and produce would (again) be in them."³

But I cannot now dwell on this aspect of the Fair, as it is beside my present purpose. All I am here concerned with will be readily admitted. *Aenach Carmain* was for the King of Leinster a festival of the same nature as *Aenach Tailtén* for the King of Tara, and probably as *Aenach Cruachna* (held apparently at the same season at Rath Croghan) was for the King of Connaught. We might, therefore, expect it to be held at a

¹ So, too, *Oenach Macha* (Rennes Ds., 94): cf. Mr. Nutt's remarks *loc. cit.*

² *Revue Celtique*, vol. xvi., p. 36, and the authorities there referred to.

³ See "Ériu," vol. ii., p. 86. I should like to call the attention of members of our Society, and of all interested in scholarly work on our ancient language, to this publication recently appearing in our midst.

convenient distance from the usual residence of the King of Leinster, and in a central position. But obviously Wexford did not fulfil this last condition; and, so far as I am aware, there is no evidence (apart from the supposed identity of Carman with Wexford) to suggest that the Kings of Leinster ever had a seat in that locality, or indeed prior to the time of Diarmaid mac Mael na mBo (*i.e.* in the middle of the eleventh century) in the territory of Ui Ceinnsealaigh at all.¹ The Curragh, on the other hand, as we shall proceed to show, fulfilled both these conditions in an exceptional way.

"The most important residences of the Kings of Leinster," says Dr. Joyce, "were Ailenn, Dinnrigh, Naas, Liamhain, and Belach-Chonglais."² He also mentions Almu or Almain, now the Hill of Allen, near Newbridge, in Kildare, which was the principal residence of Finn Mac Cumail. Now, of these royal residences, *Ailenn* or *Aillinn* is a round hill, 600 feet in height, now called Knockaulin, close to the Curragh on the south-east. "The whole summit of the hill is enclosed by a huge oval embankment, enclosing an area of 37 statute acres." It was evidently a most important fortress, and many battles are recorded as having taken place at it. It is associated in many old tales with Kings of Leinster. It is often mentioned in connexion with later kings, and sometimes in a way to make us think that they actually lived there; but it is spoken of in the Calendar of Oengus as having perished in the face of Brigit's great city. It seems probable that it was occupied by the Kings of Leinster mainly in pre-Christian and early Christian times.³

¹ To this last statement I should, perhaps, except Ard-Ladhraun, where the "first man that died in Ireland" was buried in the year of the Deluge (FM.). It has been doubtfully identified with Ardamine, near Courtown, County Wexford ("Book of Rights," p. 202, *note*). It seems to have been a residence of some of the early Kings of Ui Ceinnsealaigh, and some of them were Kings of Leinster in pre-Christian times.

² "Social History of Ancient Ireland," vol. ii., p. 93, *et seq.*

³ Art Mesdelmand, son of Setna (Sithbacc?), K. L., was the first who excavated the rampart of Ailenn (Rennes Ds. 17): Siona Saeglach, K. L., killed at Ailenn (FM. 4169); Edersecl, K. L., killed there by Nuadha Necht (FM. 5089); Ailenn, daughter of Lugaid, K. L., so called from it (Tale of Baile mac Buan and Ailenn—O'Curry's "MS. Mat.," pp. 472-5: cf. Rennes Ds. 17). Cathair Mor is called *ardrig hErend a hAilind* ("Vision of Cathair Mor"—*Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1872-3, p. 45). Dairre Bairrech, son of Cathair Mor, is said to have fostered Eoghan Mor, K. M., at Ailenn (H. 3. 18, T.C.D., quoted Battle of Magh Leana, I. A. S., pp. xviii-xxii, where Eoghan is said to have lent a hand in the fortification, and thus to have got his name, Mogh Nuadhath). Enna Cennselach, K. L., is called *Enna Ailend* in a poem ascribed to Dubthach Maccu Lugair (O'Curry, p. 492). According to the *Boroma* ("Silva Gadelica," vol. ii., p. 403), Ailenn was one of the palaces burned by Tuathal Techtmar, and Bran mac Colman was there at the close of the seventh century when the Tribute was remitted (*ibid.*, p. 419). Ailenn was, perhaps, occupied by Donnchadh, son of Murchadh, K. L., when he was slain there in battle by his brother, Faelan (FM. 722); also by Cellach, son of Donnchadh, K. L.; for when he retreated before Donnchadh, son of Domhnall, K. L., the latter remained at *Rath Aillinne*, and devastated Leinster therefrom (AU. 769; FM. 766). Muirchearnach of the Leather Cloaks stopped a night at Ailenn, and took Lorcan, son of Faelan, K. L., as a hostage; but, perhaps, the place was then dismantled, as he says, "Our only houses, without distinction of rank, were our strong, leather cloaks" ("Circuit of Ireland," I. A. S., p. 37). So in the Prologue of the "Calendar of Oengus," 189, which, according to Stokes, "could not have been composed much

Dinnrigh has been identified with an important rath, now called Ballyknockan moat, on the west bank of the Barrow, below Leighlin-bridge. It is mainly associated with a story called "The Destruction of Dinn Righ," which tells how Labraidh Loingsech, the reputed founder of the great Leinster families, burned the King of Ireland while holding an assembly at night in his palace.¹ I know of no evidence to show that it was occupied in historic times by the Kings of Leinster.² Naas, in Irish, *Nás* or *Nás Laigen*, meaning "the assembly place of Leinster," was, I think, as O'Donovan says, "from a very remote period till the tenth century the chief residence of the Kings of Leinster."³ This can be easily proved from the time of St. Patrick to the death of Cearbhall, son of Muirigen, in 904. After this it was still the chief seat of the Kings or chiefs of Ui Faelain. But according to our bardic tales it had a much earlier existence as the seat of the Leinster Kings.⁴ Indeed, very significantly for our present purpose, its founder is said to have been the same Lug who founded *Aenach Tuillten*.⁵ There is a high mote in the town of Naas. *Bealach Chonglais*, now Baltinglas, or rather Rathbran, somewhere near that town, is associated, so far as I know, only with Brandubh, King of Leinster, at the close of the sixth century. As he belonged to the Ui Ceinnselaigh, it is easy to understand his not residing at Naas.⁶ *Liamhain*, or *Dun Liamhna*, has generally, but I think, mistakenly, been identified with Dunlavin. It is, I think, now represented by Newcastle Lyons, and, for some time prior to the coming of the English, was the seat of the chieftains of Ui Donnchadha. I hope to take an early opportunity of proving this, but the proof would occupy too much space here. It may have been a stronghold of the Kings of Leinster in early times; but I have met with no clear proof that it was one of their residences in historic times;⁷ and the same

before the tenth century"—"Ailenn's burgh hath perished with its warlike host; great is victorious Brigit; fair is her multitudinous city." In this passage, Ailenn is opposed to Kildare as Tara is to Armagh, and Cruachan to Clonmacnois—all to the glory of the Church.

¹ See O'Curry's "MS. Mat.," pp. 252-257. The piece has been edited by Dr. Whitley Stokes ("Zeitschrift Celt. Phil.," vol. iii.).

² Dr. Joyce indeed refers to a passage in the "Life of St. Finnchua," which apparently speaks of the Dinnrigh as being occupied by old Nuada, the sage (an unknown King of Leinster), early in the seventh century. But this seems hardly evidence.

³ FM. a° 861, note z: cf. *id.* a° 904, note o. It would, perhaps, be more accurate to say that Naas was the chief residence of the early historical Kings of Leinster, and, after the differentiation of the tribes near Moy Liffey, of the Kings of Ui Faelain.

⁴ See, for instance, O'Curry's "MS. Mat.," p. 231 (the Borumha), p. 268 (Siege of Edair).

⁵ "MS. Mat.," p. 47S, note 18; Joyce's "Names of Places," vol. i., p. 207; Rennes Ds., 20.

⁶ Even Brandubh was brought back to Fearná Mor, now Ferns, his old residence, to be buried (FM. a° 906, notes z and a).

⁷ Muircheartach of the Leather Cloaks, on his Circuit, A.D. 941, stopped for a night at Liamhain, on his way from Ath-cliaith to Ailenn, be it noted. In the account of the Battle of Ballaghmoon ("Three Fragments," p. 219), "Domhnall and Lorcan of Liamhain" are mentioned among the victors, but "Cearbhall of Dun Carman" was then K. L.

may be said of *Almhain* or the Hill of Allen, where there are no earth-works visible.

Now, of these places, Bealach Chonglais may be left out of account as only associated with Brandubh; Dinnrigh is only associated with legendary Kings of Ireland, placed by the Four Masters about 1900 and 500 years before Christ. Liamhain is used in the "Book of Rights" to represent a district in Leinster, apparently near Dublin, and adjoining the sea, in a way to suggest that it was a royal stronghold,¹ and Almhain is referred to in a somewhat similar way;² but there is no clear evidence showing that these places were residences of any particular Kings of Leinster. Naas, on the other hand, appears from time to time through all the historic period up to the tenth century to have been the principal residence of the Kings of Leinster; and it also figures as such in several bardic tales, while Aillenn appears to have been their most important stronghold from the earliest times, and to have been at least occasionally occupied by them up to the tenth century. It is, I believe, without exception, the largest fort in Ireland.

Now, these three places, Naas, Almhain, and Aillenn may be said to bound the district of Moy Liffey³ in which the Curragh is situated. Aillenn, in particular, almost adjoins the Curragh on the south-east, and from the summit overlooks it. Moreover, these three places are mentioned more than once in early Irish documents along with Carman in a way to suggest that all four were near each other, and all connected with the Kings of Leinster.

A preliminary question here arises: How can Carman be identified with Aillenn, when we find the two names mentioned together in the same passage? I think the explanation is probably as follows: Carman, as a place-name, appears to be used in three ways:—(1) to denote the place where the fair of Carman was held (*i.e.* in my view the Curragh of

¹ "Book of Rights," p. 41: cf. the prose version, p. 33; also p. 203.

² "Three Fragments," p. 223.

³ Magh Life is the plain in the County Kildare through which the river Liffey winds. The churches of Killossy (near Naas) and Old Kilcullen were in it (FM. 836, note). It was divided into *Oirthear Life*, *i.e.* the east of Liffey, and *Iarthar Life*, *i.e.* the west of Liffey. The former, O'Donovan says, was that part of the County Kildare embraced by the Liffey in its horse-shoe winding; the latter lay west of the same winding (FM. 628, *n.*). But O'Donovan's statement that both districts belonged to the *Ui Faelain* is misleading. The tribe-land of *Ui Faelain* included *Oirthear Life* with Nas as its capital, and no doubt extended west of the Liffey and north of the Curragh across the county ("Book of Rights," p. 205, note); but the expression *Iarthar Life* appears to have been also used for the tribe-land of the *Ui Muiredaigh* (FM. 851, 972). *Oirthear Life* is frequently written *Airthir Life*, and the resemblance of the names has often led to confusion, which is not, apparently, confined to modern writers. See Fel. Oeng., notes, p. clxxxii, where the same place, Cell Inzen Ailella beside Liamain is spoken of in one text as *i n-iarthar maige liphí*, and in another as *i n-airter maigi liffí*. So cf. FM. 845 with 881. As to the confusion of *Almu*, *dat*, *Almain*, often used as *nom.* (the hill of Allen), with *Ailend* or *Aillenn* (Knockaulin): see Joyce, "Soc. Hist. Irel.," ii. p. 93, note; but in spite of Dr. Joyce's statement that these names could not be confounded by any old writer, I suspect that when O'Huidhrin made *Ui Muiredaigh* extend as far north as Almhain, he ought to have said *Aillenn* ("Topog. Poems," p. 88).

Kildare). This is its general use. (2) To denote a stronghold or royal dun in the immediate neighbourhood of the place of the fair (*i.e.*, in my view, Aillenn). This use of the name is not very frequently met with—perhaps because it was superseded by the alternative name of Aillenn; but I think it will be established by some of the passages that I shall have to quote by-and-by.¹ (3) Carman is used as a poetic symbol to denote the district ruled over by the King of Leinster, whose prerogative it was to hold or preside over the fair, and to whom, of course, the fortress belonged.² Now when Carman is met with in the same passage as Aillenn, Carman means the place of the fair, and Aillenn means the fortress. We proceed to examine some of these passages.

The will of Cathair Mor, King of Leinster, and perhaps of Ireland, in the second century, contains this passage addressed to his son Fiacha, the progenitor of most of the subsequent Kings of Leinster:—

“The noble Aillinn he shall inhabit,
The famous Carman he shall obtain;
He shall rule over the venerable Almhain,
The impregnable Nas he shall strengthen.”³

Next, let us turn to one of Fiacha’s descendants, Cearbhall Mor, son of Muirigen (of the Ui Faelain), King of Leinster. He fought alongside of Flann, the King of Ireland, in the Battle of Ballaghmoon, in Magh Ailbhe, in which Cormac, son of Cuileannan, the Bishop-King of Cashel, was defeated and slain. In the verses ascribed to Dallan, son of Mor, Cearbhall’s ollamh, and quoted by the Four Masters, Cearbhall is described as “of Carman,” or, according to the fuller version in the Annals copied by Dubhaltach mac Firbisigh, “of *Dun Carmain*,” just as Flann is called “of Teamhair and of the Plain of Tailtiu.”⁴

It is further to be observed, that Cearbhall brought his captives, including Flaherty, abbot of Iniscathaigh—not to Wexford, but—to

¹ *E.g.* the Dindsenchas of Slige Dala; Temair V.; the Agallamh na Senorach; the Dindsenchas of Almu; “Three Fragments,” p. 219. This use of the name, as applied to the fortress, is, perhaps, indicated in the second version of the legend originating the names, where *sen Carmund* probably applies to the fort: cf. quatrain 4.

² “Book of Rights,” p. 211.

³ “Book of Rights,” p. 203. This so-called will was of course not a contemporary document, but must have been composed centuries after the time ascribed to Cathair Mor, “when the race of his more illustrious sons had definite territories in Leinster.”—*Ibid.*, Introduction, p. xxxv. For our purpose, it is all the more valuable on that account.

⁴ FM., A.D. 903. Three Fragments, p. 219. In the former we read:—

*Flann Teamhru don Tailtten mhaigh
Cearbhall don Carmain cin ach.*

In the latter, the last line appears as—

Is Cearbhall Dúin Carmain cithach.

So in l.l. 52b—

Cearball dúin Charmain chitaig.

Cilldara.¹ Next year this same Cearbhall was killed; and the verses of Dallan, on the occasion, contain the following:—

“Great grief that Lifé of ships
Is without Cearbhall her befitting spouse,
Sorrowful to me the hill of Almhain,
And of Aillenn, to be without soldiers;
Sorrowful to me is Carman—I conceal it not—
As the grass is growing over its roads.”²

Note the juxtaposition of these names, and observe that it is impossible to refer Carman here, or in subsequent entries, to Loch Garman, where “the foreigners” were already seated, from at least the year 888. This Cearbhall is said to have been the last King of Leinster who resided at Naas, where he was buried among his fathers.³

Indeed, thanks to Dallan, son of Mor, Cearbhall’s Ollamh, we know a good deal about this king. In one of Dallan’s poems he is called “Cearbhall of the Curragh of the fair Liffey.”⁴ In another, known as “Song of the Sword of Cerball,” occur the following most significant verses as translated by Professor Kuno Meyer:—

“At the feast (*oenuch*) of Aillenn upon a time Diarmait the hardy-born bestowed thee (the sword), Diarmait the noble king gave thee to the man of Mairge, to Muricán (Cerball’s father). Forty years stoutly thou wast in the hand of the High King of Aillenn. Thou never wast a year without battle with Muricán of mighty deeds. In the house of Carman (Prof. Meyer translates this “in Wexford”) Muricán, the King of the Foreigners, gave thee to Cerball; while he was upon the yellow earth Cerball gave thee to none.”⁵

The natural inference from this poem is, I think, that this sword was a sort of heirloom of the Kings of Ui Faelain, and that, at any rate when they were Kings of Leinster (as were Muricán and Cerball), the ceremony of presenting the sword was made at the Fair of Carman, or the Fair of Aillenn, which meant the same thing.

The last entry I need quote, under this head, is one referring to Braen, son of Maelmordha (of the Ui Faelain), King of Leinster,

¹ “Three Fragments,” p. 215.

² *Ibid.*, p. 221; FM. 904. In the last line: *agus féir dar a róttá*, the natural translation seems to be “and grass on its roads,” referring only to Carman, *i.e.* the district or site of the Fair, not the fortress.

³ FM. 904, note *o*. “Three Fragments,” p. 225, where nine kings are enumerated who were buried at Cill Corbain, near Naas.

⁴ *Cerball Currig Caem-Life*, LL. 47^a.

⁵

I n-oenuch Alend ra hed re	rattidnaie Diarmait dúrgen,
Datrat Diarmait in rí nár,	d’fír Mairge, do Muricán.
Cethracha bliadan co tend	robá il-láim ardríg Alend.
Ní raba bliadan can chath	ac Muricán mórglonnach.
Dotrat Muricán rí Gall.	i Taig Carmain do Cherbhall.
Nittuc Cerball do dunne	Céin robúi ar bith bude.

LL. 47^a 50, edited by Kuno Meyer, *Revue Celtique*, vol. xx., pp. 7-12.

who was one of a successful party in destroying Ath Cliath, in A.D. 942:—

“Braen of Carman went to the victorious battle,
The golden rock of Almhain with his host.”¹

It is hard to resist all this evidence which seems to connect Carman with Naas, the Hill of Allen, Knockaulin, the Liffey, and Kildare. But there is much more to the like effect. In the year A.D. 840, the annalists tell us: “An army was led by Feidhlimidh to Carman. An army was led by Niall to Magh Ochtair to meet him. . . .”²

Now, Feidhlimidh was King of Munster, and was presumably marching from Cashel, or at least somewhere in the south of Ireland, and Niall was King of Tara, and presumably came from Meath. Magh Ochtair, to which the latter came, is stated by O’Donovan to be a plain in the north of the County Kildare, in the barony of Ikeathy and *Uachter-shine* or Oughteranny.³ If we take Carman as Wexford, this entry is unintelligible; but if Carman meant the Curragh, the movement on the part of Niall is more nearly what we might expect.

Unfortunately, the annalists rarely supply the motives for the actions they record; and we are left to infer them as best we can. Let us look a little more closely at the career of Feidhlimidh. Abbot and bishop as he was, he seems to have vied with the Danes in plundering church property, and putting monks and clergy to the sword; but his object was probably a political one, viz., to force the clergy to aid him in the great ambition of his life. For he had pretensions to the sovereignty of Ireland, and, indeed, is reckoned as a King of Ireland by some of the Munster historians. Twice he had a “royal parley” (*rioghddál mór*) with the Ardri; the second time, in the year 838, with Niall, at Cloncurry, in Magh Ochtair. What was settled we do not know; but, in 840, Feidlimidh plundered Meath and Breagh, and “he rested” at Tara, having obtained the hostages of Connaught.⁴ This phrase, “rested at Tara,” obviously means that he claimed the sovereignty of Ireland. We can now better understand why Feidlimidh led his army next year to Carman. Very probably he celebrated the Fair—a usual way, as we shall see later on, of claiming the overlordship. At any rate, he chose the site of the great Leinster Aenach as the appropriate place to challenge all whom it might concern to contest his claim.

¹ FM. 942.

² FM. 840.

³ FM. 586; where Magh Ochtair is said to include Cluain-Conaire (now Cloncurry in the same barony). There was, however, another Cluain Conaire (Cloncurry) much nearer to the Curragh, in the barony of East Offaly; and I think that Magh Ochtair, one of the two plains that gave name to Tuath dá Muighe, included it, and that it was here the battles of Magh Ochtair were fought. But I must postpone the full proof of this, though it is important as tending to show more clearly that Carman was the Curragh.

⁴ See Introduction, “Book of Rights, pp. xv, xvi; and Introduction, “Wars G. and G.,” pp. xlv–xlvi, where the authorities for the above statements are collected. I give what appear to be the true dates.

Niall accepted the challenge, and led an army as far as Magh Ochtair to meet him. What happened we are not directly told. If we may trust a verse quoted by the Four Masters, Niall got the better of his opponent:—

“ The crozier of the devout Feidhlimidh was left in the shrubbery,
Which Niall, by force, bore away from them, by right of the battle of swords.”¹

Certainly all we hear of Feidhlimidh subsequently is that, in the year 846, he once more plundered Clonmaenoise. “Ciaran,” however, followed him to Munster, “and gave him a thrust of his crozier, so that he received an internal wound,”² of which next year he died.

This reference to Carman, indeed, led Mr. Hennessy, when editing the “Annals of Ulster,” to see the impossibility of the ordinary identification. He appends the following note:—

“*Carman—Magh-octar.* The names of two places in the present County of Kildare: the first (Carman) in the south, the second in the north of the county. O’Donovan was wrong in taking Carman to be the same as ‘Loch-Garman,’ the old name of Wexford. See his edition of the ‘Annals of the Four Masters,’ A.D. 840, note *h*. It is strange that such an acute topographer and scholar as O’D. undoubtedly was, should have considered it likely that King Feidlimidh, marching from Cashel to meet the King of Ireland somewhere in Kildare, should go round by Wexford, where the *Ui Ceinnsealaigh* would probably have given him very short shrift. But the correction of the error (which unfortunately has been repeated over and over again in works of seeming authority) would occupy more space than could be devoted to it here.” I am not aware that Mr. Hennessy ever carried the matter further, except that under the year 1032, he says, Carman was “really a place in the present County of Carlow”; and this must be my excuse for dealing with the point at such length, more especially as many able scholars, even since this note was written by Mr. Hennessy, have retained the old identification; and as I cannot accept Mr. Hennessy’s location of Carman, I need only add here that when Mr. Hennessy stated that Carman was a place in the present County of Carlow, I think he must have been following, or been followed by, Father Shearman, the only other writer of authority that, so far as I have observed, has disputed the identity of Carman with Wexford. In a note in our *Journal*,³ Father Shearman says that O’Curry wrongly identified Loch Garman with “Garman, or Carman, or Enach Carman, where the ancient games of mid-Leinster were celebrated. The exact site of this place is still involved in obscurity. It was not improbably on the south-western side [*recte* about ten miles north] of Mt. Leinster, in the parish of Ballon. . . . It was situated on the river Burren, which was called Boirren Carmann, *i.e.* the

¹ “Inserted in a modern hand in the Stowe copy.”—Note by O’D.

² C. S. 846.

³ For the years 1874–5, p. 403.

rocky place of Carman. The hill of Ballon was probably connected with the funeral rites practised at these games." He then refers to the excavations made on the hill, and described in our *Journal*.¹

Now, this place Ballon is situated in the ancient Magh Ailbhe, and, if I might hazard a guess, I should prefer to connect it with Aenach Ailbhe, where, according to the *Senchas na Relec*, "the Lagenians were wont to bury."² Father Shearman does not give his authority for placing Carman in this district; but it was, I suspect, the Dindsenchas of *Bairend Cermain*.³ This merely tells us that Bairenn, one of the daughters of Cerman Caladeend ('hard-head'), settled "along with her father in Coille Cermain and at Babluan" (*i.e.* the name of a river now called Bairenn). The river mentioned is probably the Burren, which rises in Mount Leinster, and passing within two or three miles of Ballon joins the Barrow at Carlow; but to identify Coille Cermain ('the wood of Cerman'), wherever exactly it was, with the site of Aenach Carman, seems extremely hazardous.

Having now shown that a number of considerations, drawn from historical references and from the position of the royal residences of Leinster, lead us to look for the site of Aenach Carman in or near the Curragh, I shall next adduce several passages from our legendary lore which directly point to a *dún* and a district called by the rare name Carman, in the very place where we are so led to look.

In the Dindsenchas of *Slige Dala*, as given in the Book of Leinster, and translated by Mr. Standish H. O'Grady, occurs the following passage:—

"The *brughaid cédagh Carman* was brother to Dala, after whose death he shaped to withdraw out of Ireland, and so got as far as the present Carman in Liffe (Carman Liphi), where he expired of grief for his brother."⁴ This passage proves that there was a place called Carman of the Liffey, or of Moy Liffey.

Slighe Dala was the great south-western road which led from Tara, as far as Roscrea at any rate, and probably to Nenagh. Its presence near Roscrea is attested by the passage in the *Agallamh na Senórach*, describing Patrick's journey to Ardpatrick,⁵ and the townland of Ballaghmore, in the parish of Kyle, and barony of Clandonagh, Queen's County,

¹ See the very interesting paper by the Rev. James Graves, 1852-3, pp. 295-303.

² For the situation of Magh Ailbhe, see "Book of Rights," p. 16, note. Dinn Righ was in Magh Ailbhe (*ibid.*, p. 15, note); and the pre-historic kings who lived here are probably those who were buried at Aenach Ailbhe. The cemetery at Ballon is about eight miles from the Dinn Righ.

³ Rennes Ds., 25.

⁴ "Silva Gadelica," vol. ii., p. 524. The Rennes Ds. of Slige Dala, *Revue Celtique*, vol. xv., p. 454, does not mention Carman. A *brughaid cédach*, or hundreded hospitaller, was a landholder legally bound to entertain travellers and his chief's soldiery, and to possess a hundred slaves, and a hundred of each kind of domestic animal. *Liphi* is here, as often, put for *mag liphi*.

⁵ "Silva Gadelica," vol. i., p. 109; vol. ii., p. 117.

derives its name from it.¹ It probably passed through Naas, crossed the Liffey at Athgarvan, and traversed the Curragh, as did the old coach-road from Dublin to Limerick (except that the latter crossed the Liffey at Newbridge). O'Donovan indeed thought that the townland of Ballaghmore, to the south of Stradbally in Queen's County, owed its name to the Slighe Dala; but, perhaps, this was the line of another road.² Slighe Dala is also called *Bealach mor Muighe dala*, i.e. the great road of the plain of the meeting (F.M. 1580), and this name, taken in connexion with the Book of Leinster Dindsenchas of Slige Dala, makes me suspect that it really got its title from passing over the site of the great plain of meeting of the Leinstermen, i.e., Carman. I have noticed a curious confirmation of this conjecture in a little poem from the Book of Leinster called "The Quarrel about the Loaf,"³ the only other place where I have met the name Magh Dala. In the prose account appended to that poem it is stated that the dispute arose between a servant of the King of Munster and an old woman of Leinster "at Liss na Calligi⁴ at the end (or head) of Magh Dala; for she was there in hospitallership to the King of Leinster, i.e., to Cearball, son of Murican." Now, as we have seen, this Cearball, son of Murican, was called pre-eminently "Cearbhall of Carman," and it is only natural to suspect that his hospitaller resided and exercised her functions close to the site of the great Leinster Fair. This will more clearly appear when the poem is read, and its real subject understood, viz., the pretensions of the King of Munster in the beginning of the tenth century to the overlordship of Leinster, and, indeed, of Ireland—pretensions which were finally foiled at the battle of Ballaghmoon, A.D. 908.

A little below Kileullen, on the direct road between Naas and the Curragh, is a bridge, formerly a ford, called Athgarvan, and on the eastern bank, on the rising ground, is a large rath with double foss and rampart, evidently guarding the ford. The Curragh as at present defined does not quite touch the Liffey—the townland of Athgarvan and Blackrath intervenes; but O'Donovan considered that it formerly extended to the river, for it is somewhere described as *ar bru Life*, on the brink of the Liffey. Now, this name Athgarvan, which of course might be compounded of a man's name—Garbán or Garbhán—may possibly, I think, represent *Ath-Carmain* or *Ath-Garmain*; for, in the lapse of centuries, and in the absence of a familiar literature to preserve the spelling, the name would, I think, be inevitably pronounced in such

¹ F.M. 1580, p. 1749, note *e*. This point of the road marked the boundary between Thomond and Eile. "Ériu," vol. ii., p. 51.

² F.M. 156, and Addenda, p. 1190; but see Father Shearman's note to our *Journal*, 1876-1878, p. 196.

³ Edited and translated from LL. 46^a in "Ériu," vol. i., p. 128.

⁴ One of the townlands in the vicinity of the Curragh on the west side is called Knoeknagalliagh (Cnoc na gCailleach), or Whitesland. A portion of a similar poem by *in Carleach Lagen* is quoted in Tigernach, *Revue Celtique*, vol. xvii., p. 166.

a way as to become written *Athgarbhain* or Athgarvan. I do not lay much stress on this etymology, which, in itself, is of course very doubtful; but if my identification of the Curragh with the site of the Fair be established, I would advance it as a plausible guess. At any rate, the topographical point should be noted, that there was an important ford across the Liffey, in a direct line between Naas and the Curragh. The road here is mentioned in an early thirteenth-century charter: *magna via que tendit ab ampne de Anneliffi ad Korrah nomine Adgaruan* (Reg. St. Thomas, Dublin, RS., p. 334). It was, I think, the Slighe Dala, and its course may still be traced across the Curragh, in the direction of Kildare.

There are other passages referring to a *dún* or place called Carman, apparently in Magh Lifi. In the Dindsenchas of Temair, No. V, among a long list of names of the *Dindghai hErend*, or remarkable places of Ireland, occurs this quatrain (among sixteen others):—

“Nas, Carman, Cualu, Celbe,
Raigniu, Rafann, and Rairenn,
Dun Inteing, Dun Clair, Dun Crea,
Dun Brea, and Dun Cairenn.”¹

Now, it can hardly be an accident that, of these twelve names, nine (not including Nas) are mentioned in the Dindsenchas of Slighe Dala, already referred to. We may therefore fairly conclude that the Carman here mentioned is identical with “Carmun Liphi,” and that it was a stronghold like the rest.

A more striking passage still is to be found in the Agallamh na Senórach, when, in giving the Dindsenchas of *Alma Laigen*—the hill of Allen in the plain of Leinster—the following verses occur (Mr. O’Grady’s translation):—

“Daughters five had lofty Iuchna:
That warrior skilled and cheery, yet vehement [at need];
From whom it was that all the countries which they occupied
Extended far and wide [in course of time].
Carmann in Carmann’s rough land,
With whom for a season bards abode;
Trega’s wife in his potent house . . .
Liffey’s plain of golden hue
Was that deft, fair, and tall young woman’s share
(As I opine this is no perverted lore),
And the fifth daughter was Almha that was seated here.”²

¹ Metrical Dindsenchas, “Todd Lecture Series,” vol. vii., ed. Edward Gwynn. The editor, while noticing the resemblance of the names to those in the Ds. of Slighe Dala, was misled by the supposed identity of Carman with Wexford, and supposes *Carmun Liphi* to be a different place from the Carman in his text. *Cualu* included Dublin (called Ath Cliath Cualann, Rennes Ds. 58). *Celbe*, probably near Naas (Rennes Ds. 21). *Rairenn* = Reerin, near Athy. *Dun Crea* = Roscrea (Rennes Ds. 58). *Dun Clair* = *dun Glaire*, in Ely (LL. Ds. of Slighe Dala). *Dun Cairenn* = Dunkerron, near Roscrea. All these places were, perhaps, not far from the line of Slighe Dala.

² “Silva Gadelica,” vol. i., p. 121. Cf. Rennes Ds., No. 16, *Adarva Hua Failgi*,

It is to be observed that only two daughters are mentioned here, Carmann and Alma, and that the plain of the Liffey (*Mag Life*) was left to the former. It is obvious from this that Carman, the district, was in Moy Liffey. But, further, "Carmann in Carmann's rough land" (*Car-mann i Carmann nach min*) seems to mean Carman (the *dùn*) in Carman's (the district's) rough land; and this expression seems to fit very aptly with Aillenn, which is situated in rough, hilly land, forming a strong contrast to the remarkably smooth sod which covers the gentle undulations of the Curragh. Then the phrase "with whom for a season bards abode" (*gá mbitis báird sel combríg*) seems to be a direct allusion to the Fair.

The second version of the origin of Carman mentioned above ends with the words, "hence Carman and Old Carmund (*Sen Carmund*) have their names." Now, the Dindsenchas of *Típra Sengarman*¹ tells us that Sengarman of Sliab Mis was Cuirrech Lif's wife. She was killed by Find, and her body left in the well in Luachair. If we turn to the Dindsenchas of *Cenn Cuirrig*, we find that *Cuirrech Lif*,² who is treated as a man, had a daughter Cochrann, the mother of Diarmait hua Duibni; and that a regular vendetta was established between Finn and Cuirrech. Finally, Finn tracks Cuirrech (in the direction of the Curragh), "until he saw before him Cuirrech's shadow; and throughout the shadow he hurled a spear, chanting a spell over its head, and strikes it into Cuirrech, who fell thereby." It is tempting to treat all this mythologically, and connect it with the Lugnasad; but I am satisfied to point out that in these stories, which evidently reach back to the mists of Pagan antiquity, we have a connexion between the Curragh and the name Sengarman, which can hardly be fortuitous.

It will, I trust, be observed that I have not supposed these stories in the Dindsenchas to be historical, or even to have been based on history. The topographical facts which I have inferred from them are simply such as I conceive must have been known to the story-teller and his audience as facts, to render the stories intelligible and satisfactory to their minds.

There is another and an entirely different, but I think a very cogent, piece of evidence which may be extracted from the Rennes Dindsenchas, or rather from its arrangement. I do not think Dr. Stokes has anywhere

where Iuchna appears as "Iuchna Echbel (Horsemouth), who was also called Iuchna the Hairy, a royal hospitaller who dwelt on the north-east of Fafaind on *Fán in Briugad* (the Hospitaller's slope), that is *Machad Brigte*," evidently the Curragh. Iuchna Echbel = Echaid Ehbél (Cormac's "Glossary," p. 72) = Mider of Alban (of the Cuchulainn-Curoi cow-spoil-from-Hades story, treated by Professor Rhys, "Celtic Heathen," p. 477) and perhaps the Echaid Belbuidé of the Sen-Garman legend given above. With *Fán in Briugad* cf. *Fán na fuine* ('the slope of the cooking') in the metrical Carman (76). This seems to connect Iuchna with the Curragh, and also with the Sen-Garman story.

¹ *Revue Celtique*, vol. xv., p. 446: cf. O'Curry, p. 306, where he says that Tipra Sengarman is in the south-east of County Kerry.

² *Ibid.*, p. 442.

mentioned, what he can hardly have failed to observe, that the entries are not placed at random, but that the compiler has gone pretty regularly round Ireland.¹ It is hardly necessary to remark that this arrangement, if, in fact, adopted, is a very important one to keep in mind when searching for the chief places named.² I can only give this point a brief examination here. In the first place, the compiler takes the five kingdoms of Ireland separately in the following order:—In §§ 1–7 he treats of Tara (first of all, on account of its pre-eminence), and a few places near Tara, and the general name *Mide*, or the ancient kingdom of Meath. Then, in §§ 8–40, he treats of places in *Laigin*; in §§ 40–58, of places in *Mumain*; in §§ 59–88, of places in *Connacht*, including *Breifne*; and, finally, §§ 89–129, of places in *Ulud*, and the rest of *Mide*. There may be some exceptions, but I think they are fewer than the recognised identifications would lead one to suppose.³ Secondly, in going through the provincial kingdoms, the compiler seems to observe a regular progression. At least in the case of *Laigin*, which alone concerns us here, he advances in the main regularly from north to south, with occasional returns to the long northern frontier, taking it from west to east. Thus, to run over the thirty-two headings, so far as ascertainable in their modern forms, § 8 has not been identified, but was, I think, in the north-west corner of Leinster; § 9 is Leinster; then continuing with the north-west region, § 10, Slieve Bloom; § 11, Figile, in King's County, on the borders of Kildare; § 12, Moy Liffey; § 13, the Barrow, which rises near Slieve Bloom, and is joined by the Figile at Monasterevin; § 14 refers to a place unidentified, but probably near the Figile river; § 15, "Fafaind," probably near the Curragh; § 16, a place in Offaly, and the Hill of Allen; § 17, "Aillend" (Knockaulin); § 18, "Carman" (note this position). Next he goes to the north frontier, again to § 19, the source of the Boyne; § 20, Naas; § 21, "Ceilbe," somewhere near Naas (cf. the line in Temair V., *Nas Carman Cualu Celbe*); § 22, Dunlavin(?); §§ 23–25, not identified with certainty, but probably in the south of Kildare, or north of Carlow. Then he fills up the north-east corner with §§ 26 and 28, Dublin; § 27, probably Forenaughts, east of Naas;

¹ The same, I believe, holds good of the versions in the Book of Ballymote, the Book of Lecan, and H. 3. 3, which all belong to the same recension. In the Book of Leinster, the prose versions and the poems are scattered about; and the order is not so apparent. "Many leaves in the facsimile are misplaced." In the Bodleian and Edinburgh versions, which belong to the same recension as the Book of Leinster, the order is not well preserved.

² For example, it indicates that *Cenn Cuirrig* (49) is to be sought for, not near the Curragh of Kildare, as Stokes thought, but somewhere between Kilmallock and Castleisland (see Nos. 48 and 50), the name, very possibly, surviving in the place now called Barnacurra, in the parish of Clonfert, barony of Duhallow. Somewhere not far off was *Tipra Sengarman* (52), which must have been at the source of one of the streams which feed the river Feale, not in the south-east of the County Kerry, as stated by O'Curry.

³ *E.g.*, Srub Brain (54) is probably the place of that name in the west of Kerry, not the one in the north of Ulster.

§§ 29 and 30, Howth. Then he continues southward again to § 31, uncertain, but supposed by O'Donovan to be Camross, in County Carlow; § 32, Mullaghmast; § 33, Reerin, south of Mullaghmast; § 34, Ballaghmoon; § 35, Baltinglass; § 36, Aghade, in barony of Forth, County Carlow; § 37, Ballagh Gowran, the pass into Kilkenny, south of Slieve Margy; § 38, Slieve Margy; then, finally, two places in County Wexford; § 39, "Ardlemnachta"; and § 40, "Loch Garman."

Thus the names are clearly not taken at random, but one suggests another through contiguity—the breaks being, in general, due to the necessity of going back to the north to fill in the more numerous *dingnai*, or noteworthy steads, there. Hence the position of Carman, immediately after Aillend, and surrounded by places in Moy Liffey, fits in with our view in a way which can hardly be fortuitous; while Loch Garman, in accordance with the southern progress, is the last place mentioned.

There is another ancient tale which, I think, is essentially based on the immediate connexion of Aillenn with the great Leinster acnach: I mean the famous story of Baile Mac Buain. It has been edited and translated by O'Curry.¹ It is well known; and I need only give a bald outline, suited to my purpose, here. Baile of the royal house of Ulad, and Aillenn of the royal house of Laigen, loved one another, and had arranged a tryst at Ros na rig (on the Boyne). Baile got as far as *Tráigh mBaile* (about Dundalk), when a spectral personage met him and told him that Aillenn was dead, as it was foretold that she and Baile would not meet until after death, when they would part no more. When Baile heard this, he fell dead, "and his tomb (*fert*) was raised, and his rath, and his tombstone (*lia*) was set up, and his fair of lamentation (*aenach gubha*) was held by the Ultonians"; and a yew-tree grew up through his grave, and the form of Baile's head on the top of it. Then the spectre goes south to Aillenn's *grianan* (Knockaulin), and tells her that Baile is dead, &c., whereupon Aillenn falls dead, and her tomb is raised, &c. [by the Leinstermen, as before by the men of Ulster in the case of Baile], and an apple-tree grew through her grave, and the shape of Aillenn's head on the top of it. The story goes on to tell how the Ulster poets made a tablet out of Baile's yew-tree, and wrote the love stories of Ulster on it, and how the Leinster poets did likewise with Aillenn's apple-tree, and how long afterwards at a Feis Tembrach these tablets chanced to be placed face to face, and ever after became inseparable.

Now *Tráigh mBaile* or *Tráigh Bhaile* is the lowland near Dundalk

¹ "MS. Mat.," pp. 472-5.

² Dundalk is called, by the FM., *dúnadh Trágha baile*, a° 1430, and the district *Tráigh bhaile dáine dealgan*, a° 1483, 1492, and *Tráigh bhaile mhic bhuaín*, pp. 1550, 1922. The name survives as *baile na Trágha* = Seatown, portion of Dundalk (Dinneen's Dict.). *Dún Delea* or *Dundealgan*, the prehistoric fortress associated with Cuchulainn, is about a mile west of Dundalk. See the sketch in Joyce's "Social History of Ancient Ireland," vol. i., p. 84.

Harbour. It was the extreme north of the plain of Murthemne, and was, I see no reason to doubt, the exact spot on that plain where the men of Uladh held their great aenach at Sambain.¹ Similarly, I think it follows from this tale that the great aenach of the men of Leinster was held at Aillenn.

This tale of Baile and Aillenn is alluded to in a poem in the Book of Leinster, from which I quote the following verse :—

“The apple-tree of high Aillenn,
The yew of Baile of little land,
Though they are put into poems,
Ignorant people do not understand them.”²

Now, I am inclined to think that this story has a deep and recondite significance, which, in the face of this quatrain, it would be presumptuous in me to attempt to fathom ; but so much of the story as appears to lie almost on the surface, and is, I think, assumed by the story-teller to be well known, I venture to think I understand, viz., that *aenach Murthemni* was held at Tráigh Bhaile, and *aenach Carman* at Aillenn.

There are one or two other allusions to Carman in the Annals which ought to be examined to see if they support or contradict the identification here advanced. In the year of the world 4608 the Four Masters record that “Laeghaire Lore, son of Ugainé, after having been two years in the sovereignty of Ireland, was killed by Cobhthach Cael Breagh at Carman.” Now, it appears that on the division of Ireland among the twenty-two sons and three daughters of Ugainé Mor, Laeghaire Lore was given as his share “the lands about the River Liffey in Leinster.”³ Laeghaire Lore was regarded as ancestor of the Kings of Leinster.

There were two other prehistoric battles of Carman recorded in the years of the world 3727 and 3790, as to which I note they were both struggles for the sovereignty of Ireland, and that the Curragh has been a battlefield between the rival Kings of Leinster more than once in historic times.⁴

Then in A.D. 1033 we find the entry: “The fair of Carman was

¹ See *Serglige Conculaind*, “Irish Texte,” vol. i., p. 205. The *loch* mentioned in that tale must be Dundalk Harbour. In the “Book of Rights,” the games of Cuailnge are said to be the prerogative of the Kings of Uladh ; but I think this refers to the same aenach. Cuailnge adjoined Magh Murthemni, on the north.—FM. a^o 2859, note ; “Book of Rights,” p. 21, note, p. 166, note.

² O’Curry, “Ms. Mat.,” pp. 476–9. The tale of Baile and Aillenn is utilised by the writer of *Ds. of Aillenn* to explain the name, and the above quatrain is quoted by him ; but from his treatment of the tale, I suspect he was a *duine borb*. See *Revue Celtique*, vol. xv., p. 310.

³ See O’Donovan’s note *z* to a^o mundi 4567, and authorities there quoted.

⁴ FM. 777, 840, 1234 ; also, the battles already mentioned at Aillenn ; while the battlefields of Fennoir, Magh Ochtair, Almhain, and Ath Seanaithe were not far off. The list of battles fought on the sites of the great aenachs of Ireland, between rival claimants to the sovereignty of the district, would be a very long one. It seems certain that these sites were frequently chosen as specially appropriate to contests of this nature.

celebrated by Donnchadh Mae Gillaphadraig after he had assumed the kingdom of Leinster, having the chiefs of the laity and clergy of Leinster and Osraighe." The expression "assumed the kingship" implies that he had no hereditary claim. He is the only Ossorian ever described as King of Leinster; and it is important to notice that he evidently celebrated the Fair of Carman as a mark of his sovereignty, just as Niall Glundubh, Turlough O'Connor, and Rory O'Connor, shortly after their respective inaugurations as Kings of Ireland, celebrated the Fair of Taitiu.¹ O'Curry believed that the poem on the Fair contained in the Book of Leinster was contemporary with this the last celebration of the Fair; and it seems to me probable that he was substantially right. He was wrong, however, in calling it the last celebration of the Fair. He overlooked the following entry in the Four Masters under the year 1079:—"The Fair of Carman was celebrated by Conchobhar Ua Conchobhair Failghe."² Now this O'Connor Faly is mentioned in the list of Leinster kings contained in the Book of Leinster as joint king with Donchad mae Murchada (Dermot Mac Murrough's father) for two years prior to the year 1115, when they were both slain by Donnell O'Brien and the foreigners of Dublin. But long before this he evidently aspired to the kingship of Leinster,³ and was, we must suppose, recognised as king by the North Leinstermen. He is, however, the only member of his tribe anywhere recorded as King of Leinster. Still, for reasons which I hope hereafter to give, I think the poem on Carman was composed before this holding of the fair.

To this poem we must now turn our attention.

The poem, as edited, contains 79 quatrains, and is extremely interesting from beginning to end. I propose, however, at present to notice such passages only as seem to bear on the question of the site of the Fair:—

"Carman the field of a splendid fair,
With a widespread, unobstructed green;
The hosts who came to celebrate it
On it they contested their noble races."⁴

There are other allusions in the metrical Carman to races, especially to "the steel contest of the men of Ossory" (70) on the last day of the fair.

¹ FM. 915, 1120, 1168.

² This entry, not being referred to in the Index, has escaped notice. O'Donovan, after repeating the mistaken identification of Carman with Wexford, rightly observes, "Conor O'Conor Faly, by celebrating this fair, claimed the highest authority in Leinster."

³ Here is his record as gleaned from the FM. In 1070 he blinded his brother Muirehear'ach, lord of Ui Failghe; in 1071 he slew another lord of Ui Failghe; in 1079 he celebrated Carman; in 1089 he slew Donnchadh, son of Domhnall Reamhar, lord of Leinster (or of Ui Ceinnscaleigh); and in 1094 he was taken prisoner by Muireheartach Ua Brian, K. M.; and in 1115 he was slain.

⁴ It is printed (Irish and English translation) as an Appendix to O'Curry's "Manners and Customs," vol. iii. The editor, W. K. Sullivan, has taken quatrains

In this connexion I cannot refrain from quoting a passage from one of O'Donovan's Ordnance Survey Letters written at the Curragh. "Notwithstanding," he says, "the total silence of our annals about this plain previously to the period of St. Bridget, I am still of opinion that it was the theatre of the Olympic sports of the Kings of Leinster who resided at Aillinn, as Tailltinn was with the Kings of Tara; and its situation almost at the very foot of the hill of Aillinn is no very weak presumptive proof of the truth of this opinion." He then quotes the two meanings given in Cormac's "Glossary" to *cuirrech*: (1) 'a marsh' (2) 'a *curribus*'; and remarks that, when Cormac derived *cuirrech* from *curribus*, he must have had the Curragh of Kildare in his mind (for all other Curraghs known to O'Donovan are marshes). He must, therefore, have known that chariot-races were celebrated at this place. "By whom, then," he asks, "were the chariot-races established on the Curragh? Perhaps this question will never be satisfactorily answered; but if I were to venture upon a conjecture founded upon the strongest probability, I would assert that the races or fights from which this place received its name were of a similar character with the sports at Tailltinn in Meath, and established by Art Mesdelmond, the founder of Dun Aillinn, or some of his pagan successors. But I hope that other evidences will yet be discovered which will place this opinion on a firmer basis."¹

If I may say so with all reverence and humility, I trust that the shade of the great O'Donovan may see in this effort of mine the fulfilment of his hope. His keen instinct in the matter of topography assured him of the true character of the place; but, blinded by his preconceived identification of Carman with Loch Garman, he failed to look for the evidences in the right direction.

That races, and even chariot-races, were held on the Curragh appears from a passage in our ancient literature referred to by Mr. Hennessy in his paper on the Curragh.² In the *Toghail Bruidhne Da Derga*, Conary Mór, K. I., is represented as going with four chariots to the *cluichi* or games of *Cuirreach Life*. It is true that Mr. Hennessy supposed this to refer to another fair, Aenach Colman, stated by O'Donovan to have been held on the Curragh. Now, though it is not impossible for two fairs to be held even annually at the same place, provided they are held at different seasons of the year, yet as difficulties occurred to me in this location of Aenach Colman on the Curragh, and as it may seem to throw doubt on the claims here put forward on behalf of Carman, I felt it

1-20 from the "Book of Ballymote (LL. being here almost illegible), and the remainder from a transcript of the Book of Leinster made by O'Curry. Such portions of this as are to be found in the "Book of Ballymote" are indicated. It seems to me that, contrary to what one might expect, the Book of Ballymote version represents an older recension than that in the Book of Leinster. It seems more free from Christian influences and late allusions. The poem sadly requires re-editing and annotating.

¹ Ordnance Survey Letters, Kildare, Library, R.I.A.

² *Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. ix., p. 343.

advisable to examine this identification; and I have, as a result, come to the conclusion that it is incorrect. In the first place, the only authority O'Donovan refers to is "the Munster Book as preserved in the Book of Lecan," which states that Fiacha Fídh-gheinte (wood-maker) received his cognomen, "*quia fecit equum ligneum in Circinio Colmain in Campo Liphi.*"¹ But there are grave difficulties in accepting this location. Aenach Colman appears to have been originally a Munster Assembly;² and, if so, it is impossible to suppose that it can have been held in the heart of the district associated with the palaces of the Leinster kings. In the first place, the *Senchas na Relec*, or History of the Cemeteries, after enumerating "the chief cemeteries of Eriu before the Faith," expressly records the tradition that "the Lagenians (*i.e.* the Cathair with his race and the kings who were before them) were buried at *Aenach Ailbhe*," and that "the men of Munster (*i.e.* the Dergthene) at *Aenach Culi* and *Aenach Colmain*."³ That the men of Munster should have been buried on the Curragh is unthinkable. Then the allusions in the Annals to Aenach Colman are, so far as I know, only two. Under the year 826 the "Annals of Ulster" record "the destruction of Aenach Colman by Muredach against Leinster *Desgabair*, in which many were

¹ FM., "Pedigree of O'Donovan," p. 2434. The passage referred to by O'Donovan must be Book of Lecan, fol. 208^a. It shows some curious corruptions. However, the Latin portion he quotes is substantially correct, except that we should read *circo* for *circ[*in*]*. The passage also occurs in the genealogy of the Uí Fídhgheinte in LL. 321, 8, and BB. 177, 5. The Book of Leinster version, which is the oldest and most correct, is as follows:—*Fiachrach fídhgenid . . . de char luinge ina ngiall fídhgenid nominatus est et qui fecit equum ligneum in circo Colmáin illifú agitari*. This is translated by Mr. S. H. O'Grady—"From the planting of long na ngiall [the house of the hostages] 'twas that he (Fiachra) was styled *fídhgenidh*, and he it was that made a wooden horse to caper in Colman's 'circus' in Life." "*Silva Gadelica*," vol. ii., pp. 474 and 520. At present I can only say that I think the writer (perhaps a twelfth-century writer), if, as is probable, he intended to allude to *Aenach Colmain*, forgot where it was held, or confused it with Aenach Carman.

² Even the reference cited by O'Donovan purports to give the origin of the name of a Munster clann.

³ See Petrie's "Round Towers," p. 101, and cf. p. 106, where the original from LU. is given. I do not think that Aenach Culi has ever been identified, but it can be shown to have been Aenach Beg, on or near which Monasteranenagh was founded in the twelfth century. In the passage in the *Agallamh na Senórach* ("*Silva Gadelica*," vol. i., p. 109), describing Patrick's journey into Munster, he is made to pass *Aenach Cuile mnd Nechtain*, "now called the heifer-carrying fair-green (aenach) of Old Clochar." This was after passing the Corroges of *Cnamchoíill* (or Cleghile, near Tipperary), and *Cuillem Ua Cuanaich* (now in the barony of Clanwilliam, Tipperary, "*Book of Rights*," p. 92, note *v*), and before reaching his destination at Ardpatrick, near the Ballyhoura hills. The races of Aenach Clochar are mentioned in a poem in the *Book of Leinster* ascribed to Oisín (O'Curry, "*MS. Mat.*" p. 305), and Aenach Clochar has been identified with Monasteranenagh (*Man. and Cus.*, vol. iii., p. 15). To complete the demonstration, see John's Charter to the monastery (C. D. 1, No. 136), where *Enachchuli* is among the parcels, and cf. No. 2138.

Aenach Culi, or *aenach Clochair*, or *aenach beag*, or Monasteranenagh, was not very far from Lough Gur, a seat of the Munster kings, where there is ample evidence of a prehistoric burial-ground. Like the sites of the other great aenachs, this site was, even up to modern times, a great battlefield (see Mr. Westropp's Paper in our *Journal* for 1859, p. 232). Yet another name for it was *aenach Cuivpre* ("*Book of Rights*," p. 91, note *e*), where it is mentioned as a seat of the Kings of Munster, probably Rathmore on "the Green" to the east of the Abbey.

slain."¹ Now, this Muredach was King of Leinster, and died the next year, and *for Laignib Desgabair* probably means here, as often, against the men of Ossory, at one time subject to Munster, and regarded as part of Ormond.

These facts seem to render this entry intelligible. The other allusion in the "Annals" is under the year 940, when it is stated "Faelan, son of Muireadhach, K. L., died of a fall at Aenach Colman," but, of course, there was nothing to prevent any king taking part in a friendly way at any of these contests.

Mr. Hennessy, indeed, in the paper referred to, states that in the old list of Irish Triads contained in a stave of the Book of Lecan (now inserted in H. 2. 17, T.C.D.) the three great Aenachs of Ireland are stated to have been Aenach Croghan in Connaught, Aenach Tailten in Meath, and Aenach Colman, or the fair of the Curragh. This statement, though not in form a quotation, led me to think that, perhaps, this was a further authority for the location of Aenach Colman on the Curragh. So I asked a friend, Mr. J. G. O'Keeffe, to look up the reference for me (as I was then far from libraries). This he kindly did for me; and it appears that the stave of the Book of Lecan (H. 2. 17, fo. 183) gives only the names of the three aenachs as *aenach Tailten*, *aenach Cruachan*, and *aenach Colmáin*, without mentioning the localities, and so they are given in the Book of Ballymote version of the Triads; but in the Yellow Book of Lecan the last name appears as *aenac Colmáin Ela*.² Hence it is evident that Mr. Hennessy did not mean to imply that he had any further evidence of the supposed situation of Aenach Colman, which, so far, rests entirely on the passage quoted by O'Donovan. But much more significant was the finding this little word *ela*, hitherto unnoticed, attached to the name Colman. This supplies the proof of what I had long suspected, that the name Colman in *Aenach Colmain* was not the original name of the fair, but the name of a saint who probably Christianized the festival; and at the same time it perhaps gives a clue as to where the fair was held. For Colman Ela or Elo was a well-known saint mentioned in the Calendars under the 26th September,³ and in the Annals;⁴ and the notes in *Lebar Brecc* indicate his locality, "*i.e.* of Lann Ela in Tir Cell." Tir Cell was afterwards known as *Feara Ceall* (= *virii Cellarum*) or *Fircal*, and was a large district in the kingdom of Meath, now represented by the baronies of Eglish, Ballyboy, and Ballycowan in King's County;⁵ and Lann Ela is now Lynally, a parish about a mile to the south-east of Tullamore.⁶ I do not personally know this district; but I am strongly inclined to look for the site of Aenach Colman

¹ Also FM. a° 825. See note on *Laighin deas Gabhair*, p. 14, *supra*.

² The reference to the MS. is col. 236, line 44; to the Facsimile, 414^b44.

³ Feline of Oengus, Sept. 26th and Oct. 3rd, and pp. cxlvii, clix.

⁴ FM. a° 610, where other references are collected by O'Donovan.

⁵ "Topog. Poems," note 24, p. vi; "Book of Rights," p. 179, note e.

⁶ FM. 1533, note.

somewhere about here. Further research may settle the point. Meanwhile I note that this district was in that part of the kingdom of Meath traditionally believed to have been taken from Munster by Tuathal Teachtmhar, and may therefore have well been the place where the men of Munster in pagan times were wont to bury, just as Tailtiu was for the men of Ulster. But further, it must have been in or at least immediately adjoining the famous Magh Leana, where it was believed the great battle between Eoghan Mór or Mogh Nuadhat and Conn Ceteathach was fought in A.D. 192.¹ The traditional site of this battle would be a most likely spot for the celebration of such rites and games as are associated with the great aenachs. In the Dindsenchas it is associated with the grave of Lena, the son of Mes Roeda, and with Mae Dathó's portentous pig.² But still more significant is the fact that there appear to be still two tumuli there which O'Flaherty states were traditionally believed to be the tombs of Eoghan Mór and his brother-in-law Fraech, the Spaniard.³ Now, Eoghan Mór is the great representative of the Dergthine as opposed to other clans in Munster;⁴ and, remembering that the Senchas na Relie says the "men of Munster (*i.e.* the Dergthene)" were buried at Aenach Colman, I am led to suspect that I am on the right track. I fear I cannot pursue the quarry to the death here; but I must note, if only to emphasize the analogous case of Moy Liffey, that three times at least Leth Mogha chose Magh Leana as the battle-field in its attempts on Leth Chuinn,⁵ and that twice at least an O'Molloy was slain there—on the second occasion, at any rate, by a rival for the lordship of Fircall.⁶ This passage is so suggestive that I had better quote it in full. The Four Masters record that in 1533 "O'Molloy, Lord of Fircall, was treacherously slain on the Green of Lann Ealla (*ar faithehe lainne heala*) by his own brother Cucogry and Art, his brother's son, and his brother Cahir was styled O'Molloy." This word *faithehe* is the regular word for "an athletic green," and indicates that sports of some kind were held there. But further, the dispute was evidently about the chieftainship of Fircall, and, as in provincial cases, the question who had the right to celebrate the tribal

¹ This battle is recorded by Tigernach, but without details. A long account savouring much of modern times, but preserving some ancient traditions, has been edited by O'Curry, *Cath Mhuighe Léana*, Celtic Soc.: cf. Ann. Clon. as translated by Mugeoghagan. Moylena, in recent times, was another name for the parish of Kilbride, which adjoins Lynamly on the north, and includes Tullamore: Printed Inquis. Com. Regis. 16 Car. 1: FM. a^o 903 n. The site of the battle was just on the boundary between Conn's Half and Mogh's Half: Cath. M. L., p. 73. The Eiscir Riada is here "a very conspicuous ridge, two miles to the north of Tullamore," Circuit of Ireland, p. 45, note.

² Rennes Ds. 112. This curiously reminds us of the *gleann na muice duibhe*, called also "the race of the Black Pig," and "the Black Ditch" at the Curragh.

³ O'Flaherty's "Ogygia," vol. iii., p. lx.; FM., "Appendix," p. 2432.

⁴ See the opening passage in *Cath Mhuighe Léana*, and O'Curry's *Intro.*, pp. xi, xii.

⁵ For the second and third battles, see FM. 902 and 1090.

⁶ FM. 1019, 1533.

games may very well have been the occasion of this dispute coming to a head. The degeneration of the fair, assuming it to have been Aenach Colman, is quite consistent with what we know of the history of the place. Being part of Munster at some early period, it may have been then the site of the Munster Mór aenach, which afterwards, when Magh Leana passed from the control of the Munstermen, was transferred elsewhere (perhaps to Nenagh, originally *Aenach Thete*, but later *Aenach Urmhumhan*, the assembly place of Ormond).¹ In later times, in the ninth century, for instance, the right of holding the Christianized Aenach Colman may have been claimed by Ossory (in memory of the time when it was included in Ormond) and contested by Leinster *tuath gabhair*; while long before the sixteenth century Aenach Colman may have become a mere tribal affair of Fircall, in which territory it was from time immemorial held. This investigation concerning Aenach Colman has led me further than I expected; but if it has indicated the true site of that fair, it has not been useless.

I think, then, that all references to the Fair of the Liffey, or of the Curragh, refer to Aenach Carman, and not to Aenach Colman. Thus, in A.D. 954, the Four Masters record that Conghalach, son of Maelmithig, King of Ireland, made a hosting into Leinster, and after plundering Leinster, he held the Fair of the Liffey for three days, by way, we may suppose, of asserting his supremacy. The Leinstermen, however, with the Danes of Dublin, laid an ambush for him and killed him. It certainly seems probable that this was the Fair of Carman, to hold which was the prerogative of the Kings of Leinster; and to hold it adversely to the King of Leinster was a direct challenge for his kingship.²

To return to the poem:—"The renowned field is the cemetery of kings." (3). There is more to the same effect. In quatrains 73, 74, the raths and mounds of the dead are enumerated, and the whole poem is addressed to the Leinstermen of the funeral monuments.³ Moreover,

¹ See Joyce's "Social History of Ancient Ireland," vol. ii., p. 440; "Names," vol. i., p. 205.

² Compare with this the entry in FM. 925: "The Fair of Tailltiu was prevented by Muireheartach, son of Niall [Glundubh, i.e. M. of the Leather Cloaks], against Donnchadh Ua Maeleachlainn [King of Ireland], in consequence of a challenge of battle which was between them; but God separated them without slaughter or bloodshed on either side." Muireheartach of the Leather Cloaks had aspirations at this time to the sovereignty of Ireland. See Introduction to "The Circuit of Ireland," pp. 7, 8; also, *Ds. of Tailltiu*, Rennes, No. 99, and compare what has been said above as to the disputes over Aenach Colman.

Other references to a Fair or Festival held on *Cuirrech Life* or in *Magh Life* are FM. 884; a poem ascribed to Oisín, in the Book of Leinster, noticed by O'Curry, "Ms. Mat.," p. 305; and "The Story of Mongán," translated by Professor Kuno Meyer; "Voyage of Bran," vol. i., p. 77. In "Three Fragments," p. 188, and FM. 825, we find the verse: *Cobthach Cuirrigh cuirreathaigh*, "C. of Cuirrech of races." He was *righdamhna* (heir-apparent) of the King of Liffey, i.e. Leinster.

³ *Estidh a Laigniu na lecht*: where *lecht* = 'funeral monuments.' In the line, *Is reilec rig inruaim rón*, translated as above in the App. to O'Curry, I would take *in ruaim* as an equivalent for *reilec*. Cormac's Glossary derives *ruam* from 'Rome.' See Joyce's "Social History of Ancient Ireland," p. 561.

in one of the prose versions, is inserted a couple of quatrains which give the seven principal cemeteries of Eriu, and among them the cemetery of Carman.¹ The festival of Carman then, as we might expect, was held on the site of an important cemetery, and some traces of this, at least, we should naturally expect to find. A glance at the map will show the number of raths and mounds still to be seen on the Curragh; and we may notice north and south of the parish of Kildare, in which the Curragh is mainly situated, the *disjecta membra* of a parish called Tully, (*tulach*, a common term for a burial-mound) and a parish called Carn. O'Donovan, in his Ordnance Survey Letters, gives an account of what he conceived to be the ancient monuments on the Curragh: these include the Gibbet rath, close to Tully townland, forming the largest of a group of seven raths, Moteen-an-ou (*Moitin an eabha*, 'the little mote of the aspen-tree'), between Ballysax and Athgarvan; also, I think, one of seven raths, *Raithin an aodhaire* ('the shepherd's rath'), near the townland of Rathbride. Then there is an ancient road running across the Curragh, and called by the significant name of 'the Race of the Black Pig,' which O'Donovan believed led to Dun Ailenn. To judge by the map, however, it seems rather to point to Athgarvan, and I would suggest that it represents a portion of Slighe Dala. Some of these raths and mounds were opened in the year 1859, and from the brief account of the explorations, recorded in our *Journal*, it appears that such undoubted marks of an ancient cemetery as portions of cinerary urns, and stone cists, containing vessels of pottery and human remains, were found.² Moreover, it appears from a statement by Beaufort that shortly

¹ These two quatrains are, apparently, from the LL. version. They seem to have been adapted from older sources. Thus the first quatrain is almost identical, even in accessory phrases, with one of those cited by Petrie from LU. ("Round Towers," p. 104). It contains the names, as all the lists do, of the cemeteries of Tailtiu, Cruachan, and the Brugh. The second quatrain contains the following names: *relec Carmain*, *oenach Culi*, *martra muinlire Partalain*, and *Temair duni Fintain*; apparently substituting *relec Carmain* for *Aenach Ailbe* (where the *Lagenians* buried), and perhaps confusing *Temair Eran* and *martra muinliri Fintainn*, to make up the two last-named. (Cf. the lists cited by Petrie from LU. and H. 3. 17). From this apparent substitution of Carman for *Aenach Ailbe*, Brash inferred that they were identical, and placed both at Wexford ("Ogam-inscribed Monuments," p. 86); but it is surely more reasonable to suppose that *Aenach Ailbe* was held in *Magh Ailbe*, and was perhaps the remarkable cemetery discovered at Ballon Hill. It might be the burial-place of the prehistoric Kings of Leinster who lived at Dinurigh, while Carman was the burial-place of such pagan kings as lived in Moy Liffey.

² *Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1858-9, pp. 443-4. See, also, for the Curragh, a Paper by Mr. Hennessy, *Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. ix., p. 343; also, a Paper by Lord Walter Fitz-Gerald, *Kildare Arch. Soc. Journal*, 1899-1902, p. 1. The latter mentions a portion of the Curragh, at the southern end, "distinguished by the name of 'French Furze,' which is famous for the horse-fair held on the 26th of July," which comes very close to the *Lugnasad*. French furze is said, in Gough's "Camden," to be a corruption of the Irish words *faranta foras*, meaning 'ancient tombs,' but the word *faranta*, meaning tombs, though given in O'Reilly, who very probably took it from Gough, is, so far as I know, unattested, and *foras*, if an adjective agreeing with it, should be *forasa* (see Dr. P. W. Joyce's opinion quoted in Lord W. Fitz Gerald's Paper). I suspect the words stand for *ferand* (mod. Ir. *fearann*) a [*u*] *Forais*, where *forais* is genitive of *foras* or *forus*, an obsolete word meaning something like 'a pound for distress.' See "Brehon Law Tracts," vol. ii., p. 11; and O'Curry's "MS. Mat.," vol. iii., p. 476, note; and p. 520, note. I have not got the "Brehon Law Glossary" by me to refer to. The word would sound not very unlike 'furze.'

before the year 1788, "some small earthen tumuli were opened on the Curragh of Kildare, under which skeletons were found standing upright on their feet, and in their hands, or near them, spears with iron heads."¹

Quatrain 4 contains this couplet:—

" Often were the fair hosts in autumn
Upon the smooth brow of noble Sen Carman."²

With this I would compare the ending of the second prose version of the origin of the name already quoted, "hence Carman and Sen Carman have their names." This must refer to two distinct, though probably connected, place-names; in my view, the site of the Fair, or perhaps rather the Fair itself, and the *dún* or royal residence held in connexion therewith. If I am right in supposing the site of the Fair to be the Curragh, then I think anyone standing on Knockaulin, observing its vast prehistoric fortifications, and looking over the expanse of the Curragh, will be led to suspect strongly that he is standing on the *dún* in question. When, in addition to this, he recalls the evidence given above: that Aillenn was one of the principal residences of the early Kings of Leinster, up to perhaps the tenth century, and the traditions to the same effect, some of them actually pointing to an aenach,³ he will, I think, irresistibly come to the conclusion that *Sen Carman* and *Dún Carmain*, and *Carman Liphe*, were only other names for Aillenn. Nor are the two names any difficulty. Nothing is more common than for an ancient site to be known by more than one name; and, apart from this, there is no inconsistency in the same place being known at the same time by a proper name like Aillenn and a descriptive name like *dún Carmain*, the fort of Carman. The well-known alternative name, however, is probably what has turned topographers off the track.

This paper is getting too long; and I must reserve the consideration of the rest of the poem on Carman for another occasion. This portion of the poem will, I think, throw some light on the date when the poem was written, and the Kings of Leinster who held the Fair. It will further emphasize, what has already been indicated, that the Kings of Leinster who celebrated the Fair were almost all drawn from the tribes which clustered round Magh Life, and that, so far from this Fair having been held in the territory of Ui Ceinnsealaigh, the kings of Ui Ceinnsealaigh seem to have had nothing to do with it. In fact, during the whole

¹ *Trans. R.I.A.*, 1788, vol. ii., p. 53.

² " *bat minci findshluaig fogmair
dar slingruaid saer Sen Carmain.*"

Cf., too, the *Ds.*, which makes Sengarman the wife of Cuirrech Lifi.

³ The story of Aillenn and Baile mac Buain represents Leinstermen as holding an *aenach gubha* ('fair of lamentation') over Aillenn's Tomb. O'Curry, pp. 473-5. Cf. the phrase, *i n-oenach Alend*, in the 'Song of the Sword of Cerball.' Some at least of the Battles of Aillenn seem to have been concerned with the right of holding the Fair.

historic period subsequent to the time of St. Patrick, and up to the middle of the eleventh century, no King of Leinster, with the exception of Bran Dubh, was drawn from Ui Ceinnsealaigh. Nor was Ui Ceinnsealaigh, except in theory, as a rule, subject to the King of Leinster. Just as there never was a King of all Ireland, in the sense of ruler who made his will felt and his rule respected throughout the length and breadth of the island, so it would seem that in the period indicated there never was a King of all Leinster. The kings drawn from the tribes bordering on Magh Life were only nominally Kings of Ui Ceinnsealaigh, and we may add of Ossory. Even in theory, the Book of Rights significantly states that no tribute was due to the King of Leinster from Ui Ceinnsealaigh. Bran Dubh, no doubt, owed his exceptional position to his victories over the Ui Neill and his success in resisting the Borumha; and it was not until the time of Diarmaid mac Mael-na-mBo, in the middle of the eleventh century, that the Kings of Ui Ceinnsealaigh were powerful enough to assume the kingship of Leinster and override the hereditary claims of the kings in the neighbourhood of Magh Life.

I think I have now proved my first point down to the ground: viz., that Carman has been wrongly identified with Loch Garman, and that *Aenach Carmain* or the Fair of Carman was not held anywhere near Loch Garman or in Ui Ceinnsealaigh at all. And secondly, I have produced a mass of evidence, of various cogency indeed, but all tending to show that *Aenach Carmain* was held on *Cuirrech Life*, the Curragh of Kildare; that *Dun Carmain*, a residence of the Leinster kings, perhaps specially occupied in connexion with the Fair, is to be looked for on or in the immediate neighbourhood of the Curragh, and in all probability is none other than the famous Aillenn or Knockaulin. I have noticed every passage known to me bearing upon the site of Carman, and I think they one and all point to, or at least fit in with, this identification. In no one case, perhaps, is the proof conclusive; but taking all together the inference seems to me irresistible.

The main points in the argument may be grouped and summarized as follows:—

1. The allusions in the Annals and the verses there quoted, and in the Book of Rights, show that we must look for *Dun Carmain* and the site of *Aenach Carmain* in the neighbourhood of the well-known residences, in historic times, of the Kings of North Leinster (*Laighin tuath Gabhair*), more specifically, to the district included between Naas, the Hill of Allen, Knockaulin, and the Liffey.

2. Other passages, quoted from our ancient literature, prove that there was a stead (probably a *dún*) called Carman in Moy Liffey, and a district known as Carman there.

3. Our legendary lore, as preserved in the *Dindsenchas*, associates Carman, personified as either a man or a woman, with the Curragh and with a stead in its immediate neighbourhood, and presupposes that these places were known by that name.

4. The arrangement of the headings of the Dindsenchas, in the more orderly recension to which the Rennes ms. belongs, indicates that Carman, the site of the Fair, was in Moy Liffey near Knockaulin.

5. The story of Baile mac Buain and Aillinn (alluded to but blurred in the Dindsenchas of Allend) presupposes that the Leinstermen held a Fair in connexion with Knockaulin; and the 'Song of the Sword of Cerball' virtually identifies *aenach Aillend* with Carman.

6. Our bardic literature alludes to chariot-races and games (*cluichi*) on the Curragh; and the Annals record that an *Aenach* was held in Moy Liffey; while it has been shown that these have been wrongly ascribed to *Aenach Colmain Ela*, which was originally a Munster assembly, and was probably held in Moy Lena.

7. An examination of the spot and excavations have proved the existence of Pagan interments on the Curragh, such as we might expect on the site of Aenach Carman.

8. The history of the Kings of Leinster shows that, from the time of St. Patrick, at any rate, to the middle of the eleventh century, the political centre of gravity of Leinster was in Moy Liffey.

9. Finally, it may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that nowhere in Leinster is there a place more suited than the Curragh for the holding of such assemblies, festivities, and races as are described in the account of the Fair of Carman which has come down to us, and that nowhere in Leinster is there a larger or more imposing *dún* than Knockaulin.

Old customs die hard; and it was in full accordance with sound traditional habits that the *Sean Bhean Bhocht* fixed on the Curragh as the appropriate battlefield for Ireland's independence:—

“ To the Curragh of Kildare
The boys will all repair,
And Lord Edward will be there,
Says the Shan Van Vocht.”

ON AN URN CEMETERY IN THE TOWNLAND OF GORTNACOR,
NEAR BROOMHEDGE, COUNTY ANTRIM.

BY S. F. MILLIGAN, M.R.I.A., VICE-PRESIDENT.

[Submitted FEBRUARY 27, 1906.]

EARLY in the year 1900 I first heard of an urn cemetery in County Antrim, close to the borders of County Down. I at once proceeded to the place and secured one perfect urn, and a second which had been broken, but which Mr. George Coffey has very neatly repaired; and both may now be seen in the Royal Irish Academy collection in the National Museum.

I have regularly visited this place since then, and secured a great many fragments of urns, but no perfect urn. I also got several stone celts from the same field, about 5 or 6 inches in length, and one very finely-polished celt in a field adjoining that in which the urns were found. Mr. M'Henry, the owner, informed me that great quantities of charcoal, pieces of partly-burnt wood, and cremated bones were also found. The field had been used as a sand quarry for four or more years before I had heard of it; many broken urns were got, and not much care had been exercised in preserving them. After finding this place, I at once communicated with Mr. George Coffey, the Keeper of Irish Antiquities in the National Museum. A few months later Mr. Coffey came to Belfast, and, accompanied by the late Dr. Moran, Head Inspector of National Schools, we visited the urn cemetery. We went over all the ground carefully, and gave Mr. M'Henry very careful instructions how he should proceed, and the measures he should adopt to preserve any other urns he might find. Mr. M'Henry would not sanction digging over his field; and it is only as he removes the sand when required by builders that he ascertains whether there are urns, and he is now fully alive to doing all in his power to preserve them.

On the 8th of July last I arranged with Mr. Thomas Plunkett, M.R.I.A., and Mr. William Gray, M.R.I.A., to accompany me to Gortnacor. We started by an early train for Lisburn, and drove some four and a half miles to the townland of Gortnacor, near Broomhedge. We met the proprietor of the field in which the urns were found, and, accompanied by him, we went over it, Mr. Gray taking some photographs. The field was in crop, except the portion which had been excavated for sand. It contains from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 acres; about one-fourth has been dug over for the sand. One part has been excavated to a depth of 14 feet,

and there is a section cut across for a distance of 40 yards or more to a depth of 9 feet on an average. Mr. Gray took a photograph of this section at a spot where an urn had been found. It was on the south side of the field that most of the urns were found. It is almost ten years since the removal of sand commenced, and many urns had been found previous to my knowledge of it. Mr. M'Henry said he thought they were old crocks, and of little value, so he did not take much care to preserve them. He on one occasion unearthed eleven urns placed in a straight line, and all these were allowed to crumble to pieces. He informed me they were buried at an average depth of about 2 feet, and in some instances 1 foot 6 inches under the surface in the sand,



VIEW SHOWING EXCAVATIONS IN THE FIELD WHERE THE URNS WERE FOUND.

(From a Photograph by Mr. W. Gray, M.R.I.A.)

without any protection; and his explanation as to why he did not save more of them was that they suffered from the rain and water from the surface which made them crumble when exposed to the air. In one or two instances they were protected in little stone cists by two upright and one covering stone. They were all found mouth downwards with burnt bones and charcoal underneath.

On one occasion Mr. M'Henry found what he called a cave or hollow in the ground 10 yards in length, and 4 feet in breadth, and 7 feet in depth; it was filled with burnt bones and charcoal; the bones were examined by a local doctor and pronounced to be human remains.

Mr. Plunkett and Mr. Gray made a most careful examination of the field and its surroundings, both geologically and archæologically, and will, no doubt, report on the matter.

It will take several years to go over the field at the rate of progress Mr. M'Henry has been making; if a more rapid method were adopted, it would take a considerable sum to compensate him, and, perhaps, results would not repay the expense incurred. The place is situated about two and a half miles from Moira, which is the reputed centre of the great "Battle of Moyra,"¹ fought in the year 637 A.D.

Mr. M'Henry states that he has removed cart-loads of human remains, stated to be such by a medical doctor who examined the place. About an acre was fenced off this field, and given to another farmer some twenty years ago, and may contain urns also.

About five and twenty years ago or more, a man owning a farm close to Mr. M'Henry's dug up three urns, which he presented to a local gentleman. This was told me by his son, from whom I obtained a fine-polished stone celt, found in the same field as the urns. I visited Gortnacor once since Mr. Plunkett and Mr. Gray were there. One urn was dug up since; but, though treated most carefully, it crumbled to powder after being exposed to the air for some time. All who have experience of digging urns will agree with what Mr. Wakeman gave as his experience, that a very small percentage of those dug up can be permanently preserved. Further discoveries at Gortnacor will be looked for and reported by me.

The following is a description of the two urns found at Gortnacor, Broomhedge, now in the Academy collection:—

No. 1. Height, 11 inches; diameter at mouth, 11 inches; of base, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches; colour, reddish; scratched herring-bone ornament over body; raised ornament round upper part; slightly scratched ornament; sort of lattice pattern, on inside of lip. See photograph reproduced on Plate, opposite page.

No. 2. Height, 11 inches; diameter at mouth, $8\frac{5}{8}$ inches; at base, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; body, plain; upper part richly ornamented. See illustration on Plate, opposite page.

¹ It is rather remarkable that such a large quantity of human remains, amounting to several cart-loads, has been found in the small space already excavated in this field, where the urns were unearched, and that place barely two and a half miles from the present town of Moira, near which the great battle between the King of Ireland and Congal Claen took place. I do not recollect any such great remains, indicative of a battle, having been previously referred to anywhere near to Moira. We shall know, as time progresses, if further pits, filled with human remains, are discovered; which would strengthen the theory that here we have evidence of that great struggle by the Pagan hordes from Alba, the Isles, and Britain, as well as Uladh, drawn together by Congal, which were defeated here. The idea also may occur that these Pagan Picts had not altogether given up cremation of their illustrious dead. Whilst the common soldiers were buried in pits, the leaders were honoured with urns.



No. 1.



No. 2.

TWO URNS FOUND AT GORTNACOR, NEAR BROOMHEDGE, COUNTY ANTRIM.
(Now deposited in the Collection of the Royal Irish Academy, National Museum, Dublin.)

NOTE BY MR. WILLIAM GRAY, M.R.I.A.

The urn cemetery in the County Antrim referred to by Mr. Milligan occurs in the townland of Gortnacor, which is situated between two other townlands, named respectively Gortnacor Upper and Gortnacor Lower, and about four and a half miles west of Lisburn.

The name Gortnacor, or "the field of the hill, or mound," probably refers to the physical conformation of the locality, particularly to the site of the urn burials described by Mr. Milligan. This site takes the form of a mound, or ridge of sand and gravel: portion of a superficial drift extending more or less between Belfast and Lough Neagh.

In the neighbourhood of Lisburn the deposit assumes the form of an Esker drift, composed of sandy layers and beds of clean, coarse gravel of considerable thickness.

At Gortnacor it is composed of much finer gravel and thick sandy beds. The latter deposit has been for many years excavated for building and other purposes, necessitating cuttings from 9 to 14 feet deep, exposing a considerable variety of drift materials, such as basalt, chalk, flint, sandstone, petrified wood, and other local rocks and fossils, together with transported products, such as mica schist, gneiss, and other plutonic rocks from the north-east of the County Antrim.

The objects indicating burials were confined to a surface layer of about 2 feet thick, and were irregularly dispersed apparently without any systematic order, within a limited area cleared for the purpose of excavating the gravel.

Other objects may yet be found as the excavations proceed, and therefore great care should be taken in the removal of the surface layer, which should be systematically searched for any artificial objects that may occur, not only for buried urns, whole or in fragments, but also for worked flints, stone celts, and other antiquarian remains, such as frequently occur in the surface drift, between Gortnacor and Lough Neagh.

NOTE BY MR. THOMAS PLUNKETT, M.R.I.A.

On my way home from the very interesting meeting of our Society at Belfast last autumn, I broke my journey at Lisburn, in order to pay a visit to the cemetery in question, with the view of making as careful an inspection as I could of the places and conditions where it was understood cinerary urns were found.

The owner of the land displayed the greatest civility, and in the most obliging manner brought me into a large field where extensive excavations had been made during past years in quest of sand and gravel, and which operations were still in progress. The owner pointed out the excavated area of this extensive gravel deposit, and the various spots

where urns were unearthened; and, so far as I could ascertain, with the exception of one find, these urn deposits were "few and far between." In a slightly elevated ridge, which has nearly all been removed, there were eleven urns found some years ago deposited in a single row, and probably on the "sunny side," or south-east side, of the ridge. I asked the owner to point out as near as possible the spots where the two last urns in this section of the excavations were found. When he indicated the spots, I made a rough measurement, and found the space between the urns to measure about 40 yards.

None of the discoveries already made would indicate a systematic mode of burial or any arrangement such as I have found in cairns of varying dimensions or gravel beds, where I have unearthened large cinerary urns inverted over the burnt human remains. There were no groups of urns or circular cists such as are generally found in pagan cemeteries. The urns seem to have been deposited in the most careless and sporadic manner.

The surface of the ground is composed of a deposit or layer of brown loam from 12 to 14 inches thick, which rests on the gravelly deposit. The urns were generally found at a depth of 12 to 14 inches from the surface of the gravel, or about 2 to 2½ feet from the surface of the ground.

The end of the demolished ridge referred to above still exists; but when I was there, it was covered with a crop of corn. I told the owner that, in the event of his excavating this remnant of the ridge, to first clear off the soil or top layer before excavating the sand or gravel, and then make a clear "spit," or scarpment, and not to dig from the top of the gravel bed, as he would destroy urns if there, but to undermine, so that the top layer of sand or gravel would fall loosely down, and urns would not be broken.

I consider from the inspection I have made of the field that it would be unadvisable to spend money on a systematic exploration of this field, as it would evidently entail a maximum of expense with a minimum result.

ON AN OGHAM STONE IN COUNTY LIMERICK.

BY HENRY S. CRAWFORD, B.E.

[Read JANUARY 30, 1906.]

LAST summer I accidentally came across an ogham stone, and on looking through the books on oghams I cannot find that it has been described before; at least, Brash's and Macalister's books only mention one ogham stone as having been found in County Limerick; it belonged to Knockfeerina, a hill near the town of Ballingarry, in the barony of Connello Upper, and district of Croom. Curiously enough, the stone to which these notes refer belongs to the other parish of Ballingarry, near the village of Ballylanders, in the barony of Coshlea. It stands about a hundred yards north-east of Ballingarry House, in the field between

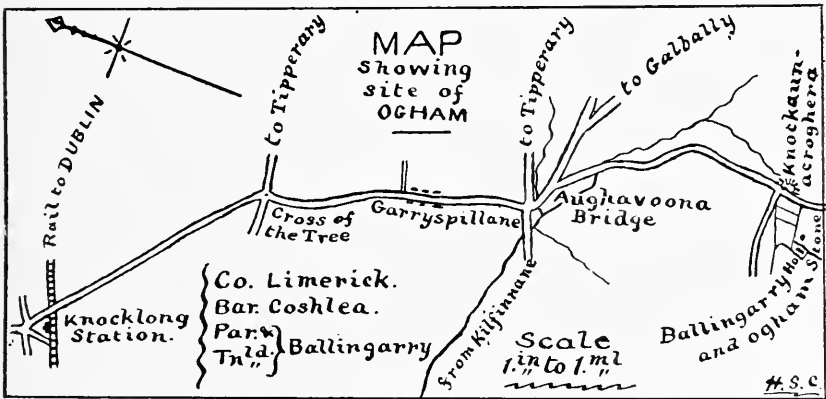


FIG. 1.

BALLINGARRY OGHAM, COUNTY LIMERICK—MAP OF LOCALITY.

the latter and the road from Knocklong to Ballylanders. Ballingarry House is on the townland of the same name, the property of Stafford Delmege, Esq., and is occupied by Mrs. Maria Fox, who, with her son, kindly assisted me by having the moss and clay cleaned off the stone with a brush and water.

The map (fig. 1) shows the site; which will also be found on the Ordnance Map No. 49, $12\frac{3}{8}$ inches from the north edge, and $10\frac{7}{8}$ inches from the west edge; and adjoins the road from the nearest station, which is Knocklong, on the G.S.W.R. main line, and is distant $4\frac{1}{4}$ miles.

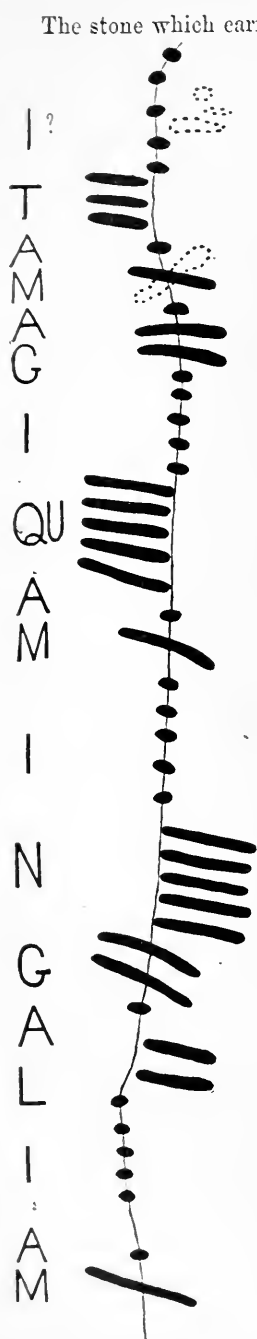


FIG. 2.—BALLINGARRY OGHAM,
COUNTY LIMERICK.

The stone which carries the inscription is a rectangular pillar of fine red sandstone 5 feet 2 inches high from the ground line, 18 inches wide from north to south, and 10 inches in the other direction. Though somewhat worn by the weather and the rubbing of cattle, it does not appear to have suffered from violence; and I do not think any of the characters would present difficulty to a practised decipherer. The scores are cut on the north-west angle, beginning 9 or 10 inches above the ground, and extending to a length of 3 feet 11 inches. I first took a photograph of the stone, and then getting the moss, &c., washed off, I took a rubbing; but the day being damp and foggy, and the stone very wet, the paper could not be rubbed much without tearing. The rubbing obtained was, however, sufficient to show the scores, which are well marked, and fig. 2 is reduced from it.

The inscription appeared to me to read—MAILAGNI MAQUI GAMATOLO, and I did not think there was any uncertainty as to the characters, except the last three, though the last *m* looks like *x* in the photograph and rubbing; a natural flaw in the stone is, I believe, the cause of this. The first word, MAILAGNI, occurs on one of the Ballintaggart stones (Dingle), *Tria maqua Mailagni*, &c. (see Macalister's "Irish Epigraphy," Part 1), and it is curious to meet it almost at the other extremity of Munster.

After the *r* there are five short notches at almost equal intervals, but between the second and third is a well-marked score below the line, followed by a faint mark, which if lengthened would meet the third notch; and above this is a smooth hollow like the vowel points; but as it is not on the edge, I suppose it does not form part of the inscription. If we suppose the faint mark mentioned before to have originally joined the third notch with which it is in line—and at this point the arris begins to round off in to the top, and may be more worn away—the ending would be as noted above.

There may be other possible readings, and, as I have no knowledge of the forms found in



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

BALLINGARRY OGHAM, COUNTY LIMERICK.

(From a Photograph by Mr. Henry S. Crawford, B.E.)

Fig. 3.--Photograph of the Stone untouched.

Fig. 4--Photograph with the Scores blackened.

ogham inscriptions, I hope that some member of the Society may be able to decide with more certainty as to the meaning of the scores. In the meantime I wish to draw attention to the existence of this monument, illustrations of which are given in the accompanying Plate.

NOTE.—Since writing the above I have again examined the stone and taken another rubbing of the doubtful part, but it does not give much additional information. From this further examination, however, I am inclined to think the doubtful scores below the line at the end should be disregarded, and the name read as *GAMATI*.

NOTE BY PROFESSOR RHYS, D. LITT., *Hon. Fellow.*

There are two things which interest me in connexion with this ogam, namely, that we have the name of Mr. H. S. Crawford to add to those of the small band of antiquaries who are on the look-out for this kind of inscription, and that the stone belongs to County Limerick, which seemed hitherto to have only one ogam stone to show; but, alas! "show" is not the word to use, for that ogam appears to have long since been lost in the town of Limerick. Could not anybody at Limerick be stimulated to make a search for it?

Coming to the present inscription, one finds oneself at once face to face with a considerable difficulty. If it had not been for Mr. Crawford's own reading of the scoring, I should have read the photograph as follows:—

MAILAGNI MAQUT GAPATI.

That is, possibly, "The stone of Maolán mac Gabhaidh"; but Mr. Crawford, having studied the stone itself, reads not *Gapati* but *Gamatolo*. Whether a look at the stone would compel me to differ to any extent from Mr. Crawford I cannot tell; but I may say, as the matter stands, that *Gamatolo* looks a possible name standing for a fuller genitive *Gamatolos* of the *U*-declension. The first element *gama* is probably akin to the *gami* of *Gamicunas*, the genitive of a personal name on one of the Ballintaggart stones, on another of which *Mailagui* occurs, as mentioned by Mr. Crawford. Then as to *tolo*, that reminds one of the saint's name, Tola, whose day was March 30, as to which see Stokes's "Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee," forming vol. xxix. of the publications of the Henry Bradshaw Society (London, 1905): there Dr. Stokes cites from the Book of Leinster, fol. 350^f and 358^a, the nominative *Tola* and a genitive *Tolai*.

I am sorry I cannot say anything more definite as to the inscription; perhaps I may be able some time this summer to go to see it, and corroborate Mr. Crawford's reading.

POSTSCRIPT.—Mr. Crawford's second reading alters matters considerably. I should be disposed to treat *Gamati* as the genitive of *Gamatia-s*, and to identify the name with that of *Gaimide* of Lughmhagh, or Louth, whose death is entered by the Four Masters under the year 693, and by the Ulster Annals under 694. It suggests *Gamaide* rather than *Gaimide*; but the latter form may have been arrived at as the result of a popular etymology which saw *mide*, 'meath,' in the latter part of the name.

NOTE BY MR. R. A. S. MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

This inscription, save in one point, is perfectly clear. I have no doubt that Mr. Crawford's second reading, MAILAGNI MAQI GAMATI, is correct; the one point where there may be a little ambiguity is at the end, where there seem to be three scores radiating from a vowel-point, not unlike the *r* as represented on the Kenfig stone. But I cannot think that these scores, whatever they may be, have any phonetic significance.

As to the names, *mailagni*, as Mr. Crawford remarks, has already been found on one of the Ballintaggart stones. *GAMATI* is new, but is compounded of known elements; it is a name probably derived from the same root as *Gamicunas* at Lugnagappul, where we find a termination offered also by *Glasiconas*, *Focnucunas*, *Cliuc(e)nas*.

THE M'CRACKEN CORRESPONDENCE.

BY THE REV. W. T. LATIMER, B.A., VICE-PRESIDENT.

[Submitted FEBRUARY 27, 1906.]

FROM 1688 till 1730 the Rev. Alexander M'Cracken, a Scotchman by birth, was Presbyterian clergyman of Lisburn. He was a man of ability, but held peculiar views, which sometimes brought him into trouble with the civil authorities. In fact, he was a Non-Juror, although strongly in favour of the Revolution Settlement. Notwithstanding his loyalty to Queen Anne, he refused to swear the Oath of Abjuration, because he believed that its words implied that the Pretender was not the son of King James. Mr. M'Cracken's scruples brought him into trouble with the authorities, and caused him to be imprisoned nearly two years and a half in Carrickfergus. Among M'Cracken's friends was Joshua Dawson, Secretary in Dublin Castle, whose correspondence has been carefully preserved. Dawson seems to have bought land, built, planted, and, above all, provided for his relatives by means of his patronage.

For many years M'Cracken corresponded with Dawson, and their correspondence is preserved in the Record Office, Dublin, in the "Irish Civil Miscellaneous Correspondence." The earlier letters refer to a lease at "The Bridge," held by M'Cracken from the Dawson family, and surrendered by him to them. They also contain references to money due by Dawson's relatives to M'Cracken, and to a proposed lease by Dawson to M'Cracken of Coolsaran, Kilnagriffin, Drumbally, and Lisalbanagh, near Moneymore, County Derry, where M'Cracken proposed to build. "The Bridge" was probably "Dawson's Bridge," now Castledawson.

The most interesting of the letters in this collection are some that refer to the destruction of Lisburn by fire on the 20th of April, 1707. I give all of any importance.

LISBURN, 22 *April*, 1707.

D^r Sir,—

This acquaints you of that terrible and sudden fire that broke out in this place on Sunday last, which in the space of little more than three hours consumed the whole town into ashes, so that, from that end which leadeth to Moyra (save a few houses in the utmost end) until you come to the other end next Belfast, there is not a standing house,

except the Market-House, nor is there one standing in the other street which leadeth into the county of Down; yea, the flames flew from the Castle into that part of the town that stood in the county of Down, so that the whole is consumed, only 4 houses in that end next Belfast, [one] of which is that house I formerly dwelt in, when M^{rs} Colt was with me. But the house I now dwell in was amongst the first burnt in the town.

We were surprized or we might have saved more than we did. I have now a room in a house about a mile out of the town, where I find fewer chambers serve than formerly. This is a very sore and sudden stroke upon this place, and I pray God, none may ever experience the like. There are many families wholly broken, and several had not so much as to buy bread to their children last market day.

I have heard nothing from your broth: Captain John, since my last to him about [*illegible*], which if there be anything wherein I can serve him, I shall do as directed. Pray let me know, if the Warrant against M^r M'Bride¹ be now in force, and in whose hands it is, or if there must be a new one issued out, and if you think there is any danger, if he should come over to order some affairs, that cannot be done without him, he being now a minister, not of Ireland but in Britain.

Wishing this may find you and yours well, I am, Sir, yours to command, Alex: M'Cracken.

Pray cause Henry Waters leave some paper for me at Henry Kelsus', for I had difficulty in this. To Joshua Dawson, Esq^r;

LISBURN, 3 May, 1707.

D^r Sir,—

In yours of 29 April you pleased to desire to know, what I have lost, which indeed I cannot well do, but I have saved most of my books and my beds, so that we want not to set up again, if it please God to favour us with longer life. As for other things, we are at some loss, to about £40, but I am not so much to be bemoaned as many families who are quite broken, being in debt to others, & the effects lost, the standing of the people would be mine; but what is to be expected of a people whose habitations are ruinous and all lying in ashes, nor is it probable we can recover if not assisted by others.

Some are in expectation that the Queen & the government of Ireland will take our case into consideration, but time must prove this.

I have not been so well these 8 days as formerly, being much taken in a cough, but I hope it will wear off. Some have written down, that in this new change of officers in the State you are spoken of, but I hope there is nothing in it. That this find you and all yours in peace and safety is the prayer of, D^r Sir, Yours, Alex: M'Cracken.

To Joshua Dawson, esq^r, in the Castle of Dublin.

¹ Rev. John M'Bride, Presbyterian clergyman of the First Congregation, Belfast, who, as well as M'Cracken, was a Non-Juror.

LISBURN, 26 *July*, 1707.D^r Sir,—

When I gave you that of my losses it was not my design to be troublesome to you, who hath been concerned otherwise for me to your own loss. I am debtor for your allowing me £5 at this time. I desire it may be in part of that fifteen I was to have had from your brother, in consideration of the lease at the Bridge, (the reason of this I shall acquaint you with at meeting). If the other ten pounds could be now had, it would do me a kindness, who am at this time, put to more than formerly. I would have waited on you ere now but I feared the inconvenience. I am Sir, yours to command, Alex: M^cCracken.

To Joshua Dawson, Esq^rLISBURN, 7th *Aug*; 1707.D^r Sir,—

I have received the five pound you sent me by your brother John's Order to M^r Magee. I do return you most hearty thanks, for there was nothing [more] seasonable. For my whole congregation is brought low, of which the town is the principal part.

The expectations of a charitable supply from others is that which keeps us up & together.

My Lord Conway is very encouraging, giving freely what timber is necessary, for building, & gives leases of 41 years to those who have none.

I have as yet come to no terms with him, for any particular of my own, only the Congregation have been with him, and he hath granted them a lease for the Meeting House, but as to my house, there is nothing done, and I am in a strait what to do, for building, I fear, will exceed what I can well do, and I am growing crazy, and also under some circumstances different from many others, not knowing how soon Ald: Arber: may appear, and what may be the way of persons in the Government. That it may be well with you for Time and Eternity, is the prayers of, Sir, Yours, Alex M^cCracken.

Joshua Dawson, Esq^rLISBURN, 23 *March*, 1709/10.D^r Sir,—

This acquaints you that poverty itself is not able to protect nor excuse me, for since I saw you, I am heavily accused for begging, and a Petition preferred against me, desiring that I and my elders may upon oath give in what sum or sums of money I or they have already received or shall hereafter receive on account of our losses or any other loss whatsoever sustained by the burning of the town of Lisburn, so soon and as oft as your Lordship & Honors shall in your Wisdoms think fitt.

This was given in to the Bishop with the rest of the Trustees. The reason of this is (say they) that what we have got so, ought to come into the common stock, as part of the Brief money, and that those who gave, or now may give to us, kept back that money from the Brief, & therefore they must have it now from us.

Our answer is, shortly, that we find not ourselves obliged to give oath on that account; but for the maintaining of peace and union, we declare, that to our knowledge, we never received any money collected by the Brief, nor collected for the public use of the inhabitants, nor have we ever disposed of any public money to our own private use, nor any other moneys which we received, but to the use or uses particularly specified by the donors.

I now further afford, that, if the donors will allow, I shall give in their names and sums, but if not, I cannot do it, and further, if any have given us any money that was collected for any other but ourselves, we shall refund.

We do own that we have received money for the building of our Meeting-House, both from those of the Established Church and from Presbyterians; and think that seeing it was given out all along, that the church was to be built by subscriptions, and our Meeting-House was to be built out of the public, and that the Subscriptions went on, before, and in the time of the Brief, and that we knew not, but that we were to be answered out of the Brief until the return of it came, we think it hard, we may not receive the charity of our friends. But this is not all, for now they say they will be at me about the Oath; and it is true, and you partly know, that I would rather live in Ireland than elsewhere. But, if that cannot be, I must think of somewhere else. I have been debiter to the clemency of the Government, all along, and if that be restrained, I can expect nothing but the *sumum Jus* from others. As upon the like occasion you inquired into the mind of ——, I now entreat the same favour, that so, I may know what is to be expected, if I be put to it, which is probable. I have no particular account of what your brother da: hath done for his going over. My wife gives you her humble thanks for her Muffe, and her humble services to you and yours. Accept of the same, from, Sir,

[Not signed, but in M'Cracken's very characteristic handwriting, and endorsed "M' M'Cracken."]

D^r Sir,—

I saw yours of the 25 July to Captain Brice, bearing your thoughts, that the Government might be ready to stop proceedings against Dissenters on any account but that of my ease. I cannot say but this may be so, but why this is the unpardonable sin, I know not, nor had I reason to think so, in any applications that hath hitherto been made to the Government, who (you know) granted a Supersedeas to the Warrants

in M^r M^rBrude's case, which I think is that of mine, unless there be a personal difference of M^r Wogan's against me upon his information given in to M^r Spenceer.

I own my coming away to the thoughts of my friends, who seemed to consent in it, as the best expedient for the then present juncture, though my own thoughts were, and still are, that I should have applied immediately to the Government, considering what formerly hath been done, and this will *tentare nocebit*.

However it is found that the malice of two young Justices, (for I can call it nothing else) is an overbalance to my interest in that Kingdom, and so I must leave it upon supposition.

I now enter myself a member of the Church of North Britain, which is established by the Parliament of Great Britain, whose ministers are not obliged to take the oathes. May I not then return in safety to Ireland to settle my affairs and to bring off my effects; or if it be not safe to venture on that, do you think the Government will deny me their Warrant, to come to the country to order my concern without molestation? If it be improper for you to enquire into the Government's minds in this matter, let me know, for I intend to know it, either there or elsewhere, by some. And I despair not of finding some that may be serviceable; for I have, in all my former troubles, found that God either gave me ability to bear what he laid on, or raised up some way how I escaped. And I am expecting still the same, for I have his promise for it, and therefore rest in this: that the Lord will take me up. And if I can keep faith and a good conscience I shall land safe in the end.

If a line from you be consistent with you it shall be most acceptable, to him who rests, Sir, Yours to power,

ALEX M'CRACKEN.

Stranraver, 21 Sep. 1710.

Yours to Captain Brice will come safe to Joshua Dawson Esq^r; In the Castle of Dublin.

LONDON, 5 Mar., 1712/13.

Dear Sir,—

To acquaint you that my very good friend tells me that our matter is dropt, I know will not be a trouble to you, I am fully wearied of attendance, and am very willing to take out my *quietus est*.

I have had my difficulties, and not a few, all this time, but if it shall please God to grant me after all some little breathing of ease before I die, and that I may prepare for that long journey and peaceably get home for that rest prepared for the children of the family, I shall think it a favour from God. But if otherways I hope to find submission and sufficiency of Grace to help me as long as I am to be in time which

cannot now be long. I only now wait the answer of some letters from Ireland, as I am not to question what is told me, so I dare not desire any enquiry into it with you, considering what is said, and by whom it came. I long to see you, and am, Sir, yours to command

A. M^cC.

To Joshua Dawson, Esq^r, Secretary in the Castle of Dublin.

Mr. M^cCracken, evidently thinking that he would now be safe from molestation, ventured to return to Ireland. Having arrived in Lisburn, he preached in public, but this roused the authorities; and the result is related in the following letters.

[*Letter from CAPTAIN BRENT SPENCER to WESTENRA WARING.*]

LISBURN, 3 August, 1713.

Sir,—

I cannot help telling you of the late insolence of M^r M^cCracken. He has bin in this town about 3 weeks, and on Sunday 26 of last month, had the assurance to preach 3 times, which was more than usual, and great numbers from all parts came to countenance his return; and [I] being informed he would preach again on Sunday last, sent for the 2 Constables, and gave them Judge Coote's Warrant to take him, tho' on Sunday, and in the Meeting House, accordingly the constables went on Sunday morning, but the outward gates and doors of the Meeting-House were shut, and he did preach or teach, and the Constables could not take him; And it's my opinion if they had got him, he had bin rescued. And I do believe the Constables had lost their lives, for I am well assured the Congregation would have rescued him, and they gave out they would. He is resolved to continue here and preach, and I have not force enough to take him, so that I think it proper, to order a Company of Foot from Belfast, if the Government thinks fit, for you cannot conceive with what insolence he and his elders behave. I sent him word on Saturday by 2 of his elders, that I would order the Constables to take him, and desired them to tell him not to preach, but his answer was that he would. I think it my duty to my Queen and country to let the Government know it, & let them proceed, as their Wisdom shall think fit.

I am ready to obey their commands: sir, your very humble servant,
B. Spencer. To Westenra Waring these.

On 22nd August, 1713, Edward Southwell¹ wrote to Joshua Dawson

¹ The Southwell family held the office of Principal Secretary of State for Ireland (now the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant) for three generations, from 1690, when Sir Robert was appointed, until 1755. This Edward had been Clerk of the Council in England, and succeeded his father in 1702. In 1720, he got a new patent, including his son.

that he would not be able to say anything about M'Bride and M'Cracken till he heard "His Grace's pleasure upon it."

On the 5th of September, 1713, William Wogan wrote to Dawson that among other things brought before His Grace was "the bustle M'Cracken has made at Lisburn"; but he did not give any directions therein. "I apprehend his Grace does not care to concern himself in such matters, now he is so near to his quitting the Government."¹

The following letter from M'Cracken to Dawson is undated, but must have been written either in October or in November, 1713—probably in November, as on the 19th of that month M'Bride wrote to Wodrow about M'Cracken's arrest.²

Dear Sir,—This acquaints you that the 17th inst. M^r Waring, who tells me he is yours, did himself the honour to make me his prisoner, for which he needed no army to assist him. He knows very well how to execute the office he took in hands, & I think he hath the true spirit of men of that employ, for when he & I lighted, he would not suffer me to — without the door, and when we came in he was sending to Lisburn,—for I was taken some more than a mile from the town,—for officers.—I desired the favour of sending an open line to my wife who is of a fearfull temper, but he would not allow it. And the treatment I met with from his friend M^r Oberry is of a piece, for when I was taken in to the town to the constable's house, where I staid all night, when I went to bed the guard was sent into the room, so that I could have no rest. I rose and put on my clothes and then they went out. After some time I went to bed, and then they came in again. I asked why they did so. They told me they were ordered so to do, and then I rose and sat up all night. Next morning I desired the favour of being taken to my own house under a guard, because I wanted some papers and some other things that I had use for, but this was denied me. But at length, when M^r Oberry was ready, he allowed me to walk the length of my own house, which was in our way, and I just went in, but staid no time for the guard was waiting for me.

I had a very honourable guard from Lisburn to Drum Bridge, where the High Sheriff met and received me in his formalities as they do the Judges in the same place, from where we came safe to this place, where

¹ The Duke of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was succeeded in October, 1713, by the Duke of Shrewsbury.

² After this article was in print, a selection from the correspondence of Sir Hans Sloane, preserved in the British Museum, was published, by Dr. Crowe, in the *Northern Whig*. Among the letters printed is one from Rev. John M'Bride, dated 3rd November, 1713, in which the writer states that he was then "indisturbed" in the discharge of his duty. This, taken in connexion with M'Bride's letter to Wodrow, to which I have alluded, proves that M'Cracken was arrested in November, 1713; after which it seems that his fellow-sufferer withdrew to a place of concealment, in order to escape from a similar imprisonment.

I am now *in salva custodia*. And all this is done without the least resistance or rescue. I hope the Government may see how they are imposed upon. I wish we had the Justice done us, as to have a fair opportunity to make men appear in their own colours. If Church and State be supported by men who give such untrue representations of the Queen's subjects, and their reports are believed without any further enquiry, God help the poor of this land.

My humble service to Madam Dawson &c. Let her know I am under no discouragement. I am Sir, *sic ut ante*.

ALEX: M^cCRACKEN.

To Joshua Dawson Esq^r

When Mr. M^cCracken was tried at the next Spring Assizes, he stated that he was against the Pretender, but this did not save him, as he refused to take the oath. Being convicted, he was condemned to pay five hundred pounds and lie in prison six months. At the end of that time he was still liable to take the oath, so that he was not liberated until 1716, after the accession of George I. Certainly the scruples of Mr. M^cCracken seem strange to the present generation. Although he strongly approved of the principle that lay behind the Abjuration Oath, he objected so much to the words employed, that rather than swear it he preferred to remain nearly two and a half years in prison.

[I have to thank Mr. T. A. Groves, B.E., for copying the M^cCracken letters.]

FAUGHART, COUNTY LOUTH, AND ITS SURROUNDINGS.

BY STANLEY HOWARD, FELLOW.

[Submitted JANUARY 30, 1906.]

FAUGHART lies about two miles north of Dundalk (O. S. 70), and is a grassy hill, having an old road leading over the summit. It will well repay a visit, both on account of the fine view which may be had from it, and also on account of the remains on the hill itself. In this paper I propose to give some account of the places of antiquarian and historical interest which are either visible from or near to the hill, and also of the ruined church and old mote which are on it. It has always struck me as having been surrounded by an unusual number of places of note, and to have been itself the scene of many events, both historical and legendary. This would be accounted for by its position, which is one of much strategical importance—a fact which seems to have been duly recognized from the earliest times, judging by the ancient earthwork on its summit and the numerous allusions to it in the Annals in later years. There is, however, another view which was evidently taken of it, into which the idea of defence also probably entered, namely, its ideal position for a religious settlement; for it would be hard to find a place which combined the solitude so sought after by the early converts to Christianity in Ireland with such a prospect for the contemplation of nature in all her phases, as is presented to the gaze of the religious enthusiast from it.

Just behind the hill itself stretches the range of hills known as the Fewes Mountains, which form the natural barrier between the eastern portion of the north of Ireland and the south, and which terminate at the sea in the Carlingford mountains; and Faughart itself is a spur which looks as if it had been thrown out by them as a natural outpost to guard their passes against invasion from the south. Being only two miles or so from Dundalk, the most northern fortified town of the English Pale, their strategical importance is easily seen, for they formed a most difficult barrier for an army, wishing to invade Ulster, to pass; and, looking further back in history, the frequent fighting about this district is accounted for by the same reason. Furthermore, up to the year 1609 the country on the north side of the mountains was densely wooded, and had much boggy land. The very name "Fewes," according to Dr. Joyce, is "Feadha" or woods, and a short distance away lies the present village of Forkhill, which is an Anglicised form of Fuar-Choill, meaning "cold wood." About that time, mainly through the exertions of Lord

Mountjoy, a great number of these woods were cut down, which, no doubt, materially facilitated the Plantation of Ulster. Before this was done the safest route for an army invading Ulster to take was the coast road from Dundalk, by the sea to Carlingford, and thence to Newry; but even this way was open to the objection that the invaders were exposed to flank attacks from an enemy concealed in the mountains, all the way to Newry.

Standing on the hill of Faughart, and looking towards the south, the plains of Louth and Meath stretch away, as far as the eye can see, towards Tara. The mouth of the Boyne, the ancient Inver Colptha, is just hidden by the hills of Dunany, Tully Esker, and Collon; but one's thoughts are nevertheless carried up the stream to those ancient burying-places of bygone days, New Grange, Dowth, and Knowth; and, to come down to later times, one can trace out King William's line of march from Newry to Ardee before the Battle of the Boyne.

Between the Boyne and Dundalk is the district in which lie such places as Monasterboice, Termonfeekin, and Ardee, to instance only a few; the latter bringing to mind Cuchulain's fight with his friend Ferdiaid at the ford there. Nearer to Faughart itself, and about two miles away, is the old home of Cuchulain, called Dundéalgan, which gave name to Dundalk, and is now known as the mote of Castletown. According to O'Curry it was built by a Firbolg chief of the name of Delga.

We can picture Cuchulain, and his charioteer Loeg, driving in his "seythed battle-chariot with its iron points, with its sharp edges and hooks, with its hard spikes, with its sharp nails projected from its shafts and straps, and tackle," drawn by the grey and black horses with the long and curly manes and tails, along the road which runs over Faughart, and which seems certainly to have been the old Slighe Míodhluaichra, one of the five great roads of Ireland, and the one which led from Tara to Emania. Its identity with part of the present road, leading from Dundalk through the Moyry Pass, appears to be established by the entry in O'Clery's Calendar, quoted by Miss Stokes, of the burial of Ernain, as follows:—

"Ernain Míodhluaichra ó Cill na Sácart,"
("Ernain of Míodhluaichra in Kíll na Ságart"),

together with extracts from the "Tripartite Life," placing it "in regione Conalliorum." Now, Kilnasagart lies only two miles from Faughart, on the other side of the Moyry Pass, and there is the old burying-ground, and the pillar-stone with the inscription recording its erection by the aforesaid Ernain, and of which there is a full description in Miss Stokes's "Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language."

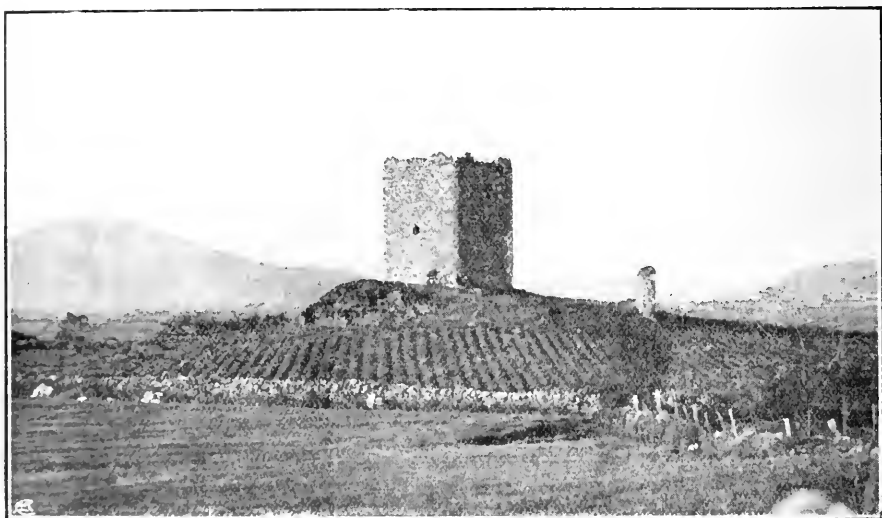
The country which lies below Faughart was anciently known as

Magh-Muirtheimhne, and the people who inhabited it as Conaille-Muirtheimhne. This was one of the plains of Ireland which was cleared of trees in the time of Neimhidh. There are numerous ring-forts to be seen from the hill of Faughart scattered over the country. The inhabitants of this plain, in the first few centuries of the Christian era, were the descendants of Conall Cearnach, one of the most celebrated of the Red Branch Knights, hence the name Conaille.

All this part of Louth, as far south as Inver Colptha, up to the year 332, belonged to Ulster; but in that year it was lost to the Clanna Rudhraighe by the defeat of Fergus Fogha, at Carn-Achaidh-Lethderg, at the hands of the three Collas, who were of the race of Conn the Hundred Fighter; and the descendants of Colla da Chrioch, known as the Oirghialla, took possession of it, and it then became known as Machaire Oirghiall, which name is still retained to the present day in the Anglicised form Oriel. Ware states, from an old tract, that whenever a hostage of the Oirghialla was fettered, golden chains were used for the purpose; and for that reason the people were called Oirghialla, that is "of the Golden Hostages." The dominant family in this particular part of Oirghiall, which was and is known as Orior, or the eastern part, were the O'Hanlons, who played a prominent part there for many centuries. One of the earliest notices of Magh Muirtheimhne, after it had been cleared of trees, is to be found in the tale of the Sons of Tuireann. It is there stated that Cian, father of Lugh Lamhfada, met the three sons of Tuireann, son of Ogma, on the plain, and in order to escape detection struck himself with a druidical rod and changed himself into a pig; and joining a herd of swine which were feeding there, proceeded to root up the ground as they did. The ruse, however, was unsuccessful, for he was detected. It was here, too, that Conchobar Mac Nessa, King of Ulster, sent Cuchulain to catch wild horses and harness them to chariots before the battle of Rossnaree. From this statement it may be gathered that there were large droves of wild horses in Ireland at this time, that is in the first century, and that they were caught and broken as required. That this was no light matter may be surmised from the fact that to do so successfully was looked upon as a "hero-feat." This district, indeed, seems to have been a great stock-raising country, even as it is at the present time, for there are numerous allusions to droves of pigs and horses, and to large spoils of cattle, including that greatest of all raids, "The cattle-raid of Cuailgne." Under the year 1083 the Four Masters record that Domhnall Ua Lochlainn, King of the Cinel Eoghain, made a "royal hosting into Conaille Muirtheimhne, whence he carried off a great spoil of cattle." And, again, in 1101, Donnchadh Ua Cearbhaill, lord of Meath, set out upon a predatory excursion into Fearnmhagh, and into Conaille, and took immense spoils of cows.

Turning now to the Moyry Pass, known in Mountjoy's time by the significant name of "The Gate of Ulster," of which the hill of

Faughart is the most defensible point to the south, it was most probably part of the Slighe Míodhluaehra. In the fourteenth century the name of the road became disguised under the forms Innermallane and Emerdullam. It is recorded in Grace's Annals that in the year 1343, Sir Ralph Ufford, the justiciary, "going into Ulster suffered great loss from Macartan in the pass of Emerdullam." Macartan was of the Clanna Rudhraighe; and it was only with the help of the Oirghialla, the ancient enemies of the Clanna Rudhraighe, that Sir Ralph finally made his escape into Ulster. In the sixteenth century it was known as Bealach-an-Mhaighre, and in 1834 Dr. O'Donovan found it was called Bothar a Mhaighre. As Bealach-an-Mhaighre it was very celebrated in O'Neill's wars with the English; the Four Masters say that in 1601 Lord Mountjoy



MOYRY CASTLE.

arrived at Bealach-an-Mhaighre. "This place was defended and watched by O'Neill's guards. Many men and troops of the English and Irish had been often lamentably slain and slaughtered about that Pass between O'Neill and the English." Having got the advantage of O'Neill, "he then pitched his camp on the spot which he thought proper on that road, and erected a castle of lime and stone upon a certain part of that road." He finished this castle in the course of a month, and left 200 soldiers to guard it. This castle is still to be seen in a fair state of preservation, and as Wright, in his Louthiana, states that Mountjoy encamped several times at Faughart, it was probably that place which was meant in the extract above quoted, as the spot where he stayed while the castle was building. After the defeat of the Ulidians by the three Collas, their

boundary-line was pushed back across the mountains to Gleann Ríge, through which an artificial boundary was formed; parts of which are still remaining in places and are known as the Dane's Cast, and in Irish "Gleann na muice dubhe," or the valley of the black pig, from the tradition that the long line of earthworks composing it were rooted up in one night by a huge black boar. According to Dr. O'Donovan, in a note in "The Book of Rights," this boundary is distinctly referred to in a manuscript in Trinity College, H. iii., 18, p. 783, as follows:—
 do'n taob abur do Shiond Ríge do ruínead sópánn gleanna
 Ríge o'n luáap anuap eatorpa 7 Clannaab Ruópaíge 7 nír
 fúlleáap Clanna Ruópaíge anun ó rin ale—*i.e.*, "on the hither side of Gleann Ríge, the boundary of Gleann Ríge was formed from the Newry upwards between them (*i.e.*, the Clann Colla) and the Clanna Rudhraighe; and the Clanna Rudhraighe never returned across it from that time to the present." Now portions of the Dane's Cast are to be seen about four miles from Faughart, near the ancient Gleann Ríge, in the parish of Killeavy, which lies at the foot of Slieve Gullion, celebrated for the romantic tale of Finn Mac Cumhal and the enchanted lake on its summit. That the men of Ulster did not tamely acquiesce in the curtailment of their territory may be gathered from the frequent accounts of fighting between them and the Oirghialla; and one of the fiercest of these fights took place close to the boundary-line at a place called Drumbanagher in 1032.

The old abbeys of Killeavy and Faughart were closely connected from the earliest times. The former suffered severely at the hands of the Danes of Snamh Aighneach, now Carlingford Lough, in 921.

The Carlingford mountains lie just to the east of Faughart, the Fews mountains meeting them here almost at right angles. Their ancient name was Slieve Cuailgne, so called from one of the sons of Milidh who was killed there while pursuing the defeated Tuatha-De-Danann after the battle of Tailtenn, in the year of the world 3500. It was on the slopes of these mountains that the brown bull grazed who caused the fierce struggle between the men of Connaught and Ulster, during which Cuchulain set the seal to his fame as the first champion of Ulster, and whose single combats with the heroes of Connaught are so vividly set forth in the Táin Bo Cuailgne. About two miles from Faughart on the southern edge of the Cuailgne mountains is the townland of Ballymascanlan, where there is a fine cromlech, known as the Proleek stone and Giant's Grave, which are fully described in "Wakeman's Antiquities." Who this son of Scanlan was who gave his name to the townland we have now no means of determining for certain; but it may be worth while to mention that the death of a Scanlan, son of Fingin, a descendant of Colla da Chrioch and chief of Ui Meith is recorded in the "Four Masters" at the year 672. Ui Meith, the modern O'Meath, was part of Cuailgne, and is only a short distance from Ballymascanlan, lying on the north side of the mountains on the shores of Carlingford Lough.

A description such as this is must of necessity be but a sketchy one ; but I think it will suffice to show that where the country round is so full of interest, it is not to be wondered at that a place holding such a commanding position in the very centre of it should itself have been the scene of many noteworthy events.

The earliest name under which Faughart seems to have been known was "Ard Aigneche in Croncech," the "height" of the district known as Aighnecha, which, according to the "Annals of Ulster," was the scene of a battle in 830, which the "Gentiles" gained over the "family" of Ard-Macha. "Aighnecha was probably that part of Muirtheimhne in the north-east of county Louth, lying near Carlingford Lough, whose ancient name was Snamh-Aighnech. According to the version of the Táin Bo Cuailgne given in the Leabhar na h-Uidhri, this name was changed to Fochard, the reason for which will be given in the extract quoted further on. It was afterwards known as Fochard Muirtheimhne, Fochard, Fachayrd, Faghirt, Faugher, or Faughard. The earliest notices of the place are in the Táin ; the references to it being most interesting, as they give some quaint derivations of the name, and also show it to have been the meeting-place between Cuchulain and Medhbh for a parley during the foray, and the scene of several of the former's exploits. After the killing of Redg, the satirist, the ancient chronicler says that "Cuchulain turned back to Magh-Muirtheimhne ; he liked better to defend his own home. After he went he killed the men of Crocen (or Croncech) *i.e.*, Fochard ; twenty men of Fochard." After the taking of Dun Sobhairce by Medhbh, she came south ; "and they all meet then at Focherd, both Ailill and Medhbh and the troop that drove the bull. But their herd took their bull from them, and they drove him across into a narrow gap," &c. This was probably one of the gaps in the hills by the Moyry Pass leading towards Slieve Gullion, from whence they had brought the bull. We next read of it as the place in which Cuchulain killed Ferbaeth with a throw of his spear. "That is a throw indeed," said Ferbaeth. Hence is Focherd Muirtheimhne (or it is Fiacha who had said, "Your throw is vigorous to-day O'Cuchulain," said he ; so that Focherd Muirtheimhne is from that). Upon which Fergus said:—

"The hill is named Fithi (?) for ever

Crocech in Muirtheimhne ;

From to-day Focherd will be the name of the place in which thou didst
fall, O Ferbaeth."

Medhbh then was greatly distressed at the number of champions of her host who had been killed by Cuchulain, and she decided to invite him to an appointment to make peace with him, and there lay an ambush for him. "The meeting-place was in Ard Aigneche, which is called Fochaird to-day." There she set an ambush of fourteen men for Cuchulain, but he killed them all ; so that they are the fourteen men of Focherd, and they are the men of Croncech, for it is in Croncech at Focherd that they

were killed. Hence Cuchulain said—"Good is my feat of heroism," &c. So it is from this that the name Focherd stuck to the place; that is "focherd"—*i.e.*, "good is the feat of arms that happened to Cuchulain there"—"Fo" meaning good, and "cherd" feat. After the killing of Loch "fair play was broken" with Cuchulain, and five men were sent against him, whom he killed. "Hence is Coiesius Focherda or Coicer Oengoir; or it is fifteen days that Cuchulain was in Focherd, and hence is Coiesius Focherda in the Foray. Cuchulain hurled at them from Delga, so that not a living thing, man or beast, could put its head past him southwards between Delga and the sea."

From the above extracts it would appear that Focherd was the headquarters of Medhbh and the Connaught men, and that Cuchulain came out from his dun at Delga, a few miles off, to fight their various champions.

I can find no trace of the name Cronech or Crocen now.

The next notice of Fochard is in the "Annals of the Four Masters," under the year 248, as follows:—"A battle at Fochard Muirtheimhne by Cormac this year."

This Cormac was son of Art, son of Conn the Hundred Fighter, King of Ireland; but the Annals do not state whom the battle was fought against; it was, however, probably the Ulstermen.

We now come to the event which gives to Faughart its chief claim to celebrity—that is the birth of St. Brigid. Sir James Ware says:—"She was born at Fochard, in the county of Louth, and was the fruit of an unlawful amour between her father, Dubtach—a man of considerable rank in his country—and her mother, Brocessa or Brotseach, whom he had purchased for his servant." Dubtach's wife, however, obliged him to discharge her out of his service, and he sold her to a poet, "who carried her to the north of Ireland, where she was delivered of this saint." When she grew up, she was sent back to her father. This statement explains the passage in Colgan (*Brit. Eceles. Antiqq.*):—

"De Brigidæ adventu in patriam suam, Lageniæ nempe provinciam, in qua a patre Dubtacho genita est (natam enim illam in villa Fachayrd, quæ est in provincia ultonum et regione quæ dicitur Conayll Murthemni idem jam dixerat.)"

Ussher, in his "Primordia," gives the same words. I may, however, remark that they are both in error in quoting "Fachayrd" as in the province of Ulster, as "Conayll Muirthemni" had ceased to belong to Ulster more than a hundred years before the birth of St. Brigid.

Again, on p. 705, writing of St. Monenna, Ussher says:—"Intra alterum autem a Dundalkia militarium in Louthiano comitatu et territorio olim Conayl-Muirthemni et Campo Murthemene . . . hodie Maghery-Conall dicto, posita est villa Fochard: quem locum nativitatis Brigidæ virginis habitum fuisse, et in Vita Malachii notavit olim

Bernardus, et hodierna totius vicinæ traditio Fochardam Brigidiæ eam appellantis etiam nunc confirmat."

This reference to the tradition of the neighbourhood is interesting, inasmuch as the tradition is just as strong to-day as it was in Ussher's time. St. Brigid is said to have been born, according to Ussher, in 439 A.D.; but Henry of Marlborough places her birth later:—"An. 468 natam fuisse S. Brigidam in Hibernia apud Faghirt, Henricus Marlburgensis affirmat."

Taking events in their chronological order, we next come to the foundation of the church, concerning the date of which there is considerable difference of opinion. The evidence is very conflicting, owing to the confusion of two St. Darercas—one of whom was St. Patrick's sister, and abbess of Lin, in Antrim; and the other the founder of Killeavy, at the foot of Slieve Gullion, near to Faughart, and whose other name was Moninna. As it seems impossible to reconcile the various statements regarding the date, I shall only give what evidence I can, and leave others to decide.

The confusion seems to have originated with Ussher in the following passage:—

"Et post acceptum ab eodem Patricio virginale pallium in divinis studiis nutritam, Brigidiæ et aliis aliquot Virginibus se junxisse, ac primum Fochardæ in nativitate S. Brigidiæ ecclesiam ædificavisse, ibidemque centum et quinquaginta virginibus præfuisse; deinde Orbila quæ est Servila, abbatissa ibi relicta, juxta Colmi montem consedisset in loco qui vocatur Chelle-Sleve; id est Cellula montis, ecclesiam alteram constituisse narrat." Ussher used the ancient Life of St. Moninna written by Conchubhranus.

Colgan, in his Life of St. Darerca, on March 22, says that Ussher confounds the two Darercas, the sister of St. Patrick and the founder of Killeavy; the former of whom is honoured on March 22nd, and the latter on July 6th; and Dr. O'Donovan, in a note in the "Four Masters," says they were clearly different persons, and quotes Colgan's refutation of Ussher.

We then find Sir James Ware stating that the Abbey of Faughart was founded by St. Moninna, *alias* Darerca, in 630, as a nunnery of Canonesses of the Order of St. Augustin; and on the same page he gives Darerca as the founder of Killeavy in the fifth century.

Archdall, in his "Monasticon Hibernicum," says that, according to Ussher, it was founded by St. Moninna, in 630, in honour of St. Brigid, and that others ascribe its foundation to St. Darerca, sister of St. Patrick; and, again, under Killeavy, he says that Ussher confounds the two Darercas, one of whom was Abbess of Lin, and the other founder of Killeavy.

Now, St. Moninna, or Darerca, of Killeavy, died in 517, according to

the Four Masters, or 518 in the Annals of Ulster; and she was then one hundred and eighty years old, according to the Féilire of Oenghus:—

“ Nine score years together,
According to rule, without warmth,
Without folly, without crime, without fault,
Was the age of Moninne.”

To still further confuse matters, the tradition of the neighbourhood is that St. Moninna was a sister of St. Brigid, and that she founded both abbeys; but this does not tally with the pedigree of the St. Moninna of Killeavy given in the Féilire on July 6, as follows:—“Of Ui Eachach of Ulster was she—*i.e.*, Moninne, daughter of Mochta, son of Lilach, son of Lugaid, son of Rossa, son of Imchad, son of Fedlimid, son of Cas, son of Fiachta Araide, son of Oengus Goibniu.”

But it does agree with her ancestry given by Colgan, and quoted by Archdall, who says she was “of the Rodericks of Ulster”—that is, the Clanna Rudhraighe, Ui Eachach being the present Iveagh, part of the territory of the Clanna Rudhraighe.

Ussher, again quoting from Conchubhranus, says she was a native of Conaille Muirtheimhne:—“In quo Conaleorum gens maxime viget, de qua et ipsa Santissima Monenna procreata est, ut habet in libri Vitæ illius initio Conchubhranus.”

The reason of her change of name from Darerca to Moninna is given in the Féilire, for she miraculously cured a dumb poet of his ailment, and his first word on regaining his speech was “Ninnin,” and from thenceforth she was called “Mo-nine”—that is, “my Nine,” by her nuns, the pronouns “my” and “thy” being constantly prefixed to the names of saints as terms of endearment. The probability is that both Faughart and Killeavy were founded by a St. Moninna; but that they could not have been the same person is clear from the appearance of the two churches; that at Killeavy being evidently considerably older. The dates of their foundations may therefore be taken as correct; but the identity of the founder of Faughart, at any rate, seems now to be lost in oblivion. All the writers quoted above agree in saying that Faughart was founded in honour of St. Brigid, and that it accommodated a hundred and fifty canonesses at the same time. In the quotation given from Ussher the words “Brigidæ et aliis aliquot virginibus se junxisse” mean that she joined the order of religious women founded by St. Brigid, and lived under the rule which the latter had drawn up for her nuns in accordance with the custom pursued by the early founders of monasteries.

Ware says in his day Faughart was a parish church. We find Faughart mentioned as the scene of a battle between Aedh Allan, son of Faerghal, son of Maelduin, King of Ireland, and the Clanna Neill of the north, against the Ulidians, where Aedh Roin, King of Ulidia, was slain, and his head was cut off on Cloch an Chommaigh, in the doorway of the

Church of Fochard. Dr. O'Donovan translates these words as "the stone of breaking or decapitation," and says that it was still pointed out in the doorway of the church; but from enquiries I made I could get no trace of it now. In this battle which must have been one of some magnitude, many nobles and men of Ulster were slain, including Conchadh, son of Cuanach, chief of Cobha. The cause of this battle was the profanation of Cileunna, now Kileoony, in Tyrone, by one of Aedh Roin's people; and Congus, successor of Patriek, composed the following quatrain to incite Aedh Allan to avenge the sacrilege:—

"Say unto the cold Aedh Allan that I have been oppressed by a feeble army;
Aedh Roin insulted me last night at Cill-Cunna of the sweet music."

The Four Masters continue:—

"Aedh Allan collected his forces at Fochard, and Aedh Allan composed (these verses) on his march to the battle," &c.

The Annals of Ulster give the date of this battle as 734; the Four Masters as 732.

There is no notice in the Annals of any event of importance having taken place at Faughart until we come to the year 1146, when a brief notice in the Four Masters relates that "Fochard-Muirtheimhne was all burned." But who or what was the cause of the burning is not given. This statement does not mean that the walls were burned, but the roof and doors, &c., the former of which were most commonly of wood in the early Irish churches, according to Dr. Petrie. The use of the word "all" in this passage confirms the impression which one gets from the account of the abbey in Ware's works—namely, that it was a place of considerable size; for, besides the church, other wooden buildings, such as *duirtheachs*, are evidently implied.

At the year 1318 the Four Masters record the defeat and death of Edward Bruce by the English at Dundalk. The exact scene of the battle was Faughart; and I think it is worth giving here the quaint account of it from Macgeoghegan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnois. He says:—

"Edward Bruise, a destroyer of all Ireland, in generall, both English and Irish, was killed by the English in battle by their valour at Dundalk, 14th October, 1318, together with MacRowrie, king of the Islands, and MacDonnel, prince of the Irish (Gaels) of Scotland, with many other Scottish men. Edward Bruise seeing the enemy encamped before his face, and fearing his brother, Robert Bruise, King of Scotland (that came to this kingdom for his assistance), would acquire and gett the glorie of that victorie, which he made himself believe he would gett, of the Anglo-Irish, which he was sure he was able to overthrow without the assistance of his said brother, he rashly gave them the assault, and was therein slain himself, as is declared, to the great joye and comfort of the whole kingdom in

generally, for there was not a better deed that redounded more to the good of the kingdom since the creation of the world, and since the banishment of the Fine Fomores out of this land, done in Ireland than the killing of Edward Bruce, for their reigned scarcity of victuals, breach of promises, ill performances of covenants, and the loss of men and women thro'out the whole kingdom for the space of three years and a half that he bore sway, insomuch that men did commonly eat one another for want of sustenance during his time."

The Annals of Ulster and the Four Masters both agree in giving Edward Bruce the same character, and both also, together with Grace and Pembridge, bear eloquent testimony to the famine and misery which prevailed in Ireland during his occupation of it. Dr. O'Donovan states, from the Anglo-Irish accounts of this battle, that the victory was due to the bravery of an Anglo-Irish knight, one John Maupas, who was determined to kill Bruce, and for that purpose fought his way devotedly to the place where he saw him, and that after the battle his body was found stretched across that of Bruce. The numbers of the forces engaged in this battle are variously stated, and appear to have been very considerable. Marlborough says the forces of the English amounted to 1,324 men, and that 8,274 Scots were slain. Walsingham says 29 Scottish Barons and 5,800 men were slain. On the English side, however, were a number of Irish, which Marlborough does not mention. Barbour states that a certain Gib Harper wore Bruce's armour, and that his body was, consequently, mistaken for that of Bruce, and his head was salted in a "kest," and sent as a present to the King of England. Dr. Drummond was of opinion that Bruce was buried in the graveyard at Faughart, and says that a pillar-stone marked his grave. There is no trace of it now. He also adds that every peasant in the neighbourhood can point out "King Bruce's" grave. This is the case also at the present time. The spot where Bruce fell was pointed out to me in the field to the south of the church, and on the opposite side of the road to it; and it is likely that Bruce chose this particular place for his headquarters on account of its commanding position. His head was sent to the king, and his hands and heart are said to have been carried to Dublin; but tradition, supported by Dr. Drummond, assigns a place in the churchyard to his body.

In the year 1595 O'Neill and O'Donnell were in alliance against the English, and the Lord Justice and Council sent a thousand warriors to Iubhar-Chinn-Tragha, now Newry, to make war on the Kinel-Owen; and the Lord Justice promised to follow them with more troops, whereupon O'Neill and O'Donnell joined their forces at Fochard-Muntheimhne, and waited for him; the Lord Justice, however, when he heard that, evidently thought discretion the better part of valour, and, as the Four Masters say, "He remained in Dublin for that time."

A year after the event above recorded O'Neill and O'Donnell were getting the better of the English, and the latter proposed a peace with

O'Neill, and sent their ambassadors, the Earl of Ormond, and Mulmurray Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel, to try and make terms with them. They all met at "Faughard-Muirtheimhne," where the Council was held, the result of which was that the Irish rejected the terms on account of the "many that had been ruined by the English since their arrival in Ireland by specious promises, which they had not performed."

After the "Flight of the Earls," and the subsequent decay of the power of the old Celtic Septs on account of the Plantation of Ulster, Faughart seems to have taken upon itself its present peaceful aspect. But we may well believe that that old hill has many times been the silent witness, since those days, of deeds which, although unrecorded in history, make it the repository of secrets one would fain unravel.



FAUGHART—NORTH WALL OF CHURCH.

The remains on the hill consist of the ruins of the church, situated in a good-sized graveyard, in which there is a very interesting old holy well; and the mote, which is a short distance from the church. Coming up the old road from Dundalk, the church lies on the right-hand side, when the top is reached. It is now practically all in ruins, only the two side walls of the nave remaining, and a few feet in height of the side walls and east end wall of the chancel. The church faces east and west, and measures in all 77 feet long by 22 feet. The chancel is 28 feet long. The owner of the land, whose family have been in possession for many generations, told me that many years ago he could remember a good deal more standing than there is at present; that not so much of the wall between nave and chancel had fallen down, and that the west end door was still to be seen, and that

it was small and arched. At present the whole of the west end is open, except for a few feet on each side, which have been recently done up and pointed, and the angles squared, without any of the old characteristics being retained. In the north wall are the remains of a fairly large window high up, which must have had a wide internal splay, and from the position of one or two stones remaining at the top, it was probably arched by overlapping stones. The masonry consists of rubble in the lower courses; the large stones are unhewn, and the interstices filled with smaller stones, and thin ones fitted in. The upper parts are almost entirely composed of thin stones laid flat, and looking like tiles—a form of masonry which, I believe, is known as rag-work; mortar of some kind appears to have been used. Dr. Petrie states, in his “Round Towers and Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland,” that the stones used in three or four of the lower courses from the foundation are often of considerably greater size than those above them; and this is the case here, although it is more noticeable in the south wall than in the north. There is no sign of a window in the south wall.

The graveyard is very much overgrown, but is still used as a burying-ground. The tomb of Edward Bruce is said to be at the south-west corner of the church, between the wall and the gate leading into the graveyard; and my informant told me that he had many times seen it years ago, and that it was covered with a flat stone raised several inches above the ground, which had originally had lettering on it, which was then worn away, and the stone had since been covered by the earth thrown out when digging fresh graves. He admitted that Bruce’s head had been cut off and taken away; but he was firm in his statement that the rest of the body was buried there, and said that such had always been the tradition.

The well, which is on the north side of the graveyard, is a most interesting relic, and is known as St. Brigid’s Well. It is in shape like a stone-roofed oratory, narrowing to a ridge along the top and presenting a triangular appearance when viewed from the front. From the bottom of the door to the top of the roof it is 10 feet 7 inches, and about 4 feet 8 inches across at the widest part, having the corners rounded. It runs back about 7 feet 3 inches. The doorway has inclined jambs; it is 3 feet 4 inches high; the width across the top is 21 inches, and across the bottom 25½ inches. The stone across the top does not extend right through; there is another stone of almost similar width, but they do not quite join, and, looking up through the opening between them, it seems as if the interior of the walls was filled with smaller stones joined with some kind of mortar; but in recent years the whole of the outside and inside has been freshly plastered and also any open spaces which appeared in the walls, and it is consequently hard to say whether any material was used for joining the work or not; but I am inclined to think from a small piece of very hard-looking substance, which was found below the outside

covering of plaster, that mortar was used, and from its appearance that it was largely composed of sea-shells. For the same reason it is hard to tell what the size of the stones which face the building were, but they seem to be small and well-fitted. Some years ago, too, a branch of one of the old ash-trees which grow on each side of the door fell down on the roof, which had to be repaired on the top; and it is probable that the whole was touched up at the same time. There are two steps leading



FAUGHART—ST. BRIGID'S WELL.

down to the inside, much worn and covered with earth, and the chamber which is reached is 6 feet high by 5 feet 5 inches long by 2 feet 9 inches broad. Part of the floor is taken up with the well itself, which seems always to have water a few inches deep in it, and part with a flagstone covering the floor. The top is curious; the sides of the walls converge slightly towards the top, and the corners are rounded off until the top is

nearly circular. The centre is open, enabling the stones which fill the space between the top of the interior and the apex of the roof to be seen. This central hole in the top was probably originally closed with an overlapping stone, which has since fallen away. Dr. Petrie instances this well as one of the few cases in which the building covering it is of the same shape as the stone-roofed oratories. From the appearance of the path leading to the well, it would appear as if the practice of going "desiul" or sunwise to it was still followed. The trees standing on each side are festooned with rags of all kinds and rosaries.

I may add that neither priest nor parson has any control over the churchyard or anything in it; it belongs entirely to the people of the place, and nothing can be touched in it without their sanction. This is probably a curious survival of the tribal system, when, as Dr. Joyce remarks, in his "Social History of Ancient Ireland," the tribe was a "mere local association of people occupying a definite district and bound together by common customs, by common interests, by living under one ruler, and in some degree by the fiction of descent from one common ancestor." They had their own church, which was presided over by the Abbot, who, doubtless, in many instances, was the younger brother of the chief of the tribe; just as in modern times we so often find the eldest son getting the property and the younger the parish. And in the case of a nunnery, a lady of the family of the chief of the tribe was often likewise placed at the head; an instance of which is to be found at Killeavy, where Alicia Nigen M'Donchey O'Hanlon was the last prioress, in the reign of King James I. The O'Haulons, as has been stated, were the lords of Orior, in which Killeavy is situated.

A few hundred yards from the church, and on the left-hand side of the road going north, stands the mote, a large grassy mound measuring, approximately, round the base 396 feet; the sides slope up to the top, which is flat and 50 feet across. It is 38 feet high, and is chiefly made of stones covered with turf, and with terraces running round it; but what these were for I am at a loss to understand, unless they were part of some scheme for defence, when the mote in later times was probably used for a watch-tower. Wright, in "Louthiana" (1748), says there had formerly been some sort of octagonal building on the top, but whether a tower or parapet only it is not possible to say. There is, however, nothing to lead one to that opinion now, the stones on the top which show being in all likelihood some of those which composed the mound. But it is highly probable that there was a turret or some such building on it at one time, parts of which were no doubt remaining in Wright's time; and this was most likely a tower built during the wars between O'Neill and the English, to watch the Moyry Pass; as there are several such turrets remaining in ruins in commanding positions along the Few's Mountains. There is a very curious sloping ascent up the

mound on the western side, noticed by Mr. Westropp as being very similar to the one at Magh Adhair. The whole mote is surrounded by a fosse, varying in width from 16 feet, the far side of which is faced with dry stone masonry. In the accompanying photograph, the object on the top is an Ordnance Survey mark. The owner of the land told me that there is a souterrain running from the mote in the direction of the church, the entrance to which, as far as I could gather, is in the wall of the fosse. In his father's time this was open and people used to go in to see it, but one day some practical joker of the neighbourhood, hearing that a party of sightseers was coming, put a lighted candle in the chamber at the end, upon seeing which the people, thinking they were in a "sidhe," turned and fled, and one man hit his head and hurt himself so badly that the entrance has since been closed up. And I very much regret that, owing to the exigencies of farming operations, I was unable



MOTE AT FAUGHART.

to persuade the owner to open it again for my inspection. I can, therefore, only give what he told me about it. He says the sides and top of the passage are composed of large blocks of stone, such as are to be found on the hill at the present day; that some way along the passage was a large stone making it a difficult matter to get any further—no doubt a defensive precaution such as exists in the Cashel at Inismurray. The passage towards the end takes a sharp turn before entering the chamber at the end. This is all I could learn from him; but from the description I should gather that the souterrain follows the usual form.

On the south side of the hill, below the church, the ground is cut away very sharply in several places, making it appear as if there had been extensive earthworks extending round it at some time; but this may be more conjecture; also on the west side of the hill below the

mote is a deep ravine, which may also have been made by the hand of man for defensive purposes.

The owner of the land told me that he had often turned up with the plough old swords, but they all crumbled away at once; and also quantities of bullets.

Below the hill is St. Brigid's stream, at which stations used to be performed.

I think enough has now been said to show that Faughart is entitled to a high position in the long list of historic places in Ireland; and its commanding position and the beauty of the surrounding country cannot fail to make it an object of interest, not only to all those who love to look on nature in her fairest mood, but also to that ever-increasing class to whom the ancient history of Ireland is such an absorbing study. It is a spot where the varying drama of human life is played before the mental vision, presenting a vivid picture of those old heroes, from Cuchulain with his shield-hand covered with twenty wounds killing the fourteen men of the Amazonian queen of Connaught, single-handed, to the crash of mailed knights and the wild "Lamh dearg aboo" of O'Neill, as he comes to the onslaught through those passes at the head of kern and gallowglass; or again, sitting on his horse for hours on that wild January day, his astute mind weighing the promises of the English queen, brought to him by her ambassadors, during the great struggle between the Celt and Saxon for Ulster.

The scene changes: the setting sun casts his rays on those early labourers for Christianity, carrying their frugal fare, gathered and garnered with their own hands, to the home built on the spot where that poor little waif, destined to become one of the greatest saints in the calendar, first saw the light.

For the extracts above given from the "Four Masters," the "Féilire of Oenghus," and the "Táin Bo Cuailgne," I am indebted to the translations of Dr. O'Donovan, Dr. Whitley Stokes, and Miss Farraday, respectively.

[Notices of Faughart, past and present, with illustrations, will be found in the "Journal" of the Louth Archæological Society, also in that of the Kildare Archæological Society, 1901 (vol. iii., pp. 217, 218), where there is a paper, by Major-General Stubbs, on the "Birthplace and Life of St. Brigit of Kildare," with a view of her well at Faughart.—
ED.]

Miscellanea.

Liamhain, now represented by Lyons, near Newcastle-Lyons.— This identification was suggested to me by Mr. Charles M'Neill, in the discussion which followed the reading of my paper on Carman. The following grounds for considering his suggestion correct have occurred to me, and for these I alone am responsible:—

1. Neither *Liamhain* nor *Dun Liamhna* would regularly yield Dunlavin, with which it has hitherto been identified. The stressed vowel-sounds are quite different. Liamhain assonates with *ar n-iarair* and with *bladhain*.

2. Newcastle-Lyons, or Newcastle de Leuan, as we find the name generally written throughout the thirteenth century, was a royal manor. *Leuan* would nearly represent the sound of Liamhain in this century, and the corruption to Lyons, probably pronounced at first like the French town, Lyon, is easy to follow. The Charter Roll of the 9th John contains a grant to "Dermot Mac Gilmeholmoe of all the land held by Gilleholmoe his father, namely Lymerhim (Liamhain), with 15 carucates of land in the vale of Dublin," saving to the king the cantred in the land of Limeric (a further corruption of Liamhain), which the king, when Earl of Morton, had given to the said Dermot (Sweetman's "Calendar," vol. i., No. 356). Another portion of the district called Limerun Kilmacdalowey, was afterwards taken into the king's hands for the improvement of the Manor of Newcastle (*ibid.*, No. 569; and see Mr. Mills' Paper in our *Journal*, 1894, page 162). This grant of John's to Dermot Macgillamochoilmog was probably not the first, but was confirmatory of a lost previous grant to his father Domhnall, who had sided with the Normans (see Song of Dermot, l. 2283, *et seq.*, and note). It is evident that Domhnall Macgillamochoilmog was left in possession of his principal seat, and this was probably in the parish of Lyons, which seems to have been outside the Manor of Newcastle. Here, on the top of the Hill of Lyons, where I am told by Mr. M'Neill, faint earthworks may be traced, was probably the ancient Dun Liamhna.

3. To turn to the passages which indicate the position of Liamhain. The notes to the "Calendar of Oengus," May 3, inform us that wolves devoured Conclaid, Bishop of Kildare, "at Sciaich Conclaid, beside Liamain, in Mag Laigen." The district about Lyons was certainly in Magh Laighean, but the hilly country about Dunlavin could hardly have been included in any plain, even if Magh Laighean was regarded as coming so far south, for which I know no evidence. There is, too, a townland called Skoagh adjoining the parish of Lyons, which very probably

represents Sciaich Conclaid, as there is no other townland commencing with this word in Dublin, Kildare, or Wicklow.

4. The same "Calendar," December the 9th, mentions the two daughters of Ailill (son of Dunlang, King of Leinster) in *airthir liphí*, the east of Liffey, and the notes amplify this into "Cell Ingen Ailella, beside Liamain, in the east of the plain of Liffey" (though one ms. has, by mistake, in the west of the plain of Liffey). Now, Dunlavin is not in Magh Liffey at all, while Leuan (Lyons) is in the east of the plain of Liffey. It is tempting to regard Killinenny, near Tallaght, as Cell Ingen Ailella; but a note in the same Calendar, October 26th, hesitatingly ascribes this church to the four daughters of Iar. It is more probable that Clonaglis (*Cluain Eaglaise*), a small parish "implicated in" the parish of Lyons, contained the church in question. The church is frequently mentioned in the Register of St. Thomas, Dublin.

5. Muirheartach of the Leathern Cloaks, in his regular progress round Ireland, came to Liamain from Ath Cliath, and before reaching Aillenn, whence he went on to Belach-Mughna (Ballaghmoone) ("Circuit of Ireland," I.A.S., p. 37). If Liamain = Leuan, this would be quite regular; but if Liamain = Dunlavin, it would involve an unaccountable doubling back on his route. (As to Glan-mama, see next note.)

6. The references to Liamhain, in the "Book of Rights," all point to, or at least agree with, the identification of Liamhain with Leuan, while they present, apparently, insuperable difficulties to its identification with Dunlavin—(a) The King of Cashel, when King of Ireland, presents "thirty ships to the heroes of Liamhain" (p. 40); an appropriate gift to the lord of Ui Donnchadha, whose territory (including that of the usually subordinate tribes of Cualu), when not usurped by the Northmen, reached the sea-coast, but an unexplained mockery to the heroes of Dunlavin. Besides, if this whole section be carefully read, it will be seen that the king of each district mentioned is supposed to escort the King of Ireland in his progress to the next place mentioned. That "the King of the entrenched Ath Cliath" should perform this service as far as his neighbours the Ui Donnchadha, is intelligible, but he could hardly be expected to go right through Ui Faelain away down to Dunlavin (cf. *Introd. "Book of Rights,"* p. xxxvi). (b) "Liamhain over the sea he shall pilot" (p. 203). Again pointing to a sea-board district. (c) When we come to the stipends payable to the *reguli* of Leinster, we find again—"Eight ships to the lord of Cualann" (p. 207). This is meant to include the district before denoted by Liamhain. For, whatever may have been the case in 1636 (O'Donovan's note, p. 13), it is quite certain that in earlier times Cualu extended up to the Liffey, for Dublin was called Ath Cliath Cualann. Besides, Ui Donnchadha must in this section be included in Cualu, otherwise it is not mentioned at all. Dunlavin, on the other hand, was, I presume, in Ui Muireadhaigh, a territory here, as elsewhere, denoted by Raiclinn (p. 210), or Rairiu

(see v. 1., p. 286, *Ri Rairend*), identified with the fort of Mullaghreeion, or Reerin, about five miles south-east of Athy. (*d*) Then there is the section commencing p. 224, which could not have been written before the foreigners were in full possession of Ath Cliath (tenth century), and which, of course, contains a good deal of spurious history. Here Liamhain is spoken of as in the hands of the foreigners (pp. 228–230), as O'Donovan notices. That Leuan (Lyons) should have been at one time in their possession is what we might expect, *e.g.*, when Domhnall Claen (of the Ui Donnchadha), King of Leinster, was taken prisoner by them (FM. 977); but that they ever settled in Dunlavin, or anywhere near it, is unsupported by anything we know about them.—GODDARD H. ORPEN.

Site of the Battle of Glen-Mama.—The above location of Liamhain in the neighbourhood of Newcastle-Lyons involves a reconsideration of the site of Glen-mama. The only passage I know of that indicates this site (except so far as it can be inferred from the accounts of the battle itself) is the one already referred to in the “Circuit of Ireland,” by Muirheartach MacNeill, a poem, according to O'Donovan, written in the year 942 by Cormacan Eigeas. After describing the stay of this Prince in Ath-Cliath, the poet continues:—

“ We were a night at Liamhain ;
 There were many in pursuit behind us ;
 The Lagenians (who assembled) at Glen-mama [outside of us, *i míúgh*],
 And the comely race of Kennsealach.
 A conspiracy (was formed) against us at Glen-mama
 By the Lagenians very boldly ;
 (But) they durst not approach us
 When the bright day came.
 We were a night at the cold Aillinn,” &c.

Glen-mama appears, therefore, to have been near Liamhain (Lyons), or, at any rate, near the route between Liamhain and Knockaulin. Nevertheless, topographers, having assumed the identity of Liamhain and Dunlavin, have sought for the site of Brian's battle among the hills to the east of that town. Father Shearman, in particular, reconstructs the battle here with every incident, recorded or imaginary, connected with some spot of ground (“Wars of the G. and G.,” p. cxliv). He says, indeed, that the name Glen-mama is unknown, or utterly forgotten, and relies merely on traditions of a great battle with the Danes. He never seems to have asked himself what induced Brian, who was marching from Munster to besiege Ath-Cliath, to entangle himself among the trackless hills to the east of Dunlavin, or what induced the Danes to defend their fortress by attacking Brian there.

Now, if we read the account of the battle (“Wars of the G. and G.,” p. 111) on the supposition that Glen-mama was near Leuan (Lyons),

the tactics on both sides become intelligible. "Brian," we are told, "marched with a great muster of the men of Munster against the men of Leinster, and against the foreigners, *i.e.*, to lay siege to Ath-Cliath, until the foreigners should submit to him. But now the cattle, and the families of Leinster, were sent into the angle of the foreigners (*in ascaill Gall*), and into Ui Briuin Chualann, and into Ui Gabhra, and into Ui Donehadha. And the Leinstermen and the foreigners came beyond their families to meet Brian, and into his presence, *i.e.*, to Glen-mama. They met there," &c.

Brian would naturally come by the Slighe Dala, and, at any rate, we should expect him to approach Dublin by the ordinary route *via* Naas and Rathcoole. The foreigners and the Leinstermen, or, at least, such of them as sided with the Danes, sent their families for safety to "the angle of the foreigners" (*i.e.*, Ath-Cliath, or, rather, the Dyflinarskiri, for we are no longer forced to invent an "angle of the foreigners near Dunlavin,") and to the territories mentioned, which were all in South Dublin. For Ui Gabhra read Ui Gabhla, as the editor suggests, but note that we have not to go to the south of Kildare for this tribe, for there was a tribe of this name near Dublin. In the siege of Edair or Howth, Conall Cearnach, who traversed this exact route in the opposite direction, "took the road past Ath Cliath and Drimnagh, through Hy Gavla, into Forcarthain, by Uactar-Ard and Naas, to Clane." (I quote from Stokes's translation, as given in Miss Hull's "Cuchullin Saga," p. 90). Having thus disposed of their women behind them, the Dano-Lagenian force advanced to meet Brian at Glen-mama. Now, though I have not been able to trace this name, all the conditions would seem to be satisfied by supposing it to have been the name of that portion of the road from Naas to Dublin which leads from Kill to Rathcoole. It lies between the hills of Oughterard, Lyons and Newcastle, on the one side, and those of Saggart on the other. No doubt these hills are not very high, nor do they form such a mountain defile as would seem to be indicated by the name Glen-mama, if *mama* is to be regarded as the same word as *madhma*, genitive of *maidhm*, "a breach or burst," as in *maidhm talnhan*, "an earthquake." But the only attested instance of the word, so far as I know (and I may be wrong), is *maidm-loch* in the County of Sligo, and this has been Anglicised Moymlagh (Down Survey), now Moymlough, or Meemlough (FM. a° 1490, p. 1185). But Glen M^ama assonates with *lámha* and *dána*. It is, no doubt, impossible to distinguish the word from the maam or maum-names in Joyce's country, and other places in the west; but I should be inclined to suppose that all these were simply the word *mám* or *máam*, genitive *máma*, translated *jugum* (Windisch, Wörterbuch), and, like the Latin *jugum*, may well have been applied to quite a low mountain ridge.

If I am wrong, however, and if Glen Mama is to be regarded as equivalent to *Glen madhma*, and to involve the idea of bursting or

breaking asunder (see Joyce's "Names," 5th ed., vol. i., p. 176), then certainly the name would be more appropriate to the more mountainous defile between Blessington and Brittas. Brian may have had good reasons—the presence of Liamhain, for instance, or the hope of surprising the foreigners—for avoiding the ordinary route, and choosing this defile instead. After forcing it, he would then probably have advanced by Ballynascorney and Bohernabreena, for this seems to have been the line of the *Bothar Cualann*. (See Mr. Mills' Paper in our *Journal* for 1894, p. 171, where he has unearthed the name "Bothireolyn.") The Leinstermen, too, who "formed the conspiracy" against Muirheartach at Glen Mama, may have come in the reverse way from the vale of Ath Cliath, intending, though not having the courage, to cut off Muirheartach on his route from Liamhain to Aillenn. In the absence of finding the name it is not wise to dogmatise as to the exact locality; but I think it is clear that we should look for Glen Mama somewhere in this neighbourhood, and not near Dunlavin.—GODDARD H. ORPEN.

Bullauns at Burren, County Down.—The accompanying photographs represent two stones, which I take to be Bullauns. They are both situated in the townland of Burren, near Warrenpoint, County Down; a thinly populated district of which the greater part consists of a valley lying between rocky hills, as its name implies, and which seems at one time to have been covered with water. The two stones lie within about a mile of each other. The better specimen of the two stands at the point where three roads meet, and is very firmly fixed in the ground, standing about 2 feet 6 inches above the level of the road. It measures 2 feet by 18 inches across the top. The hole is nearly circular, and is $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep; 11 inches across the mouth, and 6 inches across the bottom, which is quite smooth and nicely finished off. It is nearly always full of water. There is a very old whitethorn tree growing in the fence close by, and within a quarter of a mile is a small but perfect cromlech with several old whitethorns growing round it. (See fig. No. 1, page 81.)

The second one is at the angle of a wall dividing a cottage garden from the main road, and seems to have been taken from its original position to make the corner stone of the wall. The basin is not so deep as in the other stone. It is $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. It, too, is nearly circular at the mouth, which is 10 inches across, tapering to 3 inches at the bottom. The whole stone measures 19 inches across its widest part, and stands about the same distance out of the ground. (See fig. No. 2, page 82.)

I was also shown what purported to be another of these stones also built into a wall between a cottage and the road, and within a mile of the other two; but the basin was filled up with mortar and white-washed over with the rest of the wall, so that it is impossible to trace any of it now, except just the edge of the hollow.

The opinion of the people of the locality about the use of these stones is that they were for pounding grain; and this may well have been the case with the two which are exposed to view, as they do not taper to an inconvenient degree; but, on the other hand, this may only be a later use to which they have been put, and one very far from the original intention of those who made them. One great objection to my mind to the



FIG. 1.—BULLAUN AT BURREN, NEAR WARRENPOINT, COUNTY DOWNS.

theory that these stones were originally intended for grain or for early baptisms, besides the fact that so many of them are in a perpendicular position, is that in many cases they are found in numbers together, and it hardly seems conceivable that the ancient inhabitants of this country would have taken the trouble to make so many—for trouble it must have been—when they could so easily have got the loan of one from their neighbour.

I think it well to record the existence of these stones, as they are so

liable to be put to other purposes, and so get lost to sight, especially in parts of the country where modern ideas are spreading, and where any



FIG. 2.—BULLAUN AT BURREN, NEAR WARRENPOINT, COUNTY DOWNS.

superstitious veneration in which they may have been held is rapidly dying out.—STANLEY HOWARD, *Fellow*.

Ancient Place-names, Brugh of the Boyne and others.—In the absence of any present book of reference enabling students to find whether an ancient name (famous in our older records, but not appearing on the Ordnance Survey maps) occurs in the intermediate documents, I may call attention to a few noteworthy examples.

Brugh of the Boyne, Meath.—Doubt has been cast on the antiquity of the names Bro House and Bro Park at the mound of Newgrange; they are not given on the map of 1837. It is of interest to note, however, that they are found in records of the Tudors and Stuarts. In the Fiants of Henry VIII. (No. 254), in the year 1541, Brow's, or Brows weir, Old-bridge, Newgrange, Rossynry (Rossnarec) are grouped together as lands

belonging to the dissolved Mellifont Abbey. In 1619 they reappear in a grant to Sir Garret Moore as the walls, offices, &c., of the Abbey, and, in County Meath, a salmon weir, a fishery of sixteen men and sixteen boats called "carrocks," Brows Wear and Brows, or Brown's Mill, on the Boyne, Knowth, and Rossenry. These show that a place named Brugh was then of such importance as to give its name to the mill and weir, as it does to the Farm and Park at present. The equivalent "Brown's Weir" is only one of the endless attempts of English-speaking persons to "rationalise" Irish names, of no more importance than "Anthony's Abbey" for "Owny Abbey," or "Belvoir" for "Ballinvire. Of course *w* was then really *uu*, and the name a long "Broun."

Dorsey Fort, Armagh.—A possible allusion is found in the Annals of Lough Cé, where O'Conor held the passes of Sliabh Fuaidh, and the (*dorsib emna*) doors or approaches of Emania in 1224.

Eas Danainn, Clare.—This has been assumed to be Doonass on the Shannon. There is, however, definite proof identifying the prominent rock at Doonass Salmon Leap with the older name. Early in 1571 Christopher Davers was appointed chief sergeant and water bailiff of the Upper Shannon, from Lough Ree to the Rock of Astanen, above Limerick (Fiant No. 1665, Eliz.). The early maps, by the way, show Doonass Castle standing on this rock, 1655, on, I presume, the site of the Turret, and probably on an older fort "Dunass," named after the waterfall.

Magh Adhair.—It occurs in English documents:—In 1288 as Moyadare (Pipe Roll, No. 27), Tuanamoyre in 1584 (T.C.D. Castle List), and Tawnaghmoree in 1657 (Vallancey's copy of the burned map of Bunratty Barony in the Down Survey). The remains are in Toonagh townland, County Clare.

Dun Bleise.—This place, named in the "Tripartite Life," is found as "Dunlesk" down to 1624 (Inquisition Chancery, County Limerick, Charles I., 68B).—T. J. WESTROPP.

The Broadstone Cromlech, County Antrim.—I have been interested in reading Canon Moore's notice of the Broadstone Cromlech in the last number of the *Journal*. I photographed this cromlech last summer. It is, I think, a very clumsy restoration. Whoever re-erected it appears to have thought that it was of the nature of a table rather than that of a box, and, consequently, placed the cap-stone upon three supports, approximately radiating from a centre; at least, that is the impression it gave. Of course, this appearance may only be caused by the cap not being in the right position on the supporting stones.

It is a pity Canon Moore does not seem to have seen the other cromlech, which is beside the road near the former one; it is more perfect, and, therefore, better worth examining. It is, I believe, generally called the Finvoy Cromlech.



THE BROADSTONE CROMLECH, COUNTY ANTRIM.



FINVOY CROMLECH, COUNTY ANTRIM.

Perhaps my photographs of these cromlechs may be worth inserting in the *Journal*, as there are, no doubt, many members who have not got the volume in which Mr. Gray's sketches were published twenty years ago.—HENRY S. CRAWFORD, B.E.

Kitchen-Midden at Cranfield Point, County Down (Whelk and Limpet).—Between the ferry-pier at Greencastle and Cranfield Point, in the extreme south-east corner of Down, there is a fringe of low sandhills along the Raised Beach. Searching through these for land mollusca with Messrs. Milne and Stelfox, last February, we came on a *Buccinum undatum* and *Patella* shell-midden on the extreme southern end of the dunes. The usual "black (or brown) band" was present, with some broken bones in a very friable condition, and some charcoal. We saw no fragments of rude pottery or flints so often associated with these coast settlements. Our time was very limited and did not admit of a careful search, but we hope some local archæologist will make one. Shell-mounds of mixed species, such as the periwinkle, mussel, oyster, limpet, and dog-whelk, with an occasional shell of the larger common whelk (*Buccinum*), are common enough in our northern dune areas; but this is the first I have seen in which the last species was the main one present, the remainder being the common limpet, with an occasional shell of other species. The Dundrum Bay kitchen-middens are well known, and have recently yielded some nice implements; but Cranfield Point, like Killard Point, north of Ardglass, where there are also some shell-mounds, seems to be very seldom visited except occasionally by botanists. Middens composed mainly of one species, or entirely of one species, close to others in which the shells are mixed, may be seen on that most interesting little peninsula Rosguill, Sheephaven, County Donegal; and Mr. Bigger has described others at Dog's Bay, Galway (in *Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. xix., p. 727, plates). In vol. xii. of this *Journal* (1872), Mr. G. M. Atkinson described and figured shell-middens on islands in Cork Harbour that were almost entirely composed of oyster-shells. I have seen somewhat similar sections near Kenmare, and in Sligo Bay, but have never been certain whether they were of prehistoric age or not.—R. WELCH, M.R.I.A.

Greencastle, County Down.—Mr. Lockwood described this fine old Norman Castle in vol. xxiii. of this *Journal* (1893), and, on page 172, called attention to the necessity for some prompt repairs at a few critical points. Twelve years later this is still true. I have just been over the Castle, and agree with Mr. Lockwood. It would not take much to make it safe, and I am sure Lord Kilmorey, on whose estate it is, would cooperate, as he has always taken an interest in scientific matters generally.

Part of the stone stairs seem more broken away than in 1892, and the passage in the walls, along the top, has broken away now over two of the windows.—R. WELCH, M.R.I.A.

Gild Records of Dublin.—Referring to my list of Gild Records, &c., of Dublin (*Journal*, 1905, vol. xxxv., p. 338), and the hope expressed that its publication might lead to the recovery of some properties of the ancient city Companies, it is gratifying to be able to state that three volumes connected with the Carpenters' Fraternity have recently been recovered. They are—a Minute Book of Proceedings, 1792–1835; Petitions and Admissions of Freeman, 1772–1835; and stamped admissions to freedom of the gild, 1835–1837. These books were offered for sale by an ex-trader, to whom they had been given some years ago as an equivalent for a debt, but he was unaware of any connexion of the owner with the gild. They were purchased by a gentleman much interested in the history of the old Dublin Companies, who has deposited them in the Public Record Office of Ireland, with a view to their future preservation and accessibility. I may add that the same gentleman purchased the copy-charter, and the entry-book of apprentices, 1636–1676, of the gild of St. Loy, noted in my list, which he has presented to the Record Office. These last had been sent to Messrs. Bennett's salerooms by a resident in the north of Ireland, whose family had been connected with that gild. Considering the vicissitudes to which such records are exposed, it were well that the public spirit and disinterestedness of this generous benefactor were more widely imitated, and that those who have volumes of the old Dublin gilds in their possession might be induced to deposit them in a place of safety.—H. F. BERRY.

Demolition of Templenaraha Church, Co. Clare.—Dr. Macnamara writes that on going to Baile mic Rógain (Ballymacrogan, near Ruan) he found that the remains of the old church there had been removed by a local farmer to build a cow-house. Strange to say, "the part of the cow-house built of these stones fell soon afterwards." It is also strange that the destroyer, who had so little veneration for the church, or for his country's past, has been at pains not to trench on a fort near his house. In sinking the foundations of the ill-conceived shed the remains of several human skeletons were found.

As this destructive act makes it the more desirable that a record should be preserved, I may give my notes.¹ Unfortunately, a dark and wet day prevented my taking a photograph, or sketching the ruin.

Templenaraha Church was a small oratory, measuring 24 feet east and west, and 16 feet north and south, the wall being 3 feet thick, and

¹ Taken in May, 1904.

of the same smooth, beautiful masonry that we see in the round tower of Dysert Odea, two miles distant. The large side blocks of the west door remained, the southern alone *in situ*, and the wall was only 2 to 4½ feet high. The church stood in a stone fort, built of very large blocks, with large filling, and nearly levelled. The wall was 87 feet from the west end of the oratory, and enclosed a fairly circular garth 351 feet east and west. There were traces of looped enclosures, and the place was called Parknakilla.

It is sad to find in a county which bore a fair reputation for its reverence for ancient remains so increasing a list of acts of vandalism in recent years. The destruction of the recently perfect gateways of Cahereuttine, Dangan Caher, Carran Caher, Moheraroon, and others; the removal of so many dolmens in the Bunratty and Tulla districts; the systematic removal of the side of Kiltola Church¹ by local authority; and this last act (most inexcusable in a country abounding in stones) are grave warnings. They should stimulate antiquaries to spare no pains in drawing, measuring, and taking photographs of our ancient remains before they are swept from the face of the earth. Until we can train the inhabitants of country districts to preserve from enlightened motives what their predecessors spared in fear, the future of our lesser antiquities is precarious indeed.—T. J. WESTROPP.

Pin found at Clontarf, Dublin.—In the month of March last, I acquired a bronze pin, which was found at Clontarf, Dublin, when digging for the foundation of a house, about three feet beneath the surface.

There are several Belfast contractors doing work in Dublin, and they take a number of Belfast workmen there. One of these men, who had returned from Dublin, called on me about the first week of June last, and handed me the pin, saying, "I know you take an interest in old things." He informed me it was found a short time previously in Clontarf when digging the foundations of a building. The depth under the surface, as near as he could guess, was about three feet. He appeared to be a respectable working man, and knew it was a valuable relic, and asked a pound for it. I was hurried at the time, and did not take his address. This pin is ornamented and inlaid with a white metal, and has been pronounced by an expert to be a very interesting example of Danish or Scandinavian work of the early part of the ninth century, showing first influences of Irish art, or Hiberno-Danish. Being found in Ireland on the ground where the great battle between Brian and the Danes was fought, adds additional interest to the find.—SEATON F. MILLIGAN, M.R.I.A.

¹ See *Journal*, vol. xxxiv., p. 385.

Sheela-na-gig, Ballyfinboy Castle, near Borrisokane. — This "Sheela-na-gig" is carved upon a quoin-stone about 2 feet 8 inches on the bed, and tapering from 15 inches to 10 inches, and is about 12 feet to 14 feet from the ground. The castle is about Henry II. period, and is within a mile or so of Borrisokane, on a by-road with a stile into the field, and is within about fifty yards of the road. The castle is a fine one, square, about 60 feet high; it has a lancet-door with a vertical joint, the arch cut out of two stones; the interior of the ruin is much dilapidated.

I think as there is evidently a design to remove this stone by some person or persons unknown, that it would be advisable to let the police know that in the case of a successful prosecution they would be rewarded. I gave notice at the police station of the attempted removal.—R. O'BRIEN SMYTH.

[This interesting sculpture is a *Sheela-na-gig* of a type similar to that described and illustrated by the late W. F. Wakeman in page 283 of vol. xv. (1879-82) of the *Journal* of this Society.¹

Mr. O'Brien Smyth deserves the thanks of archaeologists for his action in preventing the destruction of this curious relic of mediæval work. In this connexion it may be mentioned that the Society offers a reward to anyone who will give evidence to procure the conviction of a person found injuring any ancient structure. The following resolution bearing on the subject was adopted at a meeting of the Society held at Carnarvon, in the Guild Hall, on 16th July, 1894 :—

"That the Council of the Society be authorised to offer a reward of Five Pounds to any person who gives such information as would lead to a successful prosecution in the case of wanton or malicious injury to any ancient monument in Ireland."—Ed.]

¹ A list of these sculptured figures will be found in vol. xxiv. (1894), pp. 77-81, compiled by the late Dr. Frazer, with a supplementary list on pp. 392-394. See also pp. 27, 33, 239, and 294 of same volume. There are references to these objects in vol. ii., p. 282; vol. vi., p. 69; vol. xiii., p. 17, 241; and vol. xix., p. 156.—Ed.

Notices of Books.

NOTE.—*The books marked thus (*) are by Members of the Society.*

* *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory.* By the Rev. William Carrigan, C.C., M.R.I.A. With a Preface by the Most Rev. Dr. Brownrigg, Lord Bishop of Ossory. Four volumes, 4to. (Dublin: Sealy, Bryers, & Walker, 1905.) Price 36s.

THE appearance of this work had been looked forward to with great interest, since it became known some time ago that the author had decided to publish the result of his labours extending over a period of upwards of twenty years. Much was expected by those who knew something of the painstaking ability and thoroughness which have always been characteristic of the author; but it will readily be admitted that the highest expectations have been fully realized in the four handsome volumes of which the work is composed.

In the first volume the introductory chapters deal with the extent of the ancient kingdom of Ossory: its civil divisions and its early kings who ruled up to the time of its dismemberment in A.D. 1103, and until the Anglo-Norman invasion and the flight of the Mac Gillpatrickes to Upper Ossory, about A.D. 1192, with notices of that family for the next three centuries, and of the different branches of the Fitzpatrickes until the present time. Indeed, the references to these notable families are very frequent, connected as they are so intimately with the story of ancient Ossory. Twenty-eight chapters, descriptive of the bishops, deaneries, chapters, and colleges of the diocese, from the time of St. Kieran to the present day, complete the first volume, which is well illustrated with numerous photographic reproductions and a large folding map of the diocese, with the ancient and modern name of each parish marked thereon.

The second volume deals with the history and antiquities of the northern deanery of Ossory, comprising sixteen parishes, to each of which a chapter is devoted. This volume is enriched with fifty-four illustrations.

The middle deanery, including the cathedral city of Kilkenny, is dealt with in the third volume. Ten very interesting chapters are devoted to the annals of Kilkenny and its origin; Bishop Rothe's account, translated from his ms. fragment preserved in the British Museum; the Statute of Kilkenny, A.D. 1366; the Confederation, A.D. 1642-48; the siege by Cromwell and surrender in 1650; and these,

with an account of the Marshall and Ormond families and some of the old civic families of Kilkenny, complete a most valuable record, which will be highly prized by all interested in that ancient and historic town. The remaining twelve chapters are devoted to the twelve parishes which comprise the middle deanery. This volume has ninety-seven illustrations, including a ground-plan of St. Canice's Cathedral, of which structure and its monuments there is an ample account.

The fourth and last volume of this important work is devoted to the southern deanery of the diocese, and has a number of valuable appendices. The first thirteen chapters are taken up with accounts of the thirteen parishes of which the deanery is composed. This volume has forty-nine illustrations. In the descriptions of the various parishes throughout the diocese, the author describes in detail the foundation and existing ruins of all the religious houses, and gives their history, quoting the references on which his information is based. As an example, the parish of Thomastown may be taken, wherein a full account of the ancient church of St. Mary, at Thomastown, is given, historical and descriptive, with views and a ground-plan. The ancient monuments in the churchyard are described, with copies of the inscriptions; also a history and description of Grenan (Thomastown) Castle, with historical notices of the original families of the parish, and of each townland in the parish. Nothing of interest seems to have escaped the notice of the author in his investigations, who has pursued the same methods for every spot in the diocese, and, notwithstanding this microscopic treatment, the interest never flags, and the facts are always presented in a fresh and attractive manner. The account of Thomastown, like that of most of the other parishes, is really a complete work in itself, extending as it does over fifty-five quarto pages, with ten illustrations, including a facsimile copy of the charter of Killenny Abbey. It comprises a notice of Jerpoint Abbey, from which the following short extract is made, as denoting the author's mode of dealing with disputed dates and analyzing evidence:—

JERPOINT ABBEY—DATE OF FOUNDATION.—The Abbey of Mellifont, founded in 1142, was the Mother-house of the Cistercian Order in Ireland. Among its "daughters" was the Abbey of Baltinglass, founded in 1148 or 1151; and of the daughters of Baltinglass was Jerpoint. Writers always assign the foundation of Jerpoint Abbey to the year 1180; but in so doing they post-date it by at least twenty years. Jerpoint itself was not barren; and, hence, we find it, early in its career, establishing two branch houses, or daughters, of its own—viz., the Abbey of Killenny, or De Valle Dei, and the Abbey of Kileooley. In fixing the date of the former of these abbeys, the first-born of Jerpoint, we can, with a fair share of accuracy, fix that of Jerpoint itself.

The Abbey of Killenny, the situation of which has been hitherto sought for in vain by modern writers, stood in the townland of Old Abbey, now Barrow Mount, Parish of Paulstown, in the ancient territory of the O'Ryans of Idrone. It was founded and endowed by Dermot O'Ryan, Chief of Idrone, and was colonized

by monks sent thither from Jerpoint, by its Abbot, Felix O'Dulany. The original charter of Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster, comprising the endowment of Killenny by his liegeman O'Ryan, is preserved in Kilkenny Castle: it dates from between the years 1162-1165, as appears from internal evidence. . . . The date of this charter, as already stated, lies between 1162 and 1165; for of the subscribing witnesses thereto, Laurence, that is, St. Laurence O'Toole, was not appointed Archbishop of Dublin until the former year, and Paidin Maheda (*i.e.*, O'Hea or Hughes), "the candle of all Ui-Ceinn Sealaigh," had his light extinguished for ever on the field of battle in the latter year. As to the other subscribing witnesses, who are nearly all historical personages—Donatus or Donnough was Bishop of Leighlin from 1152 to 1185; Murchad filius Murchada was Murrough MacMurrough, brother of King Dermot MacMurrough; Murchadach, or Muirehertach, his son, died in 1193; Donnell Caemanech, or Kavanagh, son of King Dermot MacMurrough, was slain in 1175; Dermot Uarrian, or O'Ryan, Chief of Idrone, was slain in 1171; Murchad Uabrain, or O'Brien, Chief of the Duffry, and his son, were put to death at Ferns by Strongbow; Mac Cotaltain, the name of the last witness, is now Anglicised Colletan.

The fact of Jerpoint Abbey being chosen, at the date of the charter, to be the mother of—that is, to found and colonize the Abbey of Killenny, proves that not only had it then itself an existence, but that it had also been fully established, and been in full working order for at least a few years. In giving, therefore, as we do, the foundation of Jerpoint Abbey in the year 1158, which holds the middle place between 1151, the latest date assigned for the foundation of its mother-Abbey of Balinglass, and 1165, the latest date at which the foundation charter of its daughter-Abbey of Killenny can have been drawn up—there cannot be an error of more than a year or two.

Further evidence that Jerpoint Abbey dates several years before 1180 is found in the charter of John, Lord of Ireland, by which he confirmed all the grants made to "*Jerpoint Abbey by the Irish before the arrival of Earl Richard, i.e., Strongbow, in 1170.*"

The founder of Jerpoint, its annals, possessions, ruins, and ancient monuments, with their inscriptions, are fully treated of in the same careful manner as the evidence of the date of founding.

The story of Dame Alice Kyteler and her trial, in the fourteenth century, is told. Much light is thrown on the civic as well as the ecclesiastical life of the mediæval period, and the volumes may be regarded as an encyclopædia of information relating to Kilkenny and its surroundings. The valuable Index of persons and places named in the work will greatly facilitate reference.

It is a pleasure to take up such a work in these days of "book-making," when so much that is unreliable is given to the public.

The Most Rev. Dr. Brownrigg, *Fellow and Past Vice-President* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, contributes a justly appreciative preface, in which he says:—

"As becomes the narrative of the historian, it is simple and clear. In description the author is vivid, and, sometimes, even picturesque. His formidable array of authorities, ranging from the earliest MSS. to standard works of history, is an evidence of his wide reading; while his personal observations on ecclesiastical remains and kindred subjects throughout the ancient Kingdom of Ossory, bear tribute to the completeness of his original investigations and researches. He possesses the critical faculty in a high degree, and in controverting some of the statements advanced by such weighty

authorities as Rothe, Graves, and even Cardinal Moran, his courage is equal to the convincing force of the arguments adduced by him."

The author is to be congratulated on the result of his strenuous labours in the production of such a work, which will remain alike a standard authority and a monument to his industry and ability. He has been fortunate in printer and publishers who have so creditably produced such elegant volumes.

Castles of Ireland: some Fortress Histories and Legends. By C. L. Adams, illustrated by Rev. Canon Lucius O'Brien. (London: Elliot Stock, 1904.) Svo, pp. 364. Price 10s. 6d.

THIS handsome volume, printed on art paper, is beautifully illustrated by thirty-nine highly artistic sketches made by the Rev. Canon O'Brien, of Adare, County Limerick, who has succeeded in making charming pictures of the castles portrayed by him.

Seventy-six of the ancient castles of Ireland—large and small—are noticed. That the list is not by any means exhaustive will be seen when it is found that such important historic structures as Ballintubber, Ballymoon, Donegal, and a great many other castles, are not mentioned in the book. The work is a compilation from various sources, the authorities consulted being enumerated at the end of each article, and, as might be expected, those structures of whose history most had been previously written receive greater consideration than those of which less had been said. There is, therefore, not much increase of knowledge gained by the antiquary in a perusal of the work; but to the general reader it will not fail to appear attractive, especially as no popular descriptive account of Irish castles has been attempted before. The compilation supplies a want, and its appearance should be gladly welcomed.

It is a pity so much prominence should be given to stories about alleged "underground passages" at certain castles. It is well known that great attention was paid to the sewers, which sometimes were of large size. No one now gives any heed to old men's tales about secret passages under the river. When the garderobe is found over one end of the passage, and the character of the outlet is seen, its use becomes apparent; and there is no useful object served in helping to keep up a mystery in connexion with such a commonplace portion of mediæval residential structures.

The Saints in Christian Art. By Mrs. Arthur Bell. In three volumes, small 4to, each forming a distinct book. (London : Geo. Bell & Sons, 1901, 1902, and 1904.) Price 14s. each.

THE short title above given is that of three distinct volumes dealing, respectively, with lives and legends (1) of the Evangelists, Apostles, and other early saints ; (2) of the great Hermits and Fathers of the Church, with other contemporary saints ; and (3) of the English Bishops and Kings, Mediæval Monks, and other later saints. The title-pages proper have no mention of Art ; and as Christian Art is the chief province of these books, the comprehensive title of the series, as above given, and as on the backs of the three volumes, will best indicate their scope.

The feature of these sumptuous publications appears to be the illustrations, of which each volume contains about fifty, admirably selected from varied sources, and produced in the most effective manner, in a way worthy of the subject, and not hitherto attainable.

Mrs. Bell's *Elementary History of Art* must have supplied suitable training for this work ; and she seems to have acquainted herself with the masterpieces bearing on it to be found at home and abroad. She is thoroughly versed in Italian art, from which most of her illustrations are drawn ; but she is also indebted for some of them to Burne-Jones, Holman Hunt, and Millais, whose names, by a curious coincidence, occur in a group, followed later on by that of Madox Brown.

The work does not profess to include full notices of our Blessed Lord in Art, but the Blessed Virgin Mother, St. John the Baptist, St. Joseph, and St. Anne, with others, find a place ; while Martyred Popes and Bishops, Priests and Deacons, Soldiers and Laymen, as well as Matrons and Maidens of the three first centuries, fill the closing chapters of the first volume.

The second volume carries on the work to the sixth century. Its frontispiece is Donatello's Statue of St. George. It includes, of course, the four great Latin Fathers. A chapter is devoted to SS. Patrick and Bridget of Ireland, though no representation of either of them is given, probably because there are none to be found worthy of a place beside the glorious works here figured.

The third and last volume of the series relates chiefly to Anglo-Saxon Saints, followed by SS. Francis and Dominic, St. Anthony of Padua, and other Italians. The work seems to have become more diffuse as it progressed, and this volume is far larger than its predecessors.

Mrs. Bell has been fortunate in supplying a want which has long been felt—that of a comprehensive work in English on Christian Art. Her three volumes give us what is probably the completest work of its kind now obtainable.

Her "lives and legends" are carefully compiled and readable. They

supply a popular *Acta Sanctorum* within a moderate compass. She does not trouble her readers with foot-notes or references to authorities, though she gives a general acknowledgment to Père Cahier, whose "Caractéristiques des Saints," with the "Dictionnaire Iconographique" of M. Guenebault (published by Didron), will probably still hold their places abroad.

The publishers, Messrs. George Bell & Sons, who have done so much for Art in England, and who use the well-known Aldine device, combining the Dolphin and Bell as a rebus, have brought out these volumes *con amore*. The typography is satisfying, and the binding quite charming.

**The Laggan and its Presbyterianism*. By the Rev. Alexander G. Lecky, B.A. (Belfast: Davidson & M'Cormack, 54 King-street.) Price 1s. net.

THE "Laggan" is a district of County Donegal immediately to the south of Inishowen, lying between the Foyle and the upper reaches of Lough Swilly, and extending in one direction from Derry to Stranorlar, and in another from Lifford to Letterkenny. It is the history of the Presbyterian settlers of this district which Mr. Lecky has attempted with sufficient fulness to interest their successors in the present day. He writes from the Presbyterian standpoint; and though his views may not be acceptable to all readers, he has avoided anything like a tone of bitterness.

The opening chapter describes the situation and characteristics of the district, and its early Church life. Mr. Lecky says:—

"Two of the most distinguished of the disciples of Columba, or Columbkille, who was born at Gartán, on the borders of the Laggan, about the year 525 A.D., and who is best known as the founder of Iona—a seat of light and learning which for centuries enjoyed a European fame—laboured in the Laggan. One of these, Eunan, better known under the Latinized form of his name, Adamnan, was the first Bishop or Abbot of Raphoe, a church founded by Columbkille himself. The other, Baeithen, gave name to the largest parish in the Laggan—namely, Taughboyne (Tech-Baeithen), i.e. 'Baeithen's House.' There is a legend, but it is nothing more, to the effect that the village of St. Johnston, in the parish of Taughboyne, where probably Baeithen usually resided, also derives its name from this old saint. It is said that he was of such a gentle and amiable disposition, that Columbkille was in the habit of calling him St. John. He died at Iona on the 9th of June, 600, and whether or not there be any foundation for this legend, Baeithen, it is evident, stood high in the estimation of Columbkille, for when death suddenly came upon the latter he was engaged in transcribing the Book of Psalms—a favourite occupation of his—and had reached the tenth verse of the 34th Psalm, when, feeling that the hand of death was upon him, he laid down his pen, saying, 'I think I can write no more; let Baeithen finish it.'"

An account of the foundation of the Laggan Presbytery is given in the third chapter; the heading of the next is "Persecutions and Sufferings of the Lagganeers." Then follows a notice of the Rebellion of 1641. In the sixth chapter, which is on the Siege of Derry, it is mentioned that the defenders of the city were chiefly Presbyterians. There is a chapter on "Raphoe and its Royal School." The remaining chapters are on "The Seceders," "Newtowncunningham, Ballylennon, and Second Raphoe," "Monreagh, First Ray, and the Sharon Tragedy," "Convoy and Donoughmore," "Ballindrait," and "Old Times and Manners." Some interesting lists of names are given in the appendix, and there are several photographs and other illustrations.

Proceedings.

FIFTY-EIGHTH YEARLY SESSION.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the 58th Yearly Session of the Society was held in the SOCIETY'S ROOMS, 6, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, on Tuesday, the 30th of January, 1906, at 5 o'clock, p.m. :

JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, D.L., M.A., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *President*,
in the Chair.

Also present:—

Vice-Presidents.—Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A.; James Mills, I.S.O., M.R.I.A.; William Cotter Stubbs, M.A.; T. J. Westropp, M.R.I.A.

Hon. General Secretary.—Robert Cochrane, I.S.O., LL.D., F.S.A., M.R.I.A.

Fellows.—H. F. Berry, I.S.O., M.A.; John Cooke, M.A.; Patrick J. Donnelly; Sir Thomas Drew, LL.D.; Lord Walter Fitz Gerald, M.R.I.A.; S. A. O. Fitzpatrick; Rev. Canon French, M.R.I.A.; William Robert Molloy, M.R.I.A.; P. J. O'Reilly; Countess Plunkett; J. J. Perceval, J.P.; Andrew Robinson; Rev. Canon R. B. Stoney, D.D.; John F. Weldrick; Robert Lloyd Woolcombe, LL.D., M.R.I.A.

Members.—Mrs. Allen; Miss E. Archer; H. Houston Ball; Mrs. Bennett; R. Bestick; Madame Bowes; Miss Brown; Rev. R. A. Burnett; J. Carolan, J.P.; G. O. Carolin; A. R. Carroll; Miss Clark; H. A. Cosgrave; H. S. Crawford; George Duncan; Edwin Fayle; J. Gough; Mrs. Gould; H. S. Guinness; Miss A. Joly; A. Lane Joynt; R. J. Kelly, J.P.; Rev. Canon Kernan; M. K. Kiernan; Thomas Laffan, M.D.; Rev. J. B. Leslie; Rev. H. O'N. Lindsay; E. A. Little; Mrs. A. Long; Rev. F. J. Lucas, D.D.; Francis M'Brice, J.P.; Very Rev. J. M'Inerny; Miss M'Ternan; T. Middleton; Rev. J. E. Moffatt, M.D.; Miss Monahan; H. C. Montgomery; Joseph H. Moore; Goddard H. Orpen; Lieut.-Colonel Orpen; Miss L. J. Orpen; J. E. Palmer; Thomas Patterson; Miss A. Peter; G. Peyton, LL.D.; Miss Ida Pim; G. W. Place; Miss Powell; J. Reeves; I. J. Rice; A. Roycroft; George Shackleton; Mrs. J. Shackleton; Mrs. E. W. Smyth; Miss G. C. Stackpoole; Rev. H. B. Swanzy; Miss E. G. Warren; R. Blair White; Rev. George Otway Woodward.

The Minutes of last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Fellows and Members were elected:—

FELLOWS.

- Bain, Major Andrew, K.E., Chief Commissioner of Police, Northern Nigeria (*Member*, 1897): proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.
Doran, Arthur L., 1, Goldsmith-terrace, Bray (*Member*, 1904): proposed by John Cooke, M.A., *Fellow*.

- Fennell, W. J., M.R.I.A., Wellington-place, Belfast (*Member*, 1893) : proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.
- Joyce, Patrick Weston, LL.D., 70, Leinster-road, Rathmines, Co. Dublin (*Member*, 1865) : proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.
- Lucy, Anthony, 35, Hillcroft Crescent, Ealing, London, W. : proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.
- Modi, Edalji M., Sleator-road, Bombay, India : proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.

MEMBERS.

- Brunker, J. Ponsonby, 18, Grosvenor-place, Rathmines : proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.
- Bute, The Marchioness of, Mount Stuart, Rothesay, N.B. : proposed by John Ribton Garstin, *President*.
- Curran, John, Principal Teacher, Ventry N. S., Ventry, County Kerry : proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.
- Forde, Rev. George H., Mountmellick, Queen's County : proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.
- La Touche, Christopher Digges, 53, Raglan-road, Dublin : proposed by Sir Edmund T. Bewley, LL.D., *Fellow*.
- Moulder, Victor J., 7, Lower Downs-road, Wimbledon, London, S.W. : proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.
- Roycroft, Andrew, 57, Grosvenor-road, Rathgar : proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.
- Smith, Mrs. Augustus, Sion Lodge, Waterford : proposed by Miss E. M. Pim.
- Ward, Hon. (Miss) Kathleen A. N., Castle Ward, Downpatrick : proposed by John Ribton Garstin, *President*.

The Report of the Council for the Year 1905 was read by the Hon. General Secretary and adopted, as follows:—

REPORT OF COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1905.

The past year has been one of continued activity in all departments of the work of the Society. The Programme of Meetings and Excursions decided on at the last Annual Meeting has been carried out successfully, and the attendance of Members has been up to the average ; but a noticeable falling off in the number of country Members attending in Dublin has been observed, which is attributable to the action of the Railway Companies in increasing the price charged for return tickets. For upwards of twenty years the Members had the privilege of return tickets at single fares, this Society being the first to which a reduction was granted, as it was the first to inaugurate Excursions on a large scale to remote places in the country. Recently one of the Railway Companies (on whose line are the fewest Members) raised an objection to the continuance of this concession, and the other Companies were obliged to follow this retrograde action, which has had an injurious effect not only on our Society but also on the Railway Companies, for a smaller number travelled, and the continuance of the original concession would not in any way have added to the expense of working.

The Papers read at the various Meetings were of great interest, and

have been published in the *Journal* for the past year, with the exception of a few necessarily held over for the next volume. These Papers are referred to in detail in the preface to the volume just issued, containing 456 pages, with 114 illustrations; and it is interesting to find that the reputation of our publications is well maintained in Great Britain and the Continent, where our *Journal* is well known and appreciated.

The May Excursion was held in Kilkenny as usual, where excellent arrangements were made by our Hon. Local Secretary, Mr. M. M. Murphy, M.R.I.A. By the courtesy of the Marquis of Ormonde, Kilkenny Castle was visited. The several interesting antiquities in the city were seen, and the Members were received by the Right Rev. Bishop Crozier and the Dean at St. Canice's Cathedral, and conducted over it, after which the party were hospitably entertained in the Palace by his Lordship and Mrs. Crozier.

The next day the party visited the ancient Church of Gowran, Inistioge, Thomastown, and Jerpoint Abbey, which completed the Kilkenny Excursion. The Members were hospitably entertained on the return journey by the Rev. G. B. Power and Mrs. Power, at Kilfane Glebe.

The Summer Meeting and Excursions, by rotation, fell to the lot of the Province of Ulster. Belfast was selected as the head-quarters, a cordial invitation having been received from the Local Members and friends to visit that city again. A large General Committee, with a strong Executive, was formed, who planned and carried out a most successful series of Meetings and Excursions in Belfast and the neighbouring counties. The local Members contributed Papers on the places and objects to be visited, which, printed in advance of the Meeting, and well illustrated, formed a most useful "Guide-Book" for the use of Members attending.

The Excursion extended from Monday, 3rd July, to Saturday, 8th July last, inclusive; the places visited are described in the *Journal* for the past year, vol. xxxv., pp. 285-319. The Meetings were held in Belfast City Hall, through the kindness of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, who was most helpful.

The greatest attention and hospitality were shown to the Members present. On the first day of the Meeting the Members attended, by invitation, a Garden Party, given in their honour, in the Botanic Gardens, by the Right Hon. Sir Daniel Dixon, Bart., M.P., Lord Mayor of Belfast, *Fellow*, and Lady Dixon, for which upwards of 2000 of the principal residents had accepted invitations to meet the Society. On the occasion of the visit to Downpatrick the Members were entertained at afternoon tea by Dr. Nolan, *Member*, and the Quoile Lawn Tennis Club in their grounds, which occupy the site of the ancient refectory of the Abbey of Downpatrick. On the Carrickfergus and Larne Excursion the Members were invited to afternoon tea by Sir Hugh Smiley, Bart., and Lady Smiley, at Drumalis.

The last Excursion of the year was to Bray and the neighbourhood, on 4th October, which was largely attended. The party were in charge of Mr. A. L. Doran, PH. C., who has in hands a Paper on the Antiquities of the places seen on the Excursion.

The Council tender the thanks of the Society to the ladies and gentlemen above named for their hospitality and kind assistance in connexion with the Excursions for the year just ended.

The Council regret to have to record the demise of many friends of the Society. The deaths have been notified of the following Fellows and Members:—

FELLOWS.

- Finlay, Ven. George, D.D., Archdeacon of Clogher (1894).
 Greer, Thomas, M.R.I.A., F.R.G.S., J.P. (1895).
 Perceval-Maxwell, Robert, J.P., D.L. (1892).
 Ward, Francis Davis, M.R.I.A., J.P. (*Member*, 1874; *Life Fellow*, 1888).

MEMBERS.

- Atkins, W. Ringrose (1880).
 Buckley, M. J. C. (1888), *Local Secretary for East Cork*.
 Dawson, Very Rev. Abraham, M.A., Dean of Dromore (1883).
 Franklin, Frederick, F.R.T.A.I. (1888).
 Jordan, Rev. William, M.A. (1892).
 Kelly, Owen J., J.P. (1902).
 Kirkpatrick, James C. (1904).
 Lawrence, Rev. Charles (1888).
 Lipscomb, W. H. (1892).
 Milling, James (1904).
 Mitchell, Mrs. Mary E. (1904).
 O'Hanlon, Very Rev. John Canon, P.P., M.R.I.A. (1856).
 Pim, Miss Mary E. (1894).
 Richardson, Miss Anna H. (1895).
 Scott, John William (1891).
 Westropp, Lieut.-Col., M.R.I.A., J.P. (1889).

The Very Rev. Canon O'Hanlon was a Member of our Society since 1856, and at the time of his death, which occurred on the 15th of May, 1905, he had been connected with the Society for a longer period than any other member save one who had been elected in 1853. He contributed to the *Journal* of the Society a valuable series of Papers, giving a General Index to the Ordnance Survey Records of all the Irish counties, which were published in vols. iv., v., vi., vii., viii., and ix. of that *Journal*. He also contributed Papers on "The Preservation of the Ancient Church of Glendalough," in vol. iv., p. 246; and on the publication by the Government of the Ordnance Survey Memoirs (vol. iv., p. 296). Canon O'Hanlon was born at Stradbally, Queen's County, in 1821. He was engaged in bringing out a History of his native county at the time of his death, the completion of which he left in the capable

hands of a fellow-member of our Society, the Rev. Edward O'Leary, p.p. Canon O'Hanlon's *magnam opus* was the "Lives of the Irish Saints," to which he devoted painstaking industry and laborious research. This massive and erudite work was unfortunately not fully completed; he had collected all the material for it, but the last two volumes required to complete the twelve—one for each month of the year—were not ready for the press at the time of his death, and the final completion of this standard work has also been left in Father O'Leary's hands. Canon O'Hanlon published another extensive work, entitled, "An Irish-American History of the United States," which is justly regarded as of the highest importance as a work of historical reference; it deals with a vast subject in much detail, in a manner characteristic of its learned author, who had the advantage of residence in that country from 1842 until he returned to Ireland in 1853. Canon O'Hanlon had a very prolific pen, and produced a number of works on religious subjects, and on the legends and folk-lore of Ireland. He took the greatest interest in the work of this Society. He was for some years a Member of Committee, but the pressing demands of his pastoral duties and his literary work prevented his regular attendance; and though on several occasions he was invited to take high office, the time at his disposal did not permit his acceptance of it.

Mr. Michael J. C. Buckley, who was elected a *Member* in 1888, acted as Hon. Local Secretary for East Cork, and rendered valuable assistance in connexion with the Meeting and Excursion at Youghal in July, 1903. He contributed several Papers to our *Journal*, comprising "The Ancient Stained Glass of St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny" (vol. xxvi., pp. 240-4); "The 'Bambino' of New Ross" (vol. xxviii., pp. 250-3); "Notes Ecclesiological" (vol. xxix., pp. 420-3); and in connexion with the Youghal Meeting he furnished several interesting Papers on the antiquities of that neighbourhood, which are published in vol. xxxiii., pp. 307, 312, 315, 326, and 333. Mr. Buckley was a fluent speaker and writer on all subjects relating to church architecture. He was, for the greater part of his life, connected with an eminent firm engaged in the production of artistic ecclesiastical work. He possessed a fine collection of antiques, including some specimens of early Celtic art. His comparatively early death is greatly deplored.

Mr. Francis Davis Ward was elected a *Member* in 1874, and became a *Fellow* in 1888. At the time of his death he had attained his seventy-seventh year. He was for many years the head of the well-known firm of Marcus Ward & Co., whose Celtic art productions were known over the civilised world; but this Irish firm, which for thirty years held its supremacy against all competition, could not withstand the long-hour labour systems and technical training of the German workshops, and

the company was eventually wound up. Though Mr. Ward took the greatest interest in the work of the Society, he did not contribute to the pages of the *Journal*. He was a Member of the Royal Irish Academy, an ex-President of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce, and a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. The French distinction was conferred on him in connexion with the Paris Exhibition of 1874.

Major Robert Perceval-Maxwell, D.L., died at his residence, Finnebrogue, County Down, on the 9th July, 1905, at the age of ninety-two. He was son of the Rev. William Perceval, of Kilmore Hill, County Waterford, and Annefield, County Dublin. On becoming heir to his uncle, John Waring Maxwell, he adopted, by licence, the surname of Perceval-Maxwell. He graduated in arts at Oxford; served for some years in the North Down Militia, and was High Sheriff of the counties of Down and Waterford. He had extensive estates in the baronies of Lecale and Ards, County Down, in Waterford, Cork, Meath, and Louth, and in Ontario, Canada. Major Perceval-Maxwell became a *Fellow* of the Society in 1892; he took the greatest interest in the preservation of antiquities on his property, and spent a considerable sum in preserving the ruins of the Cistercian Abbey of Inch, which was visited by the Society on the 18th August, 1892 (see "Proceedings," vol. xxii., pages 341-2), on which occasion the Members were received by him, and entertained at lunch in his residence at Finnebrogue. He was reputed to be one of the richest commoners in Ireland; and of his personal qualities, his unassuming demeanour, kindness of heart, dignity, and simplicity were very striking.

It may not be inappropriate here to record the demise of the widow of the late Rev. James Graves, the founder of the Society, who for thirty-seven years acted as Honorary Secretary. Mr. Graves died on the 20th March, 1886. He had for some years before his death been in receipt of a pension from the Government as an acknowledgment of his labours in connexion with the work of the Society. In June, 1887, the Society adopted a memorial to the Prime Minister with the object of securing to his widow the pension paid during the closing years of her husband's life. It was not, however, until July, 1889, that the Hon. Secretary was able to announce at a Meeting held that month that a pension of £50 per annum had been allowed to Mrs. Graves. This sum she enjoyed until her death on the 16th September last, in her eightieth year. Of another worker for the Society who received similar recognition from Government, the name of the late William Frederick Wakeman may be mentioned.

The Council regret to have to report a falling off in the number of Members, but there is no reason to suppose that this is peculiar to our Society. After the last Annual Meeting the names of eleven Fellows and Members (owing for three years) were struck off for non-payment of

Subscriptions. Deaths and resignations during the year have reduced the Roll to 1232. The number on the Roll for 1904 was 1255. At the end of 1905, forty-four Members owed one year's Subscription, twenty-seven owed for two years, and thirty owed for three years.¹ A list of the names of those owing for two years and upwards will be read out to the Meeting, and printed in the *Journal*, in accordance with Rule No. 11.

The total amount received in 1905 for Entrance Fees and Subscriptions was £764 5s., as against £656 12s. received in 1904. The amount for 1903 was £658 4s. During the past year nine Fellows and Members paid Life Composition Fees, which has helped to increase the receipts.

The Council would point out that during the year only fifty-eight new Fellows and Members have joined,² as against seventy-eight elected in 1904. Members could do much in the way of inducing others interested in antiquarian work to join the Society; and though the efforts of many Members in this direction are acknowledged with gratitude, it is not encouraging to notice that only five are to be found proposing Candidates for election at the Annual Meeting.

There were ten meetings of Council during the past Session, at which the attendances were as follows:—

Joseph H. Moore, 7. Count Plunkett, 8. W. Grove-White, 6. Richard Langrishe, 7. Henry F. Berry, 6. George D. Burtchaell, 2. F. Elrington Ball, 6. F. J. Bigger, 1. R. S. Longworth-Dames, 1. Dr. Joyce, 5. W. H. Patterson, 0. Lord Walter Fitz Gerald, 5. President, 10. Hon. Secretary, 10. Hon. Treasurer, 9.

The names of the Members of Council retiring under the Rules are:—

Joseph H. Moore, Count Plunkett, W. Grove-White, George D. Burtchaell, F. J. Bigger, R. S. Longworth-Dames, and W. H. Patterson.

In accordance with Rule 16, the following nominations, as Members of Council, to fill the above vacancies, were received on the appointed day, viz.:—

JOHN COOKE, M.A. (*Member*, 1888; *Fellow*, 1894).

J. GRENE BARRY, D.L. (*Member*, 1877).

W. J. FENNELL, M.R.I.A. (*Member*, 1893).

THE REV. CANON FRENCH, M.R.I.A. (*Vice-President*, 1897-9).

S. A. O. FITZ PATRICK (*Member*, 1898; *Fellow*, 1902).

P. J. O'REILLY (*Member*, 1894; *Fellow*, 1898).

T. J. WESTROPP, M.A., M.R.I.A. (*Vice-President*, 1903-5).

As only one nomination has been received for each vacancy, there will be no Ballot, and the above are submitted for election at the Annual Meeting.

¹ See Appendix, pp. 108-109

² For list, see Appendix, pp. 107-108.

The following Vice-Presidents retire by rotation, according to the Rules of the Society:—

LEINSTER,	..	Sir Thomas H. Grattan Esmonde, Bart., M.P.
ULSTER,	..	The Right Rev. Monsignor O'Lavery, P.P., V.-G., M.R.I.A.
MUNSTER,	..	Major-General Stubbs, J.P.
CONNAUGHT,	..	Thomas J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A.

Nominations were duly received for the vacancies caused by the retirement of the foregoing Vice-Presidents, as follows:—

LEINSTER,	..	THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP CROZIER, M.R.I.A. (<i>Fellow</i> , 1891).
ULSTER,	..	THE RT. HON. SIR DANIEL DIXON, Bart., M.P. (<i>Fellow</i> , 1892).
MUNSTER,	..	THE RIGHT HON. LORD INCHQUIN (<i>Fellow</i> , 1901).
CONNAUGHT,	..	GEORGE N. COUNT PLUNKETT, F.S.A., M.R.I.A. (<i>Fellow</i> , 1888).

The foregoing are submitted to the Meeting for election as Vice-Presidents for the respective provinces.

According to the Rules, which enact that "The President shall be elected for a term of three years, and the same person shall not be elected for two consecutive periods," Mr. Garstin retires at the Annual Meeting, having then completed the specified term of three years.

A Paper was received nominating Mr. Patrick Weston Joyce, LL.D., M.R.I.A. (*Member*, 1865), but it was found to be informal. No other candidate having been proposed, the Council have decided, in pursuance of the provision of Rule No. 16, to submit Dr. Joyce's name as Honorary President for 1906.

The Council would take the opportunity of pointing out that the Rules of the Society limit the Office-bearers to Fellows, except as regards Members of Council, of which eight only must be Fellows.

As Fellows now form a small number compared with the number of Members, it is evident that the field for selection of Office-bearers is limited, and could be greatly enlarged if Members, of whom so many are eligible, would consent to be transferred to the rank of Fellow.

It is necessary to appoint Auditors of the Accounts of the Society for the year just ended; and as Mr. Cooke and Mr. Fitz Patrick, who have acted in that capacity for some years, are eligible for re-election, their names are submitted for approval.

Two notices of motion for amendment of the Society's Rules have been received, and, in pursuance of Rule 29, the Council here express their opinion of them. One, as to the time for lodging Entrance Fees, will, it is understood, be withdrawn; the other is to give Past Presidents—of whom there are now four—seats on the Council. The Council recommend the Society to adopt the latter proposal.

In the last Annual Report of the Council a reference was made to the laws in force for the preservation of Ancient Monuments, and the action

of the Estates Commissioners with reference thereto, under the operations of the Irish Land Act, 1903 (3 Ed.VII., c. 37, s. 14). That body continues to deal with the question in a sympathetic manner, and frequently applies to our officers for information as to the desirability of vesting such structures of antiquarian interest as are situate on estates about to be sold to tenants. An extract from the last report of the Commissioners with reference to Ancient Monuments is given in the *Journal* for last year, vol. xxxv., p. 415.

Already steps have been taken by the Estates Commissioners for vesting three structures, two in the Board of Works—viz., the Augustinian Abbey at Callan, Co. Kilkenny, and Ballyboggan Abbey, Co. Meath—and one in the County Council for Kildare.

The Estates Commissioners applied for a complete set of the Society's publications for the use of their staff; and the Council presented a set of the *Journal* comprising the fifteen years from 1870 to 1884, the remaining volumes being either out of print or very scarce.

The Council have been engaged during the year in dealing with the better Housing of the Society, and a Committee appointed to look after the matter held several meetings, the result of which has been already reported to a General Meeting of the Society (at Belfast, 4th July, 1905), and the action taken has been approved of. The details are recorded in the "Proceedings," vol. xxxv., pp. 275-280. No definite statement has yet been received in reply to the Society's application, but it is understood the matter is receiving favourable consideration, and an official reply is expected shortly.

According to rotation the Summer Meeting and Excursion fall to the lot of the Province of Munster, successful meetings having been held in Connaught in 1904, and in Ulster in 1905.

A list is appended of the places and dates of proposed meetings in 1906. The place of Meeting for Munster is left open. The only suggestion yet received is for Killarney, where some Members would undertake the preparation of a programme, and the organization of the Excursion with that town as a centre. The Society met in Killarney in May, 1884, and again in August, 1891, with Lord James Butler as President, when we were joined by the Cambrian Archæological Association, under the Presidency of Professor Rhys, *Hon. Fellow*. Both these Meetings of 1884 and 1891 were remarkably successful, and a pleasant Meeting and Excursion in the coming year could be anticipated if the necessary local assistance were forthcoming, and in the absence of a claim from any of the principal towns of the province. The best time would be the last week in June, or first week in July, before the tourist season commences. A desire has been expressed by some influential members in Athlone and neighbourhood that the Society should again visit that town, where the necessary arrangements for its reception would be undertaken locally.

MEETINGS AND EXCURSIONS FOR 1906.—The following dates and places of meeting are due for the year 1906 :—

PLACE.	DATE.	REMARKS.
Dublin, . . .	Tuesday, *Jan. 30, †	{ Annual Meeting, and Evening Meeting for Papers.
Do., . . .	„ Feb. 27, †	Evening Meeting, for Papers.
Do., . . .	„ Mar. 27, †	Do. Do.
Do., . . .	„ *April 24, †	Quarterly Meeting.
Kilkenny, . .	„ *May 29,	Evening Meeting and Excursions.
Killarney, . . .	„ *June 18 or 25,	Quarterly Do. Do.
Dublin, . . .	„ *Oct. 2, †	Do. Do. Do.
Do., . . .	„ Nov. 27, †	Evening Meeting, for Papers.

* Railway Return Tickets will be obtainable for these Meetings at fare and a quarter.

† Members of the Society's Dinner Club will dine at the Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin, at 6 p.m., on the above dates.

The Report having been adopted, the President declared Dr. Joyce elected as Hon. President for 1906, and the following Fellows elected as Vice-Presidents :—

- LEINSTER, .. THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP CROZIER, M.R.I.A. (*Fellow*, 1891).
- ULSTER, .. THE RT. HON. SIR DANIEL DIXON, Bart., M.P. (*Fellow*, 1892).
- MUNSTER, .. THE RIGHT HON. LORD INCHQUIN (*Fellow*, 1901).
- CONNAUGHT, .. GEORGE N. COUNT PLUNKETT, F.S.A., M.R.I.A. (*Fellow*, 1888).

Also as Members of Council, the following were declared elected :—

- JOHN COOKE, M.A. (*Member*, 1888; *Fellow*, 1894).
- J. GRENE BARRY, D.L. (*Member*, 1877).
- W. J. FENNELL, M.R.I.A. (*Member*, 1893).
- THE REV. CANON FFRENCH, M.R.I.A. (*Vice-President*, 1897-9).
- S. A. O. FITZ PATRICK (*Member*, 1898; *Fellow*, 1902).
- P. J. O'REILLY (*Member*, 1894; *Fellow*, 1898).
- T. J. WESTROFF, M.A., M.R.I.A. (*Vice-President*, 1903-5).

Mr. John Cooke and Mr. S. A. O. Fitz Patrick were re-elected as Auditors of the Accounts for the year 1905.

The following Notice of Motion, under Rule 28, was considered and adopted :—

“That, in Rule 17, the words ‘Past Presidents’ be inserted after ‘President’ in the first clause.”

The outgoing President (Mr. Garstin) having responded to a cordial vote of thanks, the meeting adjourned until 8 o'clock.

EVENING MEETINGS.

The Evening Meeting was held at 8 o'clock in the Society's Rooms, WILLIAM C. STUBBS, M.A., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

The following Papers were read, and referred to the Council for publication:—

- “The Fair of Carman: its Site,” by Goddard H. Orpen, M.A., *Member*.
- “On a newly-discovered Ogam in County Limerick,” by Henry S. Crawford, B.E., *Member*: with “Note by Professor Rhys, LL.D., *Hon. Fellow*.”

The following Paper was taken as read, and referred to the Council for publication:—

- “Faughart, County Louth,” by Stanley Howard, *Fellow*.

Mr. Garstin exhibited a Rubbing of the M'Swiney Tomb at Doe Castle, County Donegal, with Inscription, hitherto unread.

Mr. George Duncan exhibited two miniature Bronze Chalice, or Cups, and two Bronze Celts.

An Evening Meeting of the 58th Yearly Session of the Society was held in the Society's Rooms, 6, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, on Tuesday, the 27th of February, 1906, at 8 o'clock, the Hon. President, PATRICK WESTON JOYCE, Esq., LL.D., M.R.I.A., and afterwards, WILLIAM C. STUBBS, Esq., M.A., *Vice-President*, in the Chair, when the following Paper was read, and referred to the Council for publication:—

- “On the Headstone of Lugnaed, St. Patrick's nephew, in Inchagoill, in Lough Corrib,” by P. W. Joyce, LL.D., *Hon. President*.

The following Papers were taken as read, and referred to the Council for publication:—

- “Antiquities around Ballyhaunis, Co. Mayo,” by H. T. Knox, *Fellow*.
- “The M'Cracken Correspondence,” by the Rev. W. T. Latimer, B.A., *Vice-President*.
- “On an Urn Cemetery at Gortnacor, Broomhedge, Co. Antrim,” by Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

The Society then adjourned until the 27th of March, 1906.

An Evening Meeting of the 58th Yearly Session of the Society was held in the Society's Rooms, 6, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, on Tuesday, the 27th of March, 1906, at 8 o'clock, MR. WILLIAM C. STUBBS, M.A., Senior *Vice-President* for Leinster, in the Chair, when the following Paper was read, and referred to the Council for publication:—

- “The Arms of the O'Rourke: a Metal Casting from County Leitrim Seventeenth-Century Foundries,” by the Rev. Joseph Meehan, c.c., *Member*. (Illustrated by lantern slides.)

The Society then adjourned until the 24th of April, 1906.

APPENDIX TO ANNUAL REPORT.

The following is an alphabetical list of the Fellows and Members elected in 1905. His Royal Highness GEORGE, PRINCE OF WALES, was elected a *Fellow* and *Patron* of the Society at the Annual General Meeting in January of that year:—

FELLOWS.

- Beatty, Samuel, M.A., M.B., M.CH., Craigatin, Pitlochrie, N.B. (*Life Member*, 1883).
 Burns, Thomas, F.R.S.I., M.S.A., Diana-street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
 Day, Very Rev. Maurice, Dean of Ossory, The Deanery, Kilkenny.
 Grenfell, the Right Hon. Lord, F.S.A., &c., Royal Hospital, Dublin.
 Hilliard, John (*Member*, 1902), Lake Hotel, Killarney.
 Howard, Stanley M'Knight (*Member*, 1905), Stone House, Kidderminster.
 Jourdain, Captain H. T. N., Connanght Rangers, Mullingar.
 Joynt, Richard Lane, M.D. (*Member*, 1904), 84, Harcourt-street, Dublin.
 Stonestreet, Rev. W. F., D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.L., Arnside, Prestwich Park, near Manchester.
 Wales, H. R. H. the Prince of, *Patron*, Marlborough House, London, S.W.
 Weldrick, John Francis, 12, Booterstown-avenue, Co. Dublin.

MEMBERS.

- Allen, Herbert W., Rosemount House, Dundrum, Co. Dublin.
 Ardagh, Mrs. Robert, Pouldrew, Portlaw, Co. Waterford.
 Borrowes, Lady, Barretstown Castle, Ballymore Eustace.
 Boyle, E. M. F. G., Solicitor, Limavady.
 Brady, the Rev. James, The Presbytery, 47, Westland-row, Dublin.
 Burnett, George Henry, Cnoc Aluin, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.
 Courvoisier, Mrs., 5, Windsor Gardens, Belfast.
 Coyle, Rev. James, P.P., Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow.
 Darling, Rev. J. Lindsey, The Mariners' Parsonage, Kingstown.
 Deane, Arthur, Curator, Public Museum, Royal Avenue, Belfast.
 Dickie, Wallace, 22, Trinity College, Dublin.
 Digby, Cecil, M.D., Knockane, Beaufort, Co. Kerry.
 Dobbyn, William A., Riversdale, Waterford.
 Drew, Thomas, Secretary, County Council Committee of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, Kilkenny.
 Feely, Frank Michael, D.I., R.I.C., Killarney.
 Gamble, Robert C., Elagh Hall, Londonderry.
 Geoghegan, J. E., Rockfield, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
 Given, Maxwell, C.E., 3, Ardbana-terrace, Coleraine.
 Guinness, Miss Beatrice Grace, Burton Hall, Stillorgan, Co. Dublin.
 Guinness, Miss Eva Frances, Burton Hall, Stillorgan, Co. Dublin.
 Howard, Stanley M'Knight, Stone House, Kidderminster.
 Hughes, Edwin, J.P., Dalchoolin, Cultra, Belfast.
 Kavanagh, Mrs. H., Borris House, Borris, Co. Carlow.
 Kelly, the Rev. Joseph, c.c., Episcopal Residence, Mullingar.
 Kent, Ernest Alexandre Harry, 149, Gleneldon-road, Streatham, London, S.W.
 Kidd, James, 55, Antrim-road, Belfast.

- Kiernan, Michael K., 12, Lower Fitzwilliam-street, Dublin.
 Knabenshne, S. S., American Consul, Belfast.
 Librarian, the, Royal Library, Copenhagen.
 Lyons, Patrick, Sergeant, R. I. C., Ballyhamis, Co. Mayo.
 M'Crum, Mrs. Elizabeth Jane, Ballyveasy, Carnmoney, Co. Antrim.
 M'Ternan, Miss Mary, 21, St. Patrick's Hill, Cork.
 Moore, Edward R., Langara, Glenageary, Co. Dublin.
 Moore, Miss P., Ballivor Rectory, Ballivor, Co. Meath.
 Morrogh, Mrs. W., Ballincurrig Lodge, Douglas-road, Cork.
 Mulligan, John, Greinan, Adelaide-road, Glenageary, Kingstown, Co. Dublin.
 Nash, Sir Vincent, D.L., 4, Pery-square, Limerick.
 Philips, G. T., Headmaster, Technical Schools, Kilkenny.
 Rice, Ignatius J., 1, Waltham-terrace, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
 Roper, Charles Edward Alexander, B.L., 55, Leeson Park, Co. Dublin.
 Ross-Lewin, Rev. George Harrison, Vicar of Benfieldside, Hon. Canon of Durham Cathedral, St. Cuthbert's Vicarage, Shortley Bridge, Co. Durham; and Ross Hill, Kildysart, Co. Clare.
 Seton, Malcolm Cotter Cariston, 13, Clarendon-road, Holland Park, London, W.
 Shekelton, William A., Kilkenny College, Kilkenny.
 Sheridan, George P., A.R.I.B.A., 25, Suffolk-street, Dublin.
 Stewart, Miss Nina, Bogay, Londonderry.
 Thompson, Dr. Cuthbert Longfield, Eglinton, Co. Londonderry.
 Warren, Miss Edyth G., 12, Fitzwilliam-square, Dublin.
 Warren, Miss Mary Helen, 12, Fitzwilliam-square, Dublin.
 Wells, J. W., 216, Beechcliffe, Keighley, Yorkshire.
 Whitton, Joseph, B.A., B.E., Board of Works Office, Tralee.
 Yates, Rev. John Henry, B.D., Summerhill, Nenagh, Co. Tipperary.

The following Fellows and Members, owing for three years (1902, 1903, and 1904), were struck off the Roll; their names may be restored on payment of amount due:—

FELLOWS.—Very Rev. Terence O'Rorke, D.D., P.P., Collooney; W. H. Beardwood, 192, Great Brunswick-street, Dublin.

MEMBERS.—Rev. J. H. Bourke, The Parade, Kilkenny; J. S. Cussen, D.I.N.S., Cork; Richard H. Dreaper, Moseley, near Manchester; William Fraser, Downshire-road, Newry; R. P. Gill, Fatheen, Nenagh; Bernard Teague, Scotstown, Monaghan; Rev. P. Graydon Tibbs, Oxmantown Mall, Birr; Andrew Trimble, 2, Violet-terrace, Belfast; Capt. Graham Wynne, Clogherweigh, Sligo.

The following list of Members owing for three years (1903, 1904, and 1905) is published in accordance with the Rule of the Society, No. 11:—

- Bigger, Frederick Charles, Ardrie, Antrim-road, Belfast.
 Behan, Rev. W. J., c.c., Killeentierna, Farranfore.
 Doran, George Augustus, J.P., University-road, Belfast.
 Flanagan, James, Model School, Inchicore, Dublin.
 Gallagher, William, English-street, Armagh.
 Hynes, Rev. John, B.D., c.c., St. Mary's, Sligo.

Irvine, Charles E. R. A., Lisgoole Abbey, Enniskillen.
 Kermode, P. M. C., Cooil-ny-Freeney, Ramsey, Isle of Man.
 Kinnear, Ernest A., Ballyheigue Castle, Co. Kerry.
 Kerr, Miss, St. Luracha, Londonderry.
 Lee, Rev. Timothy, c.c., St. John's, Limerick.
 Loughman, Henry James, B.L., 39, Belvedere-place, Dublin.
 Magill, Charles, 15A, Donegal-place, Belfast.
 Magrath, Redmond, 53, Clanbrassil-street, Dundalk.
 Mahony, Bernard P. J., M.R.C.V.S., Anfield, Maryborough.
 Mulqueen, John T., 2, Ravenscroft Park, High Barnett, Herts.
 Murphy, John J., 6, Castle-avenue, Clontarf.
 M'Watters, Morgan J., Bank of Ireland, Omagh.
 O'Callaghan, Rev. Joseph, 59, Eceles-street, Dublin.
 O'Reilly, Rev. Edward, Adm., Frankford, King's County.
 O'Toole, Arthur, 5, Foster-place, Dublin.
 Quin, James, J.P., Temple Mungret, Limerick.
 Rice, Mrs., Grange Erin, Douglas, Co. Cork.
 Richey, Henry A., B.L., 13, Lower Pembroke-street, Dublin.
 Robinson, Thomas, Drogheda.
 Smithwick, Edmund, J.P., Kilcrene House, Kilkenny.
 Sibley, John C., M.S. Doc., 22, Fernshaw-road, West Brompton, London, S.W.

List of Fellows and Members owing for two years (1904 and 1905):—

FELLOWS.

Doyle, Charles F., M.A., 56, George-street, Limerick.
 Robinson, Rev. Stanford F. H., M.A., 17, Lower Leeson-street, Dublin.
 Uniacke, R. G. Fitz Gerald, B.A., Schopwick-place, Elstree, Herts.

MEMBERS.

Burke, Miss A., Westport House, Middletown, Co. Armagh.
 Conlan, Very Rev. Canon, P.P., St. Michan's, Dublin.
 Costigan, William, Great Victoria-street, Belfast.
 Cavanagh, James A., 62, Grafton-street, Dublin.
 Dunn, Valentine, 3, Raglan-road, Dublin.
 Dunne, Rev. Edward, c.c., The Presbytery, Rathmines.
 Flood, Rev. James, Rockville Centre, Long Island, New York, U.S.A.
 Fitzsimon, D. O'Connell, Moreen, Dundrum.
 Greaves, Miss, 12, Rathgar-road, Dublin.
 Gordon, Patrick, D.I.R.I.C., Dunmanway, Co. Cork.
 Hackett, T. Kirkwood, General Valuation Office, Ely-place, Dublin.
 Kenny, William F., M.A., 69, Fitzwilliam-square, Dublin.
 Kelly, Thomas J., 32, Salisbury-road, Wavertree, Liverpool.
 Magill, Rev. Robert, M.A., Ph.D., The Manse, Maghera.
 Martin, William, Mill-street, Monaghan.
 M'Connell, James, 48, Lower Sackville-street, Dublin.
 M'Kean, Rev. William, The Manse, Strandtown, Belfast.
 Nolan, William R., B.A., Brookville, Simmonscourt-avenue, Donnybrook.
 Roberts, Rev. William R. W., F.T.C.D., Priorsland, Carrickmines, Co. Dublin.
 Twigg, Rev. Canon Thomas, Malahide, Co. Dublin.

REPORT ON THE PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTION FOR 1905.¹

The number of photographs added to the collection this year is 28. Of these, 13 were printed by the Society, from negatives lent by Dr. George Fogerty; 3 were presented by Mr. Crawford; and 12 by the Hon. Keeper. They are arranged under counties as follows:—

COUNTY OF CLARE.—Bohatey, dolmen (near Mount Shannon). Cahercommaun (Kilnaboy), fort. Caherduff (near Crumlin), fort (2 views). Cahernagrian (near Oughtdarra), fort. Doonagore, round castle. Doonaunmore (near Oughtdarra), promontory fort (3 views). Dysert O'Dea, church, west window. Kilmacreehy (Liscannor), church. Kiltinanlea (Clonlara), church. Oonalyshaght (near last), cave and fort of Croghateacun.

COUNTY OF GALWAY.—Kilconnell Abbey.

COUNTY OF LIMERICK.—Cappagh, castle. Clonshire, church. Friarstown, convent (2 views). Kilmallock, Dominican Abbey (3 views), dolmen. Laxweir, castle. Mungret Abbey (3 views).

COUNTY OF ROSCOMMON.—Roscommon, Felim O'Connor's tomb (3 views).

The collection at present comprises 2,052 photographs.

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¹ Continued from vol. xxxv., p. 90, by Mr. T. J. Westropp, Hon. Keeper.

² Compiled by Mr. Richard Langrishe, Hon. Keeper of Printed Books.

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OF IRELAND
FOR THE YEAR 1906.

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART II., VOL. XXXVI.

Papers.

THE JACOBITE TRACT: "A LIGHT TO THE BLIND."

BY RICHARD O'SHAUGHNESSY, C.B., M.V.O., VICE-PRESIDENT.

(Continued from page 204, Volume XXXV., 1905.)

PART II.

[Read NOVEMBER 28, 1905.]

IN a former paper¹ the author of the tract, Nicholas Plunkett, led us from Derry to the Boyne; and we have seen James depart, leaving Tyrconnell with discretion to make peace or continue the struggle. The Royal army has reached Limerick. Counsels are divided, the Duke being for peace, Sarsfield, Luttrell, and others for holding out. Meantime William, "having refreshed his army and provided all things necessary for his further expedition," began his march from Finglas towards Limerick on the 9th of July. On the way he sent detachments to seize the more important towns. General Douglas advanced against Athlone, but the governor, "Ould Colonell John Grace," rejected his summons, and Douglas having seen 40 of his men killed in battle and 300 by disease, marched off and rejoined William. Brigadier Eppingham found Wexford abandoned. "Cromwell," says Plunkett, "could not take it in 1649, but by the treachery of the governor of the castle." Eppingham next

¹ *Journal*, vol. xxxv., p. 196.

Jour. R.S.A.I. { Vol. xvi., Fifth Series. }
 { Vol. xxxvi., Consec. Ser. }

summoned Duncannon, "the second fort in the kingdom." The governor, Colonel Michael Bourke, "having a smart garrison, made some tergiversation in his resolutions, but at last condescended on the 26th to surrender" on honourable conditions. Meantime William occupied Kilkenny without resistance. When the Count de Schomberg reached Clonmel, "where Cromwell lost more men than were lost of his in all the sieges of Ireland," he found the gates open. Waterford was garrisoned by two regiments. Their colonels surrendered on the 25th. Plunkett reflects that if these towns had resisted "Orange had been undone. The warr in Ireland would have been prolonged and the confederacy abroad forced to make peace for want of the assistance of England, by which peace the power of France would have fallen on England." William now hearing that the French had landed in the west of England, started to meet them. At "Chapel Izard" (written as the man in the street pronounces it to-day), "a Pallace of the King's," he learned the retreat of the French, and returned to his army. On August 8, he reached Caherconlish, five miles from Limerick.

When we read Plunkett's denunciation of the surrenders, we should, in fairness, remember what must have been in men's minds. The defection of James, the preference of Tyrconnell for peace, the certainty that England would send army after army, the want of money, the prospect of confiscations, the slight hope of French aid, all lent an unreality to the struggle, which was to give place for a period to something very different at Limerick and Aughrim. Plunkett tells us that Limerick was "a weak town, having no outward works, but a toy pallsade before a little part of the walls, nor a rampart within. The wall is of an ould standing, and farr from being thick." It was after the Irish army had reached the town that Tyrconnell discussed the alternatives of peace or war with his officers. If Plunkett reflects his mind correctly, what weighed with him was the fear that if a prolonged resistance ended in defeat, confiscation and penal laws would follow, and the poor remnant still left of the Catholic interest would be ruined. But the report had been spread that "the Irish would put their back to the wall of Limerick, and there engage in a fight for the whole kingdom. The courage of the army was raised. Their resolution was highly increased by the loss at the Boyne," and Limerick was crowded with "gentlemen and farmers from Leinster, Munster, and Ulster, eager to share in the glory of that day." The war party prevailed. The first thing to be done was to provide for the return to France of the French brigade, "who," says Plunkett, "gave up the kingdom for lost after the disaster of the Boyne, where they struck not a stroake, but what they did in the retreat." For this purpose the Duke went to Galway, leaving behind him a garrison of 8000 men, "of which some regiments were not armed," placing the cavalry on the Clare side of the Shannon, and sending the rest of the army to Connaught.

A summons to surrender having been rejected, William sent his

cavalry across the Shannon to cut off communication between the garrison and the Irish horse. The river was crossed without resistance at a spot which might have been entrenched. The Duke of Berwick, in command of the Irish cavalry, "hearing of the trajection," proceeded to withdraw his force to the borders of Galway. Next day a deserter from William brought news that cannon and ammunition were on the road from Dublin to the besiegers. It was this discovery that led Sarsfield to undertake his memorable ride. "He flew," says Plunkett, "that night to the horsecamp and offered his services towards the intercepting of that great convoy, and without any rest marched till he overtook it . . . at a little ould castle called Ballynedy. He surprized it in the night time. He bursted the canon; he burned the provisions, destroying everything and carried off some money. However, William got other canon, which served his purpose by reason that the wall was then without rampart."

The trenches were opened on the 17th of August, and the chief battery was soon carried within a pistol-shot of the south wall. On the 20th a small fort held by 100 Irish was attacked and taken after most of the defenders and a considerable number of the assailants had fallen. After the capture a strong party of foot-soldiers sallied forth to regain it; but at last the Irish were forced to retreat at the approach of the enemy's horse. From the 17th to the 27th mortars and cannon played furiously. A large breach had been made. The hour had come, and Plunkett's vivid words almost make us see the conflict.

"500 Grenadiers were to begin, who were to be supported by 7 regiments of foot. The garrison were much fatigued by frequent hard duty. However, they must reject conditions. For the more easy and sure defence, the governor (Boisselau) had timely a retrenchment made within the breach from side to side. Behind this he placed a few pieces of canon and his battalions. He ordered more companys to stand within the breach when attacked. Part of his men who were on duty the day before he did not call to action at the beginning: tho' in the heat thereof they were brought into play."

Here our cautious guide stops to deprecate the risk run by the besieged, and to suggest that a parley should have been called "when they did see a wide breach made and a numerous host ready to mount. . . . But to go on, the Prince commanded the signal to be given between 3 and 4 in the afternoon. . . . His men went on bravely and after some loss, they mounted the breach. The first that did it was Captain Farlow, who no sooner gained the honour than he gott his death in the place, where the conflict was bloody. However, the assaylants by their numbers prevayled and entered the town, and the circumference of the retrenchment. 'Twas here the defendants put all their might and their commanding officers signalized themselves and then they poured in their shott from front, right and left so furiously that they put the living to a stand and seconding seasonably the fire forced at last

the enemy to face about and fly. The Irish pursued them to their works, making a great slaughter. . . . The next day there was a cessation for burying the dead."

William was for renewing the attack, but "the Irish protestants alleadging that if the army were foyled in the second assault the Irish Catholics would regain immediately the whole kingdom," he ordered the army to decamp.

When the French at Galway heard the news, they "would willingly have stayed, in the hope of recovering the kingdom"; but "they durst not remain without new orders" from Versailles. Tyrconnell hastened back to Limerick. Again he proposed to make peace, because William would now grant better terms than before the siege. But there was no convincing the war party, and when, soon after, Tyrconnell started for France, they sent over three agents to counteract his influence.

The other event of the autumn was the taking of Cork by Churchill, now Earl of Marlborough. Eighty ships sailed into Cove. Next day the city was invested, and within forty-eight hours the besiegers were reinforced by 5000 men from the various English garrisons. The governor, Mac Gillicuddy, had a force of 4000; but his resistance was short. On the 28th "he was forced to yield the town and the garrison to be prisoners of war for want of powder: which the enemy knew the day before—a strange neglect in business of the highest consequence, and an usual neglect in the management of this warr, as I have often mentioned." Kinsale was next attacked. Trenches were opened, a breach made, then parley and surrender, the garrison marching with baggage and arms to Limerick. In January a raid was made into Kerry, which the Irish met by burning "the little open town of Killarney, belonging to Lord Kenmare, a Catholic, and one or two houses of Protestants, by way of preventing the enemy to garrison them."

The death of Pope Innocent XI. leads Plunkett to discuss the estrangement between that Pontiff and James II. Plunkett conjectures that a quarrel between Louis XIV. and the Pope as to the vacant See of Cologne led to it. Innocent had been called on to decide between the claims of Prince Clement of Bavaria and Cardinal Furstenburg. He chose the Prince, but Louis preferred the Cardinal, and offered to place him in the electoral see with an armed force. "Whereupon" (according to Plunkett) "the Pope transmitted commands to his nuncio to hire an army in support of Clement, and the nuncio made an offer to the States of Holland for their army." Whether money passed from the nuncio to the States, and from them to William, their general, the writer of the tract is unable to say. He points out that at this juncture William was preparing his descent on England; but he rejects, as "a ridiculous whimsey," the story that the Pope sent money to the Prince to further the project. He thinks it possible that Innocent was angry because James had declined an offer from Louis of

military aid against invasion. The truth may lie in a different direction. The alliance of James with a king under whose influence the French bishops had decreed the Gallican articles of 1682, and who had seized Avignon, may have sufficed to estrange Innocent from an exiled sovereign whose policy in prosperous days had proved ruinous to the cause of permanent toleration in England. It would be strange if the See of Rome, assailed in its spiritual and temporal authority, had not sympathized with the majority of the Catholic powers and their Protestant ally in everything calculated to harass the French king.

In March, 1691, Louis sent over the Marquis of St. Ruth as Commander-in-Chief, with two Lieutenant-Generals, arms, and ammunition. Tyrconnell had arrived in January with some money and a promise of provisions, which were badly wanted by the troops. St. Ruth ordered the army to take the field. Ginkel, the new commander on the English side, ordered his forces to meet at Mullingar and advance upon Athlone. The Irish army lay encamped outside the town on the Connaught side. In front of them was an entrenchment constructed by a Jacobite force when Douglas attempted to invest the place. Tyrconnell and St. Ruth having arrived, the former advised that this entrenchment should be demolished, because it would impede the army in any attempt to relieve the garrison. The suggestion caused an explosion among the war party. The entrenchment was retained. Next, according to Plunkett's story, a message was formally delivered to His Excellency by Lieutenant-Colonel O'Connor on behalf of a number of officers, that if he did not leave the camp the cords of his pavilion would be cut. The Duke, in Plunkett's words, "made a noble conquest of himself and withdrew." The siege began, and St. Ruth said Ginkel deserved to be hanged for attempting it. He was soon undeceived. The English easily took the Leinster portion of the town; the problem was how to reach the Connaught side. There was a bridge, but the Irish had broken the last arch, and defeated all attempts to restore communication by planks and beams. Ginkel thought of decamping and crossing the river lower down at Banagher. At last a deserter from the English informed St. Ruth that the enemy was preparing to cross at a point called by Plunkett "a kind of a ford" below the bridge. No notice was taken. The thing was thought impossible. At this moment the troops that had defended the broken bridge were replaced by new regiments that had seen no service. A deserter had told Ginkel that St. Ruth was in a state of complete security, and the English general was also aware that the entrenchment beyond the town still existed, and would be an obstacle to relief. Two thousand men were told off. At 6 a.m. on the 30th of June sixty grenadiers, twenty abreast, advanced through the ford up to their arm-pits, followed by a large force. Fire was opened on them, but they gained the bank, rushed through a breach in an earthwork, cast grenades among the raw garrison,

repaired the bridge, helped to lay a bridge of boats, manned the fatal entrenchment against an Irish force coming to the relief, and drove the Irish out of the town.

St. Ruth felt that he could not "justify" the defeat, and determined "either to bury his body in Ireland or regain it speedily"—in other words, to risk everything on a pitched battle. Tyrconnell was against this, and in favour of a dilatory war pending help from France. His plan was to send the Irish cavalry across the Shannon into Leinster, and compel Ginkel to follow it. But St. Ruth persisted, and took up a position at Aughrim, south-west of Ballinasloe. In front of his army lay a morass impassable to cavalry; at the right, a small ford in a stream issuing from the morass; on the left, "an ould broaken causeway, sixty yards long," and near the end of it an old castle. The infantry stood behind the morass, four cavalry regiments with dragoons at the ford side under Sarsfield and de Tessé, and a corresponding force at the causeway under Sheldon, Brigadier Luttrell commanding the first line. The English army came up a little after six on Sunday morning, July 12, and the Irish, who were hearing mass at the time, took up their assigned stations. Most of the day was spent in an artillery conflict, and in attacks on posts of the Irish right. "Both parties, to give them their due, fought with extraordinary valour, because they fought with military skill." At two Ginkel sent a large force of cavalry to seize the ford and make a flank attack on the Irish infantry, "which he perceived was somewhat superior at least on account of the ground." The attack was repulsed. Fresh cavalry came on, and the Irish detachments posted at the ford were pushed back on the main body of Sarsfield's horse, which stood its ground. Ginkel hesitated for a time. But when evening approached, he again pressed forward his cavalry against the Irish right, and sent his infantry against the centre. The cavalry were beaten back and the Irish foot withstood the attack, and broke and pursued the English force. Ginkel sent fresh troops, who held the strife a good while in balance. Again, however, the attack failed. Four additional regiments advanced, and, after an obstinate struggle, the assailants retreated. The Irish pursued, gained and held the enemy's ground, and took some cannon. St. Ruth thought the battle was won, and cried out, "*Le jour est à nous, mes enfants.*" Ginkel paused, and there were signs of retreat, but some of his officers advised him to attempt the causeway, and this he proceeded to do. St. Ruth, observing the movement, ordered Sheldon and Luttrell to resist, and went himself to see "that there may be no failure in the last scene of this bloody tragedy." As he was riding down a little hill a cannon-ball, "missing all others, struck him on the head, at which he fell, and at the same time it laid the nation prostrate at his feet." Upon his death the Irish guards withdrew, Luttrell retired from the causeway after a small resistance to the English force, and Sheldon followed. Meantime the infantry at the

centre and Sarsfield at the right stood firm, little dreaming that their horse at the left would abandon them. But the English cavalry at the causeway pressed on and soon enveloped the Irish foot, "who were surprised at their hard fate while they were mowing the field of honour." Luttrell and Sheldon did not even warn them of their retreat, but left them unprepared for the flank attack which now forced them to retire. Sarsfield and Lord Galmoy covered the retreat with their cavalry. The old castle was taken. Two thousand Irish were killed and six hundred wounded. The English, Plunkett tells us, lost more heavily; but as to this and as to the Irish losses he is at variance with other writers who make the slaughter of the Irish, particularly in the retreat, much larger. St. Ruth's body was buried by one of his retinue "privately" at Loughrea.

Such was the Battle of Aughrim, as narrated by Plunkett. Need it be said that he denounces Luttrell and the others who abandoned their tations, "without compulsion, nay, without a stroake," as traitors or cowards?

The Irish army reassembled within twelve days at the Clare side of Limerick. Tyrconnell thought at first of giving battle, and moved his forces across the Shannon to the Limerick side. Men recalled a prophecy that the English would be beaten at a place on the south of the city still called Singland, and that English rule would come to an end. But when he saw that no reinforcement could at the moment be expected from France, and that Ginkel was advancing with all his forces by Nenagh, he reverted to his policy after Athlone, and determined to protract the war by defending the city. But a more potent enemy than Ginkel was near. On the 10th of August, Tyrconnell dined with the French general D'Usson. "He and the company were very merry." He fell ill that night. Next day he was worse, and on the third, "observing his weakness to be great, he settled his worldly affairs and took care of his conscience." He was speechless on the fourth day, and died on the fifth. One of his last acts was to order Luttrell to be courtmartialled. A majority of the court, whose labours appear not to have been finished at Tyrconnell's death, were for acquittal. Later on Luttrell received favours and promotion from William, but Plunkett scrupulously adds, "Whether the services were performed before the peace or after, some have called into question, and, therefore, I will leave it undecided."

The prospects of the besiegers were not apparently hopeful. Their forces were smaller than in 1690, the garrison larger, and the town defences stronger. But we can see, as did Plunkett, that surrender was in the air. A breach was made in the English town wall behind the old Dominican friary, where the Sisters of Mercy have their principal convent at present, and where memorials of the siege are frequently found. Ginkel spent some days trying to dismount a small battery

near the breach. Having failed, he ceased for two or three days from all manner of firing, so that there was a general silence. The experience of last year's assault was not encouraging. He decided to send part of his forces across the river, and invest the city from the Clare side. On the night of September 17 he sent 600 workmen, with grenadiers, to throw a bridge of pontoons across a ford above the town. The grenadiers reached an island which enabled them to protect the workmen, and they remained undiscovered till morning. Then a dragoon patrolling the bank saw them and ran with the news to Clifford, the brigadier in command. Clifford refused to believe it. Colonel Colclough of Wexford hearing it, hurried down with his regiment, some of whom had not time to bring their horses. He asked for ammunition and orders, but Clifford "neglected so long by his discourses (which no man of sense understood to be pertinent) that the bridge was finished at 7 a.m.," and a large body of English crossed it. The small Irish force at the bank were overpowered, and Sheldon removed the main body of the cavalry towards Ennis, by which they lost communication with Limerick. "The Irish lords and ladies, who had a camp a quarter of a mile from the city, got inside the walls with all speed," and the English established themselves in the suburb still known as Thomondgate.

We have come to the last scene in the war. No effort was made to dislodge the English from Thomondgate, "to scour the avenues on the Clare side, there being three dayes for doing it." To one who knows the locality the thing seems unaccountable, inconsistent with any real intention to hold out. Instead, 200 men according to Plunkett, a larger number according to others, were sent across Thomond Bridge to skirmish. They were soon overpowered by a larger force. They were recrossing the bridge, and some had actually got into the town, when the French officer in charge raised the draw-bridge and left the Irish, massed and huddled in retreat, to be cut to pieces without the possibility of aid from the garrison. Many were killed on the bridge, many drowned attempting to escape over its sides. They had done their best. "No outer works had been raised" at the Clare side "whereby musketry, well covered, might keep off the approach of the foe, to the slaughtering of a great number, and from whence, when overpowered, they might return into the town." The assailants retired from the bridge and established themselves within ten yards of the river side, where they were left untouched. The French officer who had sacrificed so many lives was ordered to a courtmartial. A day passed, and on the 24th September "the garrison beat a parley, to which the enemy complied, and a cessation was made."

Here ends Plunkett's story of the war. He goes on to tell of the Treaty and of the hopes and fears of the Stuart party for more than twenty years after that event. We cannot fail to see that some of Tyrconnell's opponents in the Irish army aimed from the first at the

semblance, not the reality, of war. Their object may have been to transfer the struggle from Ireland to the Continent. Tyrconnell seems to have aimed at putting an end to it altogether. From the day James left Dublin after the Boyne, he saw the ruin threatened to himself and his party by a prolonged resistance. He was far from being a patriot in any sense, English or Irish, and, above all, he had no sympathy with the old Celtic population, "the Os and the Maes," as he called them. But he had valuable interests in Ireland, and he knew that they could only be saved by an early peace. Plunkett tells us that when Tyrconnell was Colonel Talbot and a favourite at the Court of Charles II., many Irish gentlemen sought and obtained his influence for the restoration of their estates, "in consideration of which service the persons so restored did bestow by an antecedent agreement part of the acquired lands on Colonel Talbot, who having money laid it out on the purchase of some other lands, so that he had now a plentiful estate." If he had lived longer, he would possibly have held out against the siege, in the hope of aid from France, which actually arrived shortly after the treaty was signed; but he would ultimately have used the circumstance, and any successes resulting from it, to secure peace on sound and reliable conditions. It is possible that, under his guidance, the articles of peace would have omitted a provision which omened ill for the observance by England of the compact actually made. A provision that the flower of the Irish army should have facilities for taking service under Louis XIV. in order to renew the struggle on other fields, was not a restoration of peace, but a treaty ensuring the resumption of war; and it may be that Tyrconnell, a shrewd man of the world, would have shrunk from making the prospects of himself and his friends, already dark enough, still darker by insisting on it.

Plunkett wrote as a warm partisan of the Stuart cause, but in a generous spirit, with a fair appreciation of the motives of the enemy, with eyes well open to some at least of the faults on his own side, and with ample recognition of the bravery of William's soldiers. His story is told in good faith; and while he differs in some details from other contemporary writers, he falls into no serious or intentional misstatements. From beginning to end, he writes like a man that felt there were some things behind his narrative that he did not and could not understand—the reasons of the extraordinary dissensions on the Irish side, of the still more extraordinary changes in the attitude of some of the principal actors as the struggle progressed, and of the readiness with which, at critical moments, officers holding high commands abandoned their posts or left duty undone. There was a secret, and he was not in it. How are we to account for the halting operations at Derry; for the neglect to attack the Duke de Schomberg in Ulster; for James' deliberate refusal to make a stand at the Boyne, until his men were forced to repel an attack on their retreat; for his sudden departure; the authority given to Tyrconnell to

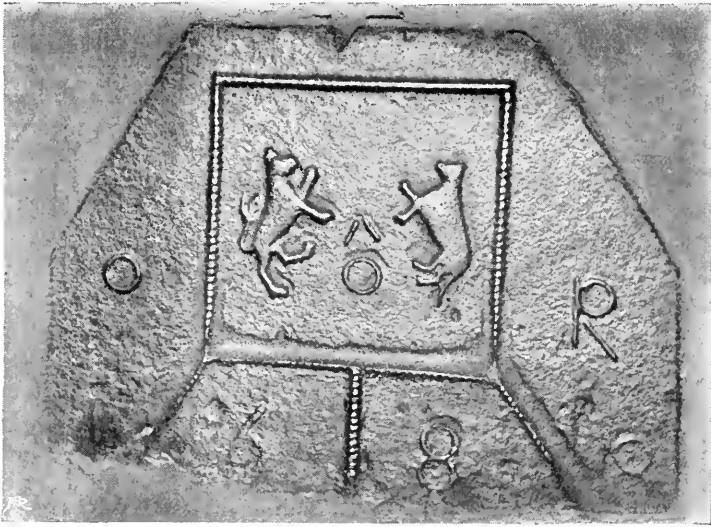
make peace; the divided counsels; the suspicion in which Tyrconnell was held; the conduct of Luttrell at Aughrim and Clifford at Limerick? There is another Jacobite Tract of the period, less rich in detail, less suggestive of antiquarian research, but perhaps more instructive on this point. The writer of the *Macariæ Excidium* puts forward the theory that from the beginning James saw that a real campaign in Ireland would be regarded as a war against England, waged with the arms of a race against which England had been contending for centuries, and with the probable result, if successful, of destroying the English interest in Ireland. Holding this view, he thought it would be a merit with his former British subjects if he deprived the struggle of reality, withdrew from it at the earliest convenient moment, and trusted to the chances of continental warfare and of arrangement with men of influence in England for the recovery of his crown. In such considerations Tyrconnell would agree, partly because he came to see that the Irish war could not serve his master, and partly because he thought it far better that Ireland should fall under William's sway than that "the Os and the Maes" should even for a moment get the upper hand. Even in those days there was a land question in Ireland—when was there not?—and Tyrconnell knew that its real issues lay between him and his Anglo-Irish friends and enemies on one side, and the old native race on the other. On the whole, so far as Ireland was concerned, to James, Louis, and Tyrconnell she was a mere pawn in the game; and the only features in the struggle to which we can look back without pain are the bravery of the common soldiers, and the fidelity of the great body of their officers.

THE ARMS OF THE O'ROURKES: A METAL CASTING FROM
COUNTY LEITRIM SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FOUNDRIES.

BY THE REV. JOSEPH MEEHAN, C.C.

[Read MARCH 27, 1906.]

EXACTLY opposite Arigna, the northern terminus of the Cavan and Leitrim Railway—a railway by the way which this year has been absorbing a great deal of public attention in North Connaught—stands a pretty one-storied cottage. The cottage is about a hundred yards from the public road. On entering the door your attention is at once arrested



THE ARMS OF THE O'ROURKES OF DROMAHAIR (1688).

(From a Photograph by Downes, Drumshambo.)

by the object a photo of which is reproduced on this page. It is a metal casting of the arms of the O'Rourke, the ancient chieftains of Breffni. The slab is built into the wall, and is quite flush with it.

It is of a large size—height, 1 foot 10 inches; greatest breadth, 2 feet 5 inches. The side of the square, in whose centre the heralldic animals in low relief figure, is 13 inches. The arms are plainly a lion (rampant)

and a cat. They recall rhyming or jingling lines about the armorial ensigus of the Breffni chiefs that the Leitrim peasantry love to quote:—

“The rampant lion and the spotted cat,
The hand and dagger come next to that;
Those royal emblems may well divine,
The O'Rourkes belonged to a royal line.”

On the slab there is no attempt at either hand or dagger. A probable explanation of their omission will be submitted later on in this paper.

Other armorial bearings of this very ancient Keltic house or of later branches of it may, however, be met with. They are two lions passant on a speckled shield, the crest a crowned helmet, out of the centre of the crown emerging a hand brandishing a dagger.

The ancient writers upon the science of heraldry take themselves wondrously seriously. In introducing us to their ponderously-worded volumes they endeavour to impress upon us that the chief object of their art is to perpetuate the memory of heroic deeds, or of deeds of supreme importance to the house or nation. This they try to effect by the aid of appropriate symbols charged upon or added to the coat-of-arms. Very aptly, too, do many armorial bearings do this. The crest of Hamilton of Manorhamilton—the powerful adversary of the O'Rourkes of Dromahair in the 1641 times, and a scion of the Hamiltons of Scotland—for instance, was a saw in an oak-tree surmounted by the equally puzzling motto of “Through.” It is said to commemorate Sir Gilbert Hamilton's escape as a woodman in the year 1323. Sir Gilbert, when on a visit at the court of Edward II., fought a duel with Sir John Le Despencer and killed him. Forthwith he had to fly Scotland, which he did at top speed. Nearing the border the pursuit became hotter and hotter. So himself and his squire, as they were going through an oak-wood, disguised themselves and joined a party of woodcutters. They affected to be very busy sawing away at an oak when their pursuers came up with them. The squire's nervousness almost betrayed them. But Hamilton called him to his senses by sharply shouting “Through” as the last shred of the oak was cut through. As the tree toppled over, the English knights passed unsuspectingly by. Resourcefulness and presence of mind in the midst of danger are, I presume, the lessons sought to be conveyed by the incident, or the special boast of the house of Hamilton.

The tradition about the cat on the O'Rourke shield is equally quaint.

Once upon a time and “long ‘go and long ‘go it was,” to borrow the story-teller's phrases, for it was away back in the tenth century of our era when the O'Rourkes were Kings of Connaught, a singular incident took place. Some one of the three chieftains of the clan, whom the Annals of the Four Masters mention as then Ard-righs of the province, was at war. Separated from his gallowglasses, and wearied out after many days' and nights' fighting and marching, he lay down to rest in an

open glade. Thoroughly exhausted, he soon fell into a deep sleep and was in that condition when a spotted wild cat crawled out of the woods and came purring about his face. She awakened him, and only just in time to save him from the treacherous enemy that was stealing in upon him. This is the tradition. As to the truth of it

“I cannot say how that may be,
I tell the tale as it was told to me.”

No doubt it is quite as closely in accordance with facts as are other explanations of armorial devices; that, for instance, which makes known to us why a monkey figures as a supporter of the shield of the Fitz Gerald, Dukes of Leinster. This is an equally pretty story. It does not now immediately concern us, and everybody has, in any case, heard of it.¹ As to the O'Rourkes, at all events, from that day to this, it is considered very unlucky for one of the name to kill or injure a cat. They may not know of the coat-of-arms and its heraldic intricacies, but they recognize the superstition, if such I may term it.² And hence, though with many the cat is a pet, in the humblest O'Rourke homes in Leitrim she is a prime favourite, and enjoys perhaps as much respect and consideration as did Juno's geese, that, according to the Roman legend, in ancient days by their cackling saved the Capitol from the midnight Gauls.³

¹ A much less romantic explanation of the coat-of-arms of the Earls of Kildare is insisted on by Sir William Betham in his “Irish Antiquarian Researches” (Part I., p. 227. Dublin: W. Curry, Jun., & Co., 1826). According to this learned gentleman, “the supporters of the house of Kildare were originally two lions.” But so roughly were they sketched or painted, that they came to be taken for monkeys. Sir William is indeed honest, dispassionate, and painstaking, possessing the true spirit of an antiquary: but it would be a pity, I think, if he would oblige us to believe him, and could induce us to substitute the commonplace for the romantic. I may point out that in the earlier pages of the same volume, he demonstrates that he had thoroughly convinced himself that there was no evidence for the mission of St. Patrick to Ireland. This should be sufficient to shake our confidence in his opinions. With Archbishop Healy's or Mr. Bury's exhaustive works before us, or even in the light of the opening pages of the last number of this *Journal*, we can scarcely now maintain that he is at present to be regarded as in the first rank of authorities. Or, perhaps, it should rather be said, here is a good opportunity for estimating the vast advances made, in the fields of research, since 1826—an instance of the vast amount of knowledge on historic and pre-historic subjects acquired and accumulated since those days. A large proportion of it must, undoubtedly, be set down to the credit of the painstaking efforts of members of our Society.

The story of the ape snatching the child from the cradle and carrying it aloft to the top of the castle, was also told of Thomas Nappagh (or the ape), the third Earl of Desmond. The Desmond crest, too, is a monkey. Betham, in accounting for it, is equally matter-of-fact. He maintains it was at first a lion *passant*, but was “ignorantly changed to a monkey.” He acknowledges that in this case the ape tradition pre-dated the transformation, but holds that it assisted the process. He thus barely stops short of asserting that the tradition was invented to explain the crest—not the crest devised to perpetuate the tradition.

² For another pretty legend about the O'Rourkes of the olden days, I would refer the reader to Dr. O'Rourke's “History of Sligo,” vol. ii., p. 308.

³ Miss Ellen O'Rourke (*v. Appendix*), who died about 1820 at a very advanced age, let this feeling of affection grow upon her, and in the end had a whole barnful of pussies. If report speaks true, she must have been quite as much attached to them as was Miss Charlotte Raine, of Woodstock, Oxfordshire, who died on June 19th, 1894.

Tradition has it that the metal slab was cast on Furnace Hill. This hill, overlooking Lough Allen, lies a few hundred yards due north of the little town of Drumshambo, and a mile or two from the present location of the casting. The remains of the old furnace are still traceable. They are seen to be not upon the hill, but between the hill and lake. That circumstance, however, need create for us no difficulty as to the name of the hill. Some weeks ago, on a Saturday evening, I wrote to an old gentleman to kindly tell me the exact site, and how far it was from the town and lake. By return of post I was informed, "The old furnace is 540 paces from the first house in Drumshambo, fifty paces from the water's edge at the southern end of Lough Allen, and sixty paces from the spot where the canal leaves the lake. I stepped it to-day on my way home from Mass." I think, after this reply, we should be fairly well satisfied; we have its longitude and latitude.

The furnace, in construction, was similar to those found in all ancient Irish iron works. It was 3 feet square in the interior, and about 18 or 20 feet high. John Grieve, writing in May, 1800, states there were people then living who had worked at them.¹ The smelted iron used to be carried into the neighbouring village, and there forged into bars.² Most likely the iron-ore used came by water from Slieve-an-Ierin. This, indeed, is asserted by Griffith, who went over the ground in 1818, as well as by Guest,³ who examined the district in 1804.⁴

Clayband iron-ore is to be found by the million tons north, east, and west of the head waters of the Shannon. So plentiful is it that in many places the beds of the river are laired with it, the fences of the fields constructed of it. Indeed, till well on in the nineteenth century there was no necessity felt for mining or quarrying it. Though used by the hundred tons, enough of the iron-stone could be gathered in the streams and fields to keep the furnaces all agoing.

Every geological map of Ireland indicates an area of about 300 square miles, with Lough Allen practically in the centre, as the mining district of Connaught.⁵ It occupies considerable portions of the Counties of Leitrim, Sligo, and Roscommon, and also part of Cavan. The length from Doon mountain to Keadue is sixteen miles, and the greatest breadth from the Swanlinbar⁶ hills to Killargue an

to her pets. For the rather amusing provisions of the latter lady's will relating to these cats, I would refer the reader to the "Times" of September 28th, 1894, p. 8, or to Vaughan's "Thoughts for all Times," p. 407, which quotes them.

¹ Griffith's "Geological and Mining Survey of the Connaught Coal District," Dublin: Graisberry and Campbell, 1818, p. 83.

² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

³ Ancestor of the present Lord Wimborne.

⁴ Griffith, Appendix II, p. 93.

⁵ *I.*, e. g., Hull's "Physical Geology and Geography of Ireland," 2nd ed., 1891, frontispiece. Or *v.* Griffith's "Geological and Mining Survey of the Connaught Coal District": Dublin, 1818, Map, at end.

⁶ Swanlinbar, the frontier town of the Connaught coal-fields, has the distinction of having a name as curious in its derivation as any place-name in Ireland. No mere philologist need attempt its explanation. It is this: some two centuries ago, according

equal distance. An imposing mountain, the highest in Leitrim, one whose summit rises to 1,922 feet above the sea-level, runs almost parallel to the south-western shore of Lough Allen, and quite close to it. The brown, towering mountain, and the little wooded, rather bare lake, form striking features of the rugged landscape. The name of the mountain is noteworthy; it is called Slieve-an-Ierin (in Irish, Slíabh-an-Iapáinn). This signifies 'The Mountain of Iron.' "The very name," says Dr. Joyce,¹ "shows that the presence of iron was known ages ago, when the name was imposed."

Indeed, to the geologist especially, the whole region is one of fascinating interest, unequalled, I believe, in Ireland. Lough Allen itself is of mechanical origin. Most probably it was once a river valley continuous with the Shannon. It would be so again were its waters drained off. But in some far back geological age there was an "up-throw" on the south side, *i.e.* nature built up a solid wall of slate, sandstone, and limestone across the entrance to the Arigna river valley. Though much lowered by various geological causes, this barrier still remains; and behind it the waters of the Shannon are pent up.²

Coal is to be found everywhere throughout this region. Its presence is of very great interest. It is accepted as a proof that all Ireland was once possibly as rich in coal as England is; that the Coal measures once overspread all the country, now occupied by Carboniferous limestone, but were removed by denudation.³ "What Ireland might have been," states Hughes,⁴ "if creative power had permitted her to remain as she was of erst, is, perhaps, difficult to determine."

"If a traveller," writes Hull ("Physical Geology and Geography of Ireland," 2nd ed., p. 183), "visiting the regions of early civilization in Egypt, Syria, or Babylonia, observes the basement-walls of palaces or temples, and the foundations of arches or piers, while numerous blocks of hewn stone are thrown around it, it requires no history to convince him he may be standing on the ruins of a Thebes, a Palmyra, or a Babylon. He knows that where there were the foundations, there also must have been the superstructures. Now, the limestone is the basement of the Carboniferous superstructure; and the unvarying sequence of beds . . . leads us to this conclusion, that representatives of the upper members of the Carboniferous group were always

to local tradition, three wealthy miners, a Mr. Swan, a Mr. Ling, and a Mr. Barr, erected in the place iron-works which once promised to grow into a thriving industry. Their three names are combined in Swan-lin-bar. The place indeed has the name as yet, but the industry, the more important matter, is long gone, and quite forgotten. Looking at a geological map of England or of the United States, one observes that the great towns have sprung up on the spots rich in their coal and iron deposits. With the supplying of the essential of good transit facilities, under favourable circumstances, it might be hoped that Lough Allen district would yet develop into a second Pittsburg. Swanlinbar from time immemorial has been famed for its mineral springs.

¹ Philip's "Atlas and Geography of Ireland," by Joyce (Leitrim).

² Hull's "Physical Geology and Geography of Ireland," 2nd ed., p. 227.

³ That it was by denudation is also the opinion of Professor Grenville Cole. The rival theory that they were never deposited, *i.e.*, that Ireland was under water at the time the coal-beds were laid down in England, has at present but few supporters.

⁴ "Geological Notes of Ireland," by William Hughes, 4th ed., p. 73 (Dublin: Gill & Son).

originally present where the basal beds had been laid down; and that when the former are absent, it is only in consequence of denudation. . . . In several places . . . we find remnants of the upper Carboniferous strata which, owing to special circumstances, have escaped destruction, and, like solitary columns in the ruins of ancient temples, are monuments of the decay and wreck that has reigned around.

“In this way the little coal-fields of Castlecomer and Killenaula in the south, and those of Arigna, Slieve-an-Ierin, and Tyrone, are interesting as showing what kind of strata originally overlay the Carboniferous limestone between their widely separated positions.”

Coal, indeed, is being raised in Arigna at the rate of about 12,000 tons a year,¹ but no iron has been taken out of it for the last fifty years. Yet millions of tons of iron-ore are locked up in this beautiful region.² But though neglected and almost unknown now, they were not always so. They were not always allowed to lie idly there. The district once possessed for the Irish industrial economist a measure of the interest which it now displays in such full and overflowing measure for the geologist. It was one of the great Irish centres for the manufacture of iron.

In Arigna the metal was smelted from 1818 to 1836. The dismantled works are so extensive as to bear some resemblance to a little village. When in full swing they employed, according to those that saw them working, over 200 hands.³ The circumstances which brought about the destruction of this industry at Arigna are very fully gone into by Griffith in his work already cited. They would not have failed to produce the same effect anywhere. These circumstances were referred to by Sir Robert Kane in his evidence before the Select Committee of Industries (Ireland), 1885,⁴ in scathing terms.

Nor was the nineteenth century the sole time at which the mine treasures of Lough Allen district were unlocked. Sir Charles Coote is recorded to have carried on iron mining and smelting both in the Arigna valley and at Creevelea, County Leitrim, the most northern extremity of the Connaught Coal Fields, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. At the foundries attached ordnance were cast. Hence, anxious to hide from the Irish the secrets of the process, he employed only English and Dutch. Indeed, he is said to have engaged at one time in his different iron works throughout Ireland as many as 2,500 or 2,600 of these foreigners.⁵ The reason assigned by Boate⁶ for this exclusion of the Irish

¹ Mines and Quarries, General Report and Statistics for 1901. Part III.—Output, p. 178.

² In 1890 Professor Hull made a careful survey of a small corner of it at Creevelea, and estimated that it contains at least 7,840,000 tons.

³ Report of Industries (Ireland), Appendix No. 10, p. 747.

⁴ Questions 3087–3090.

⁵ Report of Industries (Ireland), Appendix No. 9, p. 745.

⁶ “Nat. Hist. Ireland,” p. 69.

is not the one just adduced, but because, according to him, the natives were then considered the most barbarous natives of the whole earth, and "as having no skill in any of those things." That country is to be pitied whose history is written by an enemy. The Creevelea and Arigna iron works were burnt down by the insurgents in 1641. They were "broke down and quite demolished," Boate¹ says of them. They were re-started in the eighteenth century, but fell through from quite another cause. Fuel to work them failed. "In old times," writes Kinahan, "but more especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there was extensive mining, smelting, and milling of iron, which lasted till the woods were exhausted, the fuel being wood-charcoal. As the woods disappeared, the fires were put out, the last extinguished being Drumshambo, Co. Leitrim, in 1765." Surgeon-General Fawcett told the writer that he has frequently met with pieces of slag on the shores of Lough Allen, near his residence, and on breaking them up he found the wood-charcoal in the centre. Thousands and thousands of tons of the refuse were used in laying the line of the Cavan and Leitrim Light Railway in 1885 and 1886. It may be interesting to add that in 1788, twenty-three years after the last furnace-fire in Ireland went out for want of fuel, three brothers named O'Reilly started in the same district to smelt the iron with coal. This was the first attempt of the kind in Ireland.³

The importance of the last statement can hardly be realized by those that take but a small interest in metallurgy.

Coke and charcoal differ in this, that the former is obtained from coal, and the latter from wood, but by a perfectly similar process. The production of pig-iron by coke is so long the recognised method of procedure that we can hardly realize that its first adoption, or rather the discovery that coke was quite as effective as charcoal in calcining and smelting—that in its importance to the progress, to the industrial activity and wealth of Great Britain, it deserves to rank alongside of Stephenson's improvements in the steam-engine. To make coke and try it, was but a little step. To us it would appear a quite obvious step, especially for men using wood-charcoal. Yet, to the people of those days, unsmitten as they were with the modern scientific enthusiasm for experimenting, it would seem it had never occurred to make it. It took over a century to get forward by just that one pace.

In the Life of Stephenson there is an instance of a similarly thoughtless dead stop.⁴

It is stated that in the early days of railway-making, matters were

¹ Boate's "Nat. Hist. Ireland," p. 72.

² "Economic Geology of Ireland," p. 72.

³ Kinahan, "Economic Geology of Ireland," p. 72. Griffith writes, p. 59:—"The Arigna works being the only ones ever erected in Ireland to smelt iron with pit-coal, attracted great attention, and their want of success has been, in consequence, deeply felt." This was written in 1818. He goes very minutely into the causes of failure.

⁴ P. also Rankine's "History of the Steam-Engine."

at a standstill for fully twenty years, because eminent engineers were of opinion that the locomotives would not grip on the smooth rail without cogs on both engine-wheels and rails. Accordingly, to contrivances to give the driving-wheel a firm hold of the track inventors addressed themselves, and wasted on them an enormous amount of time and ingenuity. But, at last, in 1817, Blachett and Headley tried it out, and discovered, to their surprise, that no such aids were required. These facts may be of much greater interest to the scientist, or to the anthropologist, than to the antiquary. But the fact that remains for us is, that for want of as much enterprise and initiative as is represented by the making of such an obvious experiment as substituting coal for wood, a whole industry was almost ruined in England, and was utterly destroyed in Ireland, the last furnace-fire in this country going out, as we have seen, beside the town of Drumshambo in 1765, with an abundance of coal of the best quality for the purpose, as authorities testify, to be had for the mere digging, within a mile or two of it. The extensive woods in the valleys around Drumshambo had at last given out, and the manufacture of iron had in consequence to be discontinued.

It is surprising that the use of coke was not known in Ireland before this time. Though the famous Dudley's¹ successes, made first in 1619, in Staffordshire, were forgotten for a century, still, before 1740, Abraham Darby, of Coolebrook Dale, Shropshire, reproduced or re-discovered them. Not, as we have seen, till 1788, however, was it tried in Ireland; and it is on record that it was in France, not in England, the O'Reillys learnt of it. We have no such graphic details of the first smelting of coal by coke in Ireland at Drumshambo, as we have of its first production by the same material in England at Coolebrook Dale.² But, according to Mr. Whitworth, in his evidence before the Committee already referred to, Drumshambo pig-iron had gained quite a reputation before the century ended. The first ship built by the East India Company at Limerick was fitted out and fastened with iron from the O'Reillys' furnaces. (Report of Industries Committee, p. 745.) The iron was described by Mr. W. Anderson, c.e., in 1856, as "of a density inferior only to Bowling and Devon, a tenacity superior to all, and a closeness of grain and structure nearly resembling the best iron England can pro-

¹ Natural son of Edward, Earl of Dudley. His works are said to have been destroyed by a mob, instigated, it is thought, by the iron-masters who used charcoal. J. Griffith, p. 59, note.

² Dr. Percy, who fully recognised its epoch-making importance, thus described it:—"Having thus made a good stock of coke, he (Darby) proceeded to experiment upon it as a substitute for charcoal. He himself watched the filling of the furnace during six days and nights, having no regular sleep, and taking his meals on the furnace-top. On the sixth evening, after many disappointments, the experiment succeeded, and the iron ran out well. He then fell asleep on the bridge-house at the top of his old-fashioned furnace, so soundly, that his men could not wake him, and carried him sleeping, to his house, a quarter of a mile distant." (Quoted by Turner, p. 11). Though we have many experimentalists in our days, we have none more earnest than Abraham Darby. He fully deserved the success that rewarded him.

duce."¹ This has always been the character borne by Creevelea and Arigna iron. Creevelea farmers say of the iron manufactured there that horses' shoes made of it never break, but wear out as thin as sixpences.

The metal-casting as a work of art cannot, I think, lay claim to any great distinction. It would be unfair, however, to expect any minute quarterings or other evidences of very cultivated skill from the Drumshambo foundry-men of the seventeenth century. Moreover, they cannot be supposed to have had any experience in turning out such special work—I am almost certain there is not another in the district or county—and the omission of the hand and dagger from the coat-of-arms would have been a considerable lightening of their labours. It is, however, I think, well and tastefully cast, and the moulding of the lines of the side of the square give it something of an artistic finish.

The raised Arabic figures across the face of the slab, 1, 6, 8, 8, determine, with fair certainty, the date of its being cast in Furnace Hill foundry. Instances of such metal slabs are, I believe, difficult to meet with in the United Kingdom. Still, in St. Leonard's Church, in Bridgenorth, Shropshire, are a number of cast-iron monumental slabs of the same general character as the one under notice. They are in a good state of preservation, though one of them is even nine years older than that of the O'Rourkes, and dates back to 1679. Bridgenorth lies about twenty miles almost due west of Birmingham. It appears to have been at one time noted for its iron trade, and these "tombstones," as an Irishman may venture to call them, are, without doubt, products of old blast furnaces in the vicinity.

The date of the casting, 1688, it will be observed, is exactly 100 years before the date of the first experiment in Ireland with coke, already alluded to. The casting was moulded quite beside where this important development of the industry was carried out. Nowhere else in Ireland, as far as I have been able to ascertain, was coke ever used in the preparation of iron.

The furnaces used when the casting was made were called bloomeries. This is a word not, as far as I know, to be met with in English literature. Still *blôma* is a good Anglo-Saxon term. It means 'mass' or 'lump.' It is a technical term in metallurgy, and all the lexicographers, from Johnson himself to Funk and Wagner, take care to define it. A mass of crude iron was sometimes named a bloom. Hence the curious term 'bloomeries.'² Doubtless, the Drumshambo bloomeries, about which the Leitrim county

¹ R. D. S. Journal, vol. i., p. 327.

² The spelling of this word is as variable as that of the proper name 'O'Rourke' itself. Many authorities favour 'bloomry.' Webster gives 'blomary,' or 'bloomary.' Johnson gives 'blomary' alone. Turner, in the standard work quoted later, always spells it 'bloomery.' Funk and Wagner's Dictionary has 'bloomery,' but gives as variants 'blomary' and 'bloomary.' The two last-named authorities are as good as any. We prefer to follow them.

folk still talk, were earlier editions of ones even nowadays in use in the Eastern States of America. For a description of the latter, I would beg to refer the reader to Turner's work on the "Metallurgy of Iron," edited by Prof. Sir W. Roberts-Austen, K.C.B., F.R.S., 2nd ed., 1900. Bloomeries are, accordingly, seen to be far from obsolete. Though they suffer from many disadvantages, they have this marked feature, that they produce wrought-iron or steel direct from the ore in a single operation. This was the method invariably employed by the ancients. In Ireland there is no longer any smelting of iron. The latest published (1905) Blue Book on Mines and Quarries ("Part III.—Output, 1905"), shows that at the present day there is not a single blast-furnace of any description at work in the country. The last was extinguished at Creevelea in 1858; and though since then two great efforts were made to revive the Creevelea industry, they proved complete failures. Dr. Boate's "Natural History of Ireland" was written more than 260 years ago. In it he tells us that iron was then manufactured in considerable quantity, and much of it exported to London. Not a cwt. is manufactured now. Further, though iron ore is known to exist, and by the million tons, in as many as twenty-four out of the thirty-two counties of Ireland,² not a single ton was produced, as the same authorities show, in 1904, 1903, or 1902, nor, I believe, for many years before that, except in County Antrim. Even in that county the output for 1904 was barely 91,215 tons. Sad to say, the localities of some of the ancient Irish mines are, indeed, quite unknown, and the exact position of many others uncertain.³ Apart, therefore, from any historic value it may possess, the relic whose photo is here reproduced will be allowed to be interesting on one or two further counts. It is a specimen of a lost Irish art—the manufacture of iron.⁴ It is a product of the seventeenth-century Irish furnaces, and of the rude foundries attached to them. And it was turned out in that rich mining district of North Connaught, where, as well as can be ascertained from tradition, or from available records, the metallurgy of iron attained in this island, most likely its earliest, and certainly its highest development. Of such foundries' outputs, I make no doubt, many interesting specimens still exist here and there in other parts of Ireland. I know of but another one. It is the back of a fireplace from one of the rooms of Sir Frederick Hamilton's castle of Manorhamilton. After the burning down of this castle in 1641, this metal plate was taken away, and it is now in the possession of Richard Earls Davis, Esq., J.P., of Lurganboy, beside

¹ Page 246. London: Griffin & Co.

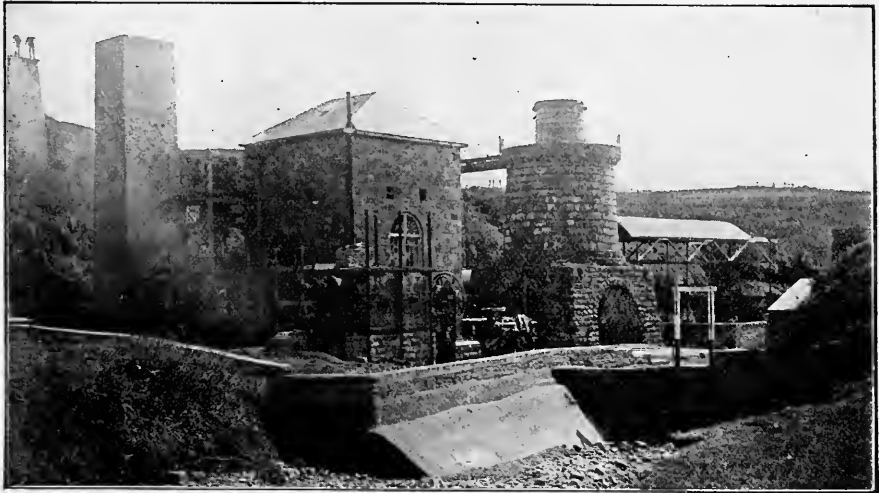
² For list *v.* Kinahan (already quoted), pp. 40–51, and Report of Industries (Ireland), Appendix No. 27, p. 829.

³ Kinahan, p. 40.

⁴ Creevelea, a district of the parish in which the writer officiates, is the last place in Ireland in which iron was obtained. Some successful experiments, but successful only as experiments, took place there as recently as 1898. Commercially, they cannot succeed until a railway connects the mines with the nearest port. There remain half a dozen sheets of iron which were then smelt and moulded.

Manorhamilton. It is of a well-made diamond pattern, and is somewhat larger than the casting under discussion. As likely as not, it was turned out at Sir Charles Coote's furnaces at Creevelea; or possibly at Garrison, County Fermanagh, on the very verge of Leitrim, about eight miles from Manorhamilton Castle. Here, too, there were iron-works in the beginning of the eleventh century. The burning down of them in 1641 is the very first entry in the Diary of Sir F. Hamilton, the first recorded exploit among his many raids and burnings. But I cannot see that anything beyond mere conjecture can now be advanced as to its origin.

The O'Rourke specimen too, one may venture to say, is, in one respect, almost unique.



CREEVELEA IRON WORKS, 1905.

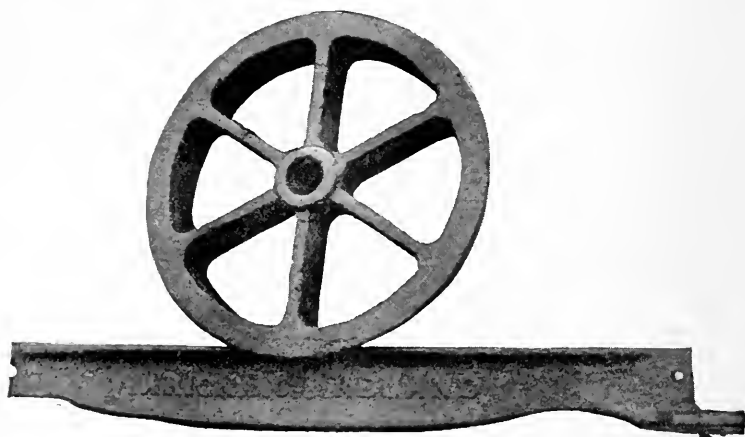
Last place in Ireland where Iron has been manufactured.

(From a Photograph by the Rev. Joseph Meehan, c.c.)

Except this slab, there remains, I fear, no other relic of Drumshambo handiwork¹ in iron. True, indeed, you will be told that in farmers' homes around Lough Allen there may be found immense cauldrons which have been in use ever since the bloomeries were shut down. But, though years on the quest, I have never succeeded in discovering one. In any case, if there be, it is much more likely that the articles belong to the post-bloomery age of Arigna iron-mining, and the modern epoch there inaugurated, and Creevelea, not far from it, only excepted, there alone,

¹ On the gates of the barracks in Drumshambo there are also two pier-heads, and on a sidewalk in the street an iron slab which does duty as a flagstone. But these are of the plainest description of work.

I believe, in Ireland carried out, of smelting with coke. During its flourishing period, from 1818 to 1836, all kinds of domestic utensils were moulded at Arigna, and sent down the Shannon all along to Limerick. In pattern they were rather heavy and coarse, but they atoned for this by lasting a lifetime. A gentleman of the district told the writer a couple of months ago that he knew of a cauldron in a friend's house which was in constant use for upwards of eighty years. It came to grief, unfortunately, towards the end of the last century. It was so heavy that a man could hardly raise it. I am afraid, therefore, that specimens of even Arigna castings are now as scarce as those of the older Drumshambo iron works. I have seen but one or two of which I could at all feel certain. In the office of the Arigna Coal Company there are two metal rails which belonged to the old metal tramway and the flanged iron wheel of a low



WHEEL AND RAIL PRODUCTS OF ARIGNA IRON WORKS (1818-1836).
(From a Photograph by Downes, Drumshambo.)

lorry made to run upon them. They were constructed at Arigna about 1820. The mantelpiece too, a plain metal slab, is a product of the foundries. The rails differ from those now in use in having a simple arrangement for locking them into one another. The inscription, "Arigna, Ireland," suggests they were also made for exportation. A very intelligent old resident of the place informed me that in 1857 or 1858 he saw carted away thousands of these rails, which had been used in the tramway, as it was called, connecting the iron-mines with the furnaces, besides wheels and manufactured pig-iron. The carting went on for months.

At Annadale, a very beautiful residence situated four or five miles as the crow flies cast by south of Drumshambo, there is another large slab of cast-iron, the surface of which is about 27 inches by 18. It is

stamped with the date 1692. The unit figure is a good deal worn away, but there can be little doubt of its being a 2. As Annadale is so near Drumshambo, one is prompted to think that this slab is also of Slieve-an-Ierin iron and was moulded at the Furnace Hill foundry. But tradition disproves this. This casting, too, carries with it an interesting piece of Leitrim family and local history. It would be a pity were it left to perish.

In the beginning of the last ten years of the seventeenth century, three brothers belonging to a wealthy Derbyshire family of the name of Slacke came over to Ireland. They came in the wake of some of their relations who had arrived earlier and were succeeding in the north. The Rev. Robert Slacke, who, by Letters Patent of James I., was appointed Incumbent of Maher-Culmonee, in the diocese of Clogher in 1619, and the Rev. James Slacke (or Slack), who was the first Protestant Rector of Inniskeane, or Enniskillen, were of this earlier migration. Not unlikely they came over as chaplains with King James's "Plantation." The latter-named clergyman lived at a place called "Antony on the Hill," in Enniskillen, and was blessed with the assistance of a gentleman whom the Ulster Visitation Book of 1622 quaintly describes as a "suffieient curate." The Rev. Mr. Slacke was Rector of Enniskillen from 1622 till his death, which took place in 1634. Besides Enniskillen, he held the Incumbency of the neighbouring parishes of Kinawley and Killesher, in the diocese of Kilmore. But he resided in Enniskillen. He it was that, doubtless assisted by his "suffieient curate," erected the old church of Enniskillen. A stone in the church tower bears the date 1637 chiselled in it; and it is inferred from this that the tower was erected in that year. The church itself is supposed to have been completed some years previously. In 1612, William Cole, ancestor of Lord Enniskillen, had been directed to give a place for a church and cemetery there. But though it would seem to have been begun, it was not at all events completed in 1622. The Visitation Book of that year says of it: "It goeth slow forward, as all works of that nature"—no high compliment to the Enniskilleners of those days. In 1622, it is recorded, there was an old church, which we take it was an "appropriated" one, in ruins on an island near the town.

Of the three Slacke brothers that simultaneously came to Ireland "to push their fortunes" shortly after 1690, John settled in Monaghan, — in Dublin, and William, styled in old Chancery records "Captain William," in Leitrim. The latter's branch of the family alone survives. Consequently, its present representative, Sir Owen Randal Slacke, C.B., is the head of the Slacke family in Ireland.

An old record of about 1695 mentions Captain William Slacke both as having "lately come to live in Ballinamore, County Leitrim," and as receiving a large sum of money from England. He was very wealthy, and purchased the estate of Bellscarro (Drumrahonoughter and Drum-

ramonaghter), in the barony of Mohill. Soon afterwards he moved to Kiltubride, which he had just obtained. Kiltubride was church property. The name signifies the church of St. Brigid's well (Kill-Tubber-Bride). This 'holy well' is still to be seen. It is in the yard of Kiltubride House. The old house, originally a monastery, was pulled down; but the ruins of its extensive vaults, as well as part of the walls of its church, still remain. Kiltubride has been renamed Annadale. This was done in memory of "Angel Anne Slacke," a remarkably energetic and religious-minded woman, who died there on the 15th November, 1796, at the early age of forty-eight. Her "Journal" and some of her writings are still preserved. They are of much literary worth.

Miss Helen A. Crofton, who has compiled from all possible sources the records of "The Slacke Family in Ireland," gathers from old Chancery Bills, that "in February, 1695, William Slacke, John Skerret, and Joseph Hall entered into an agreement concerning the erection of certain iron works in Leitrim," viz. at Dromod and Ballinamore. These agreements were renewed from time to time from that till 1713. At that date the records cease. It is accordingly surmised that then, or about then, these iron works were finally given up. At the present day of their products there is known to exist but one solitary specimen, the slab above mentioned with the date 1692. It is built into a wall at Annadale. Captain William Slacke is recorded to have brought the casting with him to Kiltubride on taking up his residence there. The slab is therefore quite as unique as is the one of the O'Rourke coat-of-arms.

Skerret and Hall, above mentioned, are considered to have come across from England with the Slackes. Both in Monaghan and Leitrim they settled near them. As far as I have been able to ascertain, these families are now extinct. They were no great favourites in the country. A quaint old rhyme, which will hardly go well in print,¹ hurls maledictions at all three of them—Slackes and Skerrets and Halls—with very commendable impartiality.

On the Slacke escutcheon is emblazoned a snail and the motto: "Lente sed certe." This discloses an unacknowledged principle in heraldry hardly in keeping with its dignity—simply punning. The original motto everywhere survives; but in Ireland the crest has been changed to the common-place lion. In England, where the family is now widespread, it is still a snail.

Across the face of the metal slab are in Roman characters the initial letters of the name Owen O'Rourke (O. Ô. R.). Owen is a name to which

¹ "Slacke and Skerret and Hall,
The d—l take them all!
Skerret and Hall and Slacke,
The d—l take the pack!
Hall and Slacke and Skerret,
The d—l them ferret!"

the chieftain family of Breffni were as partial as were the Tudors of England to Henry; as were the Bourbon monarchs of France to Louis. An Owen, fourth or fifth of the name—Father Meehan¹ calls him Sir Owen—ruled in Dromahair in 1641. This can be readily proved. What is known as the Diary of Sir Frederick Hamilton,² of Manorhamilton, records martial displays made by this chief before the castle of this tyrant, the Tamerlane of the west, as Dr. O'Rorke calls him in his "History of Sligo"—and North Leitrim tradition, I can personally vouch, fully justifies the title³—on January 6th, January 30th, and February 4th, 1641. Assisted by his allies, he commanded on these occasions from 600 to 1500 or 1600 men.⁴ The Appendix also contains a letter to Sir Frederick from Sir Robert Hannay and his friends, who were prisoners in Dromahair. The letter is undated, but Sir Frederick's reply, characteristically ruthless, is dated "Castle Hamilton, Jan. 16th, 1641." The insurrection resulted both in the destruction of Manorhamilton Castle, on the one side, and the expulsion or confirmation⁵ of the expulsion of Owen from Dromahair, on the other. The latter made a strenuous effort to recover his lordship and the lands of his ancestors in 1642. But at the close of the Cromwellian war the O'Rourkes were again involved in the general confiscations.

On being driven from the banks of the Bonet, Owen retired to a picturesque spot on the shores of Lough Allen. The foundations of his residence are still traceable. It was situated at Lecarrow (renamed Strandhill), about three miles south of the village of Drumkeeran. The modern mansion of Surgeon-General Fawcett occupies a spot just alongside of its site, and a useful boat-quay, opened by Earl Spencer during his vice-royalty, and called after him Spencer harbour, is at the lake below it. Here most probably he died. Jones' Commission was appointed to inquire into some of the acts of the rebellion of 1641, and he was summoned to give evidence. A copy of the report is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. A learned gentleman, who examined it, informed the writer that O'Rourke, who displayed the greatest ability in his examination, gave his address as Lecarrow, Drumkeeran.

As proved by its date, 1688, it is much more likely that the casting was made not for Owen (or Sir Owen) of those stirring 1641 times, but

¹ Franciscan Monasteries, p. 86.

² I have authority for stating it was not written by Sir Frederick, but by one of his troopers, Sergeant Scott. This is borne out by the internal evidence.

³ Cf. Lecky, "History of the Eighteenth Century," vol. i., p. 84. Strafford, in his letters, states his proceedings did not admit of defence.

⁴ "January 13 (1641). A party is sent towards the Castle of Dromahaire, where their great Colonel, Owen O'Rourke, with all his strength lay; yet we burned many goodly houses and haggards of corne, within a mile of the castle, burning all within five miles forwards."—From Diary above mentioned.

⁵ It was Bryan Oge O'Rourke that first lost Dromahaire. He had to leave it in 1602. He then went to live to Mayo. Owen, as the diary shows, must have resumed possession.

for a son of his, another Owen. I would venture to advance the theory that it is a monumental slab like those of St. Leonard's Church, in Bridgenorth, though both tradition and the manner of its preservation are against it. If it be, it would at once settle the date of the death of the 1641 Owen as 1688, not in itself an improbable supposition. There is mention of his brothers, but never of his children, in Hamilton's Diary; and hence, I take it, he was probably at the period a young man, and it would not be surprising to find him living for forty-seven years afterwards.

Owen, junior, lived at Cartron Beg, on the shores of Lough Allen, and hence within a few miles of the old Drumshambo bloomery. The intelligent old gentleman who gave me, with such precision, the longitude and latitude of the ruins of this bloomery also informs me that "the location is in County Leitrim, about 200 yards from the water's edge and about 50 yards north of the stream that separates County Leitrim from County Roscommon." Anyone passing along the county road from Manorhamilton to Carrick-on-Shannon can easily discover the spot; but there is no trace of the house. Not a stone upon a stone remains of it. It was for this Owen that Carolan, who was a frequent and welcome visitor at Cartron Beg, composed his "Dirge on the death of Owen O'Rourke." And it was for his wife Mary Mac Dermott he composed the song, said to have been extremely beautiful, "Mhaire-an-Chuil-Finn," or "Fair-haired Mary." According to Hardiman in his memoir of Carolan, the latter was composed in the garden of Greyfield House, beside Keadue.¹ The old mansion still remains. Henry Mac Dermot Roe lived there at the time. When Carolan arrived, he found him entertaining Owen O'Rourke and his wife, Mary Mac Dermott. The bard at once retired to the garden, and in a short space presented himself before his host, and sang this song in honour of the guests. This, as well as many other priceless gems of the last of the bards, is, I very much fear, irretrievably lost to us. Carolan spent much of his time with the Leitrim peasantry, and composed for them many charming airs. They were handed down traditionally. But until within the last few years no serious effort, as far as I am aware, was ever made to collect them. Singular to say, it was from a Dublin gentleman the writer obtained one of those traditional Leitrim airs, "The Hurlers' March," and he took it down from a Leitrim man in Cork.

¹ In connexion with Leitrim family history, it may be of interest to add that for generations past Greyfield and its surrounding acres belong to representatives of another ancient Irish house, the O'Donnells of Tyreconnell. One branch of this family has been domiciled in Leitrim (at Larkfield, Manorhamilton) since the time of Hugh O'Donnell, Count of the Holy Roman Empire. On the death of the last of the male descendants of the Earl of Tyreconnell, Count Hugh was commonly styled Earl O'Donnell. According to Betham (in his work referred to in a previous note, p. 188) Earl O'Donnell was a general in the service of Maria Teresa of Austria. His grandmother was Catherine O'Rourke, doubtless one of the Breffni family. Earl O'Donnell was descended, through Hugh Boy, from Sir Neill Garv O'Donnell, who was knighted by Lord Mountjoy in 1602. The present representative of the Leitrim branch of the O'Donnells, John O'Donnell, Esq., J.P., is fourth in descent from "Earl O'Donnell" above mentioned.

Some days ago I went to see an old neighbour who has a great taste for music. He has many a rare and curious air, and I asked him about the song "Fair-haired Mary." "When I was a boy," he replied, "I heard it often; but I do not know a word of it now. If I had taken half as much interest in such matters then as I would now, I could have known very many interesting airs."

The present owner of the casting of the O'Rourke's coat-of-arms is Mr. Denis O'Rourke, of Arigna, a very respectable retired National School teacher. He gave me very fully the particulars of how the heirloom came to him, and a brief *résumé* is worth recording.

Owen O'Rourke, junior (*v.* Appendix), who must have lived well into the eighteenth century, died without issue. Most probably it was under his supervision that the casting was moulded. On his death the "arms" passed into the hands of his nephew, Con, son of his brother Hugh, and namesake and grand nephew of Con of Castle Car, beside Manorhamilton, who was sheriff of Leitrim in 1641, but was afterwards captured and hanged by Sir Frederick Hamilton from the walls of his castle, on January 2nd, 1641.¹ Con the Younger lived at Grouse Lodge, on the verge of Drumkeeran. This place was called "Alla Cuinn," or "Con's Hall," down to a generation ago. Even yet it is so termed by Irish-speakers. Con the Younger had four children, one son and three daughters. The son, Denis, died young about 1780, leaving five young children. Ellen, a sister of his, remained unmarried, and died at a very advanced age about the year 1820. It was she that preserved the old metal slab. She was god-mother of another Con O'Rourke, a grand-nephew of hers, and to him she bequeathed it. Con the Third went off to Galway, leaving it behind him in his father's house. The gentleman last named was grandfather of the present owner, Denis O'Rourke, to whom it has descended. The person last mentioned, I may add, visited his uncle, Con O'Rourke, in Galway in 1845, the year before his death, and from him he obtained both confirmation of the history here detailed and a vast amount of interesting particulars regarding the later fortunes of their family. Mr. Denis O'Rourke has a son and daughters and cousins by the score, so there is small danger of the ancient family dying out.

The surname O'Rourke or Rourke, with a dozen variations in the spelling of each, is, as one would expect, Keltic. Art, son of Rourke, is said to have been the first to assume it.² It is found in every province in Ireland,³ and most likely in every county. In Leitrim, though, before the time of Queen Elizabeth, the territory of which the county formed the main part was often termed the "Country of the

¹ Diary already quoted.

² O'Hart's Pedigrees, First Series, p.158.

³ Matheson's Special Report on Surnames in Ireland, 1894. An appendix to the Annual Report of the Registrar-General.

O'Rourke," it is not so very common, and is not among the first twenty commonest names belonging to that county. Leitrim, it should be observed, was called the "Country of the O'Rourkes," not from the number bearing the name, but because of the power and sway of the chieftains. Indeed, John Dymmok, writing about the year 1600, says of Leitrim:—"It hath no principal person inhabiting there but O'Rurk and others of his name, and freholders wholly depending upon him." "This county," he said a little before that, "containeth all O'Rurkes cuntry, called the breny O'Rurk." But though not particularly numerous in Leitrim, there are, adopting Matheson's principles of computation, as many as about 8,500¹ individuals of that surname in Ireland. Of these more than three to one write it in English fashion, without the prefix O. In Leinster, in Dublin especially, where they are most plentiful, it is the exception, or at least was the exception ten years ago,² to find the O used. Even in Connaught it is more usually dropped or not assumed. Whether they be Rourke or O'Rourke, however, I should no more wish to insinuate that all those thousands scattered throughout Ireland are of the blood of the "proudest family that ever walked the earth,"³ than that every O'Brien is a lineal descendant of Brian Borumha, King of Munster. However, though fallen on evil days, it is quite possible that some, even beyond the confines of Leitrim, may be; and if so, it would be well for them to keep up the family traditions and the spirit of honour which they should inspire. Not undistinguished families indeed in Galway and Down, as well as in Norfolk in England, in Spain and in distant Russia, claim kinship with the princes of Breffni. As to these, they have now leisure to look into these matters, and education enough to value them. Those of the first-mentioned county, though their claim may be allowed, are not, however, descendants of the Con O'Rourke who, as I have mentioned, lived in and died in Galway. They spring from a Rev. Mr. O'Rourke, a gentleman who for some time towards the end of the eighteenth century officiated in the neighbourhood of the parish of Killennumery (County Leitrim), and who, on conforming to the Established Church, obtained a benefice in the county named.

Sir George Maurice "O'Rorke," who was knighted in 1880, is a grandson of this conforming minister. In the House of Representatives of New Zealand, Sir George has been five times elected Speaker. He was for twelve years Speaker of the Auckland Provincial Council, and was a Member of the New Zealand Ministry from 1872 to 1874.⁴ His career deserves mentioning, because it goes to show that the O'Rourkes were men of brains. His, too, is but an instance of the many men of ability

¹ Matheson, p. 31, *i.e.* number of births in 1890 (185), multiplied by average birth-rate for same year (44·8).

² Matheson, pp. 65, 68.

³ Dymmok's work is in the British Museum, but it was reprinted in 1842 by the *Irish Archaeological Society*.

⁴ Whittaker's "Windsor Peerage," *sub nomine*.

who in their own land would most likely have lived unprized, and have lived unhappy as well, blighted by Swift's curse on the Irishman of genius and of honour; but who, having bid good-bye to its shores, flourished exceedingly under other skies. In Russia, some of the O'Rourkes have been much more distinguished.

To the country just named the O'Rourkes, indeed, seem to have been partial, as were the Taafes to Austria, the Mac Mahons to France, and the O'Donnells to both Austria and Spain. Driven from their own country, they found refuge in these. In our days some of their descendants have been seen guiding the destinies of their respective favourites.

Whether Sir George has or has not the honour of being of the proud house that once ruled from Bundrowes to the gates of Kells, the family, as is evident from what has been written, is, I am pleased to say, far from being extinct in Leitrim. Though their ancient glory be departed and a stranger lives in Dromahair, though fallen, comparatively speaking, on evil days, and sometimes on evil tongues, there are to be found by the dozen men who might, if they troubled about it, trace their descent from Sir Owen of Dromahair, and Brian Ballagh of martial fame. At least a score of such are among my acquaintances, plain, simple, peasant folk like the rest of us.

In the tenth century, according to the "Annals of the Four Masters," three of the princes of Breffni were kings of Connaught. "O'Rurk and O'Connor Don," writes besides Dymmok in his *Treatise of Irelande* already quoted, "have in their severall antiquities been Kings of Irelande." It is accordingly plain that there is ample justification for the oft-claimed distinction that in the veins of the Irish peasantry pulsates the blood of kings.

As to one branch of the family, it is interesting to add that the old metal casting I have tried to describe has been a great means of keeping alive the traditions of the family, every son remarking it, and asking his father what it meant, and how he became possessed of it.

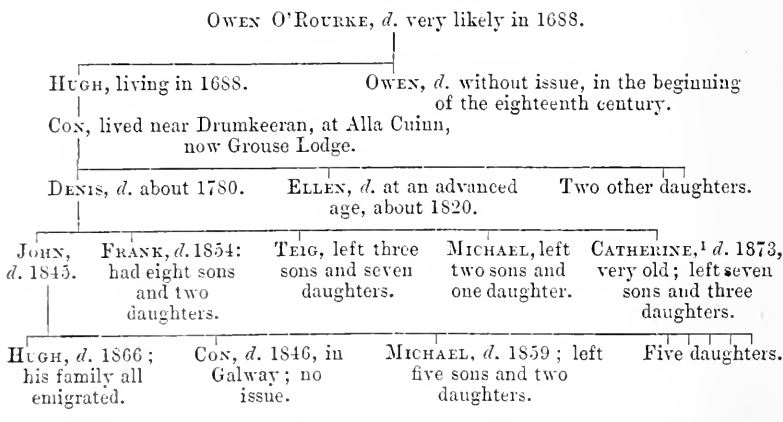
APPENDIX.

I try to give a Genealogical Table of the O'Rourke family, as far as I have been able to make it out, since the time of the last Owen of Dromahair. Though much care has been expended on the drawing up of this Table, I am quite ready to admit it may contain mistakes. The information, however, though traditional, is in most points corroborated by independent documentary evidence. All mention of living persons is excluded.

There is some doubt as to the immediate ancestors of the Owen O'Rourke above mentioned. His father, all authorities agree, was Tiernan Ban, or 'Fair-haired Tiernan.' But, according to the Four Masters, Tiernan Ban was the son of Brian, son of Owen O'Rourke, while, according to O'Clery's and Mac Firis's Genealogies, Tiernan Ban was the son of Owen, the youngest son of Brian Ballagh. In the first case, he would be a brother of Brian-na-Murtha, or 'Brian of the Ramparts'; in the second case, he would be his nephew, and first cousin to the famous Brian Ogue.

Owen of Dromahair, whose name heads the following Table, had at least two brothers. In Hamilton's Diary (so called), Brian Ballagh and Con (or Con Tiernan), of Castle Car, are mentioned as so related to him. The latter's castle, at the entrance of the beautiful valley of Glencar, was plundered by Hamilton's troopers, as is related in the same Diary, and he himself eventually captured and hanged by Sir Frederick in 1641.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.



¹ Catherine was an infant when her father, Denis O'Rourke, died.

FETHARD, COUNTY TIPPERARY : ITS CHARTERS AND CORPORATION RECORDS, WITH SOME NOTICE OF THE FETHARD EVERARDS.

BY THOMAS LAFFAN.

[Submitted JULY 4, 1905.]

COMPARATIVELY little has been published about those small civic communities which played so important a part in the social and political life of Ireland in past centuries. Most of their records have disappeared. Some of them were intentionally destroyed by the appropriators of their corporate estates. Others fell into careless hands, and so have largely gone astray. It is a great pity that the residue which now alone remains should not in all cases be transferred by public-spirited burgesses to the safe custody of the Record Office in Dublin. The Minute Books of the Corporation of Fethard go only so far back as 1742; nor even are these without a break. I have not been able to discover any book between 1834 and the advent of the reformed Corporation in 1840. Some twenty leaves also are missing, containing the proceedings of the years between 1801 and 1806. I am sorry to be obliged to confess that an earlier volume which had been in the possession of my father, who was solicitor to that body in 1840, and which was returned by him in the seventies, is not now forthcoming, having probably been destroyed by fire in the destruction of Mr. John M'Carthy's premises in Fethard some years since.

The town of Fethard is of considerable antiquity, and was donated by its ancient owners at a very early period to the Church. Archbishop O'Brien subsequently gave two carucates and a half of land in Fethard to the burgesses. These were originally given to the Cashel Church. The Archbishop gave these lands in free burgage somewhere about the year 1215. Twelve marks were exacted as an annual rent. This grant was confirmed by letters patent from King John, and the town was created an Archiepiscopal Borough like that of Cashel. The Church reserved the fee and manorial rights at this early period. A succession of charters of murage were subsequently granted, which do not seem, from their limited scope, to merit more than passing mention. These were one conferred in 1376, in the 49th of Edward III.'s reign; a second in the 10th Henry IV. In the year 1553, however, an important charter was obtained on the petition of the burgesses, commonalty, and inhabitants of Fethard. It was then ordained that the borough should be for ever a corporate body, and that this should consist of a sovereign, provost, burgesses, and commonalty, and should have all the power and liberties

as that of Kilkenny, and that they should yearly yield to the Crown an annual rent of eleven marks in lieu of all secular service.

In the April of 1608 King James granted the charter recited below, and this appears to have been the governing charter till 1840. In the December of 1607, Sir John Everard obtained a charter for large possessions in the town of Fethard and surrounding country. Mr. Everard, of Randalstown, has reminded me that these were not new possessions, but merely an alteration of title to suit the altered tenures of the time. Full manorial rights were reserved in this grant to the lord of the soil; and it is not easy to see how, in view of the large powers also conferred on the corporation, there could have been avoided a conflict of jurisdiction from time to time, the more especially as the corporate power granted was described to be as ample as that of Cashel. There was, of course, one way to avoid all conflicts, and that was for one power to be absorbed into the other. This was the invariable rule all through Ireland, owing to the corporate authority being allowed to vest in such limited bodies. The self-elective or co-optive principle when conjoined with the absence of all trust involved the creation of an *imperium in imperio*, and the entire confiscation of the properties and rights of the people. We are now in the presence of the other extreme, and we cannot pretend to be entirely enamoured of it. In time Fethard passed, or more than likely continued to pass, under the régime of the Everards until the troubles of that ancient family introduced a new master on the scene. The Everards were an Essex family of ancient lineage, and stretched their roots far back into history. There were several branches of the family in Tipperary. Dalton's King James Army List gives a brief record of this house. From it it would appear that its members occupied high places on the Bench, in Parliament, in the sanctuary, and on the battlefield. The Fethard Everards got into all their difficulties from their adherence to the Catholic religion. From the days of Perrot's Parliament to the close of the chapter, one trouble after another was brought on them in this way. In the final wind-up the then representative, Sir Redmond, who was a near relation of the Duke of Ormonde, found it safer to live in France, where he appears to have soon acquired habits of extravagance, and these, combined with the mismanagement of his estates at home, soon brought him to the door of the money-lender. A banker of Paris, named Quane, got him into his clutches. This man Quane sold his claim to one Dawson, a Dublin alderman, and proceedings were taken against Sir Redmond's heir-at-law in 1744. This heir-at-law was one James Long Everard. He was only a second cousin, and an Everard only on the mother's side. He found himself considerably hampered, as in strict law he, being a Catholic, could take no inheritance. He is described as having been of Killoran in Tipperary. The total debts ran up to £26,000, though there was some reason to think, as it certainly was sworn to, that Quane fabricated many bills which had no

real existence. Old Sir Redmond's valet recovered the incredible sum of £1400.

In March, 1750, the estates were sold to Mr. Barton, a wealthy wine merchant, of Bordeaux. It was not, however, till 1767, that the mansion of Grove, with the adjoining demesne and woods, was sold to Barton. The complete catastrophe seems to have been brought about by improvident leases and mismanagement. Thus one Keating acquired the possession of Knockelly Castle and the lands around at what must have been for those times the enormous rent of £500 a year. He held the place for years without paying any rent, and ultimately soldiers had to be brought to evict him at the amazing cost to the unfortunate Long Everard of £700. The estates of this family had before this time suffered mutilation, for in the last year of the reign of George the First, a special Act was passed enabling portions of the estate to be sold.

In the early part of the eighteenth century a young barrister named O'Callaghan, who is described as the son of a Cork merchant, wooed and won the hand of a Miss Jolly of Knockelly Castle. The young lady's mother was Ellen Maher. She fell in love with Jolly, who had been a common soldier then stationed in Fethard. The marriage did not come off, and she went to service in London. There she married a rich Jew, and, after his death, she accidentally saw Jolly one day on guard near one of the palaces. She made herself known to him. A meeting was arranged, and they were soon married. When young O'Callaghan made his suit at Knockelly Castle, he was asked by Mrs. Jolly to inform her where his estates lay, whereupon young O'Callaghan, instantly putting out his tongue at full length, pointed to that organ as the situation and *corpus* of his property. The promptitude and eloquence of the response vanquished the quick-witted Irish woman, and a favourable response was given to the adventurous youth, who plainly carried fortune in his tongue. This was the first connexion of the O'Callaghan family with Fethard. The necessities of the Everards and his wife's wealth soon put its close corporation into the hollow of his hand, and this hold he never relaxed until its Parliamentary representation showered honours at the feet of his family. My friend Mr. M'Sweeney, of the Royal Irish Academy, has made a search for me as to how Fethard's representatives voted on the occasion of the Union. He informs me that they both voted against that measure. It was not, however, without a struggle that the O'Callaghans held their own against the new owners of Fethard. Hardly had the Bartons become possessed of the estate when they sought and obtained the position of freemen; but it took more than thirty years of bitter contention before one of the family attained the position of chief burgess. Usually the chief burgesses alone voted for additions to their ranks, but during those pro-Barton contests the whole body of freemen were drawn into the struggle. I do not append a list of those

freemen, as I am fearful of having already exceeded all reasonable space. Let it suffice that they numbered several hundred, that the vast majority were non-resident, contrary to at least the implied conditions of the charter, and this question was raised by the opposition in the seventies of the eighteenth century. They were from all parts of Ireland, and of all classes, from nobles down to domestics in Shanbally Castle. They even numbered a few Catholics among them, as the Powers of Gurteen, the Dohertys of Outrah, M'Craiths of Clogheen, and a number of others testify. A futile attempt, for which the then ablest opinion at the Bar was enlisted, was made in 1840 to recover some portion of the plundered corporate estates, but all in vain. As in all other cases in Ireland, the intrinsically vicious system of municipal government triumphed, and the new bodies were sent out into the world with nothing but the scant means of impoverished communities to sustain them.

KING JAMES'S CHARTER.

In April of the year 1608 King James granted a governing Charter on the petition of Sir John Everard, knight, on behalf of the poor inhabitants of the Town and Corporation of Fethard in the County of Tipperary, who therein prayed that the King would be pleased to renew, and enlarge said Corporation and endow it with such liberties and privileges as might cause the peopling and enriching thereof by the drawing of inhabitants, increasing of trade and commerce, and because said town was a place of strength surrounded with a fair strong wall. And inasmuch as the inhabitants were loyal and relieved the garrisons in those parts from time to time, and gave apparent testimony of their loyalty, and from the loss of their lives and expense of large sums of money on all occasions of service, by reason whereof and inasmuch as the said town was depopulated and impoverished from the plague raging there, and because it was an ancient Borough of this realm sending Burgesses to Parliament.

It was thereby granted that the said town inhabitants should be made and created a Corporation and Body politic, consisting of a Sovereign, twelve burgesses, one Portrieve and so many as were then free or inhabiting in or of said Town, and by so many as might be thereafter admitted to the freedom according as the multitude of inhabitants shall increase and grow from time to time, with provisions for its perpetual succession and with power to make contracts and to take grants, gifts, and purchases, to plead and be impleaded; and the Sovereign and Burgesses to have the free government of said Town as the Portrieve of Cashel hath in that Town.

It further directed that the Corporation should build a Tholsel (common Hall) for assemblies, for the succession and election of officers, &c., &c., and further releases the said town all manners of gifts, alienations,

or purchases in Mortmain, aliened, given, or conveyed to the general use of the inhabitants of said borough.

This Charter further grants that for the better reparation and maintenance of said Town the Corporation may have full power, license, and authority to acquire and purchase lands, tenements, and hereditaments of the annual value of £40 by the year, to hold the same unto the Sovereign, Burgesses, Portrieve, and Freemen and their successors for ever, to the only use and behoof of the said Sovereign, &c., and their successors for ever. And there were further given to said Sovereign, &c., &c., and their successors for ever, the same liberties, franchises, privileges, freedoms, and exemptions which the Corporation or inhabitants have or ought to have or may use by any Charter, grant, custom or prescription, saving to Sir John Everard and his heirs the estate previously granted to him by a Royal Patent, and which has been examined and bears date on the preceding December, 1607, and gave to Sir John (*inter alia*) 77 tenements in Fethard, 100 great gardens, a mill, 40 acres of arable, 20 acres of meadow, 200 acres of pasture, and 100 acres of wood, described as within the burgage of Fethard, with license to hold Courts Leet and Baron.

Sir John memorialised the same monarch on behalf of the indigent and poor who were or may be residing in the town of Fethard, for leave to found and sanction the endowment of a poorhouse by him in Fethard. That wish was not carried out during his lifetime, but after his decease, King James in 1612 granted this power to another Sir John Everard, who was the grandson of the first. The memorial of his grandfather was recited by him, and two houses were erected for the support of the indigent poor, viz., one at the south side of the parish church of Fethard, and one at the north side for men and women respectively. And further said Sir John was authorised to sell and grant any lands and tenements to the said corporation for the use and support of said hospitals. Through time the lands fell into the hands of others, who were ignorant of or ignored the support of the hospitals.

The Charter of King James further gave power to the sovereign, portrieve, and chief burgesses to choose a person to be recorder and town clerk. The sovereign was to be justice of the peace, and in his absence the vice-sovereign was to perform all his duties. The sovereign was likewise coroner, clerk of the market, and master of the lay officers. It also empowered them to elect a sergeant-at-mace and other inferior officers. It enacted that the Monday ensuing the Feast of St. John the Baptist yearly was to be the day of election of the sovereign. In case a sovereign or portrieve were lawfully removed or died, the chief burgesses were to elect, not later than three days after his death, from amongst themselves, some one to supply his place till the day of election. The sovereign, &c., were allowed to wear robes, habits, &c., according to their several degrees, and after the fashion of the like robes in Cashel.

Trades were allowed to distinguish themselves and to form guilds, each guild to constitute two wardens or masters yearly for their better government, to remedy defects and existing evils, make for themselves byelaws, &c. The sovereign, &c., were to erect for such guilds a tholsel or common hall, where they could assemble and discuss matters for the good of the several companies. The sovereign, &c., were also empowered to take fines, forfeitures, &c., same to be applied to the repairing of town wall and fortifications. Also to hold one free market every Monday for ever, two fairs yearly, namely, one to be held on the Monday ensuing Trinity Sunday, and to continue two days following; the other to be held on Feast of St. Martin, provided the feast did not fall on Sunday or Saturday, in which case it was to be held on the following Monday, and continue for two days. The fairs also carried with them other advantages, namely, several courts of pye powder (*pye poudre*), the office of clerk of entries, certain perquisites, profits, issues, customs, tolls, rolls, fees, emoluments and commodities belonging to same.

After the election the sovereign portrieve or other officers elected had to be sworn and take their oaths on feast day of St. Michael the Archangel next following. One John Vinn was elected sovereign for the first year, and Edmond Everard, Nicholas Everard, James Hackett, George Everard, David Wall, Peirs Vinn, Edward Everard, and Peirs Hackett Fitzjames were elected freemen and chief burgesses.

The sovereign took his oath in the presence of the portrieve and chief burgesses, which was as follows, viz :—

“ I shall hold and be true to our sovereign Lord the king his heirs and successors, and shall perform unto his majesty his heirs and successors all duty and allegiance, and faithful hold and keep the town and Franchises of Fethard for his majesty his heirs and successors against all rebels and enemies of his crown of England, and duly and truly execute the office of sovereign within the town and Franchises aforesaid, and do right as well unto the poor as to the rich and to the rich as to the poor. And be counselled of the Chief Burgesses and Portrieve of the said town, and the victuals within the said town oversee, and no person receive into the said franchises of the said town contrary to the ordinance thereupon made. So Help Me God.”

When the sovereign had taken the oath, he caused same to be taken by such person as he himself had substituted to be his vice-sovereign. Such oath had to be taken by every sovereign duly elected as aforesaid on the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel next following before the recorder and two at least of the most ancient chief burgesses of the said town.

And further, when the sovereign had taken said oath, he caused an oath to be given in his presence to the recorder of said town in the following form, viz :—

“ I shall be true liegeman to our sovereign Lord the king his heirs and successors, and true to the franchises of this town of Fethard, and the same truly maintain with all my might and power. And truly obey the sovereign of the said town in all things

lawful, and truly exercise the office of recorder of the said town of Fethard and all that to the same appertaineth. So Help Me God"—

which oath had to be given to all persons holding the office of recorder.

Moreover, the said sovereign caused another oath to be taken by the portrieve and every one of the chief burgesses of the said town of Fethard in the form following, viz. :—

“ I shall be ready as portrieve, or as one of the twelve burgesses of this town, to do my endeavours for the public good thereof and come upon due warning unto me made by the sovereign for the time being, and give my true advice and council of anything that I am required touching the Franchises, Weall, government, and good rule of this town as oftentimes as the case requireth; and shall be assistant and attendant to the sovereign for the time being for the observation of the peace as far the Franchises of this town shall stretch before all other persons and to keep the council and all ordinances made by the said sovereign and twelve Chief Burgesses, or by the major part of them shall truly keep and perform. So Help Me God.”

And every portrieve and chief burgess hereafter, in the presence of the sovereign or vice-sovereign, had to take the foregoing oath.

Lastly, the said sovereign caused another oath to be given in his presence to every [? free]man of the said town in the following form, viz. :—

“ I shall be obedient, profitable, and true to our Sovereign Lord the king, his heirs, and successors, and to the commonalty of the town of Fethard, and truly the franchise thereof maintain with all my might and power, and give and yield contribution with my sovereign and neighbours after my living; worship Elders and their Council keep and not to be consenting to any confederacy or conspiracy against the said town nor my neighbours, and not be retained to any other man but only to the said Sovereign for the time being, and these articles well and truly keep. So Help Me God.”

And every freeman admitted into the said corporation should take the same oath before the sovereign or vice-sovereign.

THE PERRIN COMMISSION.

The Perrin Commission in 1835 elicited a number of interesting facts of which I shall give a brief précis. Thus the ambit of the town varied from a quarter of a mile to a mile and a half.

The report further showed that Mr. Barton and Lord Lismore alternately appointed sovereign and recorder. The former had for his salary the tolls and customs. Out of these he, however, paid four pounds (£4) to the serjeant-at-mace. The Tholsel Court had no criminal side; it was presided over by the sovereign, the fees were excessive, and the town clerk was its clerk. The first step in the procedure was the seizure of the defendant's goods by the serjeant-at-mace; these, however, could be bailed out. The sovereign, in later days, appointed the recorder, who had no salary, and seems to have been a mere figurehead

after the first one who, in the person of O'Callaghan, the barrister, through it planted his feet firmly and permanently on the ladder. The sergeant-at-mace was the street superintendent, and summoned all jurors as well as served all writs. The commissioners were informed that the sovereign could admit as many freemen as he pleased. This had evidently become the practice; but neither birth, service, nor marriage conferred this privilege, as in other places. The freemen were free from all local exactions. A remarkable fact was elicited about their numbers. These were found to be only fourteen, despite the fact that the minute-book records the admission of hundreds. Four of these were Catholics and four were non-resident. Two chief burgesses presided with the sovereign in the tholsel court, where the cause of action exceeded ten shillings. A court was held every three weeks, and the amount might be unlimited; but the cause of action should arise within the borough or its liberties. A jury tried each action and was entitled to a fee of 6s. 8d. There was no jail, school, or charitable institution under the corporation. No charter school was ever founded, nor even the land granted for it taken up.

The corporate rental had in 1835 dwindled down to £34 14s. 6d. a year. In 1748 the commons alone contained 153 Irish acres. Originally the cattle of the inhabitants were free to graze on these. Tolls were charged on all manner of goods, whether sold or not, as well as on cattle; and although a schedule of charges was exhibited, it was complained to the commissioners that the collectors evercharged them with impunity. The gross total of the tolls in 1832 amounted only to £65 a year, of which only £20 went to the corporation, £30 to the collectors, and the balance to expenses. No local Acts of Parliament were disclosed, except that in the Absentee Act of Henry VIII. there is a saving clause for the corporation and commons of Fethard. The population of 1831 amounted to over 3,400 souls, comprising 699 families, and occupying 582 houses.

The last appearance of the great Everard family on the Fethard stage was in 1774, when Redmond Long Everard, the heir of Sir Redmond's heir, voted as a freeman in the O'Callaghan interest at the election of sovereign. Two years before that he had been elected a freeman. Years subsequently one of the family was selected by the Pope on the nomination of Dr. James Butler, of the Ballyragget family, then Archbishop of Cashel, to be his coadjutor, and to the full dignity he succeeded at the end of six years in the year 1821. He died at the end of three months, having been succeeded by Archbishop Laffan; and here ends the prominent history of the Fethard Everards. Mr. O'Keeffe, of Delville, Dublin, has informed me that Mr. Thomas Lalor bought from Redmond Long Everard a lease of Killoran for 999 years in 1783, while Lady French sold the fee to Mr. O'Keeffe's uncle late in the nineteenth century.

It is proper that I should here mention that an element in the

Fethard municipal government was the existence of an assembly called the Doyer Hundred. This was selected largely from among the freemen, took the form of a jury, and exercised a kind of inspectorial function over the proceedings of the council. It met but rarely, and as its proceedings had to be confirmed by the sovereign and council, its powers were not very real. No mention was made in the charter of 1608 of this Doyer Hundred, so that it must have been a relic of more ancient and long-forgotten charters.

Among the freemen I should not forget to enumerate the name of Boyle Roche, who must have indeed possessed ubiquity if he could have added Fethard to his many other places of residence. The chief power of the Fethard body rested in the twelve chief burgesses. They ordinarily elected the sovereign and vice-sovereign every June, but plainly the whole body of freemen had a right also to vote. This mode, however, was only exercised when great contests supervened. The right of the council to elect recorders, town clerks, and inferior officers was never questioned. The entire body of freemen, including of course the chief burgesses, were publicly summoned to elect to vacancies among the twelve chief burgesses. It sometimes was plainly contrived that the freemen would be more conspicuous by their absence than by their presence. The freemen themselves were nominated, four by the outgoing and two by the incoming sovereign. A significant fact that may be mentioned in connexion with the corporate administration during the ninety-two years that their only available minute-book runs, is that during the entire of that time there is but one solitary entry of any one thing done or ordered to be done for the benefit of the town. That entry is contained in the minutes for 1808, when a sum of £3 annually was ordered to be paid by the sovereign for the repairs of the streets. A curious fact may be mentioned in connexion with the exclusion of Catholics from the corporation and all its offices; and that is that there was nothing in any of the oaths to effect this, and there must have been some implied usages or possibly a mere personal understanding only to accomplish it. I have been careful to include in this paper a complete list of all save the freemen, and possibly at a future time the publication of their names may be of interest. There are certainly some surprises in the addresses of many of them.

SOVEREIGNS, 1742-1834.

John Clear, ..	from 1742 to 51	Rt. Hon. Lord Lismore, sworn in 1790	
Cornelius O'Callaghan, ..	1751 to 52	Thomas Barton, ..	91
Thos. Hackett, ..	1752 to 53	Charles Tuckey, ..	92
Ed. Cooke, ..	1753 to 54	Henry Langley, ..	93
Richard Clutterbuck, ..	1754 to 55	Ed. Cooke, ..	94-6
Robert Cooke, ..	1755 to 56	Hugh Barton, ..	97
Daniel Gahan, ..	1756 to 57	Rt. Hon. Lord Lismore, ..	98
Ed. Cooke, ..	1757 to 58	Hugh Barton, ..	99
Richard Clutterbuck, sworn in 1758		Ed. Cooke, ..	1800
Robert Cooke, ..	59	Thos. Barton, ..	01
Marmaduke Grove, ..	60	Charles Tuckey, ..	06
Cornelius Callaghan, ..	61-2	Richard Wright, ..	07
Richard Clutterbuck, ..	63	Robert Cooke, ..	08
Cornelius Callaghan, ..	64	Richard Wright, ..	09
Daniel Gahan, ..	65	Robert Cooke, ..	10
Cornelius Callaghan, ..	66	Thomas Barton, ..	11-14
Richard Clutterbuck, ..	67	William Barton, ..	15
Ed. Cooke, ..	68	Robert Cooke, ..	16
Cornelius Callaghan (J.),	69	William Barton, ..	17-18
James Hackett, ..	70	Robert Cooke, ..	19
Daniel Gahan, ..	71	William Barton, ..	20
Richard Clutterbuck, ..	72	Richard Wright, ..	21
Ed. Cooke, ..	73	William Barton, ..	22
Daniel Gahan, ..	74-5	Robert Cooke, ..	23
Rev. Charles Tuckey, ..	76-81	Wm Barton, ..	1824
Daniel Gahan, ..	82	Richard Wright, ..	1825
Ed. Collins, ..	83	John Cooke, ..	1827
Charles Tuckey, ..	84	Wm Barton, ..	1828
Henry Langley, ..	85	Richard Wright, ..	1829
Rt. Hon. Lord Lismore, ..	86	Robert Cooke, ..	1830
Thomas Barton, ..	87	No election in	1831
Charles Tuckey, ..	88	Richard Wright, ..	1832-4
Ed. Cooke, ..	89		

PORTRIEVES, 1742-1833.

David Linehan, from	1742 to 1750	Richard M'Alister, sworn in	1782-7
Robert Gahan, ..	1750 to 1751	James Hazlett, ..	88-9
Marmaduke Grove, ..	1751 to 1752	James Hazlett, ..	90-6
Robert Gahan, ..	1752 to 1755	Thomas Guinan, ..	97-1801
Marmaduke Grove, ..	1755 to 1756	Abraham Wade, ..	1806-18
John Gahan, ..	1756 to 1758	Geo. Ryall, ..	1819-25
Cornelius O'Callaghan, sworn in	1738	John Wilson, ..	1827
Robert ..	1759	Henry Sayers, ..	1828
Daniel Gahan, ..	1760	John Wilson, ..	1829-30
Marmaduke Grove, ..	1761	No election in	1831
John Gahan, ..	1762-4	John Wilson, ..	1832
Daniel Kyffe, ..	1765-72	Henry Sayers, ..	1833
Richard Richardson, ..	1773-81		

SOME MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FOR FETHARD.

In 1761, Cornelius Callaghan, of Shanbally, and Stephen Moore, of Marlfield, were elected to serve as two Burgesses in Parliament.

In 1755, Robert Callaghan was elected as a Burgess to serve in Parliament in room of John Cleare, deceased.

In 1789, Dan Gahan and Thos. Barton were thanked for their services in Parliament, and promised the Corporation's support at next General Election. John Taylor and Major Wm. Ponsonby represented the town at the time of the Union. They voted against that measure.

The sum of £15,000 was paid to the families of Barton and O'Callaghan, in equal moieties, as compensation for the abolition of the Borough. The side on which these two members voted is recorded in the original Red List in Barrington's "Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation."

LIST OF RECORDERS, 1742-1830.

Robert Callaghan, from 1742 to 1754.

Cornelius Callaghan, from 1754 to 1755.

Wm. Lyster, sworn in 1760.

David Walsh, sworn in 1774.

George Ponsonby, Recorder, sworn in 1780.

Adolphus Rhumbold, sworn into the office of Town Clerk in 1784-5.

Henry Lloyd was sworn Recorder in 1795.

Thos. Barton, sworn Recorder between 1801 and 1806, and resigned in 1809, when

Benjamin Bennet Bradshaw was sworn Recorder, 1809.

John Cooke was sworn Recorder in 1830.

TOWN CLERK.

The office of Town Clerk and Recorder usually went together, but on some few occasions separate appointments were made. Thus Isaac Ryall was Town Clerk, and Bennet Bradshaw, Recorder, in 1814. Mr. John Doyle was Town Clerk in 1831. Again, in 1800, the Recorder, Lloyd, appoints one John Hill to be Deputy Town Clerk.

THE MANOR OF ERLEY, OR ERLESTOWN, COUNTY
KILKENNY.

BY G. D. BURTCHAEILL, M.A., M.R.I.A., FELLOW.

[Read MAY 30, 1904.]

IN a Paper entitled "Topographical and Historical Illustrations of the Suburbs of Kilkenny," published in the Society's *Journal*, vol. iii. (New Series), the late Mr. John Hogan wrote as follows:—"Bealach Tobin, ancient name Bealach Urluidhe. Hence, says 'Keating,' the place is called to the present day Baille Urluidhe—that is, the town of blows or irresistible strokes of valiant men. Urluidhe is pronounced Erley or Erlew, the *d* being silent. Hence comes Ballyerley or the town of Earlstown." The fact that the Ordnance Survey, very unnecessarily and improperly, destroyed the distinction between Bealach, a pass or road, and Baille, a town or townland, apparently led the writer, whose knowledge of Irish seems to have been elementary, to imagine that these words were interchangeable in Irish. Of course, this is not so, and Keating would never have written "Baille" Urluidhe, if he meant "Bealach." Whatever resemblance there may be in the pronunciation between Urluidhe and Erley, it is extremely improbable that such a combination of letters as Urluidhe would be rendered in English, Erley; but in Irish it is quite impossible that Urluidhe could become Erley, as Mr. Hogan asserted. Furthermore, apart from the obvious fact that Bealach Tobin¹ and Earlstown, using the modern spelling, are two different places, separated from one another by the parish of Mallardstown, Mr. Hogan proceeded to fix the site of the battle between the men of Munster and of Ossory, from which the name Baille Urluidhe was derived, as being midway between Callan and Mullinahone, still further away from Earlstown. The writer does not appear to have seen that if this identification of the site be correct it destroys his theory about the origin of the name of Earlstown, for he offers no explanation as to why the place should derive its name from an event which occurred elsewhere. The assertion he makes, that aged people called the locality "Ballagh" Urluidhe, is obviously incorrect; but it is extremely probable that at one time they did call it Baille an Erle. O'Curry, writing in September, 1839, says—"The natives call it Baile an

¹ Bealach Tobin derives its name from the family of Tobin, originally St. Aubin, *latine* "de Sancto Albino." It was known before the advent of the Tobins as Beallach Rathenry—*Memoranda Roll*, 19, 20 Rich. II. 38 (Repertory in Public Record Office).

Iarla, or the town of the Earl; but who the Earl was they know not, but believe him to be of the Butler family."¹ This was a natural enough change from the former name, the origin of which, after an interval of over four hundred and fifty years, might well have been forgotten.

Mr. John Dunn, of Garryricken, who appears to have been well informed on the subject, pointed out in the *Kilkenny Moderator*, in February, 1863, that the word Erleystown came originally from an individual styled John de Erley. Mr. Hogan, however, returned to the charge. "But," he writes, "Newtown de Erley could not have been derived from John the Knight, for, as far as I am aware, there is no family named Erley in the list of Anglo-Norman invaders of Ireland" (yet he proceeds), "and more than a century before the time of this John de Erley, a charter was granted by William fitzGeoffrey de Marisco to the Abbey of Kells enabling them to cut wood for the construction of their houses within the boundary of the lands of John de Erlega," who, he asserts, is "John of Erley or Urluidhe." This last statement is absurd. It is quite impossible that John of Baille Urluidhe could be rendered in Latin, in which the charter is written, Joannes de Erlega. As these assertions and ideas of Mr. Hogan have gained currency through being published in the *Journal* of this Society, and elsewhere, it is necessary so far to refer to them.

The modern parish of Earlstown, which formed the nucleus of the ancient Manor, comprises the townlands of Newtown, Castle Eve, Ovens-town, Kilbrickan, and Cronoge. It is in the barony of Shillelogher, and is bounded on the north by the parishes of Burnchurch and Tullamain in the same barony, on the east by Kells, and south by Mallardstown, both in the barony of Kells, and on the west by the parish and barony of Callan. Without having recourse to any philological contortions, the origin of the present name can be clearly traced. Before the arrival of the Normans this part of the County of Kilkenny formed part of a district known as Coillach from its woody character, probably portion of Coill o'g-Cathasaigh referred to in O'Huidhrin's topographical poem. It would be now impossible to determine the exact extent of Coillach. It included, almost certainly, the parishes of Mallardstown and Coolaghmore, in the latter of which the name still survives. Coolaghmore appears to be identical with the ancient burgh of Coillach, part of the possessions of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and which remained in his hands, and those of his successors. Mallardstown derives its name from William Maillard, to whom the same was granted to hold by one-fourth of a knight's fee, while to John de Erleigh, Erley, or Erle, so called from his Manor of Erleigh or Erley near Reading, in Berkshire, was granted the New Town in Coillach to hold by one-half and one-

¹ Ordnance Survey Letters, R.I.A.

fourth of a knight's fee, and to which, in course of time, his family gave their name.

There is an outline of this family given under the name of "Erles" (the name being so spelled in the Writ of Summons 1361/2) in Banks's "Dormant and Extinct Baronage of England";¹ but, with the exception of one slight reference, the connexion of the family with Ireland is not mentioned by that writer. He commences with William de Erleia, Erleigh, or Erle, who, in 1166,² upon the assessment of aid for the marriage of Maud, the King's daughter, certified³ that he held one knight's fee *de veteri feoffamento* by the service of being the King's Chamberlain; but that he held nothing *de novo feoffamento*—a circumstance which, says Banks, clearly points out the antiquity of this family. The said William was founder of a Priory at Buckland in Somersetshire, to which he gave the Church of Beckington in that county.

John de Erleigh, his son and heir, held⁴ the Manor of North Pederton, in the County of Somerset, of the King, in fee-farm, by the rent of one hundred shillings to be paid yearly at the Exchequer. He likewise held⁵ certain lands at Corsham, in Hampshire (to which he was heir) by serjeanty. In 1206, he accompanied William, Earl Marshal, to Ireland, protection for his lands and tenants so long as he shall be in Ireland being granted 19th February, 1206–7.⁶ It was most probably on this occasion that he was put in possession of the New Town in Coillach to hold by the service of one-half and one-fourth of a knight's fee. He was in possession thereof in 1210, as appears from the confirmation of the Charter of Kells⁷ in that year by William fitzGeoffrey, which contains the following clause [translation]:—"I have granted also to my said burgesses common of my woods, towards making their buildings, and towards their fires, in my woods on the east of my lands of Evvena, and on the north of the said land of Evvena, as far as the lands of John de Erlega." One of the witnesses to this charter was William Maillard, the eponymous hero of Mallardstown. Evvena is obviously Castle Eve, from which it would appear that John de Erleigh was not then in possession of those lands.

John de Erleigh was one of the Earl Marshal's knights in attendance on the king in 1212.⁸ He died, and was succeeded by his son Henry, in or before 1215, for in that year John fitzGeoffrey, by his charter,⁹ confirmed

¹ Vol. iv., p. 154. Banks quotes his authority for each statement in the margin. The name is spelled in a variety of ways. I give it, in each case, in the form found in the various documents.

² 12 Hen. II. (Banks).

³ Hearne's "Lib. Nig. Scacc.," vol. i., p. 101 (Banks).

⁴ "Lib. Fœd.," vol. i., p. 707 (Banks).

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 133 (Banks).

⁶ Pat. 8 John, m. 3, Calendar of Documents, Ireland. Hereafter quoted as C. D. 1.

⁷ Inrolled, Pat. 1 Eliz. dors. m. 24, 261.

⁸ Close, 14 John, m. 4, dors. C. D. 1.

⁹ Inrolled, Pat. 1 Eliz. dors. m. 24, 262.

to the burgesses of Kells common in his woods, &c. [translation]—"from that oak-tree which stands in Gortenclevan on the west to the east part of my land of Even, and from the east part of the said land to the land of Henry de Erlega." Henry de Erleigh left two sons, who succeeded in turn. John, the elder, was one of the household (*familia*) of the Earl Marshal, in 1222.¹ He accompanied the Earl to Ireland in 1224. On the 8th May in that year Letters Patent were passed at Westminster granting protection until Christmas to John de Erelegh, among others, gone to Ireland with Earl Marshal by the King's order.² He was living 19th October, 1229,³ but died in or before 1230, for in that year a writ was directed to the Sheriff of Berks to hold inquisition as to the lands of John de Erlegh.⁴ It was found that Henry de Erleigh, Erley, or Erle,⁵ grandson and at length heir of John de Erleigh (that is, of John who died in or before 1215), held one Knight's fee of the King *in capite* in Erleigh or Erley, near Reading, in Berkshire, and also the Manor of Somerton Parva, or Somerton Erleigh, in Somersetshire, of the King *in capite* by serjeanty, but the service was at that time unknown.⁶ Henry de Erleigh, as brother and heir of John, made a fine with the King for twenty marks for his relief of the lands which the said John held of the King in chief.⁷ In the partition made in 1247 of the possessions in Ireland of Walter Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, between his co-heirs, the greater part of the County Kilkenny fell to the share of Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, and included the homage and service of Henry de Herlagh for one-half and one-fourth of a Knight's fee in Nova Villa in Cullak.⁸ The editor of the English "Calendar of Patent Rolls," whose knowledge of the Irish language and of Irish topography appear to be equally profound, translates this "Newtown in Kileooly"⁹

Henry de Erleye was one of the eminent men who had summons to the Great Council or Parliament convened in 1260¹⁰ to meet at London. He died about 1276,¹¹ being then seized¹² of the Manor of Erleigh, near Reading, leaving his heir in minority.¹³

It would seem that Philip, son of Henry de Erleigh, predeceased his father, being then seized of Northperton.¹⁴ An order was made 11th May, 1275, to take into the king's hands the lands of Philip de Erleigh, who

¹ Scutage Roll (17th September, 6 Hen. III.), *Miscell. Rolls*, Chancery, No. 8 (*The Genealogist*, N. S., vol. i., p. 76).

² Pat. 8 Hen. III., p. 3, m. 7, C. D. I.

³ Pat. 13 Hen. III., m. 2 d.

⁴ Pat. 14 Hen. III., m. 4 d.

⁵ Collinson's "Somerset," vol. ii., p. 199 (Banks).

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 751 (Banks).

⁷ Close, 15 Hen. III., m. 7.

⁸ *Inspeximus* of Pat. 31 Hen. III., inrolled, Pat. 8 Ed. I., m. 28 C. D. I.

⁹ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1272-1281, p. 353.

¹⁰ Close, 45 Hen. III., n. 3 d. (Banks).

¹¹ 4 Ed. I. (Banks).

¹² Esch. 4 Ed. I., n. 72 (Banks).

¹³ Original, 4 Ed. I., Rot. 5 & 19 (Banks); Cl. 4 Ed. I., m. 15.

¹⁴ Cl. 2 Ed. II., m. 2.

the king learns is dead, and cause inquisition to be made.¹ Roesia, wife of Philip, was allowed her dower,² and John, his son, became heir to his grandfather, being then, it would appear, about four years old.

The Manor of Erley was granted to the Bishop of Hereford until the heir of Henry de Erlegh came of age, being in the king's wardship.³ How the Irish lands were disposed of on this occasion the existing records do not inform us.

John de Erlegh, son and heir of Philip de Erlegh, came of age in or before January, 1292, as it appears that Northperton was held of the king at ferm by reason of his minority from 11th May in the third year of Edward I. to the 13th January⁴ in the twentieth year of that king, when the king took the said John's homage and restored him to his lands.⁵

From the inrolments of letters of attorney for persons of property in Ireland remaining in England, it may reasonably be inferred that during the periods not covered by such appointments John de Erle visited his Kilkenny estate. On the 23rd October, 1299, John de Erle had letters nominating Stephen Wace and Philip Guld⁶ his attorneys in Ireland for one year; 26th July, 1302, John de Erleye had similar letters for Philip de Cumberford and Philip Golde for two years;⁷ 16th March, 1305, John de Erlee for the same for two years;⁸ 20th June, 1308, the same for Philip Cumberford and Robert Elys for two years.⁹ These last appointments were renewed for two years in each case, 23rd October, 1310,¹⁰ 23rd May, 1313,¹¹ and 1st November, 1315.¹² In 1315, John de Erle was Sheriff of Dorset.¹³

About this date a partition was made between the co-heirs of Gilbert de Clare, the last Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, who had been slain at the battle of Bannockburn, and the share of Hugh de Spenser, junior, and Alienore, his wife, one of the sisters and co-heirs of the Earl, includes one-half and one-fourth part of a Knight's fee in Nova Villa de Erley and Nova Villa de Coyllagh, which John de Erley holds.¹⁴

¹ Cl. 3 Ed. I., m. 17.

² Cl. 5 Ed. I., m. 8.

³ Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1272-1280, p. 367; Cal. Cl. Rolls.

⁴ Or 30th January, Cl. 2 Ed. II., m. 2.

⁵ Cl. 22 Ed. I., m. 8; Cl. 2 Ed. II., m. 2.

⁶ Or Guilde, Cal. Pat. Rolls; Pat. 27 Ed. I., m. 6, C. D. I.

⁷ Pat. 30 Ed. I., m. 18.

⁸ Pat. 33 Ed. I., p. 1, m. 11.

⁹ Pat. 1 Ed. II., p. 2, m. 6.

¹⁰ Pat. 6 Ed. II., p. 2, m. 6.

¹¹ Pat. 4 Ed. II., p. 1, m. 12.

¹² Pat. 8 Ed. II., p. 2, m. 6.

¹³ Pat. 9 Ed. II., p. 1, m. 17.

¹⁴ MSS. Trinity College, Dublin, v. 3, 20. The Rev. William Carrigan, M.R.I.A. (*History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, vol. iii., p. 326), identifies Nova Villa de Coyllagh with Coolighnoo, the name of a ruined church in the townland of Garryricken, and ancient parish of Killamery. This appears to have been a purely ecclesiastical name, and there is now no trace to be found of the Erle family being the owners.

I am of opinion that Nova Villa de Erley, and Nova Villa de Coyllagh, were names of two divisions of Erlestown.

On the 8th June, 1316, simple protection in Ireland for one year was granted for John de Erlegh staying in England on the king's business.¹ By the year 1320 the name of Erleystown was fully established as the English name of the parish, for in the taxation of the diocese of Ossory made in that year by Bishop Richard de Lederede the church is so described (*Ecclesia de Erleyeston*) in the deanery of Kenlys, where was also the chapel of Castle Erleye (*Capella Castri Erleye*).² John de Erle staying in England had letters nominating John, son of John de Erle, and Philip de Comerford his attorneys in Ireland for two years, 23rd July, 1321.³

John, grandson of Henry de Erle, died in 17 Edward II. (1323–24), when it was found that he was seized of the Manor of Erle aforesaid (in Berkshire), together with the Manors of North Pederton, Somerton Parva, and several other Manors in the County of Somerset.⁴

He was succeeded by his son, also named John, who, on 6th April, 1324, by the name of John, son of John de Erlegh, staying in England, had letters nominating Reginald de Frome and Robert de Ceddre his attorneys for two years;⁵ and on 12th June following by the name of John, son of John de Erle, had letters nominating Philip de Commerford and Robert de Cheddre his attorneys in Ireland for two years.⁶ On the 19th June, 1326, Robert de Quemerford and Thomas, son of Simon (FitzSimon), were named his attorneys in Ireland for two years.⁷ In the same year, 1326, he was Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset, and had the Castle of Shireburne committed to his care.⁸

Muriel, late wife of John de Erlegh, and presumably mother of the reigning lord of Erle, staying in England, had letters nominating John de Hedlegh and Walter Beynyn her attorneys in Ireland for two years on 8th May, 1327.⁹

On 23rd September, in the same year, John de Erle was appointed collector of the one-twentieth of movables granted to the king by Parliament for defence against the Scots.¹⁰ On 13th October following John de Erlegh had letters nominating Robert de Quemerford and John le Fitz Henry his attorneys in Ireland for three years,¹¹ and on 17th October an order was issued from Nottingham to Arnald Power, the king's steward of the County of Kilkenny, not to distrain John de Erlegh, knight, for homage or fealty for the lands he holds of the king in Ireland, for he has done the homage.¹² By the name of John de Erley, of Somerset, staying in England, Henry de Quemerford and Henry de

¹ Pat. 9 Ed. II., p. 2, m. 14.

² *Red Book of Ossory*—Tenth Report, Appendix V., Historical MS. Commissioners.

³ Pat. 15 Ed. II., p. 1, m. 23.

⁴ Original, 17 Ed. II., n. 57, 62 (Banks).

⁵ Pat. 17 Ed. II., p. 2, m. 20.

⁶ Pat. 17 Ed. II., p. 2, m. 11.

⁷ Cl. 19 Ed. II., p. 2, m. 5.

⁸ Original, 19 Ed. II., Rot. 18 (Banks). See also Cl. 1 Ed. III., m. 20; and Cl. 1 Ed. III., p. 2, m. 26.

⁹ Pat. 1 Ed. III., p. 2, m. 24.

¹⁰ Pat. 1 Ed. III., p. 3, m. 18.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3, m. 15.

¹² Cl. 1 Ed. III., p. 2, m. 9.

Erley were appointed his attorneys for two years, 6th July, 1329.¹ The same year he was Member of Parliament for Somerset; and in 1331 and 1332 his name appears in various Commissions of the Peace for that county as John de Erle, Erlegh, Erleye, and Erleghe.²

John de Erley was among those ordered on 12th July, 1332, to be with the king at Michaelmas next ensuing at the place where the king shall ordain to take passage for Ireland.³ This projected expedition was, as we know, abandoned; and on 21st September, 1332, Henry de Quemerford and Thomas Fitz Simound were appointed attorneys in Ireland for John de Erlegh for two years.⁴

Eleanor, or Alienore, widow of Hugh de Spenser, junior, having remarried with William le Zouche de Mortimer, she and her husband had license from the Crown, dated at York, 26th May, 1335,⁵ to quit claim for themselves and the heirs of Eleanor to John, Bishop of Ely, of their right in the Castle of Kilkenny, &c., and all Knight's fees, including the new town of Erlaye, the purparty of Eleanor, as sister and co-heir of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester; and on the 23rd of August following the Bishop of Ely had licence to grant the premises to John, son of John Hothum, Knight, to hold to him and the heirs of his body, remainder to the Bishop in fee.⁶

On 24th March, 1336, John de Erlegh, staying in England, had letters nominating Henry de Erlegh and Richard de Somerton his attorneys in Ireland for two years.⁷ But later on in the same year he visited Ireland himself, for on 14th July, 1336, John de Erlegh, going to Ireland, had letters nominating Master Geoffrey de Wroxhale, parson of the Church of Bekyngton, and Robert de Somerton his attorneys for one year with protection for himself.⁸ He died, however, the following year,⁹ possessed of Erle, Somerton Parva, North Pederton, &c., leaving Elizabeth, his wife, surviving,¹⁰ two sons, minors, John and Richard, and three daughters—Catherine, Prioress of Buckland; Elizabeth, wife of Sir John Stafford; and Alice, wife of Sir Nicholas Poyntz.¹¹ On 19th March, 1337, a grant was made at Westminster to William de Monte Acuto, Earl of Salisbury, of the custody during the minority of the heir of the lands in England and Ireland, late of John de Erlegh, tenant in chief with the marriage of the heir;¹² and on 28th September Elizabeth, late wife of John de Erlegh, Knight, staying in England, had

¹ Pat. 3 Ed. III., p. 1, m. 5. In 1307, Henry de Erleye, with Richard Moynauth and John Fitz John, held one carucate and 13 acres at Ballycallan, &c. (Inq. p.m. 35 Ed. I., No. 47, m. 39, Cal. Documents, Ireland).

² Cal. Pat. Rolls.

³ Cl. 6 Ed. III., m. 17 d.

⁴ Pat. 6 Ed. III., p. 2, m. 11.

⁵ Pat. 9 Ed. III., p. 3, m. 33.

⁶ Pat. 9 Ed. III., p. 2, m. 22.

⁷ Pat. 10 Ed. III., p. 1, m. 34.

⁸ Pat. 10 Ed. III., p. 2, m. 36.

⁹ "About 11 Ed. III.;" Esch. 11 Ed. III., n. 11 (Banks).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 34 Ed. III. n. 77; Sec. Numb. (Banks).

¹¹ Collinson's "Somerset," vol. ii., p. 199 (Banks).

¹² Pat. 11 Ed. III., p. 1, m. 15.

letters nominating Walter Joye and John Boneye her attorneys in Ireland for two years.¹ Dower was assigned to Elizabeth, late wife of John de Erleye, 16th February, 1339.² From 1339 to 1344 presentations were made to the Church of Bekyngton by the Crown, by reason of the custody of the lands and heir of John de Erlee, tenant in chief.³ In 1344 the Manor of Erleystown was in the king's hand during the minority of John de Erley, and on 22nd November in that year the custody of the Manor of Erleyston was committed to John de Balscote.⁴ It appears from an exemplification of an assignment of dower, 6th July, 1355, for Inette, who was wife of John fitzJohn de Hothum, of Boudeby, of all lands which were the said John's in the County of Kilkenny, that amongst others were assigned to her the service and attendance of the heir of John Derley, Knight, who held of the said John three-fourths (*i.e.*, one-half and one-fourth) of one Knight's fee in Erleystown and in Nova Coyllagh.⁵ John de Erlee (or Erles) was one of those summoned 15th March, 1361/2,⁶ to attend a great Council at Westminster, in order to deliberate upon the disturbed state of Ireland as affecting him and others holding lands in that kingdom.⁷ But this writ by which the said John de Erle was so summoned was addressed to the Sheriff of Staffordshire, "whereby it is evident that it was not a call to Parliament in the nature of a creation of a Parliamentary peerage."⁸ He attended the Black Prince at the battle of Najera, 3rd April, 1367, and participated in several other engagements in Spain, in one of which he was wounded and taken prisoner, and "as a ransom" was obliged to sell a considerable portion of his ancient inheritance.⁹ It was, doubtless, in these circumstances that he disposed of his Manor of Erlestown in the County of Kilkenny.¹⁰ The Manor was conveyed, apparently before 1381, to John Sweetman, who on 6th March in that year was appointed one of the Keepers of the Peace in the County Kilkenny.¹¹ He is the first of his name mentioned in connexion with the County of Kilkenny, so it seems that he had acquired the Manor of Erlestown, which continued in the possession of his descendants until 1653, shortly before 1381, but, quite possibly, some ten years earlier. Besides the Manor of Erlestown, the Sweetmans acquired other lands in different parts of the County, but it is only necessary to refer to Rathculbin and Spruceshaies, *alias*

¹ Pat. 11 Ed. III., p. 3, m. 33.

² Cl. 13 Ed. III., p. 1, m. 35.

³ Pat. 17 & 18 Ed. III., d. 159 (Irish).

⁴ Cal. Pat. Rolls.

⁵ Pat. 29 Ed. III., d. 147 (Irish).

⁶ 35 Ed. III. (Banks); Dugdale Lists Sum., *ibid.*

⁷ Banks adds, "in the capacity of heirs to de Caumville." This is a mistake. The heirs of de Caumville were directed to be summoned amongst others.

⁸ Dugdale Lists Sum. (Banks).

⁹ Burke's "Commoners," vol. iv., p. 207.

¹⁰ He died in 1409, leaving John, his son and heir, who married the daughter and heir of John Pavely, and left one daughter, Margaret, who married three husbands, and left issue one daughter, Margaret, who became sole heiress, and married John Erle, of Ashburton, in the County of Devon, by whom she had issue (Banks).

¹¹ Pat. 5 Rich. II., p. 1, d. 205 (Irish).

Garransprusy, or, as it appears on the Ordnance Map, Spruceshay. The latter adjoins Newtown, in Erlestown, and lies between it and Rathculbin. The lands are now in the parish of Mallardstown, but at the time of the Down Survey were included in Earlstown parish, and barony of Kells. Rathculbin would seem at one time to have been a separate Manor. From the partition of 1315 it appears that William Kenefeg held one-fourth of a Knight's fee in Rathgulby. It appears as Raghultheby in the quit-claim of 1335, and in 1355 the dower of Inette, who was wife of John fitzJohn de Hothum of Boudeby, includes the service and attendance of the heir of Richard Chever, who held of the said John one-fourth of one Knight's fee in Rathgulvy. On January 16th, 1408, the King granted to Katherine Dormond all lands, &c., in Rathgolby, in the County Kilkenny, being in the King's hand.¹ How and when these lands were acquired by Sweetman is so far unknown.

The Manor of Erley or Erlestown, in the seventeenth century, included the lands of Erlestown or Newtown, and Castle Iffe or Castle Eve; Rathculbin and Spruce's haies, reputed parcels of the Manor; with chief rents out of Caherleske, Beallaghtobin, Redmore, Kilbrickan, Maylardstown, Bueper, Owenstown or Ovenstown, and Kells.²

The pedigree of the Sweetman family can be traced without much difficulty from 1381 to the end of the seventeenth century. Their history during that period does not possess any features of especial interest. They appear, from the inscriptions on their monuments, still to be seen in their parish Church of Erlestown, now in ruins, and called Newtown Church, from the townland on which it stands, to have styled themselves Barons of Erley, in imitation of their neighbours the FitzGerald, Barons of Burnchurch; but they are not included in any list of these titular Barons.³

The last lord of the Manor of Erlestown was William Sweetman, of Castle Iffe, who succeeded his grandfather, 23rd May, 1605, being then ten years old. Having taken possession of his estate on coming of age, he had pardon of intrusion and alienation 29th January, 1615-6, for a fine of £10 Irish. In November, 1641, his tenants and servants carried off the cattle, hay, and goods of the Rev. Dr. Aungier from the lands of Croakeswood.⁴ His name, however, stands at the head of the list of those who by their early repentance redeemed their former failings by submitting to the Cessation in '43, the Peace in '46; to the Cessation with the Earl of Inchiquin, and on all other occasions manifested their

¹ Pat. 10 Hen. IV., p. 2, 49 (Irish). This lady, Katherine Dormond, was, it would seem, widow of James, third Earl of Ormond, who died 7th September, 1405. She has been hitherto ignored by Peerage writers.

² Inq. p.m., 5th April, 1638.

³ The inscriptions are given in the Rev. William Carrigan's *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, vol. iii., pp. 327, 328, where are also other particulars concerning the Sweetman family.

⁴ MSS. Trinity College, Dublin, f. 2, 5.

good affection to His Majesty's Service, and who constantly adhered to the Peace in '48.¹ A Transplanter's Certificate was signed for him by the Republican Commissioners of the Revenue in Kilkenny, 2nd January, 1652-3, and his estate was forfeited. It then comprised the lands of Earlstown (or Newtown) and Castle Iffe² containing together 1127 acres 3 roods, plantation measure, and also, which were not part of the Manor, the lands of Fowkestown, in the parish of Outrath, 73 acres 2 roods. Rathculbin and Spruce's hayes were then in the possession of his son, John. He married in accordance with a settlement made 20th April, 1604,³ when he was but nine years of age, Joan, illegitimate daughter of Sir Nicholas Walsh, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, by whom he left five sons, John, Edward, Pierce, Francis, and Nicholas. He was living in January, 1661/2, when he and his son, John, petitioned the King for restoration of their estate, then in the hands of Captain Baker.⁴

John Sweetman, the eldest son, was returned in the Down Survey as the owner of Rathculbin and Spruce's hayes, containing 475 plantation acres. For him a Transplanter's Certificate was signed 20th September, 1653; but whether he ever went to Connaught or not is doubtful. In his will, dated 1st June, 1672, he describes himself as "of Castle Iffe." This will was proved 17th April, 1690, when, in consequence of the repeal of the Act of Settlement by James II.'s Parliament, his heir would have become entitled to his former estate. He married Beale, daughter of Henry Archer, by whom he left an only daughter, Mary. She married, first, Hugh Conway, a gentleman who would have become entitled under the Act of Repeal, just mentioned, to the lands of Ballyconway, in the County of Clare. He made his will as "of Castle Iffe," 10th May, 1690, and left three sons, by the eldest of whom, Patrick Conway, of Magestown, County Kilkenny, the will was proved 18th November, 1702. His widow had then married a gentleman named Comerford. The defeat of James II. prevented any of the Acts of his Parliament taking effect, and thus the Manor of Erlestown finally ceased to exist.

In the meantime the lands of the Manor had been divided among several persons. 436 acres 7 perches were allotted and set out to Captain Henry Baker in satisfaction of £479 13s. 4d. for his service in England promiscuously with the arrears for his service in Ireland in the town

¹ Carte MSS.

² In a Paper entitled "The Prims of Johnswell: an Episode of the Irish Wars," by W. O. Cavenagh (*The Genealogical Magazine*, vol. ii., p. 91), it is stated that a Colonel John Prim, sent to Ireland as Chief Engineer during the administration of Stratford (*sic*), "purchased an estate in County Kilkenny, between Callan and Wells (*sic*), where he built himself a residence on an island in the 'King's river,' to which he gave the name of 'Castle Eve,' the remains of which are still to be seen." No such "Colonel" is known to have existed, and his purchase and building of Castle Eve are as mythical as himself. The first of the Prim family known to have settled in County Kilkenny was Abraham Prim, who paid 2s. hearth-money for a house at Buollicomin (Ballycomon), parish of Rower, in 1664.

³ Inq. (Exchequer), 1605.

⁴ Cal. State Papers (Ireland), 1660-1662, p. 672.

and lands of Castleiff and Newtown, &c. This gentleman was M.P. for Callan in the Parliament which met after the Restoration in 1661, but died 1662-3. He married Anne, widow of Thomas Dethick, and daughter of Edward Blennerhassett, by whom he left four sons and three daughters. His widow was rated at 14s. for hearth-money for Castle eeffe in 1664, and married soon after, as her third husband, George Say. To them and John Baker, the eldest son of Captain Henry Baker, the greater part of the lands of Earlstown (or Newtown) were confirmed under the Act of Settlement, 17th July, 1667.¹ John Baker subsequently sold part of his estate to Richard Shee, of Washeshayes (now Sheestown).² Hence the division of Newtown into Newtown Baker and Newtown Shea. Another portion of Newtown was afterwards acquired by Patrick Walsh, or Welch, of Killiny, and thus got the name of Newtown Welch; but this portion was not constituted a separate townland.

Ratheulbin and Spruce's hayes were set out to Colonel Daniel Axtell, the Republican Governor of Kilkenny, who was executed at Tyburn, 19th October, 1660, for his participation in the execution of Charles I., having been in command of the troops on guard at the king's trial. The lands set out to him with those of the other regicides were under the Act of Settlement vested in the Duke of York, afterwards James II., and on the sale of that monarch's estate by the Trustees of Forfeited Estates, in 1703, Rathculbin and Spruce's hayes were purchased, with some other lands in County Kilkenny, by the well-known Lord Chancellor, Sir Richard Cox.³

A final word may be said of the only member of the Sweetman family who attained to any distinction. Nicholas Sweetman was probably a son or grandson of one of the younger sons of William Sweetman, last Lord of the Manor of Erley. He was born in 1696, and having entered the priesthood became Vicar-General of the diocese of Ferns. On 20th September, 1744, he was nominated by the Pretender, James III., to be Bishop of Ferns,⁴ was appointed by the Pope, Benedict XIV., by brief dated 25th January, 1745, and his faculties were granted in audience 9th May following.⁵ He died 19th October, 1786, and the following account of him appeared in Walker's *Hibernian Magazine* for November in that year:—"In Wexford, aged 90, the Right Rev. Dr. Nicholas

¹ Inrolled 5th October, 1667; Pat. 19 Char. II., p. 6, dors. 54. Other grantees of portions of the Manor were William Baxter, William Bradley, and the Earl of Ranelagh.

² Cal. State Papers (Domestic), 1691, p. 252.

³ Inrolled 30th June, 1703; Pat. 2 Anne, p. 9, fac. 45.

⁴ *The Jacobite Peerage*, by the Marquis of Ruvigny and Raineval (1904), p. 229. The Roman Catholic Bishops in Ireland were appointed on the nomination of the titular James III., 1701-1766—a fact not hitherto noticed by ecclesiastical writers. A list of these appointments is given in *The Jacobite Peerage*.

⁵ *The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland, and Ireland, A.D. 1400 to 1875*, by W. Mazicre Brady (Rome), 1876.

Sweetman, titular Lord Bishop of Ferns, which Bishoprick he had enjoyed 42 years; he was born in the County Kilkenny, of the family of the Sweetmans of Castle Eve, near Callan, barons of Erley for ages, until the year 1653. He had been taken up and confined in the Castle of Dublin upon a malicious charge of high treason during the administration of the Duke of Dorset in the year 1752; but the producing of all his papers and correspondence with the Court of Rome proved highly honourable to himself and singularly advantageous to the Roman Catholics of Ireland.¹

¹ A similar notice of his death in *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 1st November, 1786, stated "His father had lost a small estate in the aforesaid county by the late revolution, and his grandfather a very large one by Cromwell's sanguinary proscriptions." The Bishop had two brothers—Captain Patrick Sweetman, who died unmarried, in 1771, and Michael Sweetman, of Collopswell, County Wexford, who died in August, 1776, having married Joan Roch, and left four sons and a daughter. The youngest son, Michael Sweetman, of Newbawn, or Collopswell, married Elizabeth, only daughter of Nicholas Fitz Henry, of Gobbinstown, and was grandfather of Laurence Sweetman, Esq., J.P., now of Ballymackesy, County Wexford.

A branch of the Sweetman family settled at an early period in the County Dublin, where they were established in the sixteenth century. From this branch the Sweetmans of Longtown, County Kildare, and of Drumbarrow, County Meath, appear to be descended.

The arms of Sweetman, of Castle Eve, and of the Dublin family, were the same—Per pale gules and chequy azure and argent, on the dexter, an eagle displayed dimidiated or. A different coat appears on the monument at Newtown, which has been described by the Rev. William Carrigan.

ON SOME COUNTY CORK OGHAM STONES IN ENGLISH MUSEUMS.

BY R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

[Submitted JUNE 18, 1906.]

THE Ogham stones from Ireland contained in English museums are nine in number—three in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford, and six in the British Museum. The former are three fragments respectively from Cockhill in County Kerry, and from Coolineagh and Knockrour in County Cork. The latter are an amber bead with a magical inscription from Ennis, County Clare, with three stones from Roovesmore, and one each from Coolineagh and Kilberihert, all in County Cork.

On the Cockhill and Ennis inscriptions I have already said all I have to say in my “Studies in Irish Epigraphy,” vol. ii., pp. 15, 125. I therefore pass them over here, and proceed to a discussion of the remaining stones, most of which are of considerable interest. All, as will be seen, come from County Cork.

1. COOLINEAGH, No. I. (Brash, p. 131).

This stone is a tiny fragment, evidently part of a larger inscription. Brash gives the inscription correctly—

It is broken off close to the initial and final letters. This may be MA]e INISE[. . . ; the name INISI occurs on the Kilmountain Ogham near Dingle, and we also find INISSIONAS at Ballintaggart in the same district. Principal Rhys suggests MAQI INI[s . . . on one of the Drumloghan stones. The fragment, however, is so small that we can only guess at its original meaning.

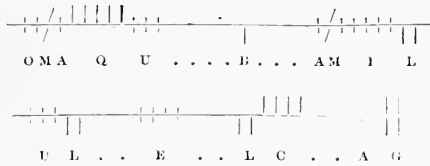
2. COOLINEAGH, No. II. (Brash, pp. 121, 132).

This stone seems to have been first published in our *Journal* by Mr. William Williams, of Dungarvan, from a copy supplied him by Mr. Windele. This appeared in the volume for 1856-7, p. 335.¹ The inscription is said to be from Glounagloch, and is read as follows:—

¹ I borrow the reference from Brash. Mr. Williams translated it, “Tulo-stone (sic) of Conn of the plain of Agril!”

Mr. Brash searched for this stone, but failed to find it; he presumes the copy as given by Windele to be nearly correct, and divides it *Tul Ulcong maqe Stil*, 'Grave mound of Ulcong son of Stil' (p. 121).

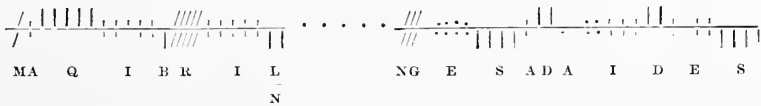
Mr. Brash, however, found another stone from Coolineagh, which he records elsewhere (p. 132) in his book. The inscription was to him indecipherable; he gives the following as being all he could make out:—



Now, if the second of the above lines be placed before and continuous with the first, it will be evident that these two transcripts represent one and the same inscription. Brash has dropped the *τ* of Windele's "TULULCONG," and one score of the *ng*; while on the other line he has inserted an *o*, and Windele's *sr* has become *B . . . AM*.

This becomes clearer when we examine the original, now in the British Museum. It is a small block of limestone, square in section, tapering to the top. Unfortunately a large flake is broken from the top, carrying away the whole of the scores that were there engraved.

The inscription commences as usual on the left angle, runs up over the top and down the right angle. Brash has in this case, as in one or two others, read the second angle in the wrong direction. The whole reads—



about twenty-five scores being lost with the fracture.

This legend, imperfect though it be, is of quite unusual interest. The first point to consider is its formula. There are two classes of inscriptions which commence with an initial *MAQI*—those in which the *MAQI* is an intrinsic part of the first name (as in *MAQI-LIAG MAQI ERCA* from Bally-eightragh), and the very small group in which it is a relational word (as in *MAQI TRENI SALICIDUNI*, 'Of S. son of T.' from Cwm Gloyn). Our inscription cannot be restored in accordance with the formula of the Ballyeightragh stone, as there is not room in the fracture for the completion of the name *BRI*, the missing *MAQI*, and the initial letters of the obviously imperfect . . . *NGES*. On the other hand, the second formula is highly improbable. If we were to interpret the inscription as *MAQI BRI . . . NGES ADAIDES*, "Stone of the son of B., of A.," which is the verbatum into which it would seem naturally on this theory of the

reading to divide, we should be obliged to explain how ADAIDES, a masculine name, comes to bear a feminine termination. It is, of course, not absolutely inadmissible that this should be the case, but it requires consideration before it can be allowed.

I venture to submit an alternative reading, which gives to the second name the gender that would seem proper to it. But I am obliged to assume a mistake on the part of the engraver. I would suggest that what he meant to cut was

L
MAQI-BRI— INGENE SADAIDES,
N

‘Of Mac B.’s daughter, of S.’; but deceived by the sequence of two similar groups in the copy he was transferring to the stone, his eye passed them over. Perhaps he himself was ignorant of the meaning of what he was copying; in any case, it is not difficult to understand the omission of the two letters marked with an asterisk, if the following be supposed to be copied without sufficient care:—

. // | |
| | | | | // * | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | // * | | | | |

I have divided INGENE SADAIDES in preference to INGENES ADAIDES, for the following reason. The oldest form of the word for “daughter” in the genitive case would be *inagenes*. This we do not find in its primitive form in Ogham; when it appears, as on the Kilbonane stone, it has already dropped its *s*. This Coolineagh example shows us a still later form, where the vowel between the *n* and the *g* has dropped, and the two letters have coalesced into *ng*. It would therefore not be probable that the *s* would here be restored.

I have not come across any parallel close enough to quote for either of the names on the stone. The initial BRI occurs once only elsewhere on an imperfect stone at Drumloghan. It may represent some such name as *Bristan*, which is found in the Martyrology of Donegal.

One peculiarity of the inscription is very noteworthy. It is a well-marked illustration of the *second* name in the formula being that of the owner of the monument. Examples of this are not easy to identify, as the ambiguity of sense is usually complete; it is quite impossible to tell, *à priori*, whether DOVETI MAQCI CATTINI at Ballintaggart means ‘Of D. son of C.,’ or ‘of C. son of D.’ The normal syntactic construction leads us to prefer the former in most cases; but the Camp stone, CONUNETT MOQI CONURI, is the monument of Curi, not of Cunett, who is his ancestor. This is shown by the associated epitaph in Roman letters. Again, at Buckland Monachorum in Devon, DOBUNI FABRI FILI ENABARRI is the monument of Enabarros, son of Dobunus the smith, for the associated Ogham reads ENABARR, and ignores the paternal connexion.

3. KNOCKROUR (Brash, p. 132).

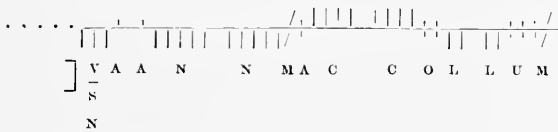
For reasons that will presently appear, it is important to recall the history of this stone as given by Brash. It was found in a disused burial-ground, I believe wrongly called Keelboultragh by Mr. Brash, by the tenant of the land (a Mr. Coakley), and by his landlord was presented to Mr. Windele. From Windele's collection it was purchased by General Pitt-Rivers, by whom it was bequeathed, with the rest of the ethnological museum which bears his name, to the University of Oxford.

Mr. Brash gives the reading MUDDOSSA M(A)QQA AT . . ., which is correct, save that the inserted A in the second word never can have existed. The angle is quite uninjured, and never bore any character in the place indicated.

The reading is thus vitiated, as we might have expected from internal evidence. MUDDOSSA is unlike anything ever heard of; and MAQA is an unusual form. It occurs twice in Oghams, once at Gowran, where MAQA MUCOI is apparently an error or contraction for MAQI MUCOI; and once at Ballintaggart, where MAQA MAILAGNI is meant for MAQAM (gen. plural) MAILAGNI.

It may be worth noting in passing that there is a little knob on the angle, and the sharp edge round the base of this knob looks like a vowel-notch that would turn the fifth letter, o, into u. But a second look at the place is all that is necessary to convince the decipherer that this notch has no phonetic value.

Having come to the conclusion that the fragment of inscription (which is broken off just at the third score of the T of "AT") cannot bear the meaning extracted from it, or, indeed, any other, if read in the direction followed by Mr. Brash, let us try the effect of inverting the inscription. This gives us



Sir S. Ferguson¹ gives " $\frac{f}{s}$ aann mac collum" as a possible alternative reading of the inscription.

He does not seem to have had the least doubt that the inscription is genuinely ancient. This, however, I now take upon myself to deny. I consider that the fragment contains the name of a certain *Teresa Ann MacCollum*, who can hardly have lived at a period very far remote from our own. I suggest *Teresa* as a likely and admissible restoration for the broken first name; no doubt others may occur to the reader.

¹ Rhind Lectures on "Ogham Inscriptions," p. 94.

The inscription thus allies itself with the "Aongus" inscription at Bweeng, the famous Mount Callan monument, and the "Columcille" inscription in Dublin Museum (see our *Journal*, 1902, p. 39), as being the work of some of the modern peasantry. It seems to have been scratched on the stone with a file, or some such iron tool. I do not think that it was cut with intent to deceive, like the bogus inscription from Cathair na Martineach at Glenfahan; no one on the spot seems to have profited pecuniarily from its discovery. Probably the fair Teresa, or her sweetheart, or whoever else may have cut the inscription, had no other purpose in view than filling up some idle moments with a harmless ostentation of knowledge of the Ogham alphabet.

That Ogham survived till quite a late date among the Irish peasantry, and was used by them in the eighteenth century before the character attracted scientific or pseudo-scientific attention, is well known. An interesting illustration of its use is to be found in a fine ms. of the *Tomurbhádh na mBard*, written in 1726 by the one-handed scribe, *Pól Ruillis*, and now in my collection of Irish mss. On a blank page a note is scribbled partly in Ogham, partly in Irish characters, in the handwriting of the scribe of the whole ms., as follows:—

Atá Donchoth Maenamara r(o)-bhocht, fóir air má thig leat (Ní beag nòb òon eolac òir tuigfe tú péin cía an òume ir mían líom¹)—
 'Donough Maenamara is very poor, help him if you can. A contraction is enough for the learned [I need not state it in full], for yourself will know who is the man I mean.'

In another ms., written about the same time, is the Irish mnemonic poem wherein the tradition of the characters was preserved.² There are also rules for *coll* and *consoine* Ogham, which are simple ciphers wherein for vowels and diphthongs are substituted, in the one case groups of c's in various positions, in the others combinations of consonants. The writer of this ms., Thomas O'Connor, gives as specimens of these vagaries his own name. In the one case it is *Tcemcs œ Ccccccceber*, in the other *Tdlmbhsdledlneflbbhr!*

Seeing that the Ogham was so familiar a plaything among the peasantry of the eighteenth century, it is not a matter of surprise that a peasant girl's name should have been scratched in that character on a stone.

I have a squeeze of this inscription presented by Colonel Lane-Fox (Pitt-Rivers) to Sir S. Ferguson, to which is attached a label giving an account of the discovery of the stone similar to that given by Brash. There is also a squeeze of the *DIXIS* fragment with a similar label, on which is written:—"A small fragment about 12 inches by 6 inches, and 2 inches thick—very *clean* and *sharp*. R. B[rash]. Same locality as

¹ The marking of long vowels and the orthography is as given in the ms.

² See the Appendix to this paper.

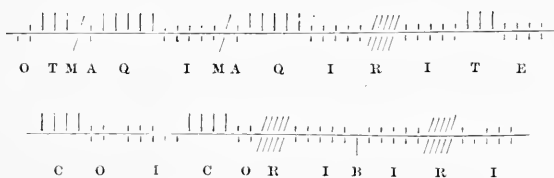
A. [i.e. the 'Muddossa' stone]. As it now stands it reads 'Dinis' with a \times above; but as it is evidently a fragment and probably the top of an inscription, it may perhaps have been the remains of MAQINIS. I sent a copy of this inscription to Mr. R. Brash, of Cork, who said he had never seen the fragment before.—A. LANE-FOX."

This note suggests a query. The fact, of which Brash was evidently unaware, that the two stones came from the same place, and the fact that the scores are of suspiciously similar type, together raise the question whether the DINIS stone be not of similar origin. Can it be that Teresa's sweetheart was called *Denis*, and that he cut his own name on the second stone, adapting the orthography to local pronunciation?

THE KILBERIHERT STONE (Brash, p. 122).

Mr. Brash tells the curious story of the preservation of this inscription by a connoisseur in "oddly-shaped stones" who was struck by its resemblance to a coffin. Whether he attempted to improve his specimen by knocking off part of the pillar, does not appear; at any rate, we have only the upper portion of the inscription. Fortunately the missing letters can be restored with tolerable certainty.

The inscription is accurately transcribed by Brash—



He treats it, however, as though it were complete. This, clearly, is not the case; there can be little or no doubt that the inscription originally ran

COLABOT MAQI MAQI-RITE MAQI MUCOI CORIBIRI,

'Of Colabot, son of Mac-Rite, a son of the tribesman of Cairbre.'

There is no other Oghamic name, save COLABOT, ending in OT; and COR can hardly be anything else than the termination of MUCOI. Brash, it is true, gives the Tulligmore stone as reading MAQI LASEG on one angle, and OTT¹ MAQI HE on another. This interpretation of that difficult inscription is, however, quite inadmissible.

The name COLABOT occurs as COLLABBOTAS, with the s-genitive preserved, at Rockfield; as COLLABOTA, with the s dropped, but the vowel of the genitive termination preserved, at Dromana, County Waterford; and as COLABOT, with the entire external inflexion dropped, again at

¹ He has only one T in the text, but his plate gives two, which is correct.

Rockfield, as here. It thus is an instructive illustration of the successive decay of terminations which affords us our sole criterion for dating the majority of Ogham legends. As *Coelbad*, it figures not infrequently in ms. literature.

MAQI-RITE is one of the common metronymies like MAQI-ERCIAS and MAQQI-MUCOI-DOVINIAS, which, as has often been noticed, seem to present a survival of the Pictish custom of reckoning genealogy through the mother. In its primitive form this name was MAQOS-RITEAS, and appears as such (in the genitive) on a very old stone at Coolnagort in Kerry. The name also appears at Rockfield, without its sibilant.

The third name, CORIBIRI, is simply *Cairbre* spelt with an unusual use of the auxiliary vowel, sometimes, though not always, expressed in Ogham writing. As an example, we may quote the interesting Gowran stone, which gives us the name usually written ERCIAS in the form ERACIAS, and thereby offers valuable testimony that it was pronounced éracias.

I have already ("Studies in Irish Epigraphy," vol. ii., p. 80) pointed out the curious parallelism between this inscription and the group from Rockfield, County Kerry, now at Adare Manor. Two of these stones read respectively:—

1. COILLABBOTAS MAQI CORBI MAQI MUCOI QERAI
2. MAQI-RITTE MAQI COLABOT MAQI MOCOI QERAI

If (as I have already suggested in the above-named work) we might suppose the Kilberihert stone to belong to a member of the same family—as the coincidence of names suggests—sojourning among strangers, we can easily understand how CORBI might slip into CORBRI. It is not at all unlikely that the owner of the Kilberihert stone was a son of the MAC-RITE of the second of the two stones from Rockfield, who was a son of the COILLABBOT of the first of these.

THE ROOVESMORE STONES (Brash, p. 148).

These three great stones bear inscriptions which rank among the most difficult in Ogham.

I. The first is a fine but rough monolith. The scores are perfect except at the top, which is broken; and some letters must have been lost. The inscription extends over two angles, running up one and down the other, and is as follows:—

A N A V L A M A T T I A S M U C O I
 O E U R I A V I A K E R A S

Mr. Brash reads the second angle upwards, without offering any interpretation. Bishop Graves also reads it upwards, and renders it as Latin, *Care Paitair Udi = Care Pater audi*. The *d* of *audi* is two scores, which, after many examinations of the original, I cannot think are intended for a letter: they seem to be edges of spalls.

The triphthong at the beginning of the second line is unique. Even if we restore MAQI-EURI, which is the most probable way of filling the gap, we still have a very unusual vocalic combination. The name may be compared with MAQI-IARI on one of the Ballintaggart stones to which we shall have to refer presently; or it *may* be worn down from AVAR—which enters as an element into the name AVARATI on a Welsh stone.

The formula in which the inscription is written must be noticed carefully. There are very few inscriptions indeed in which MUCOR is not preceded by MAQI with or without a name between the words. In the *Journal* for 1897, p. 227, I have given a list of such inscriptions, to which there is nothing to add. Taking into consideration the apparently feminine form of ANAVLAMATTIAS, it may be questioned whether the construction be not inverted all through upon this monument, and whether we are not to construe “stone of Anavlamatt’s tribesman Mac-Euri’s grandson Aker”—the last being the name of the individual commemorated.

It will be noticed that I transcribe intervocalic X by κ, as I have done in my “Irish Epigraphy.” For this I have been taken to task more than once; and perhaps I may take this opportunity of putting forward what I conceive to be the complete case for this transliteration.

First, those who maintain that this letter is r, must explain why, on the two Welsh bilaterals which require this letter, the scribe expressly avoided cutting the character in question. “Turpill” on the Crickhowel monument is written with \times , not \times ; and I have said before, and can only repeat, that \times and \times seem to me to be as distinct characters as do III and III . The Kenfig stone gives another character for r, also different from \times .

Secondly, let us examine the stones on which the character occurs. In some it is unquestionably a vowel; these are Cooldorrageha, Camp, Caherciveen, West Letter, Tinnehally, Ballyspellan—most likely also, the two broken fragments from Coolineagh (if this be genuine) and Coolnagort; probably also St. Olans and Parknasilla.

On the remaining stones where this character is found (I leave the Scottish stones, which I do not understand, out of account) the letter is a consonant. These are Ballintaggart (A \times EVRIITI), Whitefield (MA \times INI), Coolnagort (TOICA \times I), Aglish (OGGODI \times A), Roovesmore (A \times ERAS), Tulligmore (LAS \times OGR), and about half a dozen stones which bear the word \times OI.

The Coolnagort stone, with the name TOCIAXI, is associated with others bearing TOICACT. These are all contemporary—if anything, the stones with c are older than that with X. This is against TOICAΧ being the actual spelling, TOICAC the translation, of a pre-Goidelic name TOICAP. Nor do the other stones of the district show reason to expect any such Brythonisms or non-Goidelic forms. The scribe of the monument of Votepore at Llanfallteg cut the name in both languages, because both languages were spoken in the district; hence we find on that important stone VOTEPORIGIS in Latin translated into VOTECORIGAS in Ogham. But the conditions are quite different round Coolnagort, and there is no sufficient reason for finding two such divergent forms for the same name as TOICAC and TOICAP within one family group of monuments.

The much-discussed AXEVRIITI inscription at Ballintaggart might more reasonably be indicated as an argument for P; for the more I think over it, the more I feel that the St. Vigan's inscription, DROSTEN IPEVORET ETT FORCUS, is to be read as 'the monument of Drosten, Ipevoret, and Forcus,' and that the Ballintaggart inscription gives us some form of the second name. But this form may just as well be Goidelic, AKEVRITTI (for AQEV.), as Pictish. Indeed, the fact that it has assumed a Goidelic case-ending makes this all the more probable.

The Whitefield stone is one of especial obscurity; but I may say that to me it seems at least as probable that it is meant to be read GOSOCTEA SMOSAC MAKI NI,¹ 'Of G. S. son of N. (the owner of the monument having two names like TRILLUNI DUNOCATI at Crickhowel), as that it is GOSOCTEAS MOSAC MAPINI, 'Of G. *Mosac* of Mapinius,' leaving a wide range of conjecture as to the possible meaning of the middle word.

The Aglish inscription, if read OGGORKA, gives us a form of a well-known name, LUGUDECA, which has lost its initial. I do not know that anything more satisfactory can be made of it. The second letter is not L, but a damaged G. The Roovesmore stone, so far as I can tell, adds little to the question; for whether we read APERAS or AKERAS, we do not get a name to which I can discover a parallel. The Tulligmore stone leaves us in a similar predicament.

There remain the group with ΧOI upon them. This word Principal Rhys reads POI, and regards as a relational word meaning *son*, *boy*, or the like. It seems to me a difficulty in the way of this explanation that the word is always followed by other relational words, with a significance little if at all different from this meaning alleged for it. Thus we have at Legan, in County Kilkenny, LOBBI ΧOI MAQQI MUCCOI RRINI,² where there is a singularly clumsy accumulation of relationships. Even the Monataggart stone is no exception; it has not MAQI or MUCCI,

¹ It is immaterial for the argument whether we read *Gosocete Asmosac*, *Gosoceteu Smosac*, or *Gosoceteas Mosac*; and *maki Ni* or *maki Ini*.


² I have some doubts about the reading of the last name, but that does not matter here.

but it gives *NETA*, which is a relational word meaning ‘nephew,’ on four or five stones. It is true Principal Rhys has seen the difficulty, and makes *por* a suffix to the first name and equivalent to a prefixed *MAQQI*; if so, what are we to make of *NETTAL(A)MINACCA-POI*, in which the relational word *NETTA* is already prefixed?

Though the word is usually spelt with a diphthong, one of the Ballintaggart stones gives it to us spelt *XI*: this inscription reads *MAQQIARI XI MAQQI MUCCOI DOVVINIAS*—another example of the coexistence of the alleged suffix with a prefixed relational word. This spelling is the connecting-link with the case which to me seems to explain the mystery. There is a stone from Ballinrannig, now at Chute Hall, near Tralee, which bears the legend, *CCI CAMINI MAQQI CATTINI*; this I have endeavoured to interpret as ‘This (is) of Caminos son of Cattinos,’ treating *cci* as a demonstrative particle (Proto-Celtic **kei*; Latin, *ce*, as in *hicce*; Greek, *ἐκεῖ*). The doubled *c* seems to show that the scribe knew the letter to be something different from the ordinary *c*; for though too much stress may easily be laid on the contrast between single and double letters in Ogham, they are sufficiently unusual *when initial* to call for notice and explanation. According to this view *ROI* is the native word rendered in the Latino-Goidelic inscriptions by *HIC-IACER*, which, to the engravers, did not mean ‘here lies,’ as they almost invariably constructed it with the genitive case. On one of the Ballyknock stones we again find *cci*. I examined this stone lately, and satisfied myself that the reading is (A)NM DULI CCI MACI EBR(A)S(?I): “This (is) the *titulus* of Dulos, son of Ebrasos.” There is some uncertainty about the patronymic.

To sum up: where the scribes of the biliteral inscriptions required a *p*, they did not use this character; and where the character occurs, it gives at least as good a result in every case if rendered by a guttural as if rendered *p*, and in some cases the result seems, to my possibly prejudiced mind, rather better.

II. The second Roovesmore stone is in a perfect state, and reads—


 M A Q I E R C I A S


 M A Q I V A L A M N I

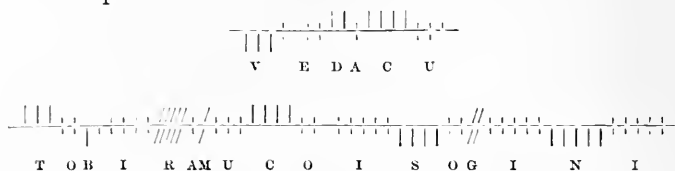
preserving for us the name of Mac-Ercias, son of Valamnos.

The first of these names is well known, and we need not dwell upon it here. The second, which is the *Fallamhain* of the Martyrology of Donegal, is interesting. It is probably cognate with the tribal-name on the other stone; the two stones most likely belong to one family. It

seems in fact to be derived from the tribal-name by an inversion of its component elements; if we take ANAVLAMATTIAS and cut off the case-ending IAS and the (diminutive?) termination ATT, we are left with ANA-V[A]LAM, which bears to VALAM[A]N-I the same relation that BARRIVENDI bears to VENDVBARI on the Llandwke inscription.

III. The third Roovesmore stone is very hard to read. It seems to begin, exceptionally, on the right-hand angle running downward, and to finish by running up the left-hand angle to the top.

The inscription is



VEDACU is no doubt the same as *Fethchu*, and SOGINI the same as *Seighin*, both of which names are found in the Martyrology of Donegal; while TOBIRA (which reappears with its sibilant genitive as TABIRASS on a stone now at Beaufort, near Killarney) is probably to be compared with *Tibir*, the name of a woman of the Tuatha Dé Danann mentioned in the Rennes *Dindshenchas* as the eponym of Magh Tibra.

It is not easy to decide whether there be any connexion between the inscriptions on the two angles. I have thought that I detected a vowel-point before the T of TOBIRA, which might be the last letter of MAQA, a nominative corresponding to VEDACU. The rest of the word, if it ever existed, has been completely carried away. It is possible, however, that the two inscriptions are really independent, and that we have here an example of the rare case of one stone bearing two separate memorials.

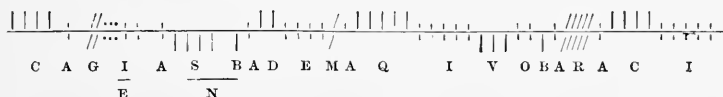
ADDITIONAL NOTES.

With regard to the Knockrour stone, it should be said that the Rev. Father Russell, P.P., of Coachford, in answer to a query which I addressed to him, kindly informed me that the name MacCollum no longer exists in the neighbourhood, and is not even traditionally remembered. This puts the writing of the inscription back, probably, at least a generation before it came to Windele's notice.

I may notice that I have recently found a yet more modern example of the lapidary use of Ogham. One of those people who never can see an ancient monument without playing the fool, has cut in Ogham letters the name *Seumas ua Baird* (anglicé, James Ward) on the Ogham stone at Rathgobban, near Fermoy.

The interpretation of the word Χοι, suggested in the foregoing paper, would be vitiated, both as regards sound and sense, if the most recent transcripts of two Ogham stones be adopted. One is the Donard stone, where Professor Rhys has lately read IACINI ΧΟΙ ΜΑΤΑΤΙ; evidently the demonstrative value assigned above to Χοι will not work in. The other is the Connor stone, No. II., where we have, according to the same authority, CAGEAS BOI MAQI VOBARACI. Here we could not avoid equating BOI to POI, and so reading the X mark as P.

I had hoped to be able to revisit the Donard stone (which I had previously read IAQINI ΧΟΙ ΜΑQI . . .), but found it impossible to make time to do so. I must therefore be content to leave this part of the question in suspense. But I have lately spent a considerable time over that most exacting inscription, Connor II., and have arrived at conclusions different from any of the numerous readings already published. My rendering is:—



The first name, I think, was meant to be CAGIANADE, but the scribe made the fourth interspace of the N a little too wide, in order to avoid a crack in the stone, so turning the letter into SB; and he accidentally omitted the AD, and inserted it afterwards. Evidently he wrote CAGIANE first, the four equidistant vowel-points of the E being, as compared with the rest of the minute scores, rather large and conspicuous. In correcting his mistake, he has made the first of these vowel-points into an A; turned the next two into D by endeavouring, not quite successfully, to prolong them over on to the H surface; and made the fourth into the second vowel-point of an E, inserting one faint dot before it and two after it.

Thus BOI disappears from the inscription, and we are left with CAGIANADE MAQI VOBARACI. This I take to be the tomb of a Piet named, in Goidelic, *Vöbärácós*, and to give, in accordance with Pictish custom, his maternal relationship; for CAGIANADE is most probably feminine. A namesake of this person is commemorated on a monument at Aboyne, in Aberdeenshire, which, like the St. Vigean's stone, I am inclined to treat as the memorial of three persons, *Nehht*, *Vrobac*, and *Cennev*, the sons of *Talluorrh*, or of whatever nominative the genitive *Talluorrh* may represent. The metathesis is due, as I understand it, to the mishearing or mispronunciation of a foreign (Pictish) name by the Goidels among whom the Connor monument was set up; *Vröbácós* slipped into *Vöbrácós*, just as I once noticed the name of the Yorkshire town *Selby* becoming *Sebly* in the mouth of a chance fellow-passenger who was unfamiliar with that part of England. Later, a false etymology probably connected it with *brece*, 'speckled'; and as *Fobrece* the name appears in the Lebor Brecc glosses to the Féilire of Oengus.

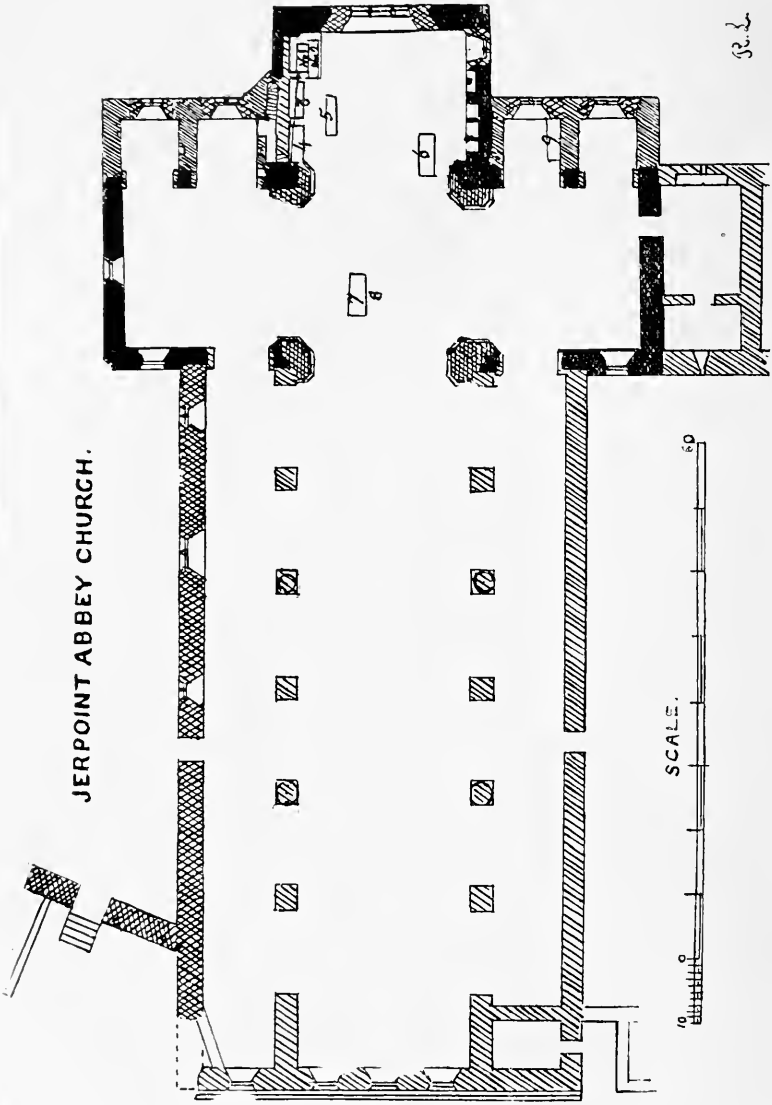
APPENDIX.

THE following is the mnemonic rhyme, exactly as it appears in Thomas O'Connor's MS., for remembering the Ogham alphabet.¹ A slightly different version is printed by Mac Curtin, and by Connellan :—

BEIC na haonar dom lam̄ ðeir LUIS ðir ðan eirleir PEARANN tripur, SUIL ceatrap ðan ðear IP NUIN cona cóigeap.	L one at my right hand, L two without mistake, F three, S four without wasting, And N with its five.
UAIC na haonar dom lam̄ cí DUIR ðir ðo ndeiðní TEINE tripur, ceatrap do ÓOLL Q na cóigeap ní ðealam.	H one at my left hand, D two with lineament, T three, four to C, Q five, I do not hide it.
MUIN fear éarriua, mór an moð Ðir do ðORT, tripur do NIATAL STRAT na ceatrap ðan ðoilðe RUIS na cóigeap com̄poicté	M away through, great the fashion, Two to G, three to NG. ST four without sorrow, R five compounded.
AUIM na haonar tárriua anuar OHN ðir ðo ndeaðeruar ÚR tripur, EAÐAD ceatrap, na ceal IP IOÐAD cona coiðeap.	A one through from above, O two with good recollection, U three, E four, hide it not, And I with its five.
EAÐAD na cruip úm an ðeuað OIR na buaile buis ðeaðeasim UICAHN na lúb dom leat ðear Mað euis úðar oirðeap.	EA a cross about the branch, OI a soft, delightful-shaped circle, UI a loop to my right side, As an author has understood fitness.
Ceitér fleapra a nIPIN árð Dom leat ðear ðameap ðac barð A hoét AINARCOUL ma le Do leatsoib cle na craobe.	Four twigs in lofty IA Every bard strikes, on my right side. Eight AE, of good renown, On the left side of the branch.

¹ I have retained O'Connor's spelling and accentuation in spite of some inaccuracies.

JERPOINT ABBEY CHURCH.



- 1784-1100.
- ▨ 1158
- ▧ 1180.
- ▩ 1350.
- 1440.

No. 1.

S.S.

NOTES ON JERPOINT ABBEY, COUNTY KILKENNY.

BY RICHARD LANGRISHE, FELLOW.

[Read MAY 30, 1905.]

THE references to this abbey in the early volumes of the *Journal* of this Society are but few and far between. It is stated at p. 78 of vol. iii., that it was then the intention of the hon. secretaries (Rev. James Graves and John G. A. Prim) shortly to draw up a brief historical and architectural account of it, towards which a Mr. Richard Johnston, architect, had presented a series of very beautiful scale drawings of its details, and a view of the east end of the building, taken before the repairs, then lately executed, were commenced. This very laudable intention of the Secretaries was never carried out; and it was at the instance of the Kilkenny local Committee that the author's notes were compiled, and read at the Society's meeting in Kilkenny, on the 30th May, 1905. Since the reading of these notes, the very fine work on the "History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory," by the Rev. William Carrigan, c.c., M.R.I.A., has appeared; and as it contains most of the extracts from the State Papers, and other documents relating to Jerpoint Abbey, which the writer had quoted, as well as a considerable amount of original matter unnoticed before, on the same subject, the whole forming an excellent and most probably an exhaustive history of the community of Jerpoint, it is considered unnecessary to repeat these historical extracts in this paper; therefore the writer has resolved to confine his remarks chiefly to the architecture of this abbey church, as regards the periods of the erection of its various parts, and to the illustration of the most interesting of its sepulchral monuments by means of rubbings, original drawings, and photographs.

There is no reference whatever in the "Annals of the Four Masters" to Jerpoint: none of the monasteries of the diocese of Ossory have been so favoured; and it is to the writings of an Englishman in the seventeenth century that we have to turn for an authentic account of its charter.

Sir William Dugdale, Garter King of Arms, in vol. ii. of *Monasticon Anglicanum*, at p. 1028, quotes from the English Patent Roll of 34 Ed. III., 3, p. 3, m. 14, per inspeximus. Under the heading of "Abbatia de Jereponte"—Carta Johannis Comitum Moretoniæ, donatorum concessiones recitans et confirmans—

Johannes dominus Hiberniæ et comes Moretoniæ, Archiepiscopus, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Constabulariis, et omnibus Ministris et Ballivis et fidelibus suis Francis et Anglis et Hiberniensibus de totâ Hiberniâ,

salutem. Noveritis me, divini amoris intuitu, et pro salute animæ meæ et omniū antecessorum et successorum meorum, concessisse et præsentī cartâ meâ confirmâsse Deo et ecclesiæ Beatæ Mariæ de Jeriponte et monachis ordinis Cisterciensis et fratribus eorum ibidem Deo servantibus, omnes donationes terrarum et tenementorum quas Hibernienses eis fecerunt rationabiliter ante primum adventum Comitis Ricardi in Hiberniam; et nominatim rationabilem donationem quam Dumvaldus Rex Ossoriæ eis fecit de terris subscriptis; Terram viz:—Balleochellam cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in quâ Monasterium ipsum situm est, et terram Cassel Cosbsin; et terram Tigī Glassini; et terram Baleynarich; et terram Baleyheebani; et terram Baleyellela; et terram Baley Longsiu; et terram Guari; et Machogvail, et Eoda cum omnibus pertinentiis ipsarum terrarum in longitudine et latitudine; et terram Bunbili [Dunbili:] et terram Raichosalich, et Muliam Mobruoch, et terram Triticiadoir, et terram Raichellela, et terram Keltoskadub, et terram Ardehen, et terram Raicheda et Seit Gurth, quæ pertinent ad Raicheda, et sunt collaterales fiendæ residui, et terram de Raichamackellich, et terram Cassieremaich et terram Magleth, et terram Baliethnai, Mieig, Areth. Has siquidem terras omnes concessi et confirmavi prædictis monachis in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, in longitudine et latitudine et cum omnibus terminis et divisis et metis, quæ ad præscriptas terras pertinent, sicut carta memorati Dunvaldi Regis testatur et distinguit.

Concessi etiam et confirmavi eis villam Kell Rudi cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, quam habent de dono Felicis episcopi Ossoriæ. Concessi etiam eis omnes terras et omnia tenementa, quæ eis rationabiliter collata sunt post primum adventum comitis Ricardi in Hiberniam, et quæ de cætero eis rationabiliter collata erunt, ab hominibus de linguâ meâ in Hiberniâ; scil. ex dono Manasseri Arsic, terram de Dadurles in Uthoh, ex donatione ejusdem et Ricardi filii Folconis, Balemacgillore Weig in Arewy campo, et communiam. Ex donatione prædicti filii Folconis terram prope grangiam Raithellela. Et ex donatione Johannis filii Roberti villam totam, quæ vocatur Clohan, et alio nomine dicitur Dunchsohi in Congtella. Et ex dono Johannis de Lenhal partem terræ cujus pars vocatur Raithdomnail, quæ est prope grangiam Raithellela, cum omnibus pertinentiis, et terminis et metis ipsarum terrarum, sicut cartæ donatorum testuntur et distinguunt. Quare volo et firmiter præcipio, quod prefati monachi habeant et teneant bene et in pace, libere et quiete, integre et plenarie, honorifice et pacifice omnes terras et tenementa suprascripta cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, in bosco et plano, in pratis et pasturis, in herbagiis et turbariis, in moris et mariscis, et omnibus aliis locis et rebus, et pertinentiis ipsarum terrarum, cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis, in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam, libera et quieta et soluta ab omni servicio et consuetudine et exactione seculari. Testibus hiis, Stephano Ridel, Cancellario meo, Theob. Walteri, Willelmo de Wenneville, Rogero de Plan, Willelmo Parvo, Roberto Flandrensi, Rogero Tirel, Ricardo Tirel, Amilrico de Bello Fago, Giraldo filio Morici, Magistro Benedicto de Rauns. Ricardo Aaron, Ric. Udval, Radulfo de Cireceestre, Clericis; Manassero Arsic, apud Leicestriam.

TRANSLATION.

John, Lord of Ireland and Earl of Moreton, to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Ministers, and Bailiffs, and to all his faithful French, English, and Irish of all Ireland, greeting—

Know ye that I through divine love and for my soul's health, and that of all my ancestors and successors, have granted, and by my present charter have confirmed to God and the church of St. Mary of Jeripont, and to the monks of the Cistercian Order and their brethren serving God therein, all the donations of lands and tenements which the Irish have properly made to them before the first coming of Earl Richard into

Ireland; and expressly the reasonable donation which Domnal, King of Ossory, made to them of the underwritten lands, the land, viz.:—Balleochellam with all its appurtenances in which the Monastery itself is placed, &c., with all the appurtenances of the same lands in length and breadth, and the land Dunbill, &c. Forasmuch as I have granted and confirmed all these lands to the aforesaid monks in free, and pure, and perpetual alms, with all their appurtenances in length and breadth, and all terminals, bounds, and metes, which belong to the aforesaid lands, as the charter of the already-mentioned King Domnal bears witness to and distinguishes. I have granted also and confirmed to them the vill of Kell Rudi (Kilree) with all its appurtenances, which they have by the gift of Felix, Bishop of Ossory. I have granted also to them all the lands and tenements which are properly bestowed on them since the first coming of Earl Richard into Ireland, and those which were afterwards properly bestowed on them by men of my tongue in Ireland, that is to say, by the gift of Manasserus Arsic, the land of Dadurles in Uthob, of the gift of the same and of Richard Fitz Fulco, Ballemacgillore Weig in the plain of Arewy, and the common. By the gift of the aforesaid Fitz Fulco, the land near the grange of Raithellela. And by the gift of John Fitz Robert, the whole vill which is called Clohan, otherwise known as Dunchsohi in Congtella. And by the gift of John of Lenhall, part of the land, which part is called Raithdomnail, which is near the grange of Raithellela, with all the appurtenances and bounds and metes of the said lands, as the charters of the donors testify and distinguish. Wherefore I will and firmly command that the aforesaid monks have and hold securely, and in peace, freely and quietly, entirely and fully, honourably and peacefully, all the above-named lands and tenements, with all their appurtenances, in wood and plain, in meadows and pastures, in herbage and turbaries, in moors and in marshes, and all places and things belonging to the same lands, with all their liberties and free customs, in free and pure and perpetual alms, free and quiet, and freed from all service and custom, and secular exaction.

Witness hereto—Stephen Ridel my Chancellor; Theobald Walter, William of Wenneville, Roger of Plan, William Little, Robert the Fleming, Roger Tirel, Richard Tirel, Amilricus de Bello Fago, Gerald Fitz Maurice, Master Benedict of Rauns, Richard Aaron, Richard Udval, Ralph of Cirencester, clerks; Manasserus Arsic, at Leicester.

As the location of Jerpoint has been incorrectly given by Archdall, and the error repeated in the official reprint of Dugdale's copy of King John's charter and by Brash, it may be stated that it lies on the direct Dublin to Waterford road, $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile S.-W. from the bridge of Thomastown, in the townland and parish of Jerpoint Abbey, and Barony of Gowran. See Sheet No. 28 of 6-inch Ordnance map of County

Kilkenny. The Little Arrigle river here divides the barony of Gowran from that of Knocktopher; and the abbey stands on its right bank, about half a mile above its confluence with the Nore.

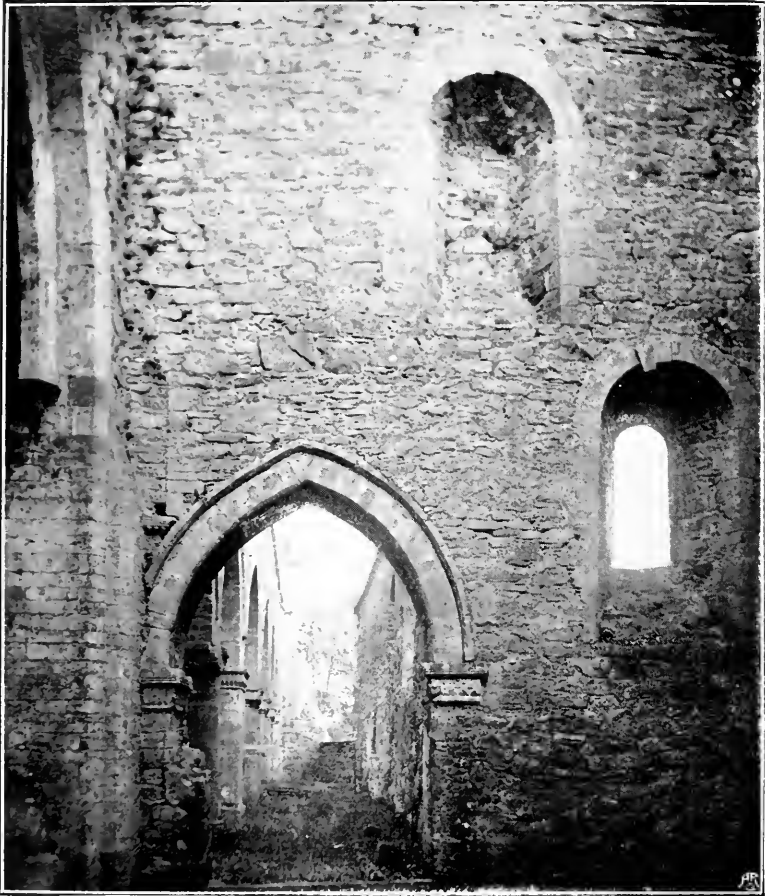
No authentic derivation has as yet been discovered for the name of Jeripons as it appears in King John's charter, which most probably originated from some French¹ builder-monk who came amongst the Cistercians from Baltinglass, to whom the original Irish name of Bally O'Chellam would have had an uncouth sound.



NO. 2.—JERPOINT ABBEY (AUMBREY AND SEDILIA).

The following abbots are mentioned in the Calendars of State Papers and other authentic documents:—1273, Gregory was abbot; Peter, an abbot, was succeeded by Laurence, who in 1330 was sued by William Schouldham for three carucates of land in Kilree. 1356. Philip, abbot, was accused of seizing the prior and other monks of Tintern, in County of Wexford. 1361. Philip was granted an *inspeximus* of the charter quoted above. 1380. The Irish Parliament enacted that no Irishman should be professed in the abbey. 1387. Free status and liberty granted to Thomas, abbot, for a fine of 40s., and pardon for being elected abbot, in spite of his being an Irishman. 1390. Thomas, abbot, commanded by the king to surrender lands at Moretown, near Kilkenny,

¹ See "Cathedral Builders," by Leader Scott, p. 13.



No. 3.—JERPOINT ABBEY (NORTH TRANSEPT, LOOKING WEST).

to Isabel Butler. 1518. Nicholas Barron, abbot, leased Dunbell fishery to Robert Rothe for thirty-one years. 1523. The same leased Kilree to Robert Rothe for sixty years. 1530. Oliver Grace, abbot, leased the tithes and altarages of the churches of Cloghran and Gowran to Nicholas Motyng, Chancellor of St. Canice's, Kilkenny, for twenty-five years.

He also demised to Simon Cradock and Edward Grace the townlands of Smithstown and Gibbon-sheephouse for thirty years, and to Master Adam Walsh, laic, the mill of Dunbell for his life, as a compensation for his good advice, and the money advanced and expended for the abbot. 1539, March 18. Oliver Grace, abbot, surrendered the abbey and all its possessions to the Crown.

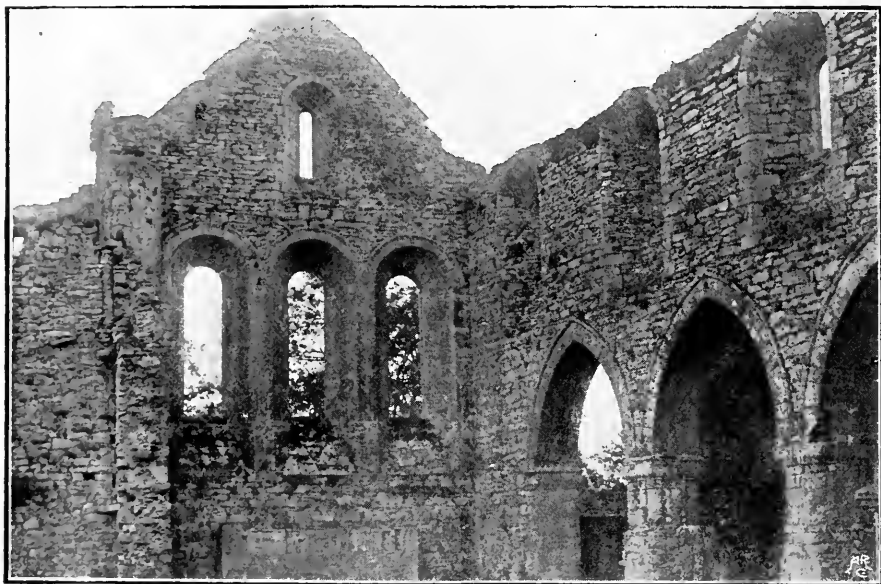
The statements of Archdall and others, giving the date of the foundation of this abbey as A.D. 1180, are therefore quite wrong, which is also apparent from a study of the architecture of the church itself. The distinctively Celtic type of the chancel and transepts, in the forms and details of their window opes, and of the ambrey and sedilia, may surely permit the suggestion that these parts were erected as early as A.D. 1125. All the windows of the transepts exhibit the early Celtic form of the jambs inclining inwards, so that the widths of the opes at the springings of their semicircular heads are considerably less than their widths at the sills. From the closing up of a window in the western side of each transept, owing to its being impinged on by the outer wall of each of the lateral aisles of the nave, and the almost entire obliteration of two other windows in the same sides of the transepts, by the piers of the central tower, it plainly appears that the original design was that of a Celtic church of a plain cruciform character, devoid of internal arcades. (Illustrations Nos. 1, 2, and 3.)

When we turn to the eastern sides of the transepts, we see four pointed arches, opening into four chapels, the usual accessories of a Cistercian church; these arches are of a date considerably later than the window opes of the transepts, and may be placed as coeval with the introduction of the Cistercian Order, *circa* 1158, as well reasoned out by the Rev. William Carrigan.

The architecture of the arcaded nave, which is a fine example of the transition from Hiberno-Romanesque, the style of chancel and transepts, to the Early Pointed, which came into vogue at the close of the twelfth century, does not present any of the well-known details of the latter period, and can therefore be assigned to the period immediately preceding the granting of the charter by King John. (Illustrations Nos. 4 and 6.)

The synod of Rathbreasail was convoked for the settlement of ecclesiastical boundaries, and other matters, about A.D. 1118, or perhaps a few years earlier; and thereby the attention of the principal chieftains of Ireland must have been largely drawn to ecclesiastical affairs, and to the desirability of furthering religion by the foundation of religious houses.

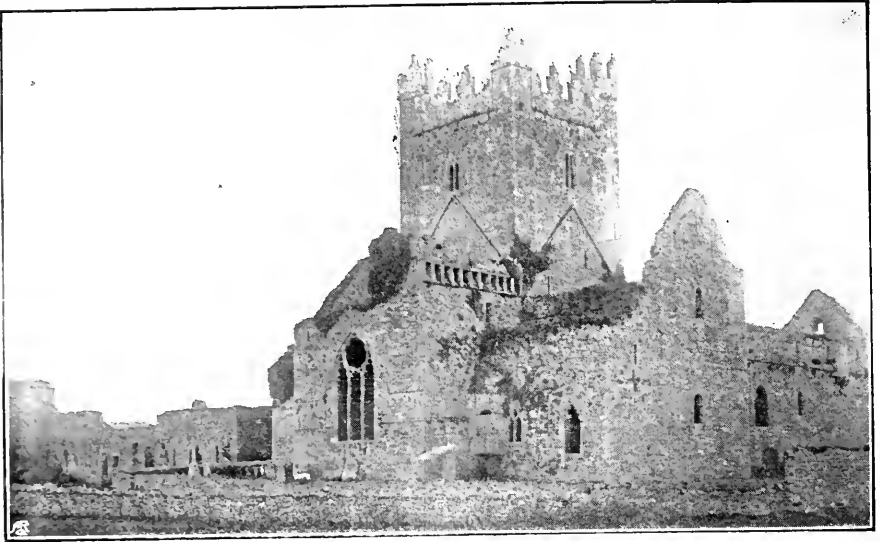
Donchadh Bale, King of Tuaisceart Ossory, was slain by the Ossorians A.D. 1123. He was succeeded by Gillpatrick, son of Domhnall, King of South Ossory, slain in A.D. 1113. Gillpatrick reigned till he was slain by the O'Brenans in the "middle of Killkenny," A.D. 1146. As there is nothing recorded of him in the "Book of Leinster" in the meantime from his accession, he apparently had a fairly prosperous reign, and should therefore have been able to turn his attention to the founding of a religious establishment of the modest proportions in which Jerpoint would appear to have been at first designed. He was succeeded by his son Donchadh, called IV.¹ by some writers, who was given South Ossory by Dermot MacMurrough, after he had deposed Cearbhall, Donchadh's



NO. 4.—JERPOINT ABBEY (INTERIOR, LOOKING NORTH-WEST).

uncle, therefrom. He displeased Dermot soon afterwards, who imprisoned him in 1151, and gave his uncle Cearbhall the kingdom, but restored Donchadh in a short time, the Ossorians having defeated MacMurrough's people in 1154. Cearbhall then retained his original principality of South Ossory, but was afterwards once more expelled by Dermot, and possession was restored to Donchadh, who appears to have retained his kingdom until his death, in 1162. He would therefore have been in a position, as suggested by the Rev. William Carrigan, to invite the Cistercians of Baltinglass to send a colony to Jerpoint, which it is above suggested had been founded by his father, probably for the Benedictine Order. Donchadh was succeeded by his brother Domhnall, who was slain

¹ "Ossorian Genealogy," No. 2, *Journal*, vol. iv., 4th Ser., p. 408.



No. 5.—JERPOINT ABBEY (EXTERIOR, FROM NORTH-EAST).



No. 6.—JERPOINT ABBEY (INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST).

by the O'Mores in 1165. Domhnall, Donchadh's son, then succeeded. He was doubtless the person referred to as "Dumvaldus, Rex Ossoriæ," in King John's charter, who having submitted to the English, and having the advantage of their protection from the avarice of the neighbouring princes, who had so often despoiled his territory, could now devote his energies to the aggrandisement of the establishment founded by his family, in which he was largely assisted by the neighbouring English settlers.

Like all other monastic communities, the Cistercians of Jerpoint altered and improved their buildings in accordance with the fashion of the day, as time rolled on. In the fourteenth century they removed the Celtic triplet window which lighted their chancel from the east, and inserted instead the fine three-light mullioned window, with its graceful tracery, the greater part of which has been preserved to our day, by the exertions of the honoured early members of this society. Enough remains of the side-lights of the ancient triplet to enable us to restore it in our mind's eye. An overcroft seems to have been added over the chancel about the same time, or later when the tower was rebuilt. A portion of the original stone roof is still to be seen on the north side, pilasters having been carried up from the eave at about every two feet, there being ten pilasters in all, by which means the eaves were raised about six feet. There are no remains of this work on the south side. A stairway was carried up from the south-east corner of the chapel next to the chancel on the north side; it passed outside the re-entering angle, across which it is supported by a small arch. (Illustration No. 5.)

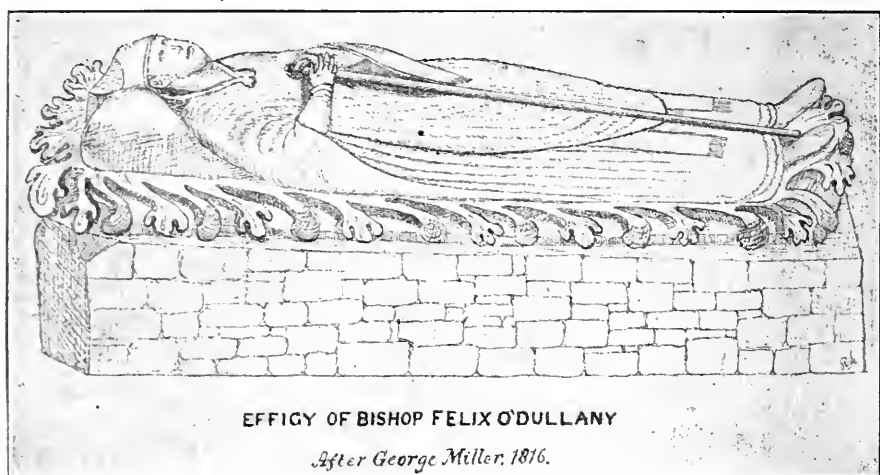
Whether there was a central tower in the original building or not it is impossible now to say; if there was, it must have been of smaller dimensions than the existing one, as the blocked-up windows show. In either case it would seem natural that the community should wish to have a central tower, commensurate with the dignity of their church, as we now see it; and that they did not fail to accomplish. (Illustration No. 7.)

If they had not an architect of sufficient skill amongst them to design this splendid tower, they had one very near to them in the person of David Hacket, Bishop of Ossory, 1460-78. He is said to have built a very beautiful portion of the famous abbey of Batalha, in Portugal; and it is most probable that he furthered the building of church towers in his diocese. It is remarkable that the groining of the tower of the Cathedral of Old Leighlin is a reduced copy of that in St. Canice's Cathedral, which it is believed that he designed.

The cloister appears to be the last improvement executed. The design of its arcading is very similar to the remains of all the others now to be seen in the County of Kilkenny. The arcades appear to have been supported on twin shafts, three to four inches in diameter, joined by a panel ten to twelve inches wide, the whole worked out of one stone. At Jerpoint a good many of these panels remain, bearing sculptured effigies on both

sides, to be referred to hereafter. As its fashion shows that this cloister was erected late in the fifteenth century, it must have been the successor of a less elaborate one coeval with the building of the nave. (Illustration No. 7.)

The outer wall of the north aisle of the nave appears to have been raised to its present height in the fifteenth century, and its original windows closed up; these doubtless were similar to those in the clerestory of the nave, and had semi-circular heads. A good example of semi-circular headed windows over pointed arches is to be seen in the coeval transepts of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. The windows now in this outer wall are of late type, and unusually high overground. These alterations appear to have been made to secure the building from sudden assault, either by the wild tribes who inhabited the neighbouring hills, or possibly

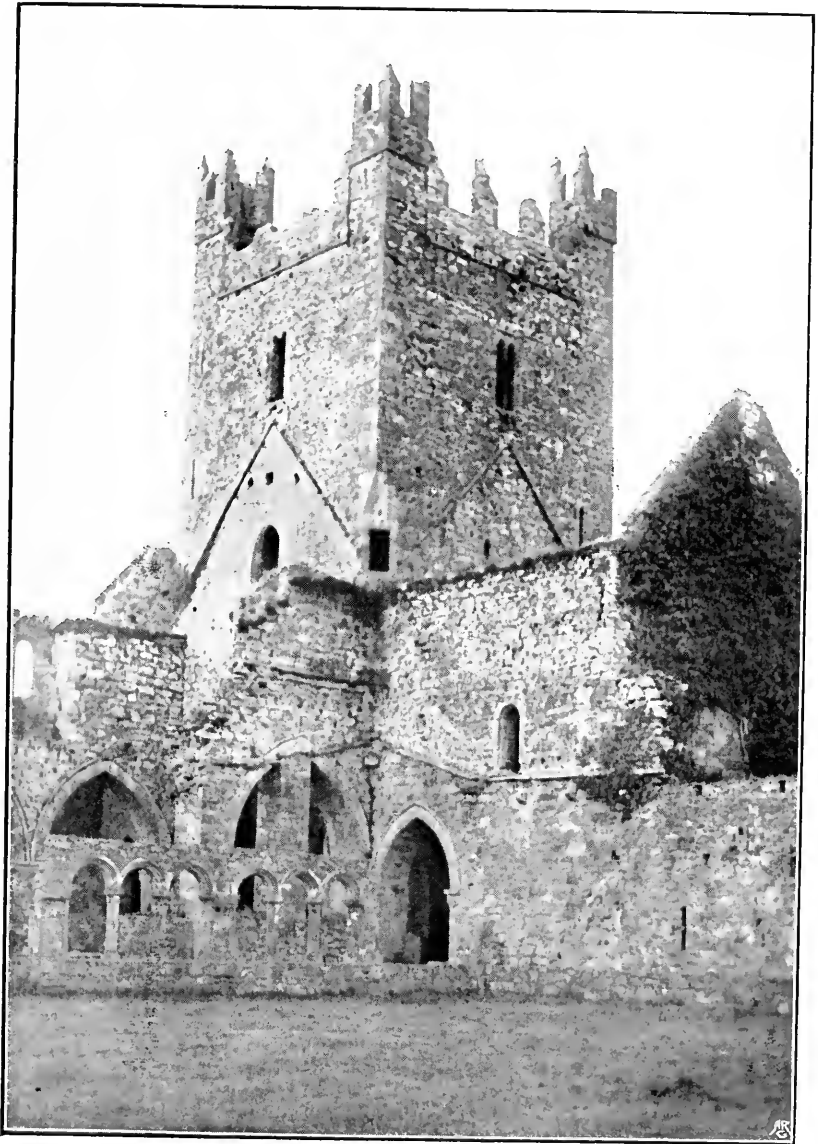


EFFIGY OF BISHOP FELIX O'DULLANY

After George Miller, 1876.

NO. 8.—JERPOINT ABBEY.

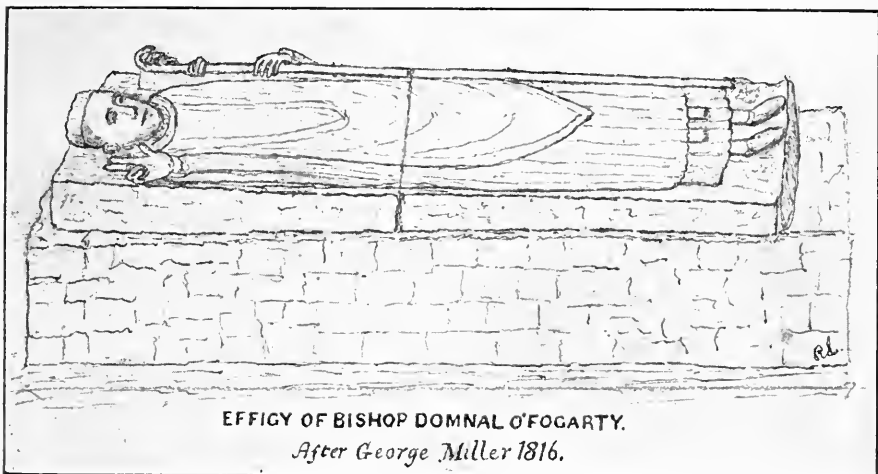
from a hostile community. That there was not always good feeling between neighbouring monastic communities is apparent from the account quoted by Archdall at p. 356, "Mon. Hib.," relating to the year 1356, where we find that in the said year Abbot Philip of Jerpoint was accused of expelling Thomas Abbot of Tintern from his said abbey by force and violence, and of having imprisoned Walter de Weysford, prior, and Thomas Scurllog, sub-prior, of the same, together with divers other monks of the same, and of robbing the said prior of three horses of the value of 8 marks. Abbot Philip was also accused and tried in the following year for repeating his insults and felonious outrages upon the Abbot of Tintern, but of these charges he was acquitted by the jury. (King, p. 414.) He may therefore have acted only in defence of his rights, and may have made reprisals for some injury which he had suffered.



NO. 7.—JERPPOINT ABBEY (THE TOWER FROM THE CLOISTER).

Turning to the monuments which have survived three centuries of exposure to the elements and to the caprices of the ignorant and thoughtless, that of chief interest and most skilled workmanship is indicated by the No. 1 on the accompanying plan of the abbey church, lying partly under the easternmost of the three sepulchral niches in the northern wall of the chancel. Tradition ascribes it to be the memorial effigy of Felix O'Dullany, the first Cistercian Abbot of Jerpoint, who succeeded to the bishopric of Ossory in 1178, and died in 1202.

The recumbent figure is that of an episcopally habited and mitred ecclesiastic grasping a pastoral staff with both hands, well-proportioned, and executed in a lightish brown, fine-grained stone, probably Somersetshire oolite, but certainly not local, similar in appearance to the stone used for sculptural purposes in St. Canice's Cathedral and the



EFFIGY OF BISHOP DOMNAL O'FOGARTY.

After George Miller 1816.

NO. 9.—JERPOINT ABBEY.

other mediæval churches of Kilkenny; if so, it must have been brought from the shores of Bristol Channel. Around the margin of the block are sprays of the conventional foliage, so much used for decoration in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and even earlier. The head or crook of the pastoral staff has unfortunately long since vanished, having been formed of a detached piece, as is apparent by a mortice into which it was fixed, which remains beneath where the crook had been placed. A copy of a sketch of this monument among the collection of drawings by the late George Miller, now the property of this Society, is given as an illustration of Bishop Felix O'Dullany's monument. (Illustration No. 8.)

(2) Immediately alongside this is placed another fine effigy of an ecclesiastic in episcopal habit, but not mitred, the head being

covered with a close-fitting cap terminating over the brows with a broad fluted band or fillet; the left hand grasps the pastoral staff, whilst the right hand is uplifted as in the act of giving the episcopal benediction; the thumb, first and second fingers being erect, the third and fourth fingers closed down on the palm. The crook of the pastoral staff is turned to the left or outwards from the figure, signifying the outward jurisdiction of the bishop, as differing from the inward or domestic jurisdiction of the abbot, for both dignitaries commonly belonged to the same community in the early Celtic Church. The crook of the pastoral staff is formed of three foils, of which as decorations numerous examples are extant in this country and elsewhere. Mr. T. J. Westropp has kindly mentioned several which he has met with, some as early as the latter half of the twelfth century, in churches in the West of Ireland. There is an excellent sketch of an effigy of an early twelfth-century bishop, on the west front of Norwich Cathedral, which was erected in 1126, to be seen in Carter's "Ecclesiastical Costumes," made by that eminent sculptor in 1786, which might almost pass for a representation of the effigy under consideration. The Norwich effigy is also without a mitre: the attitude, vestments, and pastoral staff having its crook turned outwards, are exactly similar. There is an engraving in Stothart's "Monumental Effigies of Great Britain," showing the figure of a bishop from the Temple Church, in London, having a trefoliated crook on the pastoral staff; and three engravings of effigies of early bishops in Britton's "History of Salisbury Cathedral," show similarly ornamented pastoral staves. The trefoil ornament is very suitable for the head of a pastoral staff; it forms the head of that on the monument in St. Canice's, Kilkenny, of Bishop Richard de Ledred, who died in 1360, and also appears within the crook of the pastoral staff of Bishop Christopher Gafney, who died in 1576, sculptured on his monument in the same church. (Illustration No. 9.)

This second episcopal effigy is formed of a block of carboniferous limestone, which may have been obtained from the Black Quarry near Kilkenny; it is clearly not in its original position, as it has been long since broken into two fragments, and was probably placed where it now rests, many years after the abbey had been suppressed. No one appears to have hitherto suggested who the person represented by this monument was. A clue may perhaps be found in another piece of sculpture still in good preservation within the abbey. There are portrayed on the obverse and reverse of one of the panels of the cloister arcade a fairly good copy of the latter effigy on the one (Illustration No. 10), and on the other an excellent representation of an abbot, his right hand uplifted, with all the fingers upright, in the act of giving the abbatial benediction, and the left grasping his pastoral staff, the crook of which is quite plain, and turned inwards (Illustration No. 11). May it not fairly be assumed that the bishop and abbot whom the community of this



No. 10.

No. 11.

JERPOINT ABBEY.—EFFIGIES.

abbey would be most desirous to commemorate, were Donnell O'Fogarty, who presided over the diocese of Ossory when the Cistercians were brought to Jerpoint, and doubtless largely assisted in establishing them there; and Felix O'Dullany, their first abbot (Illustration No. 12)? Bishop O'Fogarty died at Rathkieran, in the southern part of County Kilkenny, about 14 miles distant from Jerpoint. His Cathedral Church was then, A.D. 1178, at Aghaboe, in Northern Ossory, at least 50 miles distant. The church of St. Canice, at Kilkenny, was very probably a ruin, Donald O'Brien having burnt that town in 1175; therefore Jerpoint abbey was the only church of consequence in Southern Ossory, and then presided over by Abbot Felix, who must have been a close friend of his bishop. What more natural than that the abbot should have brought the body of his friend and superior the short day's journey from Rathkieran to his abbey, and there laid it to rest with all honour and solicitude, and afterwards commemorated his predecessor with the noble effigy just described?

(3) The central niche in the chancel is now occupied by a rude slab of slaty stone. On it may be seen parts of two different inscriptions, in rude Lombardic characters; that along the outer edge was read by the late Canon Hewson—a good authority—as “*Hic jacet vicius A.D. M.CCC.*”; across the head there are incised words resembling “*Hic jacet Tomas,*” as suggested by Du Noyer, and followed by the Rev. William Carrigan. The partially incised figure Canon Hewson considered, apparently with good reason, represented a local chieftain or person of consequence, the O'Cus.

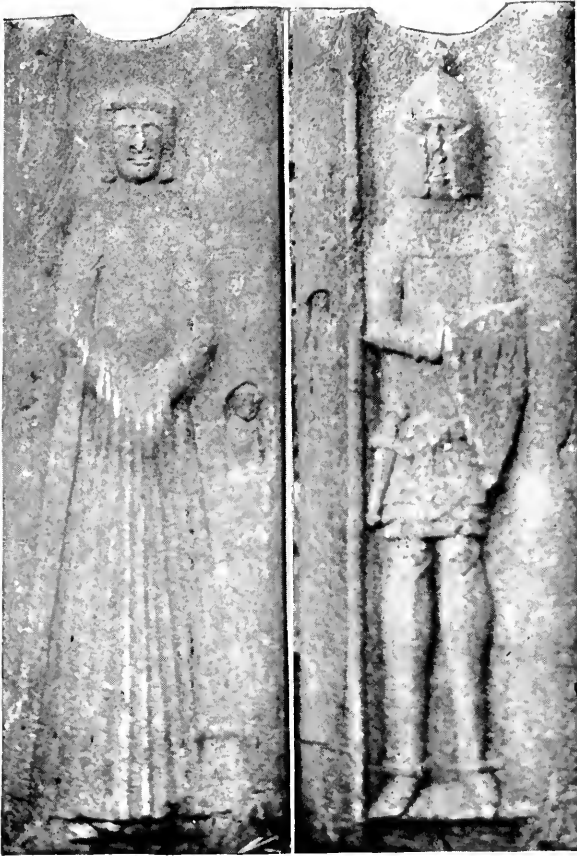
(4) A coffin-shaped slab (Illustration No. 12), which formerly lay on the floor under the tower; it commemorates Edmund Walsh of Castlehoyle, *alias* Lettercorbally (now Rossenarra), and Johanna le Botiler, his wife; his family had been benefactors to the abbey.

(5) This floor-slab is so much worn that the inscription cannot be fully deciphered. It commences nineteen inches below the sinister arm of the cross-flory with which the slab is decorated, and reads “*Hic jacet Nicolaus [I. I. N. R. I. ?].*” Nothing now appears on the remaining twelve inches to the foot of the slab, which is only fourteen inches wide here. For thirty inches upwards on the dexter side of the slab, faint traces remain of the lettering, out of which we have vainly sought to read “*quondam Abbas,*” as the words “*hujus domus cujus aie*” are sufficiently plain, filling up the remainder of the side to the top, which is nineteen inches wide, and over the sinister arm of the cross, “*ppiciet*” appears plainly, followed along the side by “*deus amen,*” which latter words fill up the nineteen inches from below the sinister arm of the cross to the beginning of the inscription, the slab being six feet one inch in length. Turned the reverse way under “*domus*” may be read “*Ave Maria.*” Nothing remains which could be construed as a date, nor could the letters after “*Nicolaus*” be made to read “*Baron,*” as suggested by the Rev. William Carrigan.

(6) This slab, lying on the south side of the chancel, is also very much worn, but it is possible to read the legend round the edge, which records that it was placed there to commemorate Peter, son of James Butler of Oichyl (near Nenagh), and Isabella Blanchfeld, his wife, A.D. 1493. There is a rough sketch of this slab in one of the late George Miller's books, showing on the upper part the "arms of the Passion," and at the base, between the ends of the scroll (on which part of the well-known quotation from the nineteenth chapter of the Book of Job can still be read), is the Butler shield, (or) a chief indented (azure). This Peter Butler may be identified as sixth in descent from John, the second son of Edmund, Earl of Carrick, according to the account of the Earls of Carrick in Lodge's "Peerage," vol. ii. p. 223, from whom Sir Pierce Butler, first Viscount Ikerrin, was fourth, and the present Earl of Carrick is thirteenth in descent. On another of the twin-shaft panels of the cloister is sculptured on the obverse an effigy of an esquire in armour, of the kind in use in this country down to the latter part of the fifteenth century: the shield bears a chief indented, as above; on the reverse is the effigy of a lady in the costume of the same period. These figures very probably represent the above-named Peter Butler and Isabella Blanchfeld, his wife, who may have been benefactors of this abbey towards the restoration of the cloisters, and thus obtained the right of sepulture in the chancel where their tomb-slab now lies. (Illustration No. 13.)

(7) The coffin-shaped floor-slab now covering the table-tomb under the tower is a very fine specimen of monumental sculpture of its period. On the stem of the cross—not a very modest position for it—we find the sculptor's name thus:—"Roricus Otuyne scripsit hoc." This family of monumental sculptors is said to have resided in Callan. This was the covering slab of the grave of Robert Walsh, of Castlehoyle, who died in 1501, and Katherine Poher, his wife. He appears to have been the son and heir of Edmund Walsh, above-mentioned, and his wife is said to have been a daughter of John le Poer, Baron palatine of Donhill, county Waterford, the head of that family, who was living in 1471. (Illustration No. 14.)

(8) The south side of this tomb is a slab inscribed to commemorate Walter Walsh, of Castlehoyle, son and successor to the above Robert, and his wife, Katherine Butler, said to have been a member of the Poulakerry family in Tipperary. It is not dated, but judging from the references to this Walter, and his sons Edmund, Walter, and Richard, in the presentment of the jury of the Commons of county Kilkenny, in 1537, he must have died about 1540-1. The abbey having been surrendered to the Crown in 1539, there would have been no difficulty in the way of the Walsh family converting their grandfather's tombstone into the top slab of a table monument as we now see it. In all documents of the period the name of this family is as often written Brenach or Breugh



NO. 13.—JERPOINT ABBEY (EFFIGIES).



No. 12.

MONUMENTAL SLAB OF EDMUND WALSH AND JOHANA LE BOTILER, HIS WIFE.

(Brittanicus), as it is in the modern form of Walsh. The third line of the inscription has been much defaced by careless youths sitting on the top, and battering the lettering with the iron shod heels of their brogues. (Illustration No. 15.)

The tomb of the harper and his wife has been so well illustrated at p. 24 of Mr. Robert Bruce Armstrong's fine work on the Irish Harp, and being devoid of genealogical interest, it is scarcely necessary to refer to it further.

(9) This is a unique monumental slab so far as can be discovered up to the present. It represents two men-at-arms cased in hose-mail; apparently they were brothers who were slain in the same fray; they hold their swords erect, as if in the act of fighting; one of them has his helm on, the other his face exposed. We have to thank the officials of the Board of Works for having recovered the missing portions of this slab, all except two small fragments, and placed them in comparative safety in the chapel on the south side of the chancel. The delineation having been entirely by incisions, it was necessary to make a complete tracing of the rubbing, so as to show the outlines properly; and the greasy nature of the tracing-paper made it very difficult to draw the crescent-shaped hatchings, the conventional mode of representing chain armour—evenly and of like thickness. Our former learned Secretary, Rev. James Graves, who was an excellent draughtsman, published an illustration of the middle portion of this slab, at p. 69 of vol. ii. of our *Journal*, as an example of cross-legged effigies, which it is perfectly plain these are; at that time the other portions must have been underground, or covered with rubbish. It would be most interesting to discover who these twin warriors were, but that is hopeless, there being no vestige of an inscription remaining. In the "Manual of Monumental Brasses," by H. A. Haines, p. cxlix, we read, "When the partition lines [between the rows of rings] are omitted, or when there is only one partition line, there can be little doubt that it is chain-mail which is intended to be represented." (Illustration No. 16.)

According to Hewitt, and other authorities on ancient armour, the flat-topped helm was in use from 1227 to 1276; the round-topped helmet came into use in 1270, but not to the entire exclusion of the old fashion. Hewitt, vol. i., p. 279, describes the earliest form of the flat-topped helm as "a cylinder having bands in front forming a cross, and sometimes similar bands crossing on the crown, which is slightly convex or conical; two horizontal clefts for vision, but without holes for breathing." P. 281. "The helm was worn over the coif of chain-mail. The flat-topped, cylindrical helm, with movable ventail, appears about the middle of the [thirteenth] century." The helm was secured by a chain fastened to the dress, and hung on his back when the wearer was not in action. P. 272. "The surcoat was of two kinds, the sleeveless and the sleeved; the latter is not found till the second half of the century." The

leather bands below the knees were called "poleyns"; these were succeeded in the latter part of the century by plates called genouillieres. The illustrations of the effigy of William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, in Salisbury Cathedral, given in Hewitt's and other similar works, and said to have been placed there in 1227, show the coif, surcoat, and prick-spurs, with the ends of the straps falling outwards, all similar to those on the effigies under consideration. It may be assumed, therefore, that the date of this monument was not later than 1250, and possibly twenty years earlier, the flat-topped helm having no ventail, the surcoats being sleeveless, and the poleyns distinct. These latter are very carefully shown in the illustration in vol. ii. of the Kilkenny Archaeological Journal.

There is a small tablet now fixed on the wall beneath the west windows of the nave, which appears to have been part of the monument mentioned in the "Memoirs of the Family of Grace," as having been placed in the abbey to the memory of Oliver Grace, of Ballylinch and Legan, and Mary, d. of Gerald FitzGerald of the Decies, his wife. The version of the inscription given in the said "Memoirs" is very incorrect, which is quite characteristic of that work; but Rev. William Carrigan's is accurate, and corresponds with the rubbings made for this paper. The composer evidently meant the lines to be alternately hexameter and pentameter verses, and possibly the sculptor, not being able to decipher the word in the MS. which now appears as "Piata," invoked the aid of some indifferent Latin scholar, who suggested it, as supplying the sense; also the syllables omitted, which are essential to the metre, may have been indistinct as well. The tablet reads:—

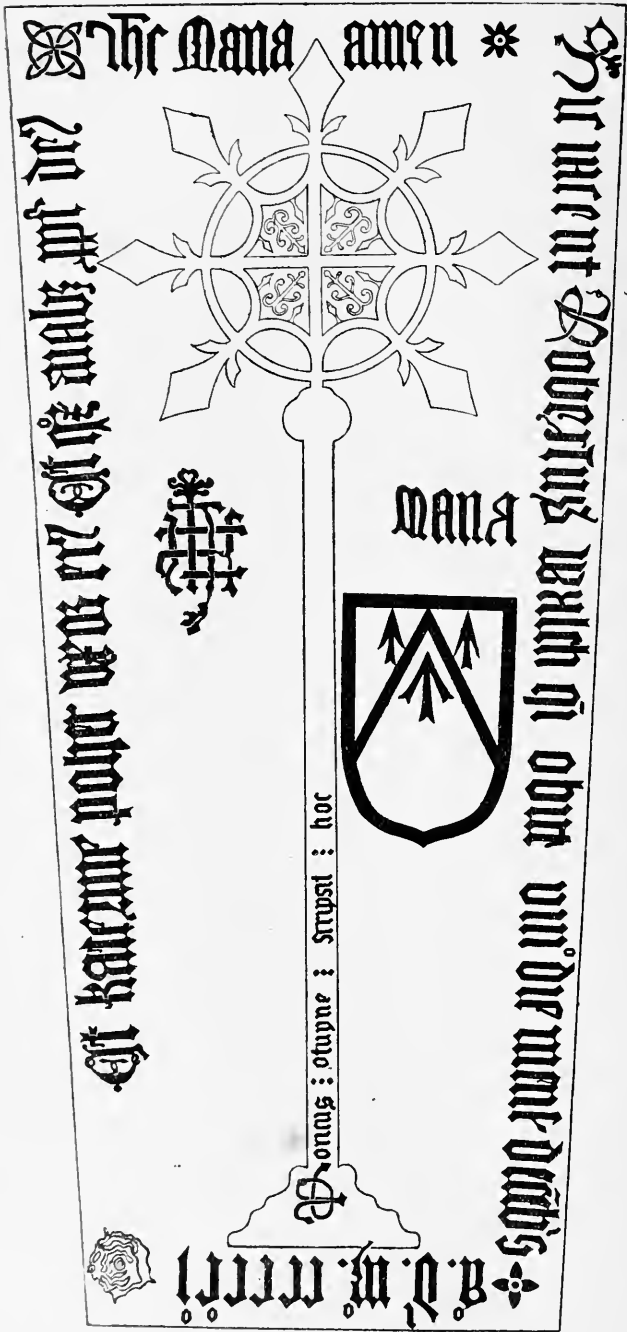
Stirp Geraldina fuit hæc exorta Maria.
 Nobilis hospitio, moribus ingenua,
 Larga parens miseris, pietati dedita, summo
 Piata Deo summ clauserat illa diem,
 Obit. 20 die Decembri, A.D. 1615.

CORRECTED VERSION IN METRE.

Stirpe Ge'raldi|na fuit | hæc ex|orta Ma'ria,
 Nobilis | hospiti|o || moribus | ingenu|a,
 Larga pa'rens miser|is pie|tati | dedita | summo
 Grata De|o sum|um || clauserat | illa di|em.

“ From the Geraldine stock was this Mary sprung,
 Noble in hospitality, genial in manners,
 A bountiful patron to the wretched, given to piety,
 Pleasing to the most high God, she closed her last day.”

The author of the "Memoirs," as mentioned by Rev. William Carrigan, has given an entirely imaginary parentage of this Mary's husband, who could not have been a brother of Sir John Grace of Courtstown, and who, if he had been, must, in the natural order of things,



The Mana amen *

IN THE NAME OF THE LORD
 WE HAVE HAD THIS MONUMENT
 MADE

†

MANA



omnis : otupne : stypsi : hoc



R. d. m. m. r. r. r. i

ANNO DOMINI MDCCLXXII
 DIE VIGINTI OCTAVA
 MENSIS APRILIS

No. 11 — MONUMENTAL SLAB OF ROBERT WALSH AND KATHERINE POHER, HIS WIFE.

Hic iacet. Walterus. breuach. sue. uxoris. capitani.

et Kathina. butler. uxor. eius. que. eadem. ipse. dicitur.

Spis. o. k. co. c. e. t. t. o. i. b. d. i. c. t. u. r. d. i. c. t. u. r. t. a. l. i. a.

ta. t. o. n. e. a. n. g. e. l. i. c. a. m. i. s. i. b. o. l. o. a. p. o. s. t. o. l. o. r. x. l. d. i. e. s. i. d. i. g. e.



No. 16.—MONUMENTAL SLAB, JERPOINT ABBEY.

have died many years before this Oliver did. For many years he has been recorded in Burke's "Peerage," &c., as having died in 1580, but according to an Inq. p. m. held at the "Blackfryers," Kilkenny, in 1618, it was found that "Elizabeth, late queen, was seised in fee in right of her Crown, of the towns and lands of Legan, Blackrath, and Ballylinch; and by her Letters Patent, dated at Dublin, 8th March, fifth year of her reign, she granted the premises to Thomas, Earl of Ormond and Ossory, and his heirs and assigns, &c. The said Earl being so seised, by deed of 2nd June, 1563, granted the said towns and lands to Oliver Grace, late of Ballylinch, for the annual rent of £8 0s. 8d. Said Oliver Grace by virtue of said deed was seised of the town and lands of Ballylinch, containing 80 acres great measure; Legan 5 acres do.; and likewise of Killerny 3 acres do.; Aghavillar (now in possession of John Grace) containing 2 acres do., and held of the said Earl of the manor of Knocktopher, &c. Gerald Grace, son and heir of said Oliver, died 4th March, 1618; the said Oliver died 1st January, 1615." This latter date being old style, Oliver survived his wife Mary only twelve days. His present representative is Sir Valentine Raymond Grace, Bart.

In the Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, under date of September 28th, 1563, we find, "Petition of Oliver Grace to the Queen for the house of St. John's in Ormond (Nenagh Abbey) for sixty-one years." Also, 1568, July 13, "The Queen to the Lord Deputy and Lord Chancellor. Warrant for regrant to Oliver Grace of the monastery of St. John's, in Ormond, with remainder to his sons Gerald, John, Thomas, and Richard. Mary Fitzgerald is now the wife of the said Oliver Grace." Oliver Grace evidently did not possess any lands when he died, except those which he had acquired from the Queen and the Earl of Ormond. His eldest son, Gerald, died on the 4th or 5th of March, 1614, in his father's lifetime, as appears from his nuncupative will, made on the 3rd, and proved on the 16th March, 1614, and from the Inq. p. m., held at Clonmel on 28th May, 19, Jac. I, when Gerald's eldest son and heir Oliver, was found to be thirty years of age and married. Therefore, the date of Gerald's death as 1618 in the Kilkenny Inq. p. m. is wrong. No other ancient tombs of interest now remain within the abbey church of Jerpoint.

The writer acknowledges with warmest thanks the great assistance given him by Dr. Robert Cochrane, Hon. General Secretary, for the measurements of the plan of the abbey church; by Major J. H. Connellan for the rubbings made by him of the various tomb-slabs, and by Mr. Henry F. Berry for revising the translation of King John's Charter; also by Mrs. Shackleton, Sir James Langrishe, Bart., and Rev. George B. Power in taking the photographs used for illustrations.

PLACE-NAMES AT THE SEVEN CHURCHES, GLENDALOUGH,
COUNTY WICKLOW.

BY LORD WALTER FITZ GERALD, M.R.I.A., FELLOW.

WHEN visiting these ruins during the spring of 1904, from inquiries I then made, I found a few local names which are not marked on the six-inch Ordnance Survey Sheet of this district. The name of the stretch of land lying between the two loughs is called "the Eeshert." This name I take to be a corruption of the Irish word *Disert*, meaning, according to Dr. Joyce's "Irish Names of Places Explained" (First Series, p. 324), 'a wilderness, a sequestered place, or hermitage.' This word also appears in corrupt forms, commencing names of places, as "Ester," "Ister," "Issert," "Desert," and "Dysart." Close to, and just above, the Reefert Church is a well reputed holy, known as "the Eeshert Well," which is resorted to for the cure of internal pains and diarrhœa; it is now in a neglected condition, and, when I saw it, was partially covered by a large mountain-ash blown down in the storm of February, 1903. As the Reefert Church is practically on "the Eeshert," one would expect "Dysert-kevin" to be another name for it, and not for the Templenaskellig Church (near St. Kevin's Bed), as the Ordnance Survey Map has it so marked down.

To the west of the Reefert Church, and a little higher up the mountain side, is what is called "St. Kevin's Cell"; it consists of a low circular wall, built of loose stones, which surrounds a small rude stone cross. The legend of the blackbird laying her eggs and hatching them in St. Kevin's out-stretched hand, is associated with this spot.

The 'Lower Lake' is also known as "Lough-na-Peestha," *i.e.* 'the lake of the serpent.' It is said to have obtained that name from a water-monster which inhabited it, and which at night-time threw down the church walls erected by St. Kevin during the day, till eventually the saint lay in wait for it one night, and, cutting off its retreat to the lough, worried it to death with the help of his wolf-hound "Loopah."

"The Giant's Cut," marked on the map on the side of Derrybawn mountain, is attributed to a "lick" dealt by Finn Mac Coole with his sword, to test its quality.

The point of land between the Cathedral burial-ground and the junction of the Glendalough and Glendasan streams (which form the Avonmore river) bears the name "Monteoge."

The, now planted, paddock on the north side of the Cathedral burial-

ground was "the pattern-field." Here were pitched the booths and tents during the week of the pattern, which commenced on the Sunday previous to St. Kevin's Day (the 3rd of June). The pattern was suppressed by the clergy some thirty-five years ago; and St. Kevin's Well, which is situated on the far side of the Avonmore river, opposite to the Trinity Church, is now in a sadly neglected condition.

Strange to say, the oldest headstone in the Cathedral burial-ground does not date back earlier than the year 1717; it stands to the south-west of the cathedral, and bears the following short inscription:—

Here lieth y^e Body of Dudley Costolo, Deceased August y^e 14th 1717.

With a solitary exception, no interments have been made within the last few centuries at any of the Seven Churches, apart from the Cathedral



“THE DEER STONE” AND ST. KEVIN'S CHAIR, GLENDALOUGH,
COUNTY WICKLOW.

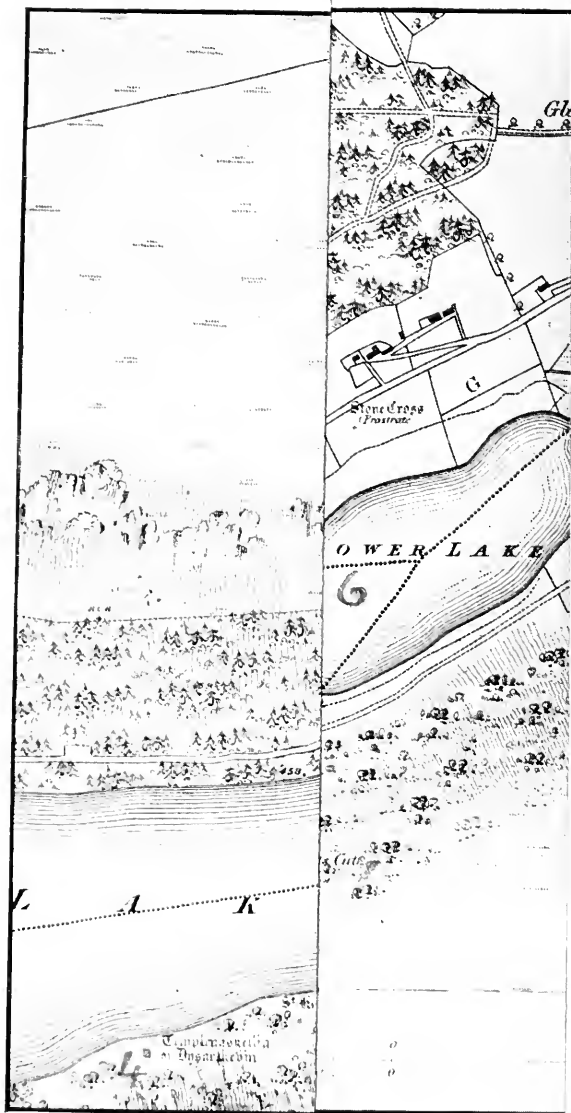
burial-ground. The one exception consists of a couple of graves which lie at the east end of the St. Saviour's Priory enclosure. Here were interred two brothers, strangers in the locality, who were hanged for highway robbery on the 26th April, 1765; as the headstones inform one, they were named Michael and Joseph Meagan (? Magan or McCann).

The Ordnance Survey Map has marked on it, near the foot-bridge

over the Glendalough stream at the end of the Cathedral enclosure, *the Deer Stone*. This consists of a granite boulder, with an artificial hollow in it. It obtained its name, according to the legend, at the time St. Kevin was engaged erecting the churches. A mason of his had just lost his wife in giving birth to twins; and St. Kevin, being at his wits' end to know how he was to obtain milk to feed them on, as was his wont, resorted to prayer; while so occupied, a wild doe came down from the heights of Derrybawn mountain, and approaching this bullaun-stone poured her milk into it; this she did morning and evening until the twins were weaned. Hence the name. There is said to be a cure obtained from the water lodged in the hollow in "the Deer Stone"; but to be effective, it should be visited fasting before sunrise on a Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday in the same week, and on each occasion a part of the ceremony is to crawl round it seven times on the bare knees with the necessary prayers. On the long granite boulder by the side of "the Deer Stone" are pointed out the print of St. Kevin's hand and the impress of the calf of his leg; this is "St. Kevin's chair." A perch or two to the west on the left-hand side of 'the Green road' is an artificially fashioned tub-like granite stone known as "St. Kevin's Griddle"; and near it, on the opposite side of the track, is another bullaun-stone, about which I could get no information.

On the Glendasan stream (which is separated from the Glendalough stream by the Kaymaderry mountain), nearly opposite to the saw-mill, is a spot marked on the Ordnance Survey Map, *St. Kevin's Keeve and Thornbush*. The Keeve is situated just below a small, rocky cataract, under the northern bank of the stream; in appearance it resembles a small well in the rock, and is still resorted to for cures. An ancient Sķeoeh, or white-thorn, formerly stood above the Keeve, and its branches used to be laden with rags tied to them; a storm, however, blew it down a few years ago, and its decayed stump alone now remains. A legend relates how on one occasion while St. Kevin was bathing in the pool near the Keeve, a woman carrying five loaves of bread in her shawl passed along. St. Kevin, with only his head above the water, bade her the time of day, and inquired what her load was. "It's stones I'm carrying," she replied. "Musha then," said the Saint, "if it's stones they are, that they may be bread; and if it's bread, that they may be stones." The woman proceeded on, and presently the weight of her load caused her to rest, and on placing the bread on the road-side she discovered that it had been turned into five loaf-like stones. In recent years the stone loaves, which lay near the Royal Hotel, have disappeared; they were broken up and carried off by tourists. The name *Kevin* is correctly pronounced *Kavin*, as in Kavanagh.





GLENDALOUGH, OR

PLACE-NAMES AT THE SEVEN CHURCHES, GLENDALOUGH,
COUNTY WICKLOW.

REFERENCES TO MAP OF GLENDALOUGH.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. The Eeshert. | 8. Monteoge. |
| 2. The Eeshert Well. | 9. The Pattern Field. |
| 3. The Reefert Ohurch. | 10. St. Kevin's Well. |
| 4. Templenaskellig, or (ξ) Dysartkevin. | 11. The Deer Stone and St. Kevin's
Chair. |
| 5. St. Kevin's Cell. | 12. St. Kevin's Griddle. |
| 6. Lough-na-Peestha. | 13. St. Kevin's Keeve and Bush. |
| 7. The Giant's Cut. | |

PLACE-NAMES AT THE SEVEN CHURCHES, GLENDALOUGH,
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| 6. Lough-na-Peestha. | 13. St. Kevin's Keeve and Bush. |
| 7. The Giant's Cut. | |

Miscellanea.

Cromwellian Account Books, Limerick.—I have recently examined with much interest, not only the fine Account Rolls, but the paper books relating to the district round Limerick, from the fall of that city in 1651 to the time of the great Surveys in 1655-7. These (to which Mr. M. J. M'Enery kindly drew my attention) are in the Public Record Office, Dublin, and lettered 6 E. 1. 5-8. I may give a few extracts to show the nature of the entries, and what an interesting mass of fact may be gathered out of them. W. Hartwell's Account Roll (T. Wilson, late auditor), 1653, mem. 7. "Rory Herman, for oates taken from him for use of the Leaguer before Limerick," 1651, £26 3. 0. Then follow accounts for "hay for the horses of the garrisons," at Kilmallocke, Athdare, Ballingary, (Connello); Rathlahane (Clare); Gortnatobrett, Castlebanke, Castletown (Kenry); Ballyvorneene, Greenane, Doonemoyle, Galbally, Loughur (Gur); Brittas and Tuogh, and in County Clare; Killalaugh, Clare, Innis, Clanrowne (Clonroad near Ennis); Dysert (Clare); Inchiquin, Smithstown and Carrigcoulta (Carrigaholt), giving an accurate idea of the chain of garrisons from Ennis to Limerick, and along the road to Cashel. The Government had a hospital at Kilmallock, to which, apparently, they supplied ammunition and horses as well as stores, and medical requisites for the wounded (19*b* 22). This town was well kept. 20*s.* was paid to W. Evers for cleaning the church, and 30*s.* to Edmond Burke for cleaning the streets (24); Col. H. Ingoldesbye paid £100 for the horses given up at Kilmallock for the use of the State "by the Irish party" (26); Lieut.-Col. Nelson, the Governor of Kilmallock, spent £200 from June, 1650, to June, 1652, "in giving entertainment to all parties marching to and fro" (28). Another "store" was kept at Clonagh.

The City of Limerick had, of course, suffered much by Ireton's siege; even the "great salmon weir" was broken, and had to be repaired (16). The "mere verger tradition" of the stabling of horses in the cathedral is set on a historic basis: "Mich. Dowde, to buy candles for y^e guardes of the respective wards in ye citty," £12; "Cap. John freind for *horse guard kept in ye church of Limericke*," £6 18. 3.

Nath. Boyle supplied "deale Boards" for the cittadells, £12 12. 0. "Lieut. J. Cobb, for repairing a garrison, £10" (12); "Laborers that wrought with ye Masons at Twomonth Bridge," 37*s.* 6*d.*; "Anth. Clogher, Mason, for worke done at the greate Castle," £56 7. 9.; "John O'Day, for mending ye gates," £9; "Edm. Dungan, Mason, for repairing the Castle wall," £4; "Pat. Lills, carpenter, for worke done in ye old Castle," £12 10. 9.; and £30 13. 10; "Capt. Tho. Holmes,

for repairing o Core Castle," £70 15. (m. 13*b*); "Tho. Lylls, for carpenter's work about the cittedells of Watergate and John's Gate," £7 12. 0.; "Laughlin O'Quinne, for work done in ye old Castle," £26 14. 7.; other repairs, £7 6. 0.; at Tom Core Castle, £6 10. 0.; at the "fforts," £7 6. 0.; at John's Gate, £50; at the cittedells, £236 2. 2.; at "the old Castle," £661 8. 1. (13); cittedells, fforts, and Watergate cittedell, £90 19. 4., £8, £10 15. 0. (13*d*); "Geoffrey Gallaway's House" was repaired for £20 8. 6.; the Town Hall for 21 shillings; the mills, Court House, and Church (Cathedral) were also repaired, the last for £25 for work, £29 10. 7. for glass and iron; while James Craven was paid 100 shillings "for mending and setting up the clocke in Mary's Church (m. 15.15*d*.16). The Court House was tiled and the city surveyed by Capt. W. Webb, and a brass culverin brought in from Killaloe. Considerable sums were paid to the inhabitants of each barony in Limerick and Clare from whom horses and provisions had been "commandeered" during the siege, the late Recorder, Bartholomew Stackepole, getting £51 6. 7. compensation.

The works done in County Clare were less extensive (Roll 6E.1. 2.). In 1652-3 £80 was spent on Killaloe Castle and garrison, with sums of 30*s.*, 100*s.*, 29*s.* 2*d.*; "for making two doors at Killaloe Bridge," 20*s.*, and 100 shillings on "repairing the highways." Of other expenses, £8 was laid out upon the repairs of Innish garrison, £27 1. 4. on Clare Castle, and £7 and 50 shillings for a stable at the latter place.

The Account Roll, 1654-1657, is of less historic but equal local interest. We need notice only a few entries. A "flood of waters" destroyed the "great ffishing weare," about September, 1655; the tenant got £240 abatement in consequence. In 1656-7, are a number of rewards for the capture and items for the transportation of priests and Tories; £5 head-money was given to the captor (m. 3*d*). Of these we note "Tiege O'Hanrahan, a notorious Tory," and the following priests:—T. Fitz Maurice, Roger Byrne, Ric. FitzGerald (a "fryer"); Ric. Linniher, and Maurice FitzGerald, Ullick Burke, J. Ohearon, W. M'Dermody, Michael White (1657-8.1.4. 4*d*.); James Welsh, Owen MeeneMarra, J. Harvy, Rowland Comyn, and N. Brady. Of these, three were sent to ship at Carrickfergus in 1656. The Government got rent not only from the Irish inhabitants, but from their own soldiers and adherents, and a curious picture of the house-rents falling off and abatements made as the families were transplanted out of Kilmallock and Limerick; of the building up of doors to keep out dangerous intruders in the deserted streets, and of the collapse and sale of roof and other timbers, appears vividly and with sad suggestion in the dry entries. In 1657-8 some houses were levelled to secure the Castle. The tithes were farmed out on each townland separately.

The paper account-books are much decayed, but give minute particulars of the townlands and houses set to various tenants. Numerous

signatures both of the old inhabitants and the conquerors appear to the agreements. In 1650-51 "Teig, Mason, for work done at the old Abbey at Kilmallock for publique use, £1 .8. 0 and 8 shillings." Captain Wilson paid £7 "for building a stable at Carrigogunnell," and Major Granieri, £132 "for releiving the sick and wounded" at Kilmallock. The above will show how future writers on Limerick will not only be able to consult, but will not be able to afford to pass by, such valuable material for the minute and critical history of Limerick in, perhaps, the gloomiest period of its history.—T. JOHNSON WESTROPP.

Newly-discovered Ogam Stones, County Cork.—During my holidays I made a pilgrimage to several of the old historical monuments in the neighbourhood of Clonakilty, in the county of Cork, and am happy to inform you of my good fortune in discovering two Ogam stones in a fort or rath, about five miles distant from the above-mentioned town. The stones were used as supports to an immense flag joining part of the roof of the first and principal chamber of the souterrain.

I examined the stones very carefully, and found eight letters on one, and seven on the other; but it is my opinion that originally there were more letters on one, as part of the stone seemed to be defaced. There is a marked contrast in the lettering, which would go to prove that they were written at different periods; one being inscribed by a very blunt celt or tool, while the other was undoubtedly inscribed by an extremely sharp instrument.

The chamber in which they were placed is about 12 feet long by about 6 feet wide, and about 5 feet high in parts, other parts being only 2 and 3 feet high, owing to the accumulation of debris. As the chamber was not cleared, it was impossible to determine the exact height of the stones; but as they stand at present, some 3 to 4 feet of them appear above the floor; the inscription occupying about three-fourths of the upper portion. It can be seen that in one there is a blank space between the top letter and those below, which might be explained by repeated contact with the stone when entering the chamber, and thus erasing the letters. I also made another very interesting discovery, which I will communicate later on.—JAMES O'CROWLEY.

[This interesting souterrain, near Ballineen, with Ogam inscriptions, has been visited by Mr. R. A. S. Macalister, who will give his readings of the Ogam writing, in his forthcoming paper on "Eight Newly-Discovered Ogam Stones in County Cork."—Ed.]

Querns.—A few months ago I took refuge from a shower in a farmhouse in the Callan Union, County Kilkenny. At the back of the kitchen I observed a quern of the ancient pattern, *in situ*. On inquiry I was told by the mistress of the house that it is still occasionally used; and

going to a cupboard she produced a small bag of wheat, which had been dried and prepared for grinding. Some of this was poured in and ground into flour, to let me see how it was worked. The upper stone revolves in a sort of cup, with an opening in front to allow the flour to escape when ground. The whole is raised on masonry to a height of about 2 feet from the level of the floor, so that a person seated can work it conveniently.

At another farm-house in the same district I have since seen a complete quern standing outside the door, having been in use, I was informed, until a few years ago.

In an interesting pamphlet, by Rev. W. S. Smith, called "Historical Gleanings in Antrim and neighbourhood," the writer says, speaking of querns:—"It is said that the use of these mills was prohibited by legal enactment in the thirteenth century for the benefit of mill-owners." Perhaps some legal member of the Society can give us information on this point.¹—M. S. PATTERSON.

The Gild of St. Loy, Dublin.—Referring to my communication as to records of the Gild of St. Loy, Dublin, among "Miscellanea" in the last number of the *Journal*, Mr. R. Day, F.S.A., authorises me to state that there is in his collection of antiquities a silver fire-gilt box, having engraved on the cover the arms of that gild. Underneath is this inscription:—

"The Freedom of the ancient & loyal
Corporation of Smiths, Guild of S^t
Loy, Dublin, is herewith presented to
Roger Palmer Esq^{re} in testimony of
their approbation of his conduct in
Parliament, & particularly for his attention
to the rights and liberties of the citizens
of Dublin.

Dated the 23rd of June 1768.

William Osbrey, Master.

Jⁿ Heaney, } Wardens."
William King, }

The box has the Dublin hall-marks, and the maker's stamp I. L. of John Locker.

H. F. BERRY.

Danish Finds in Ireland.—In the summer of 1903 I made a remarkable discovery, when I was residing at Bangor, County Down. Not

¹ Constant litigation is recorded during the later middle ages resulting from endeavours to suppress querns. Much on this subject will be found in "The History of Corn Milling," vol. i. (ed. 1893), by Messrs. R. Bennet and J. Elton. A notice of this work is given in the *Journal*, vol. xxviii., p. 181.—ED.

far from the seashore, about a mile from Bangor, some earth was being removed from the top of a slight elevation, and in the course of digging a piece of very old-looking linen was found, also some bones, and some black earth or charcoal. Several feet beneath the surface, an object supposed to be a portion of some old tin vessel was found, and another supposed to be a tobacco-box. The owner of the ground happened to be present, and took the finds home, and sent for me to look at them. The first article found was greatly injured by the labourers; it was a hollow vessel, made of thin sheet bronze, bowl-shaped, and it occurred to me it might have been an ancient bronze head-piece, and inside it was a quantity of what I thought was human hair, light or fair in colour. What was supposed to be an old tobacco-box I found was two oval-shaped bronze brooches, convex towards the outside, and with antique designs of various kinds worked on the bronze. There is no doubt that they are relics of the Viking period, and it is well known that the Vikings visited and looted Bangor, and the Ards Peninsula in the year 821, and afterwards; so that these objects form a connecting link with the most stirring period in ancient Irish history.—
S. F. MILLIGAN.

Notices of Books.

NOTE.—The books marked thus (*) are by Members of the Society.

* *Celtae and Galli* (from the "Proceedings" of the British Academy, vol. ii.). By John Rhys, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, and Fellow of the Academy.

THE main part of this Paper is devoted to a new study of the Coligny Calendar, which is composed in a language called Sequanian, believed to be akin to Goidelic; then some inscriptions in allied tongues are dealt with; and finally the geographical position of the peoples who spoke these languages, and the proper classification of the languages themselves, in relation to the better known members of the Celtic family of languages, are considered.

The Coligny tablet was found in 1897 in a very fragmentary condition. The fragments, 126 in number, have been pieced together by MM. Dissard and Espérandieu, and a lithograph of the restored tablet, showing, however, many lacunæ, was published in the *Revue Celtique* for 1900. Professor Thurneysen, Mr. Nicholson, M. Loth, and others have written on the subject; and now we have a fresh and important study from the pen of Principal Rhys.

That the inscription is a calendar was soon perceived, and the order of the months ascertained. A lustrum or period of five years is covered, each year consisting of twelve months of twenty-nine or thirty days, making 355 days in all, with two intercalary months of thirty days each in the lustral period. This gives an average of 367 days to the year, but it is possible that some slight error has crept into the Calendar. Principal Rhys, however, barely alludes to the astronomical problems raised. He notices, indeed, that the division of the year was very similar to that of the ordinary Athenian year, and pertinently asks what was the Calendar of the Greeks of Marseilles. But he passes on from this suggestion, and seems to regard the Calendar as essentially Celtic, not only in language, but in its astronomical framework.

The special interest of the Paper to Irish students is that the language of the Calendar is shown to be not merely Celtic, but akin to Goidelic, or that branch of the Celtic family of languages from which our own modern Irish is lineally descended. To fully appreciate the Paper, the reader should have the lithograph of the Calendar before him, and then he will be often lost in wonder at the ingenuity which seems to extract intelligible meanings from a few contracted fragments of an unknown

tongue. It is impossible here to do justice to the skill shown in handling these unpromising materials; and it would be futile as well as presumptuous for one no better equipped than the present writer to challenge the Professor's philology. Even the tyro, however, can appreciate some of the analogues of Old Irish pointed out. Thus among the names of the months we find *Samon*[ios], which Principal Rhys approximates to June, and *Giamon*[ios] (December), where we seem at once to detect the Old Irish vocables *sam* or *samrad*, 'summer,' and *gam* or *gainred*, 'winter.' Each month is marked either *matu*[s] or *ann*[atus], with which the Irish *maith* 'good,' for an earlier *mati*-s, and the Scottish Gaelic *math* for *matu*-s, are compared, and to which the meanings 'lucky' and 'unlucky' are respectively assigned. The unlucky months have at the end the entry *divertomu*, which, by a masterly analysis, is shown to mean 'away from us!' as it were *absit omen*! The abbreviated word *lat* is used evidently with the same meaning as the Old Irish *láthe*, 'a day' (24 hours). Finally, we may mention that under the seventeenth day of *Samon* appears an entry which in full would probably be *trinoux-tion Samoni sindiv*, which strikingly recalls the expression *trenæ Samna* (see Serglige Conculaind, § 1), 'the trinoctium of Samain [begins] to-day' (*indiu*); though, if the Sequanian *Samon* be equivalent to June, the period of the year indicated for this Sequanian festival would be the summer solstice rather than the period of its Irish analogue.

This brings us back once more to ask, Is the framework of the Calendar to be compared with what we know of the old Irish year, and not rather with the Athenian Calendar? And here again we cannot speak as an expert, but can merely give the results of a brief and, we fear, superficial study of the subject.

Now, the oldest division of the Irish year that we can trace seems to have been simply *gam* or *genred*, 'winter,' and *sam* or *samrad*, 'summer.' I put winter first, because the Irish, and indeed the Celtic nations generally, appear to have considered that winter preceded summer, and the night the day. *Genred* commenced with, or perhaps we should say followed immediately after, *samain*, which is explained as *sam-fhuin* or 'summer-end'; and whatever may be thought of this etymology, the fact that it was given points to the bipartite division of the year. Autumn is here ignored. *Samain* centred round the twenty-four hours commencing at sunset on All Hallows' Eve, to which time the existing folklore still points, and originally at least was not a month at all. All Hallows' Eve is now called *oidhehe Shamhna*, and the 1st November *lá Samhna*, and the month of November is sometimes spoken of as *mí na Samhna*, but the oldest usage seems to point to the day, or rather seven days, of a great religious festival, and not to a regular month or division of a year. *Samrad* commenced with *Beltaine* or May-day. The year was, therefore, a November-May year, marked by the great seasonal festivals of Samain and Beltaine, and not specially by the solstices. It was also at some

early time further divided into quarters, the commencement of the autumn quarter being marked by the *Lugnasad* (now the 1st August), and autumn as distinguished from summer was called *Fogamur*. Spring, too, as distinguished from winter, was called *Errach*, and its commencement (1st February) *óimele*, 'sheep's milk'; but this does not seem to have been marked by any special festival. I am not aware of any evidence that the pre-Christian year in Ireland was divided into twelve months. No doubt the lunations must have been noticed, and probably the word *mí* was applied to a lunation, and *coictiges* (cf. French *quinzaine*), to the half-lunation; but no regular names for the twelve months have been preserved. The writers of the Christian Calendars and of the Annals use the Julian Calendar.

The Athenian civil year, from the time of Cleisthenes at any rate, consisted of twelve lunar months of twenty-nine and thirty days alternately, making 354 days in all. This was brought into periodic harmony with the solar year, by taking a cycle of eight years and intercalating a month of thirty days in the first, third, and sixth years. Thus they obtained an average of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days in the year. The year was supposed to commence on the first new moon after the summer solstice. The periodic harmony was not fractionally exact, and longer cycles were afterwards adopted to reduce the discrepancy to a minimum.

Now, our example of the Sequanian Calendar begins with an intercalary month of thirty days, followed by twelve ordinary months of twenty-nine or thirty days, viz.: Samon, Duman, Rivros, Anacantios, Ogron, Qutios, Giamon, Simivis, Equos, Elembiu, Edrin, and Cantlos, making 355 days. These twelve months appear in the same order five times, except that in the third period of twelve months a second intercalary month of thirty days is inserted before Giamon. Of these months, Samon and Giamon, just six months apart, seem, as already mentioned, to be connected with the Irish words for summer and winter respectively, and may be regarded as *the* summer and *the* winter months. Now, the simplest hypothesis would seem to be that we have here a calendar originally identical with the Athenian Calendar above described; that the years commenced with Samon, as nearly as possible on the first new moon after the summer solstice; that the five complete years given in the Coligny Tablet are part of a cycle of eight years; that the complete cycle would contain only one more intercalation, probably before Samon in the sixth year; and that the intercalary month was placed before either Samon or Giamon, because it was important that these should be the months to commence with the new moon after the solstice. The only important discrepancy is that the Sequanian Calendar shows one day more in the year than the Athenian; but here we seem clearly to detect a corruption, and we can even point with some probability to the month in fault. It may be observed that Equos is the only month of thirty days that is marked *annatus*, while all the months of twenty-nine days are

so marked. We may conjecture then that Equos had originally only twenty-nine days, and this correction would bring the Calendar into line with the Athenian Calendar, and yield an average for the cycle of eight years of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days in the year. In further confirmation of this view it may be noted that the name of one of the Athenian months, Elaphebolion, actually appears in Sequanian form in the Coligny Calendar. This is Elembiu, or Elembivios, which Principal Rhys and Mr. Nicholson agree in referring to as assumed *elembos*, to be equated with the Greek, *ἐλαφος*, and now represented by the Irish *eilit*, 'a hind,' and Welsh *elain*, 'a fawn.' This month would commence towards the end of March, or in the first half of April. It is pertinent to notice, too, that even the alphabet and the orthography of these Gaulish inscriptions, as Principal Rhys points out, show Greek influence.

Now, Principal Rhys appears to have rejected this simple view in his desire to find a further analogy to the Irish year. Noting that the Calendar commences with an intercalary month followed by Samon, which he equates approximately with June, he says:—"It [the intercalary month] thus takes the place, so to say, of the month of May, and in the third year the other intercalary month comes before Giamon, taking the place of Qutios, or, let us say, November. If one takes a year which had no intercalary month, one might, perhaps, say that one half year began with Cantlos, and the other with Qutios, that is to say, the first of May and the first of November, which would bring the year back to what Celtic folklore and Celtic institutions teach us generally, namely, that the great events of the Celtic year were associated with the beginnings of May, of August, and of November." But it is not easy to follow the reasoning here. An intercalary month does not take the place of the month that precedes it, but is an addition to fill up the accumulated deficiency of the preceding lunar twelve-months since the last intercalation as compared with the solar revolutions, so as to keep the succeeding lunar months as nearly as possible in the same season of the year as they occupied at first, and to make the lunar years on the average equal to the solar years. Further on, indeed, Principal Rhys assimilates the Sequanian year still more closely to the Irish year by suggesting that, like the latter, the former began in November. But the only evidence he adduces is an entry in the Calendar in connexion with the second intercalary month, which, as already mentioned, occurs before Giamon in the middle of the third twelvemonths. This entry he translates:—"The total which is wont to be there (is) the course of the seasons, months 13, days 385," *i.e.* the 12 ordinary months or 355 days *plus* the intercalary month of 30 days. Accepting this rendering, the question remains, To what twelve months besides the intercalary month does it apply? Principal Rhys assumes that it refers to the succeeding twelve months in the Calendar. This would make Qutios (November) the last month in this year, and, apparently, in all others. But here he has a remark which seems to involve

the misconception of the function of an intercalation already commented on. He says:—"The year of 385 days begins with the second intercalary month, which, when absent, would allow us to put Qutios into its place as the first month of the year, consisting of twelve ordinary months. Then the first day of Qutios may be regarded as corresponding to the first of November, to which Celtic folklore unanimously points as the calends of winter and the beginning of the year." But Qutios was the last month of the ordinary year preceding the intercalated year. If it is to be regarded as the first month as well, we should have thirteen lunar months in an ordinary year. Moreover, this supposition forces Principal Rhys to regard the Coligny Tablet as beginning with the last five months of one year and ending with the first seven months of another year. It seems to me the entry may simply refer to the abnormal year in which the intercalation occurs without, in itself, indicating when that year commenced. I think then that the framework of this Calendar was probably derived from the Athenian year, which may well have filtered into Celtic Gaul through the ancient Greek colony of Massalia.

I have occupied so much space in endeavouring to make clear this astronomical point on which I have ventured to differ from Principal Rhys, that I must pass on to the next section of his paper. In it he deals with two inscriptions on lead, found in an ancient well at Rom in the department of Deux-Sèvres. This was in the territory of the Pictones, and the language of the inscriptions, though essentially similar to that of the Coligny Calendar, shows some differences, partly dialectical, and partly due to divergence of dates, for the Pictonian inscriptions are perhaps two centuries later than the Sequanian one. One of these inscriptions may be quoted as affording an early example of a primitive rite not yet entirely obsolete. It seems to be in the nature of a prayer to an unnamed deity by a married couple for "a son to beget a family." The lady proceeds thus:—

"Thee have I, Atanta, treated as a friend,
Thee nevertheless with pins I now pierce;
Thee have I indeed honoured with a libation."

By way of illustration, Principal Rhys tells of a visit he paid with M. Ernest Renan to the wooden statue of St. Guirec, near Perros-Guirec, on the north coast of Brittany. This statue had innumerable pins stuck into it; and M. Renan explained that when any young woman of the neighbourhood wished to marry, she besought the saint to provide her with a husband, and then for fear he might be negligent or forgetful, stuck pins into him to goad him to exert himself on her behalf.

After discussing some of the Celtic formulæ or charms in the *Liber de Medicamentis* of Marcellus of Bordeaux, Principal Rhys passes on to

consider the classification of the whole family of allied languages, and proposes the term "Celtic" for the group of Celtic languages (Goidelic, Sequanian, Pictonian, &c.) characterised by the *k* sounds (*c, q,*) as distinguished from the Gaulish *p*. This is a much better suggestion than the alternative one which he also makes, viz., to use "Kelt" and "Keltish" for the former subdivision, and "Celt" and "Celtic," as at present, for the whole family. For if this nomenclature were adopted, whenever we heard the former words pronounced we should have to ask the speaker how he spelled them, for many persons now pronounce "Celt" as if written "Kelt." Next, Principal Rhys considers the geographical distribution in ancient Gaul of the peoples who spoke these languages, and makes some attempt at dividing the Celtic tribes that we read of in Cæsar and other writers into Celtæ, Galli, and Belgæ. This is the more difficult as Cæsar himself makes no distinction between the Celtæ and the Galli who occupied the region between the Seine and the Garonne called Celtica. The fact seems to be that the Celtæ were even then a dwindling race, and the Galli were their conquerors, and Cæsar, conqueror of the conquering Gauls, paid little attention to the subordinate population. At an earlier time, before the advent of either Galli or Belgæ, there were probably Celtæ on the coast between the Rhine and the Seine, and it is from this district rather than from Celtica that the Goidelic stock passed into Britain and became the dominant race in Ireland.

Finally, Principal Rhys makes an important modification in the answer which he gave in his former paper ("Brit. Acad.," vol. i., p. 34) to the question, How did the spelling *Iuverna* reach Juvenal and Pomponius Mela? This intervocalic *vv* is found in Ireland in several ogam inscriptions, and on the *Ivere Druwides* stone with which he was then specially dealing; and in his former remarks on the subject, he came to the conclusion that the Latin spelling *Iuverna* must have been derived from an educated Goidel who knew how to write. In noticing in our *Journal* (1904, p. 390) this remark, we pointed out that this conclusion had far-reaching consequences. Indeed, it seemed to imply that as early as the first century there were Goidels in Ireland who knew how to write. The intervocalic *vv*, however, appears in the Coligny Calendar in the word *devvo*, dative of *dēvos*, "a god," and is also found in other Continental inscriptions. So the question may now with greater probability be answered, that the spelling of this name and the Goidelic form of some others, such as *Britanni*, reached the Romans (and the Greeks), not from any Goidels at all, but from their congeners, the Celticans of Gaul. The subsequent use of the *vv* in early Ireland may similarly be ascribed to the influence of the language and orthography of the Celts of western Gaul.

GODDARD H. ORPEN.

**Fictitious and Symbolic Creatures in Art, with special reference to their use in Heraldry.* By John Vinycomb, M.R.I.A.; Fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland; Vice-President of the Ex-Libris Society. (Chapman & Hall, 11, Henrietta-street, London, W. C. 1906.) Price 10s. 6d. net; pp. 276; 115 illustrations.

IN artistic, literary, and archæological pursuits there is no more industrious worker than our esteemed *Fellow*, Mr. John Vinycomb. He is well known as a skilful heraldic artist, and is author of the chapters on "The Art of Heraldic Illumination" in that sumptuous volume, "The Art of Heraldry," by A. H. Fox Davies. His work "On the Processes for the Production of Ex-Libris," which was reviewed in these pages, forms an admirable exposition of the various means by which book illustrations and pictures are produced. Mr. Vinycomb has contributed some interesting papers to our *Journal*, and to the *Journal* of the Cork Historical and Archæological Association. To the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* he has contributed a series of illustrated articles on the seals and other armorial insignia of corporate towns in Ulster; and in conjunction with Mr. J. Ribton Garstin, M.R.I.A., *Past President*, papers on the "Arms of the Bishopricks of Ireland." A rather notable work was "An Inquiry into the History and Authenticity of the Belfast Arms," which resulted in Belfast obtaining a grant or confirmation of arms for the city. Mr. Vinycomb was one of the founders, and for a number of years President, of the "Belfast Arts Society." He is a Past President of the "Belfast Naturalists Field Club," and first President of the "Ulster Art Club," and recently was elected an Honorary Member of the "Belfast Library and Society for Promoting Knowledge," for eminence in literature and art. As a worker on the Executive Committee of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland he has done much for the artistic side of the operations of that Society.

The mere recital of his works and voluntary engagements will give some idea of the enlarged sphere of activity in which he has laboured, and will help to indicate the matured experience he is able to bring to bear on anything he takes in hand.

In the work now under notice the author has treated the subject in a very interesting manner, and traces the history and characteristics of the strange symbolic creatures of classical and mediæval times now recognised as symbols in heraldic art. The legendary history, and meaning of each of these fantastic forms are investigated, accompanied by valuable illustrations defining their recognised attributes. In an introductory chapter the author reviews the ideas which prevailed in classical times on the subject of these monsters as expressed by the classical writers. Following this is a chapter on animated beings in heraldic art and the symbolism of attitude, and another one on celestial beings and the mistaken modern conception of angels, with a notice of their

mediæval art treatment, in which the nine degrees of angelic beings—the three hierarchies of three orders in each—are classified, with the characteristic symbols of each. That most interesting and rather difficult subject, the cherubim and seraphim in heraldry, is discussed at length with great clearness and vigour. Chimerical creatures of the dragon and serpent kind, the dragon in early Christian art and in the royal heraldry of Britain, with the almost innumerable variety of shapes in which these creatures are presented, each with a symbolical meaning attached, are explained and illustrated.

The unicorn, as the author tells us, was a famous device all over Europe, and symbolised the virtue of the mind and the strength of the body. The animosity which existed between the lion and the unicorn is referred to by the poet Spenser, and is said to be allegorical of the enmity which once existed between England and Scotland. The story of Pegasus, the winged horse, is told from the days of Bellerophon, who with the help of Minerva tamed and used the animal. The winged horse is of frequent occurrence in heraldry, and in its classical allusions denotes fame, eloquence, poetic study, and contemplation. Some hundreds of mythical beasts are described in considerable detail, and their employment on coats of arms or as supporters is traced, and the origin or reason of their adoption explained.

The final chapters are devoted to an account of the Fictitious Creatures of the Sea. Mariners, in all ages, were prone to superstitious fears, and have peopled the great deep with beings of the most dreadful kind, all the more wonderful and indescribable because of the mysterious and unknown regions in the sea depths which they were supposed to inhabit. Classic mythology in its wealth of imagery allotted a whole hierarchy of greater and lesser divinities to the government of the watery element whose capricious ruling of the waves man altogether failed to comprehend.

A work of this kind on heraldic beasts was much needed, and it is a source of congratulation to archæologists that it has fallen to Mr. Vinycomb to prepare it. The time and attention bestowed on this work have been very great; all the recognised authorities seem to have been consulted, and, where necessary, corrected. Classic fable and mediæval legends have been laid under contribution to throw light on the abstruse subjects dealt with, and the result is an authoritative book of reference, which is at the same time as attractive a work for the reading of a man of culture as could be desired.

Proceedings.

A QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING of the 58th Yearly Session of the Society was held in the SOCIETY'S ROOMS, 6, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, on Tuesday, the 24th of April, 1906, at 8 o'clock, p.m. :

JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, D.L., in the Chair.

Also present:—

Hon. General Secretary.—Robert Cochrane, LL.D., I.S.O.

Fellows.—Samuel O. Fitz Patrick; Rev. Canon James F. M. French, M.R.I.A.; T. J. Meillon; P. J. O'Reilly; J. J. Perceval; J. F. Weldrick; Thos. J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A.

Members.—Martin J. Blake; the Archdeacon of Cashel; William Cookman, M.D.; Thomas B. Costello, M.D.; Henry S. Crawford, B.E.; George Duncan; Rev. E. A. Gillespie, M.A.; Joseph Gough; Ireton P. Jones; Thomas Laffan, M.D.; Rev. James B. Leslie; Rev. P. J. Lucas, D.D.; Rev. H. C. Lyster, M.A.; Rev. Canon Moore, M.A.; J. H. Moore, M.A., *Vice-President*, I.C.E.I.; Rev. George M'Cutchan; Miss M'Fernan; M. J. Nolan, M.D.; George Peyton, LL.D.; G. W. Place; Andrew Roycroft; Mrs. Sheridan; William Tempest, J.P.; Colonel J. Grove White; Richard Blair White; William Grove White, LL.B.; Rev. S. de Courey Williams, M.A.; Rev. A. S. Woodward, M.A.

The Minutes of last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following two Fellows and fourteen Members were elected:—

FELLOWS.

Alton, James Poč, Elim, Grosvenor-road, Rathgar (*Member*, 1890): proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.

Warnock, Frank Henderson, 9, Herbert-road, Sandymount (*Member*, 1900): proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.

MEMBERS.

Barton, Miss, Eden, Rathfarnham: proposed by Mrs. Annie Long.

Bompas, Charles Steele M., 121, Westbourne-terrace, London, W.: proposed by Laurence Weaver, P.S.A.

Farragher, Rev. Murtagh, P.P., Kilronan, North Aran, Co. Galway: proposed by M. J. Tighe.

Figgis, William Fernsley, Rathmore, Bray: proposed by John Cooke, M.A., *Fellow*.

Gaffney, James S., B.A., 86, O'Connell-street, Limerick: proposed by P. J. Lynch, *Fellow*.

Keaveny, Thomas, D.I.R.I.C., 59, Clifton Park-avenue, Belfast: proposed by M. K. Kiernan.

- Lenehan, N. V., Solicitor, 24, St. Andrew-street, Dublin: proposed by George Peyton, LL.D.
 Mac Donnell, James, Dungarvan N. S., Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny: proposed by John Commins.
 Mangan, Most Rev. John, D.D., Bishop of Kerry, Killarney: proposed by P. J. Lynch, *Fellow*.
 Mayne, Gerald, 19, Lord Edward-street, Dublin: proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.
 Mecredy, R. J., B.A., Vallombrosa, Bray, Co. Wicklow: proposed by John Cooke, M.A., *Fellow*.
 Pilkington, Richard Grant, 55, Rutland-square, Dublin: proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.
 Quiggin, Edmund Crosby, M.A., Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge: proposed by R. A. S. Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.
 West, Miss, Kileroney, Bray: proposed by A. L. Doran, *Fellow*.

The statement of the Society's Accounts for the year 1905 was received and passed, and ordered to be printed in the *Journal*. (See opposite page.)

The following Papers were read, and referred to the Council for publication:—

- "Notes on Injuries to certain Forts" (illustrated by lantern slides), by Thomas J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.
 "Sir Thomas More: his Descendants in the Male line," by Martin J. Blake, *Member*.

The Society then adjourned till Tuesday, May 29th, 1906.

AN EVENING MEETING of the Society was held at Kilkenny on Tuesday, the 29th of May, 1906, at 8.30 o'clock, p.m.:

THE RIGHT REV. DR. CROZIER, Bishop of Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin,
Vice-President, in the Chair.

His Lordship said that he counted it a great honour to take the chair as one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society for Leinster; but he would have infinitely preferred if they could have had their venerable and honoured President, Dr. Joyce, with them that evening. They had seen the Sword and Mace of the Kilkenny Corporation that evening. They were not used as much now as they were in the old days. He did not know about the Sword, but the Mace was not used. It was a very handsome and magnificent piece of work, with the date on it, 1671. The Sword had various interesting features, too. It was arranged so that it could not be taken out, and consequently it was less dangerous for meetings of the corporation or otherwise. It could do no harm to those who held it in their hands, but it was extremely interesting, and a most beautiful piece of workmanship. He had brought down there that evening what was even more priceless still than the beautiful silver ornaments of the Corporation, and that he only held in trust for the whole diocese, and that was the profoundly interesting manuscript called the "Red Book of Ossory." Those who had come

ACCOUNTS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND FOR THE YEAR 1905.

CHARGE.		£	s.	d.	DISCHARGE.		£	s.	d.
1905.	To Balance from 1904,				1905.	By Ponsonby & Gibbs' Account, for Printing and Binding Four			
Dec. 30.	Subscriptions for 1905—Fellows,	119	1	0	Dec. 30.	Quarterly Parts of <i>Journal</i> ,	252	8	5
	Members,	429	8	0		Postage on <i>Journal</i> ,	64	4	1
	Entrance Fees for 1905—Fellows,	23	0	0		Ponsonby & Gibbs' Account, for Printing Antiquarian Hand-			
	Members,	25	0	0		book No. 6, and Illustrated Guide,	73	19	6
	Life Compositions—Fellows,	36	0	0		Postage on ditto,	5	0	10
	Members,	36	0	0		Miscellaneous Printing Accounts,	94	8	10
	Arrears paid in 1905—Fellows,	7	0	0		Illustrations for <i>Journal</i> ,	25	14	5
	Members,	57	10	0		Subscriptions, Books, and Bookbinding,	15	17	10
	Subscriptions in Advance paid in 1905 :—					Photographic Account,	0	7	3
	Fellows,	5	0	0		Postage and Incidental Expenses,	30	6	2
	Members,	25	16	0		Salary of Clerk (five quarters),	77	10	0
	Associates' Fees,					Caretaker's Wages and Sundries,	26	1	3
	Sale of Publications,					Repairs to Premises, &c.,	7	6	2
	Interest on Consols,					Tea at Evening Meetings,	8	17	11
	Bank Account,					Lantern Slide Exhibitions at Evening Meetings,	85	0	0
	Letting of Hall, 6, St. Stephen's-					Rent of No. 6, St. Stephen's-green,	0	19	6
	green,					Fire Insurance,	14	7	3
	Donation,					Lighting Account (Gas and Electric),	3	5	0
						Stationery Account,			
						Balance in Provincial Bank,	792	18	4
							160	7	10
						Total,	£953	6	2

(Signed) H. J. STOKES, HON. TREASURER.

We have examined this Account with the Vouchers and Books, and find it correct, there being in the Provincial Bank the sum of One Hundred and Sixty Pounds Seven Shillings and Tenpence—net Balance on the 30th December, 1905.
The Capital Account, invested in Consols, is Eleven Hundred and Seven Pounds Ten Shillings and Sixpence.

(Signed) JOHN COOKE,
SAMUEL A. O. FITZPATRICK, } *Auditors.*

April 9th, 1906.

Accounts Passed at General Meeting of Society of this date—JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, CHAIRMAN, April 24th, 1906.

across that interesting record of the diocese of Ossory, lately published in four volumes by Father Carrigan, would know what excellent use could be made of this book. He (Dr. Crozier) was very glad to have been able to place this book at the disposal of Father Carrigan, and he hoped that when he had time to do so, he would fill up the work he had done by giving to the public some of the Latin hymns, so many of which were in this "Red Book of Ossory." He might mention that the principal parts of the volume were written in the fourteenth century. Richard de Ledrede was Bishop of Ossory. He was consecrated in the year 1316. A Synod was held soon after, and a taxation was made by order of King Edward II., and that taxation was entered in this book. Most of the book dated from that period, although a good deal had been added in a different hand up to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The book was composed of stout vellum, covered with leather that was once red, hence the name. In addition to the transcripts of various documents connected with the diocese, the volume contained copies of proceedings relating to the Government of Ireland, and miscellaneous writings inserted by various hands up to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In a Latin entry on its first page it is styled the "Most Ancient Book of Ossory," and the signature is "Richard Connell, Notary Public and Registrar." It was mostly written in Latin, although some of the hymns and some of the Acts of Parliament—including the Acts passed by the Kilkenny Parliament in the fourteenth century—were written in French. There were Bulls of Pope Adrian IV. and Alexander III. to Henry II., and the Magna Charta of Henry III. There were also French verses in it on the proverbs of the Sybil, and an interesting treatise on Aqua Vitæ, and other matters of interest. The religious verses in it had been attributed to Bishop de Ledrede, and were ordered to be sung in the different monasteries. He had also with him the "White Book of Ossory," which had been lost in a most extraordinary way, and had only recently been found. He had not got it when Father Carrigan asked him for any books he had in connexion with this diocese; but he hoped that Father Carrigan would be able to look over it and see whether there was anything of value within it in connexion with the work he was doing.

Dr. Cochrane, Hon. General Secretary, said the Paper to be read would be one by Mr. John Commins, which would give a description of the places they were to visit the next day. He read a letter from Mr. W. Grattan Flood, in which the writer said:—"Will you kindly announce to the meeting that I have discovered a couple of items in reference to Robert Talbot, who built the wall of Kilkenny in 1400? I find from the 'Calendar Papal Registers' that in July, 1405, Robert Talbot, of Kilkenny, and Loys, his wife, received a Plenary Indulgence from Pope Innocent VII. This interesting fact escaped the researches of my friend, Father Carrigan."

The following Paper was read, and referred to the Council for publication:—

"A Notice of the places to be visited on 30th May, viz. Ballybur, Burnchurch, Newtown, Castle Eve, Kells, Kilree, Dunamaggin, and Callan," by John Commins, *Member*.

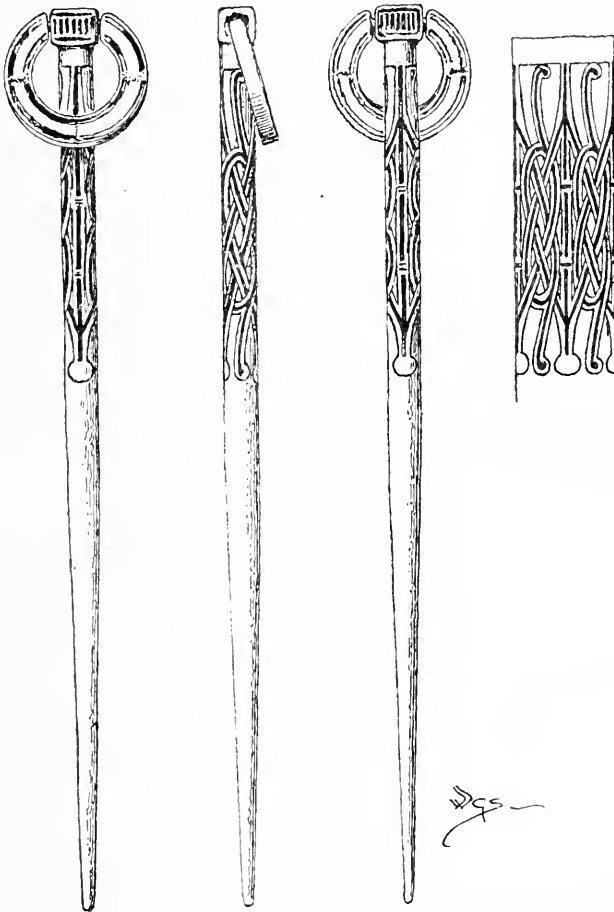
The following Papers were taken as read, and referred to the Council for publication:—

"County Waterford Cliff Forts," by T. J. Westropp, *M.A., Fellow*.

"The Dublin 'City Music' from 1560 to 1780," by William H. Grattan Flood, *Member*.

Dr. Cochrane exhibited the ornamental pin of the Viking Period found at Clontarf last year, and gave a description of it. It is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, with a ring attached, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter. The pin is of bronze-gilt, inlaid with silver and niello work,

in ornamental designs of Scandinavian pattern. The ornament is arranged in lines of knotwork divided vertically. There are several examples of such pins with ring-heads in the Dublin Museum, but they are not so finely ornamented. This pin is illustrated and described in *The Reliquary* (April, 1906, pp. 131, 132) from a drawing by Mr. Worthington G. Smith, *Fellow*, which shows the front, back, and side, with a development of the surface showing the character of the design. It is here reproduced by permission of the publishers, Messrs. Bemrose & Sons. The circumstances connected with the finding of this object are mentioned in a note by Mr. S. F. Milligan, p. 87, *supra*.



FULL-SIZE DRAWING OF A BRONZE PIN OF THE VIKING PERIOD, FOUND AT
CLONTARF, 1905.

The Rev. Father Coyle proposed a vote of thanks to the Right Rev. Dr. Crozier for presiding. This was the first time he (Father Coyle) had the pleasure of being amongst them, but he hoped it would not be the last. A city so full of objects of antiquity as Kilkenny had a great deal of most interesting things in it to be seen, and he thought

they would all admit with him that a great deal of pleasure derived from their visit had been due to the kindness and courtesy of his lordship, Dr. Crozier. In St. Canice's he had shown them through the magnificent Cathedral, and then he extended his hospitality to them at his Palace. They must all feel deeply obliged to his lordship for the admirable manner in which he had conducted the whole proceedings, and he was only re-echoing the wishes of all present when he said that he hoped that his lordship would wield his crozier for a great many years in Kilkenny.

Dr. West seconded the vote of thanks, which was passed.

Dr. Crozier, in responding, said he was exceedingly obliged to them for the very kind vote of thanks. He thought, however, that a great deal of praise should go to their Hon. Local Secretary, Mr. M. M. Murphy, for the work he had done in connexion with this meeting. They owed him a great deal of thanks for the trouble he had taken to have everything ready for these antiquarian meetings. They were small folk down here, but they were proud to have the parentage of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. That was a big body now, and embraced the whole of Ireland. It has grown rather a big child, but it came down now and then to visit its birthplace and cheer them, and leave a great deal of brightness behind.

After an examination of the Exhibits, the Society adjourned until Monday, 18th June, 1906.

EXCURSIONS, &c.

The Kilkenny Local Committee arranged and carried out the following Programme :—

TUESDAY, *May 29th*, 1906.—Members arrived by the trains reaching Kilkenny at 12 o'clock, noon, and, at 2 o'clock, p.m., met on the Parade, opposite the Castle Gate, to visit the Picture Gallery of the Castle (by kind permission of the Most Noble the Marquis of Ormonde). After visiting the Castle, the members proceeded to St. Mary's Church, passing the Shee Alms House, Rose Inn-street. Arriving at St. Mary's, they were shown the Ketteler Stone, Rothe Monument and Font, &c. Members then visited St. Francis's Abbey, the Black Abbey, Museum, St. Mary's Cathedral, St. Canice's Cathedral, and the Round Tower. By kind invitation of the Right Rev. Dr. Crozier and Mrs. Crozier, the members had tea at the Bishop's Palace at 5 o'clock, p.m.

WEDNESDAY, *May 30th*, 1906.—Members started from Club House Hotel in brakes, passing the old city walls on the right leaving Kilkenny, and visited the following places :—

Ballybur Castle, passing Castle Inch on the right, two miles from Kilkenny. Burnchurch Castle, the drive to which was through Farmley Demesne, and by Farmley House, by permission of Colonel Hanford, C.B., and Captain Mac Naughton. Newtown Church, Graveyard, Sweetman Tombs and Castle, and Castle Eve. Kells Priory—one of the largest and most interesting remains in the County Kilkenny. Kilree Church, Round Tower, and Celtic Cross.

At the Augustinian Abbey of Kells, Dr. Cochrane described the various parts of the ruins, which he said had been presided over by an abbot, and therefore could be called an abbey. The structure had been vested in the Board of Works, and works of repair and preservation were being effected at the time of the visit.

At Callan the party lunched at Callanan's Hotel, where some interesting local exhibits were shown; and the members then proceeded to view the remarkable ancient ruins at the Parish Church, and those of the Augustinian Abbey, Well, &c., and afterwards left for Kilkenny, arriving in time for the train leaving for Dublin.

The local arrangements were carried out by Mr. M. M. Murphy, M.R.I.A., *Hon. Local Secretary*, in his usual courteous manner, which gave much satisfaction to the members present.

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND
FOR THE YEAR 1906.

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART III., VOL. XXXVI.

Papers.

SIR THOMAS MORE: HIS DESCENDANTS IN THE MALE
LINE.

BY MARTIN J. BLAKE, MEMBER.

[Read APRIL 24, 1906.]

IT is now a common and generally accepted belief that no descendants in the male line of the famous Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England, exist at the present day. I think, however, that the matter still requires careful investigation before such a conclusion can be justly come to; and I propose to submit some evidence which—although in itself certainly not conclusive, yet—tends to show that the present family of Moore, of Moorehall, in the County of Mayo, has some grounds for claiming to be descended in the male line from Sir Thomas More. Before dealing with that evidence it will be necessary to refer to those descendants in the male line of Sir Thomas More as to whom no doubt exists.

Sir Thomas More had only one son, John More, who married in 1529 Anne Cressacre, of Barnborough, Yorkshire, and by her had issue six sons, whose names and dates of birth are entered in said John More's handwriting in a "Book of Hours"¹ which, in 1891, was in the possession of Baron August Edward von Druffell of Münster, Westphalia, who in that

¹ "Notes and Queries," 8th Series, vol. xi., p. 121 (1892).

year sent it to the Rev. T. E. Bridgett, of London, for examination. These six sons were—(1) Thomas, of whom presently; (2) Augustine, who died unmarried; (3) Edward, who married, and was buried at Barnborough, 2nd May, 1620, leaving issue two sons, namely, Thomas, who became a Jesuit in 1611, and died at Ghent, 2nd January, 1623, and Henry, who, in 1607, also became a Jesuit, and died at Watten, 8th December, 1661; (4) Gerome, who died in infancy; (5) Thomas, of whom presently; (6) Bartholomew, who died young and unmarried.

It appears, therefore, that John More (Sir Thomas More's only son) had two sons (the eldest and the fifth) each named Thomas; and with these two I will now deal, referring to the elder as Thomas More (the elder), and to his younger brother as Thomas More (junior).

THOMAS MORE (THE ELDER) AND HIS MALE DESCENDANTS.

Thomas More (the elder) was born on 8th August, 1531, and married, in 1553, Mary, daughter of John Scrope, of Hambledon, Bucks, by whom he had issue five sons, namely: (1) John (born in 1557), who was living in 1593, but died unmarried, in his father's lifetime; (2) a son (Christian name unknown) who died in infancy before 1593; (3) Thomas (born 1566), who became a priest, and died unmarried at Rome in 1625; (4) Henry (born 1567), became a minorite in 1584, and died unmarried after 1593; (5) Cressacre, also called Christopher Cressacre, born 3rd July, 1572, and baptized as "Cressaere," at Barnborough on 6th July, 1572 (of whom presently). The names and ages of the first, third, fourth, and fifth sons of Thomas More (the elder) by his wife, Mary Scrope, living in 1593, are given in an "Inscription"¹ dated 1593, attached to a painting of the More family by Rowland Loekey, which in 1828 was preserved at Burford Priory, the seat of the Lenthall family, and in 1894 was preserved at Cokethorpe Park, Oxfordshire, the seat of Mrs. Katharine Strickland, widow of Walter Strickland, Esq.; and from the absence of any mention of the second son of Thomas More (the elder) by Mary Scrope in this inscription, it may be safely assumed that that second son was then (1593) dead.

Thomas More (the elder), of Barnborough, Yorks (which property he inherited from his mother Anne Cressacre), died on 19th August, 1606, aged seventy-five. His will (in which he is described as "of Leyton," Essex) bears date 22nd July, 1606, and was proved P. C. C. in September, 1606; by it he settled the Barnborough estate upon "my son Christopher Cressacre More for life, with remainder to his sons in tail male"; and thereby bequeathed "to Cipryan More, Thomas More, and Constantine More the three sons of my brother Thomas More, deceased, £3 a-piece."

Thomas More (the elder) was accordingly succeeded at Barnborough in

¹ For copy of this inscription, see Appendix IV. of Hunter's edition of Cressacre More's "Life of Sir Thomas More," published in 1828, hereafter referred to.

1606 by his fifth son Cressacre More (who is called Christopher Cressacre in his father's will). It was this Cressacre More who, between 1615 and 1620, wrote the "Life of Sir Thomas More," which was first published without date, or name of author, either at Louvain or Paris in 1628 or 1631. It was long supposed, on the authority of Anthony Wood, "Athenae Oxoniensis," that this work was written by Thomas More the priest, the elder brother of Cressacre More; but Joseph Hunter, who edited a third edition of this work in 1828, conclusively shows that the real writer of this "Life of Sir Thomas More" was Cressacre More. This Cressacre More, of Barnborough, married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Gage, of Firle, and died in 1649; his great-great-grandson, Thomas More of Barnborough, became a Jesuit priest, and upon his death (20th May, 1796) the descendants in the male line of Thomas More (the elder) are generally believed—and I think accurately believed—to have become extinct. I now return to the other Thomas More—Thomas More (junr.)—fifth son of John More, son of Sir Thomas More.

THOMAS MORE (JUNR.) AND HIS MALE DESCENDANTS.

This Thomas More (junr.), according to the "Book of Hours" before referred to, was born on the 2nd July, 1538. He became a Protestant clergyman, and on that account became estranged from his Catholic kinsmen the Mores of Barnborough. He was dead before 22nd July, 1606 (the date of the will of his brother Thomas More, the elder), and left issue three sons (living in 1606), namely, (1) Cipryan, (2) Thomas, (3) Constantine, each of whom is named in the will of their uncle Thomas More (the elder), of Barnborough.

Respecting this Thomas More (junr.), his nephew Cressacre More, in his "Life of Sir Thomas More"¹ (written between 1615 and 1620), writes as follows:—"He" (*i.e.* Thomas More, junr.) "lived and died a professed minister, and for all that very poor, bringing up his children, whereof his eldest son is yet living, in no commendable profession." Joseph Hunter, the editor of the third edition (published in 1828) of Cressacre More's work, states that he (Hunter) had inquired in vain for any descendants of Cipryan, Thomas, and Constantine More, the three sons of Thomas More (junr.). Joseph Foster, in his "Pedigrees of Yorkshire (West Riding) Families," published in 1874, refers to these three sons of Thomas More (junr.) as follows:—" (1) Cipryan, or Cressacre, born at Barnborough, 3rd July, 1572; (2) Thomas, whose descendants went to Norfolk and are now living in America; (3) Constantine." It is certain that Foster, following Anthony Wood, has here confused Cipryan More with his first cousin Cressacre More, for it was Cressacre More—not Cipryan—who was born at Barnborough on the 3rd July, 1572; and Foster gives no authority for the statement he makes as to Thomas

¹ Hunter's edition (1828), at p. 291.

More, the second son of Thomas More (junr.), viz., that his "descendants went to Norfolk, and are now living in America." I think, therefore, that that statement of Foster cannot be relied on, and carries no weight.

FAMILY OF MOORE, OF MOOREHALL, CO. MAYO.

Before proceeding to examine the evidence of the claim¹ of this family to trace their descent in the male line from Sir Thomas More, I will refer briefly to certain members of this family as to whom I find authentic records exist. By a deed dated 18th July, 1717, Charles O'Hara, first Baron Tyrawly, granted a lease of the lands of Leggafouca (afterwards called Ashbrook), in the barony of Gallen, County Mayo, to George Moore (senr.), for the lives of said George Moore (senr.) and his sons George Moore and John Moore. Said George Moore (senr.) of Ashbrook, married Sarah, daughter of the Rev. John Price, of Foxford, County Mayo. His eldest son, George Moore, acquired the lands of Clongee, in the barony of Gallen, County Mayo, and founded the family of Moore, of Clongee, some of whose descendants (I believe) still exist. John Moore, the second son of George Moore (senr.), of Ashbrook, succeeded his father at Ashbrook. He married Jane, daughter of Edmund Athy, of Renville, County Galway, and had issue two sons, namely—(1) Robert Moore, (2) George Moore. The second son, George Moore, was brought up by his mother in the Catholic religion (his father and grandfather having been Protestants). Finding no open for himself in Ireland, owing to the operation of the Penal Laws, he went abroad, while quite a young man, and settled at Alicante, in Spain, where he established a lucrative business as a wine merchant. In 1773 this George Moore, then residing at Alicante, registered his pedigree at Ulster's Office in Dublin; and upon this pedigree is founded the claim of the family of Moore, of Moorehall, to trace their descent in the male line from Sir Thomas More.

PEDIGREE (1773) OF THE ANCESTRY OF GEORGE MOORE, OF ALICANTE.

The authenticity of this pedigree so registered in Ulster's Office is vouched by the certificate annexed thereto of William Hawkins,² Ulster King of Arms, which bears date the 2nd February, 1773. The pedigree was translated into Spanish, and the accuracy of the translation vouched by a certificate appended thereto, of Don Felipe de Samaniego, Knight of the Order of Santiago, which is dated at Madrid, the 22nd August, 1776. A coeval duplicate of the pedigree, written in Spanish, is still preserved among the family papers at Moorehall, and, through the courtesy of a member of that family, I had the opportunity of carefully examining that duplicate about eight years ago. It is a most elaborate document,

¹ Burke's "Landed Gentry of Ireland" (1904), at p. 418.

² William Hawkins was Ulster King of Arms from 1765 to 1787.

the ancestry of George Moore, of Alicante, both paternal and maternal, for four generations, being given in tabular form, but without any dates or proofs. At the foot of the tabular pedigree is written (in Spanish) the following certificate of William Hawkins, of which I give the translation:—

“I, William Hawkins, principal King of Arms and Chief Herald of all Ireland: To all and singular to whom these presents shall come, Be it known that I the aforesaid King of Arms . . . certify, that George More (in English Moore) Esquire, residing in the town of Alicante in Spain, descends in direct paternal line from Thomas More (in English Moore) Esquire, native of Barnborough in the County of York . . . In proof of which I have strengthened these presents with my name and with the description and Seal of my office: At Dublin, the 2nd of the month of February, in the year of the Lord 1773: William Hawkins, Herald and King of Arms of all Ireland.”

The tabular pedigree states that George Moore, of Alicante, was second son of John Moore, Esq., of Ashbrook, by his wife Jane, daughter of Edmund Athy: that said John Moore was son of George Moore, Esq., native of Ashbrook, in the County of Mayo, by his wife Sarah, daughter of John Price, Esq., native of Gloucester; that said George Moore was son of George Moore, Esq., of Ballina, in the County of Mayo, Vice-Admiral of the Province of Connaught, by his wife Catherine, daughter of Robert Maxwell, Esq., of the family of Castle Teniel, in Scotland; and that said George Moore, of Ballina, was son of Thomas More (in English Moore), Esq., native of Barenbourg, in the County of York, by his wife Mary, daughter of John Apadam, Esq., native of the County of Flint, in the Principality of North Wales. In the margin of the tabular pedigree, opposite to the name of this Thomas More, there is written the following note:—“This Thomas More was son of John More, who was son of the very celebrated Thomas More (in English Moore), Knight, King’s Counsel, and sometime Lord Chancellor of England in the reign of Henry 8th.”

CRITICISM OF THE PEDIGREE OF GEORGE MOORE, OF ALICANTE.

The Thomas More mentioned in the pedigree and therein described as of Barnborough and as son of John More, son of Sir Thomas More, the Chancellor, cannot be identical with Thomas More (the elder), of Barnborough; for the names of all the sons of Thomas More (the elder), who lived to attain twenty-one, have previously been given, and their history and descendants have been already traced. Neither can the Thomas More mentioned in the pedigree be identical with Thomas More (junr.), the fifth son of John More, son of Sir Thomas More; for Thomas More (junr.), as far as has been ascertained from contemporary authentic evidence, had only three sons, whose names were

Cipryan, Thomas, and Constantine—no George among them—and, moreover, it is extremely improbable that this Thomas More (junr.), who was dead in 1606, could have had a grandson living in 1717, at least 111 years after his death, which would be the case if Thomas More (junr.) were identical with the Thomas More mentioned in the pedigree. The pedigree may, therefore, be taken to be certainly erroneous in stating that the Thomas More mentioned in it was a son of John More, son of Sir Thomas More, the Chancellor. But it does not necessarily follow that the statement in the pedigree that George Moore of Alicante was descended in the paternal line from Sir Thomas More must be altogether disregarded. It may well be that a generation has been left out; and that the Thomas More mentioned in the pedigree was Thomas More, the second son of Thomas More (junr.), fifth son of John More, son of Sir Thomas More. If this suggestion (which I admit is but a suggestion) be correct, the dates would fit in suitably; and, moreover, some colourable corroboration of this suggestion arises from the fact that both George Moore (senr.) of Ashbrook (living in 1717) and his son John Moore (the father of George Moore of Alicante) were Protestants, as might reasonably be expected if they were descendants of Thomas More, the second son of Thomas More (junr.), who became a Protestant minister. The Moorehall family papers supply evidence that George Moore (senr.), of Ashbrook, was living in 1717, but afford no information as to his ancestry beyond the statements contained in the pedigree of 1773, which (it may be noted) carries the ancestry in tabular form two generations further back; for it describes George Moore (senr.), of Ashbrook, as son of George Moore of Ballina, Vice-Admiral of Connaught, son of Thomas More or Moore of Barnborough, Yorkshire. The "*Liber Munerum publicorum Hiberniæ*" (Lascelles) makes no mention of any such public office as the "Vice-Admiral of Connaught," which the pedigree of 1773 states was held by George Moore of Ballina, father of George Moore of Ashbrook.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF MOORE OF MOOREHALL.

The history, after 1773, of George Moore of Alicante, and his descendants, is well ascertained.

In 1783 (the Penal Code in Ireland being then somewhat relaxed), George Moore of Alicante purchased from Farragh McDonnell of Mucklon, the property now known as the Moorehall estate, situate on the northern shore of an arm of Lough Carra, County Mayo; and in the same year he succeeded to the Ashbrook property on the death, unmarried, of his elder brother, Robert Moore. George Moore of Alicante, about this period, returned from Spain and took up his residence in Ireland, first at Ashbrook, and afterwards at the present existing mansion house of Moorehall, which he built himself and completed in 1796. By his wife Catherine, daughter of Dominick Killikelly (whom

he married *circa* 1765), he had issue several sons, of whom the two elder were (1) John Moore, (2) George Moore. The eldest son, John Moore, joined the French, in Mayo, in the rebellion of 1798, and was appointed by General Humbert "President of the Republic of Connaught"; but, after the French had retired from Castlebar, John Moore was captured by the British forces and sent to Dublin to stand his trial for high treason; but he died in prison before trial. His father, George Moore (previously of Alicante, but then of Moorehall), died in 1799, and was succeeded by his second (but eldest surviving) son, George Moore. He married (1807) Louisa, daughter of the Hon. John Browne, sixth son of John, first Earl Altamont, and died in 1840. He was succeeded by his eldest son, George Henry Moore, of Moorehall, who was twice M.P. for County Mayo. He married (1851) Mary, daughter of Maurice Blake, of Ballinafad, County Mayo, and died in 1870, leaving issue several sons, of whom the eldest, George Moore—the well-known writer—is the present proprietor of Moorehall; and the second son, Colonel Maurice Moore, C.B., of the Connaught Rangers, distinguished himself in the recent Boer War.

ANCESTRY OF SIR THOMAS MORE.

Before concluding, I would like to put forward a suggestion as to the ancestry of Sir Thomas More. He was born on 7th February, 1478, and was the eldest son of John More (afterwards Sir John More, Knt.) by his first wife Agnes, daughter of Thomas Graunger. This John More (who was born in 1453) was admitted a member of Lincoln's Inn in 1474-5, and was a Bencher of that Inn in 1490-1; he was created a Serjeant in 1503; in 1518 he was made a Judge of the Common Pleas, and (presumably) then knighted; he was transferred to the Court of King's Bench in 1522; and died in 1530. He was the son of another John More, who in 1464 was "steward" of Lincoln's Inn, and was, in 1470, admitted a member of that Inn, "because as Butler and Steward, which offices he had long held, he had faithfully borne himself, and would take no wages for the time he held the office of Steward."¹ The ancestry of this last-mentioned John More (the Chancellor's grandfather) has never been ascertained.

Cressacre More, in his "Life of Sir Thomas More" (before referred to) writes: "Judge More" (*i.e.* Sir John More, the Chancellor's father) "bare arms from his birth, having his coat quartered, which doth argue that he came to his inheritance by descent; and, therefore, although by reason of King Henry's seizure of all our evidences we cannot certainly tell who were Sir John's ancestors, yet must they needs be gentlemen; and, as I have heard, they either came out of the Mores of Ireland, or they of Ireland came out of us." Now, Cressacre More, in this somewhat Delphic reference to "the Mores of Ireland," cannot have meant the

¹ "The Black Books of Lincoln's Inn" (published, 1897): vol. i., at p. 51.

family of More or Moore of Mellifont, County Louth, because the ancestor of that family—Sir Edward More—first came to Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. But there was an Anglo-Norman family of More which had been settled at Barmeath, County Louth, as early as 1407, at all events. It is true that Lodge (Archdall's edition of Lodge's "Peerage of Ireland," vol. ii., at pp. 92-94) states that William More "of Barmeath" (living in 1603) was the fourth son of Sir Edward More of Mellifont; but that statement is certainly wrong, and the family of More of Barmeath, County Louth, does not appear to be in any way related to that of More or Moore of Mellifont. The following entries from the Patent Rolls of Ireland clearly prove that the family of More of Barmeath was settled there, long before the coming to Ireland, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, of Sir Edward More of Mellifont and his brethren. Patent Rolls of Ireland, 9th year of Henry IV. (A.D. 1407): "Will 'More de Bernemeith dat 6^s 8^d pro carta que non ponatur in Assis' Trym 29 Nov." Patent Rolls of Ireland, 27-30 Henry VIII. (A.D. 1535-1538): "Grant from the King to Richard More of Barnemeith, County Louth, Gent., brother and heir of Thomas More deceased, vizt., the son of William More, father of said Thomas, which Thomas died without issue male: General Livery of the lands of said Thomas."

It would be a very interesting subject for investigation to ascertain if John More of London, the grandfather of Sir Thomas More, was a member of, or descended from, the family of More of Barmeath, County Louth. The passage quoted from Cressacre More certainly points that way. On the other hand, the family arms borne by Sir Thomas More—argent, a chevron engrailed between three moorcocks, sable—bear no resemblance to the arms borne by the family of More of Barmeath, which according to Mr. G. D. Burtchaell (*Journal*, vol. xxxi., at p. 434) were—sable, two bars argent.

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family of More or Moore of Mellifont, County Louth, because the ancestor of that family—Sir Edward More—first came to Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. But there was an Anglo-Norman family of More which had been settled at Barmeath, County Louth, as early as 1407, at all events. It is true that Lodge (Archdall's edition of Lodge's "Peerage of Ireland," vol. ii., at pp. 92-94) states that William More "of Barmeath" (living in 1603) was the fourth son of Sir Edward More of Mellifont; but that statement is certainly wrong, and the family of More of Barmeath, County Louth, does not appear to be in any way related to that of More or Moore of Mellifont. The following entries from the Patent Rolls of Ireland clearly prove that the family of More of Barmeath was settled there, long before the coming to Ireland, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, of Sir Edward More of Mellifont and his brethren. Patent Rolls of Ireland, 9th year of Henry IV. (A.D. 1407): "Will 'More de Bernemeith dat 6^s 8^d pro carta que non ponatur in Assis' Trym 29 Nov." Patent Rolls of Ireland, 27-30 Henry VIII. (A.D. 1535-1538): "Grant from the King to Richard More of Barnemeith, County Louth, Gent., brother and heir of Thomas More deceased, vizt., the son of William More, father of said Thomas, which Thomas died without issue male: General Livery of the lands of said Thomas."

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THE DUBLIN "CITY MUSIC" FROM 1560 TO 1780.

BY WILLIAM H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

[Submitted MAY 29, 1906.]

THE Dublin Corporation Records supply many details of the "City Music," or the Corporation Band of Music—also known as the "Company of Musicians of the City of Dublin"—from 1560 to 1780. Twelve volumes of the "Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin" have appeared since 1889, seven of which were edited by the late Sir John Gilbert, whilst the later volumes (viii. to xii.) have been published by the Corporation under the conjoint editorship of Lady Gilbert and John F. Weldrick, Esq., F.R.S.A. To the extreme courtesy of Mr. Weldrick I owe much of the matter in the present paper. I myself have taken copious notes of the entries relating to music from these invaluable municipal records, but Mr. Weldrick kindly furnished me with the full *verbatim* entries.

Towards the middle of the fifteenth century we meet with the first indication of the "City Music," or the Waits of the City of Dublin.¹ Some years later a band accompanied the pageants of the city guilds, and it would seem that they took part in the great Corpus Christi procession of the year 1498. In 1528, and again in 1541, reference is made to music as an accessory at the comedies played in Dublin. However, the first explicit mention of the "City Music" as such is in June, 1561, when at the conclusion of the mayoral banquet given by Thomas Fitzsimon, at which Lord Deputy Sussex was present, "the mayor and his brethren, *with the city music*, attended the Lord Lieutenant and Council to Thomas's Court by torchlight."

We can, therefore, state with tolerable certainty that the Dublin City Company of Musicians was in existence in the early portion of the sixteenth century, and that it was organised on a proper basis in 1560. In January, 1569-70, it was agreed at a meeting of the Corporation "that the musicians of this city shall have their livery-coats yearly, with a cognisance of this city upon every coat, at the charge of the treasurer of this city; in consideration whereof and of their salary appointed, the same musicians shall, three several days or nights every week, as time of year shall require, serve in and throughout the city and suburbs, as the like musicians do in the cities of England, and at the like hours, and that allowance shall be made for their liveries given before this time."

¹ In 1469 Richard Bennet, "piper," and John Talbot, "pyper," were admitted to the franchise.

Thus it will be seen that the "City Music" of Dublin in the sixteenth century was modelled on the City Musicians of London and other English cities, and the instruments used were of the hautbois kind—the instrument (hoboy, oboe, or wait-horn) giving the name to the band of musicians who formed the waits. This is evident from an entry in volume ii. of the Corporation Records, under date 7th July, 1591, which makes it clear that Edward Gore and his associate-musicians were admitted as "waytes for this cittie, to use theire instrumentes of *howboyes and other instruments of musyke* as occasion shall serve." At the same city assembly (July, 1591) it was agreed that every alderman shall pay eighteen pence yearly; "every of the numbers of *xlviij.*" shall pay twelve pence yearly; and "every of the four score and sixteen" shall pay nine pence yearly, and "every house in the city other than the houses of the said persons" shall pay four pence yearly, "the same to be paid every half year during our good liking of the said musicians." By the terms of this agreement the musicians were bound to be present "on all festival and station-days" in attendance on the mayor, but it is quaintly added: "And, as for those of Her Majesty's Privy Council, and others, gentlemen of good account, dwelling in this city, and all others repairing to this city, we refer to their own getting. It is thought fit that they shall keep out all other musicians and minstrels."

From 1559 (on the death of Queen Mary) to 1579, music was utterly neglected at both the Dublin Cathedrals, and no salaried lay organist was appointed until the close of the century. One of the Vicars-Choral, Rev. Walter Kennedy, acted as Organist and Master of the Choristers of Christ Church from 1582 to 1595. There is an interesting reference to this clerical organist in the Corporation Records, in January, 1583-4, as follows:—"Walter Kennedy, clerk, Vicar-Choral of Christ Church, was admitted to the franchise by special graces with condition that he shall attend with his boys upon the mayor, and sing on station-days and other times when he shall be called upon during his life." We can infer that at this period the choristers of Christ Church sang at the mayoral banquets and civic festivals, just as they sang four times a year at the Court of Exchequer, receiving their wonted fee of ten shillings. It is of interest to add that until the year 1869 four choristers from Christ Church, and two Vicars-Choral, escorted by the verger, attended the Court of Exchequer quarterly, and sang the accustomed anthem. Mr. John Horan, the veteran organist of Christ Church, who had been a chorister from 1841 to 1846, is the last surviving member of the singers who took part in this quaint observance.

Rev. Walter Kennedy, freeman of the City of Dublin, continued to act as organist of Christ Church till February, 1595-6, when John Farmer, the well-known English madrigal composer, was appointed at a salary of £15 per annum. Farmer resigned in June, 1597, possibly owing to the disturbed state of the kingdom.

The next entry relating to the City Music is in October, 1599, which I here give in full, merely modernising the spelling:—

"It is further agreed, by the authority aforesaid, upon considerations moved in this assembly, that William Huggard, *musician*, and the rest of his fellows, musicians of this city, shall have the same allowance or stipend that formerly they had, to be paid to them by every citizen in sort, as the same was formerly granted, so as they must not depart this city without Mr. Mayor's license, and that not to exceed eight days, and they must use the course accustomed for their watch three times every week; and that, towards their better maintenance and encouragement, they shall have of this city's charge twelve yards of cloth every year for livery-cloaks, the cloth to be blue or watchett colour, with the city cognizance, which allowance they shall have during their good behaviour and diligent attendance, both in the watch and on station days, and at all other times when the mayor shall call them."

On the accession of King James I. in 1603, William Huggard was continued in his office as leader of the Company of City Musicians; and in October, 1604, an order was made that the usual payment be made to said Huggard and his fellow-musicians, "provided that they have a full consort of good musicians."

During the reign of King James the advent of strange, or "foreign," musicians gave much trouble to the "City Music," and hence, after repeated applications for redress, an order was made by the Corporate Fathers on July 17th, 1618, empowering said petitioner and his company to arrest and sue all strange musicians, not being freemen, that they shall find henceforward to intrude on them within this city and franchise thereof," a proviso being added that the city musicians have a full consort "for singing and playing upon all occasions," and that henceforth they were "to play about the city thrice every week, videlicet, every Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday morning, in summer and winter, and not to neglect the same any more."

A further order was made respecting their livery in January, 1619-20, when, in addition to the customary twelve yards of broadcloth, William Huggard and his fellow-musicians were given "three yards of broadcloth at thirteen shillings and fourpence, Irish, per yard." A stipulation was, however, made that the City Music "should always maintain a good singing-boy." I am inclined to think that this provision was made, as the choristers of Christ Church were probably debarred from assisting the "waits" as had been done since 1583. At the same time, it is as well to state that the authorities of Christ Church at this epoch must have availed of the services of the city musicians, for there is a record in the Chapter Acts of payment to "the two sackbuts and two cornets for their service and attendance in this Cathedral."

William Huggard, who had been bandmaster of the City Music for thirty-four years, died in 1632, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

John Huggard, in the office of "keeping a set of musicians to attend upon the city in such sort as his father did, and with the same fees and perquisites." The fees, as we learn from another entry, were £10 per annum; and in October, 1636, it was agreed that "the yearly stipend of ten pounds, Irish, be augmented to ten pounds sterling, English money," on condition that said musicians "keep their constant waits three times a week, from Michaelmas until Shrovetide yearly," and also that they keep "a good singing-boy."

Notwithstanding the inharmonious state of civic government during the "great Rebellion," an order of July, 1645, confirms to John Huggard and his fellow-musicians the same fees and perquisites as had formerly been granted to Edward Gore and his band of music. It is added that the musicians are "to rest contented with their present salary, and not to expect any other reward from the city except their yearly livery."

Under date 7th July, 1654, there is an entry in the Corporation Records, that on the recent death of John Huggard, James Clayton, musician, was given the leadership of the City Music, and he was duly confirmed in his post, "with the fees, wages, and perquisites thereunto belonging, during the pleasure of the city."

A few years after the Restoration, the "City Music" was reconstructed, and in 1667 the Council ratified the appointment of John Evans as Master of the Company of Musicians to the City, in succession to James Clayton, deceased. The minutes of the Council, under date of the second Friday after Easter, 1667, not only approve of the appointment of John Evans as Master of the Music to the City, but the place of deputy was given to Patrick Jones, "and the rest to continue in their several stations as now they are."

The number of city musicians at this epoch was ten; and in 1669 it was ordered that their salary be fixed at forty shillings each, with an allowance of £30 for their badges, which were to be instead of livery-cloaks. These badges, bearing the city arms, were to be given to the members of the city band, who were bound "to provide security for the re-delivery of same to the city." It was further ordered: "that the said musicians do go in and through the city and suburbs with the city waits every usual night, from the fifth of October to the fifth day of February, yearly."

Between the years 1671 and 1677 grave abuses are reported in connexion with the company of musicians, namely, "disorderly conduct," "quarrelling amongst themselves," "neglecting their duties," etc.; and in consequence, in 1678, the Lord Mayor (John Smith) and Sheriffs (James Collingham and William Billington) were deputed to select a fit company of musicians, whose names are as follows:—John Evans, Patrick Jones, John Tollitt, Thomas Tollitt, Charles Tollitt, Edmond Pinnington, Nicholas Roche, Walter Trotter, Roger Taylor, and John Lewis—the first four being conjointly made "Masters of the

said Music," with powers to govern said company under the direction of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs for the time being. It was also agreed that these ten musicians "do wear their liveries according to former act of assembly."

Matters appear to have gone on smoothly from 1678 to 1688; and the only entry on the civic roll has reference to the appointment on April 11th, 1684, of Edward James and William Trender, as "two of the musicians of this city," instead of Walter Trotter and Edmond Pennington.

Naturally, the events of 1687-88 did not make for harmony in any sense, and hence we are not surprised at finding a petition from the City Music for payment of the arrears of their salary. Accordingly, on April 27th, 1688, it was ordered that the treasurer of the city do pay the city musicians "the sum of twenty pounds sterling, in lieu of their salary due at Christmas last, *as soon as money comes into his hands.*" The names of the "Cittie musicke" at this date are given as:—Patrick Jones, John Tollett, Thomas Tollett, Charles Tollett, Nicholas Roche, Roger Taylor, John Lewis, Charles Brickenden, Edward Shuttleworth, and Richard Holt.

From other sources we know that the City Music was occasionally heard at the Tholsel (erected in 1683, at the corner of Nicholas-street, south side of Skinner's-row), and also on the entrance of King James into Dublin, on March 24th, 1689. Needless to say, after the Battle of the Boyne, in 1690, the Williamites got into power, and a Whig Corporation took over office.

During the mayoralty of Sir Michael Mitchell (1691-2), the City Music was reorganised, with Patrick Jones as Master. In answer to the petition of the company of musicians, the following entry appears under date of April 19th, 1692, in the *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*:—

"Whereas, Patrick Jones and the rest of the City Music preferred their petition to the said assembly, showing that several persons in and about this city, under the name of the petitioners, go about publicly in companies to persons of quality and others to play, and receive money from them in the petitioners' name, and thereby deprive them of their livelihood, and intrude on the privilege allowed them, *to the lessening the grandeur of the city*, and contrary to the practice of other corporations in England. . . . It is therefore ordered and agreed that justice be done to the petitioners, and that such persons as shall presume to play upon instruments of music for lucre or gain, not licensed by the city or the Government, be punished according to law in such cases provided."

In 1695, the "City Music" procured from England a new set of wind instruments at a cost of £20 sterling, and performed at the Tholsel on October 8th of that year, on the day of thanksgiving for the

preservation of His Majesty's person, and the taking of Namur. Of course, the musicians expected to be recompensed for this outlay, and, therefore, Patrick Jones, Charles Brickenden, and Roger Taylor, on behalf of their brethren, petitioned the Corporation. An answer to this petition is entered under date of July 17th, 1696, and the city treasurer was empowered to pay the petitioners five pounds sterling "towards the expenses they have been at in providing their present wind instruments."

Between the years 1692 and 1702, the names of John Walter Beck, Richard Roberts, John Crackinthorpe, Henry Etherington, Thomas Johnson, James Johnson, and Stephen Bannister, appear as members of the City Music, with Patrick Jones as leader. In July, 1704, John Stephenson, "musicion," was admitted *vice* Henry Etherington, deceased; and in July, 1708, Ralph Marsden was given the place vacant by the death of Richard Roberts.

A quaint entry appears in July, 1713, which I transcribe in full:— "Upon the petition of James Johnson, city musician, under suspension for giving Mr. Sheriff Surdeville unbecoming language in his drink, praying to be restored upon his begging pardon and great submission, ordered that the petitioner making such public satisfaction to the injured Sheriff as he shall accept, the petitioner's suspension to be taken off, and not sooner."

In May, 1715, on the petition of Roger Taylor, Edward Twisleton, James Johnson, and Thomas Johnson, "under suspension for their misbehaviour to the present Lord Mayor and Sheriffs," said musicians were re-admitted to the City Music. On the same day Richard Hart, John Johnson (*vice* Charles Brickenden, deceased), William Hodgkinson, Robert Hackett, Sprackling Dowdall, and George Whiteman were admitted "to be of the City Music during the city's pleasure."

At a meeting of the Corporation in January, 1715-6, on the petition of William Clayne, it was ordered that he be admitted "a musician of the city of Dublin"; and on the same day Edward Crackenthorpe was reinstated in his former position as one of the city musicians. In 1719, William Taylor (*vice* John Johnson), Garret Comerford, and Peter Fitzgerald were admitted as city musicians; and in July, 1720, Lewis Layfield was given a vacancy.

Early in 1723, dissatisfaction was felt at the condition of the City Music, and on April 9th of that year, a Corporation committee reported that Francis Dowdall, William Clegg, and William Taylor should be dismissed, and their places filled by George Wade, Hugh Read, and Jeremiah MacCarthy. It was further ordered: "That Mr. Lewis Layfield be appointed overseer of the said music by the name of major hautboy, and the said music [*sic*] for the future to wear blue coats and laced hats, to be provided by them severally at their own expense." This report was confirmed by the city assembly in May following.

Lewis Layfield, "major hautboy," was a London actor, and settled in Dublin. He certainly effected some reforms in the City Music, and got their allowance increased from forty shillings each to £4 per annum. Another musician connected with the theatre was Callaghan McCarthy, who was admitted one of the City Music, in October, 1725, *vice* Hugh Read, deceased. This McCarthy was appointed leader of the Theatre Royal, Aungier-street, in 1735, and had an annual benefit till 1741.

On March 14th, 1727-8, William Jackson was appointed to fill the place vacant by the death of Mr. Fitzgerald. In 1733, Robert Hackett and George Fitzgerald were admitted to be of the City Music. Lewis Layfield was dismissed in April, 1733, for greatly neglecting the duty of his office, and Rice McCarthy was given his place. In April, 1735, William Meakins, a freeman of the city, was given the place vacant by the death of Robert Hackett; and in 1738, Garret Comerford's place was filled by Benjamin Johnson. In July, 1741, William Jackson the younger was admitted one of the city musicians, *vice* George Nangle, deceased.

Apparently Rice McCarthy did not attend to his duties, for in January, 1741-2, in the petition of Philip Caffrey, musician, McCarthy is said to have been absent for several years. Caffrey, who describes himself as having been for four years a trumpeter in Lord Cathcart's regiment of horse, was given the vacancy.

In April, 1745, Sam Lee, "Music Master," was given the vacancy in the City Music in the place of Thomas Johnson, deceased. This Sam Lee was a most distinguished musician, and kept a music-shop. He determined to reform the City Music, and in 1751, formed a new band, the Corporation giving £40 a year. The new band was formally approved of by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs at Christmas, 1752, the names of the ten members of the City Music being:—Samuel Lee, William Jackson, John Clarke, James Forster, Rowland Jacob, Frederick Seaforth, George Fitzgerald, Thomas Kelly, Callaghan McCarthy, and George Wade. So satisfactory did the new band prove, that in July, 1755, the amount of their salary was raised to £60 a year.

In 1758, Sam Lee was appointed musical director at the new Crow-street Theatre, and he removed his music-shop to No. 2 Dame-street. Six years later he retired from the City Music; and in 1765, Henry Mountain, an eminent Dublin violinist, was given the direction of the Band of the City Music.

From 1766 to 1779, the only references to the City Music in the Corporation Records are the annual payments to Henry Mountain, "and the rest of the Band of City Music." Mountain, like Sam Lee, kept a music-shop at 20 Whitefriar-street, and, as a violinist, is highly praised by Michael Kelly in his "Reminiscences." His son, and namesake, was even more famous, and, in 1791, was leader of a band in

Lord Barrymore's Theatre in London, succeeding Baumgarten as leader of the band at Covent Garden in September, 1794.

At a future date I shall give the history of the last years of the City Music.

It is only right to add that Mr. Henry Campbell, Town Clerk, has given me, on behalf of the Corporation, permission to publish the above extracts from the Corporation Records.

NOTES ON CERTAIN PROMONTORY FORTS IN THE COUNTIES
OF WATERFORD AND WEXFORD.

BY THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, M.A., M.R.I.A.

[Submitted MAY 29, 1906.]

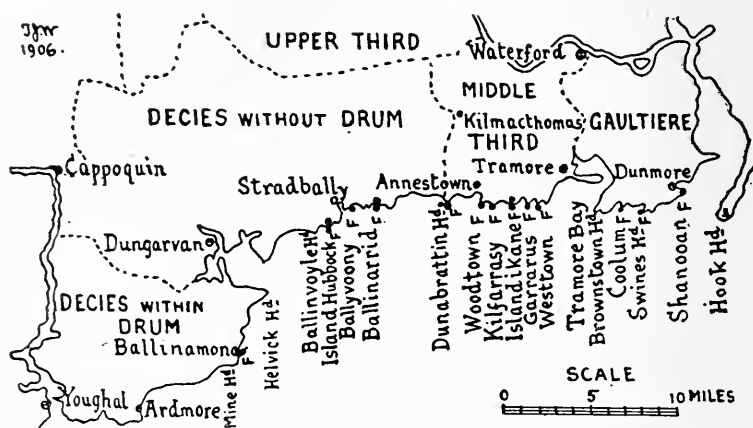
THE coasts of Ireland, wherever their nature affords suitable headlands, are rich in a form of fortification, simple, but, from its adaptation of the natural defences, most efficient, called "Promontory Forts" or "Cliff Castles." Some would call them "Mediterranean Forts"; but the last term, like "Danish Forts" and "Druids' Altars," commits one to theories more or less definite. Avoiding, therefore, this phrase, and that of "Cliff Castles" as having a different connotation from that of forts, let us use the terms "promontory" or "cliff" forts, which neither suggest nor bind one to any theory as to the age or builders of these works. So little have these forts been studied that I regard it as desirable to give even this very small contribution to Irish field work. I have felt for many years the necessity for filling up this gap; but owing to the remote places in which so many cliff forts occur, it is a work for many persons rather than for one whose field of work is limited by many causes.

A most fascinating study it has proved to be; and it is wonderful that many have not examined these monuments, and that notes on the majority of the forts are not to be had. The structures by their very nature occur in the boldest and most picturesque spots of the coast. Those who have joined the sea voyages of the Society round Ireland will recall the noble beauty of several of these sites: the great fort- and cliff-crowned hill of Ben Madighan over Belfast; the rugged "Balor's prison" of Torry Island; the huge tower of rock fenced by Doonvinalla; the cliffs and bays at Doonamoe; Dubh Cathair in Aran; Doondoillroe in Clare; the hill that overlooks the Blasquets and bears Dovinia's ogham pillar at Doonmore near Sleah Head; the ramparts of Dunbeg, and the great entrenchments at Babinbun.

The first attempts to deal methodically with the promontory forts of any one county were those of the Rev. Cæsar Otway in "Erris and Tyrawley" in 1841, invaluable for the forts of the Mullet and northern Mayo. In 1879 G. W. Atkinson, the learned editor of "The Ogham-inscribed Monuments of the Gael"—the posthumous work of Richard Rolt Brash—published a list of the promontory forts in County Cork (p. 101). It includes Dunmore, Dunbeg, Dunworly, Dun Cathair, Knockadoon, Donour, Dunmanus, Dunabratinn, and the Old Head of

Kinsale. He notes how many of the names which begin with Dun are found at headlands where no earthworks now occur.

Mr. R. A. S. Macalister, in his survey of the "Ancient Settlement in Coreaguincy," round Fahan, 1898, next published¹ from the Ordnance Survey maps a list of forty-six names of existing earthworks. I next published a list, far from complete even to my present knowledge, in "The Ancient Forts of Ireland,"² in 1902. It gave some seventy names, and at these sites thirty-four entrenchments were noted as existing. This list may be now revised, though I fear with but little hope of finality, clear traces of fosses and mounds having been found on unmarked sites; but a complete list can only result after far more extensive



THE PROMONTORY FORTS, COUNTY WATERFORD—F, FORT; HP, HEAD.

methodical work is accomplished than has been as yet carried out, especially on the Ulster coast and the cliffs of Cork and Kerry. If it be not too soon to attempt classification, I may venture to suggest the following:—(a) The simple promontory fort, with a single wall or mound and fosse. (b) The complex fort of several earthworks with or without a wall. (c) The "entrenchment and citadel," and (d) the multiple fort with a fenced promontory and lesser fortified headlands connected with it.

THE EAST COAST.

Commencing with County Dublin, we find on the coast, between Skerries and Rush, the large entrenchment of Dromanagh,³ from which a cave leads down to the shore (O. S. 8); the Garden Fort on Gouge Point,

¹ *Trans. R.I.A.*, vol. xxxi., p. 209.

² Page 126, section 120.

³ Mr. A. Roycroft kindly gave me notes on this fort. D'Alton barely alludes to "some curious earthworks" there. South from it in Rush townland is another headland having a cairn called the "Giant's Hill."

Lambay Island (9); and the Great Bailey Fort at the extremity of Howth (16). It is not surprising that few forts occur down the east coast, which, when not low, is lacking in projecting headlands sufficiently narrow for fort sites.

COUNTY WICKLOW.—(25) Black Castle. An entrenched headland and large earthwork to landward side.

THE SOUTH COAST.

COUNTY WEXFORD.—(44) Nook. A large entrenchment, two banks enclosing a broad headland; (50) Baginbun. An entrenched peninsula, with a fortified headland to east and two narrow headlands to west, type (a), see below. Perhaps Duncannon Fort is on an old site.

COUNTY WATERFORD.—(27) Shanooan Fort or Dunmore; Rathmoylan Fort at Swine's Head; Coolum Fort or Cloonhamgowel; (26) Westtown Fort or Illaunaglas; Garrarus Fort or Illaunacoltia; Islandikane, entrenchment and fortified headland, type (c). (25) Kilfarrasy Fort; Woodtown Fort or Green Island; Dunabrattin Head Fort, type (d). (32) Ballynarrid Fort, at Islandobrick, or Dane's Island, entrenchment and fortified headland, type (c); Ballyvoony Fort; Island Hubbock Fort, type (c). (39) Ballinamona Fort at Carrig Philip, near Mine Head. All described below:—

COUNTY CORK.¹—(78) Knoekadloon Head, near Youghal; (113) Dunbogeoy or Barry's Castle at Barry's Head; (100) Lahard or Doonpower Fort and ruins; (125) Big and Little Doon Heads, near Kinsale, in Kinure; Cummeradoona Head in Preghane; (137) Old Head of Kinsale, Downmacpatrick, or Duncearnmna Fort and Castles; (136) Portadooneen Fort; (145) Seven Heads, Dunworly Castle or Illaunbeg; (144) Dunnycove Castle on Galley Head; Dundeady Castle at same; Donoure Castle and Head; (143) Downeen Castle, Roscarbery Bay; (151) Reen Point "intrenchment"; Dooneendermotmore, at Toe Head;² (153) Doonanore Castle, on nearly isolated headland on Clear Island; (148) Castlepoint Castle, on headland near Toormore Bay; (147) Doonlea; (146) Dunlough Castles at Three Castle Head;³ Illauncaheragh, detached rock in Caher;

¹ The following views of fortified headlands are in the DuNoyer sketches, R.S.A.I. Library:—CORK, Dooneen, Roscarbery, vol. i., p. 57; Dundeady, vol. i., pp. 50, 59; Dunpatrick, Old Head of Kinsale, vol. viii., p. 49. CLARE, Dunlicka. KERRY, Dunbeg (Fahan), vol. i., p. 25. WATERFORD, Dane's Island, vol. v., p. 13.

We possess photographs of—Island Ikane, Woodstown, Dane's Island, Ballyvoony, and Island Hubbock in WATERFORD; Dunmore and Dunbeg in KERRY; Horse Island and Dunlicka in CLARE. DUBH Cathair, ARAN. Dunnamoe and Dun Fiachra, MAYO. Dunluce and Dunseverick, ANTRIM. Great Bailey, DUBLIN. Baginbun, WEXFORD, besides sketches of Doon, near Dingle, Dundoillroe, Illaunadoon, Doonanroe, Donegal and Moher in CLARE. Doonvinalla and Doon Brista in MAYO, and Balor's Prison in TORRY ISLAND.

Also photographs of the inland promontory forts—Caherconree, Doonanmore, and MacArts Fort.

² There is a promontory with a natural arch. The cliff near it is called the Battery (151), to west of Castlehaven, which probably represents a fort.

³ This is not so much a promontory as space between a lake and the sea, the neck on the one side being fortified.

(139) Dunmanus Castle and promontory ; (138) Dooneen peninsula ; (130) Dunbeacon Castle and point ; (128) Doonbeg on Beare Island ; Illaundoonagaul, isolated point in Derrycreeven ; (127) Dooneen in Garranes ; (126) Illaunbeg "Garrison" and drawbridge in Ballynacallagh, on Dursey Island.¹

COUNTY KERRY.—(96) Cloghanecanuig or Doon, an earthwork across the neck of four narrow headlands, evidently remains of one large promontory : Tooreen or Reencashlye point ; (87) Reencaheragh Castle on neck of Doon Point ; (78) Coosheenadagallaun,² two gallans on neck of a headland : the cliff near it is named Doonroe, in Valencia Island ; (53) Doonsheane, a large headland with a narrow promontory projecting to the west, respectively Doonmore and Doonbeg, each entrenched, type (*d*) ; Doon Fort and Giant's Grave in Ballymacadoyle, near Dingle ; Doonywealaun Fort in Paddock at Ventry ; (52) Dunbeg in Fahan, wall and earthworks ; Dunmore Fort and ogham pillar in Coomenoole ; Doonbinnia Fort ; (42) Doon Point, Ferriter's Castle, and earthworks in Ballyoughteragh south ; (13) Cahercarberymore and Cahercarberbeg Forts at Kerry Head ; (9) Browne's Castle, Clashmelcon ; (8) Castle-shannon Castle and Point ; Ballingarry Castle, with underground passages to shore, and buildings and drawbridge on a detached rock 70 feet high, in Clohaneleesh ; (4) Pookeenee Castle, a long earthwork across headland in Doon West ; perhaps Ballybunnion Castle ; Doon Point and Castle in Doon East ; (1) Lickvedune Castle in Faha ; Kilconly south has fort at end of headland, and a "Dermot and Grania's bed" ; Beal or Lissadooneen Fort and gallans at mouth of Shannon.

COUNTY CLARE.—(71) Dunmore or Horse Island, near Loop Head. Headland protected by wall and mounds, settlement with souterrains and middens on the mainland ;³ (64) Cloghansavaun ; (65) Dundoillroe Fort in Tullig ; (65) Dunlicka Castle and earthwork. Illaunadoon, nearly isolated rock, type (*e*). (56) Doonaunroe Fort on Fohagh Point. Bishop's Island is probably a broken promontory once fortified ; (46) Donegal Head ; (14) Moher Fort. It had a dry stone wall⁴ and a nearly detached rock tower, type (*e*).

COUNTY GALWAY, ARAN.—(119) Dubh Cathair or Doonahair.⁵ Stone wall, huts and abattis ; a walled headland lying to west of last.

COUNTY MAYO.—(94) Caher Island, a walled headland ;⁶ (75) Doon

¹ Mr. Macalister gives Doonsorske (113) and Portadoona (151). Neither is a promontory ; each has the remains of a ring-fort on a cliff. The number of castles on the Cork headlands is very noticeable, no less than twelve given above.

² It may represent a wall embodying originally a row of pillars, such as occur both in Ireland and elsewhere in certain stone forts. It is misprinted Doonave (for Doonroe) in my former list.

³ See *Journal*, vol. xxviii., p. 410 ; *Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. vi., ser. iii., p. 445.

⁴ Lloyd's "Impartial Tour in County Clare," 1778.

⁵ Dunraven, "Notes on Irish Architecture," vol. i., p. 19 ; G. V. Dunoyer, "Archæological Magazine," vol. xv., p. 8 ; T. J. Westropp, *Journal*, vol. xxv., p. 300 ; P. J. Lynch, *Ibid.*, vol. xxviii., p. 328 ; R. A. S. Macalister, *Trans. R.I.A.*, vol. xxxi., p. 220.

⁶ *Journal*, vol. xxxi., p. 358.

Headland in Clare Island; Doonallia and Doontraneen Rocks at Clare Island, probably once fortified headlands; (54) Doonty Rocks and Gubadon-Eighter Head in Achill Island; (2-9) various promontory forts in the Mullet—Doonaneanir¹ Rock and walled fort; Doonamoe Fort,² wall, huts, and abattis; Gortbrack or Spinkadon Fort, walled; Dun Fiachra Fort; Doonaderrig Fort, walled; Porth Fort, walled; (1) Doonvinalla Fort,³ wall, and earthworks, near Portacloy; (3) Doonanieran Fort, near Broad Haven; (7) Downpatrick Head and earthworks, detached rock of Dunbrista: earthworks continue on it;⁴ (114) Doongrania rock on the shore at Inisbofin; Doonmore at the west end of same Island, with the creek of Doonkeen and rocks of Glasilladon and Alladon; Dooneenapisha on the shore of Inishark; and the headlands of Doon (84); Dooncloak (85); Doontraneen (75); and Doonmara (4); (115) Dooncen Islet and Dooneenyglas on low shore.

NORTH COAST, FROM WEST TO EAST.

COUNTY DONEGAL.—(97) Inver or Largysillagh fort. (48) Illion fort, Aran, on a shore rock.⁵ (9) Tiradon, at Fanail lighthouse. (6) Dunbalor and Balor's Prison, Torry Island, fort and castle.⁶ Duncap Head, Dooan or Green fort. Dunree Head, with modern battery. (3) Dunaff Head. (1) Dunaldragh Head. (2) Dunargus; Dungolgan Head. (5) Dunmore Head. (103) Kilbarron Castle.

COUNTY ANTRIM.—(2) Dunluce Castle probably represents an older mainland fort and rock tower, like Dane's Island. (3) Dunseverick Castle. (4) Dunineney, castle and earthwork; Kenbane Castle. (1) Carravindoon fort, on Doon Point, Rathlin Island. (4) Knocksoghey fort.⁷ In all about eighty forts, and forty-two probable sites.⁸

Besides these there are certain inland promontory forts, in all respects the structural equivalents of those on sea-girt headlands. Of these we know of Mac Art's fort on Cave Hill, above Belfast, 1181 feet above the sea; Doonaunmore, stone walled fort, near Ballinalackan,

¹ A Dooneanir cliff is found in Kerry (69).

² *Journal*, vol. xix., p. 182, "Erris and Tyrawley," p. 67, R.S.A.I. Guide, No. vi., p. 23, and Ordnance Survey Letters, County Mayo, ms. R.I.A. 14 E 18, pp. 251-255.

³ "Ancient Forts," Sect. 121.

⁴ For these forts see much in "Erris and Tyrawley," Rev. Cesar Otway. He describes Porth, p. 64; Doonaderrig, p. 65; Doonaneanor, p. 66; Dunaanmoe, p. 67; Downpatrick and Dunbrista, p. 133.

⁵ Illion is the Pluhoge of Mr. Macalister's list.

⁶ *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. i. (E. Getty, 1845), p. 113.

⁷ I hesitate to include Torr Head (large promontory and detached rock), O. S., 40, or Dunmall, which is rather a ring-fort on a cliff. There is also a headland, Doneygregor.

⁸ The above list comprises the following known promontory forts and names at probable sites:—*Dublin*, 3 forts. *Wicklow*, 1. *Wexford*, 2 forts, 1 site. *Waterford*, 13 forts. *Cork*, 15 forts and castles, 12 sites. *Kerry*, 20 forts, 4 sites. *Clare*, 6 forts, 2 sites. *Galway*, 2 forts. *Mayo*, 9 forts, 14 sites. *Donegal*, 3 forts, 9 sites. *Antrim*, 6 forts.

County Clare,¹ and Cahireonree, an entrenched and stone walled fort,² County Kerry, 2050 feet above the sea. The entrenched and walled promontory of Randown, in Lough Ree, is in its essentials a similar fortification of late date, its castle fulfilling the part of the nearly detached inner refuge found at Howth, Islandikane, Ballynarrid, Illaunadoon, and Dunluce.

DISTRIBUTION OF PROMONTORY FORTS.

The type is very widespread, but being so obvious and simple, it would be most unwise to rush to any conclusion as to the common origin of the Irish forts with those of any district of the Continent of Europe, for even the much more elaborate ring-forts yield evidence of origin very different as to the times and nationality of the founders. Here (as in the case of the ring-forts and the high motes) we must restrain ourselves from the luxury of theorising. No one with even the most elementary knowledge of the needs of Irish Archæology would call for theories in our present stage of preliminary work; it was allowable for those who sixty years ago declared that "Irish Archæology was worked out," to do this, but field workers nowadays have no excuse for ignorance of the present limitation of knowledge. We may, however, record some examples as of interest. Some inland promontory forts are found in eastern Austria and Hungary. They are formed by entrenchments cut across certain mountain spurs. Similar forts are found in Switzerland: for example, Château Chalon, in Jura, and Laufen, in Berne; the last is protected both with earthworks and a range of pillar stones across its neck, recalling Doonroe in Kerry, and Castle Coz in France. Castle Coz fort is a most remarkable and imposing monument, on a headland in Finisterre, Brittany. It has two walls and several fosses, besides an abattis of two rows of low pillars, as already noted. Inside these (on the end of Cap Sizum) were several hundred hut sites, and the place yielded traces of early Celtic and eventually of Roman occupation.³ Less remarkable examples occur on inland spurs, such as La Burette in Normandy, Caudebec, Château L'Archer near Poitiers, and other places.

As regards Great Britain, the promontory forts are familiar objects—some on headlands, as Raebury "Castle" in Kirkcudbright, with three fosses and a rampart across a sea-girt headland. Others are found across mountain spurs, such as Blackcastle Rings near Berwick. In England this type is found on headlands, notably in Cornwall, the Cliff Castle of Maen, with large, rude masonry, being a good example; the long lintel of its fallen gateway remains connecting it still more closely with typical Irish forts. Spur forts are also abundant. We note particularly the group along the sides of the Esk valley in Yorkshire, usually of single

¹ *Journal*, vol. xxxv., p. 346.

² *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. viii., p. 111 (J. Windele); *Journal*, vol. xxx., p. 15 (Mr. P. J. Lynch and Dr. Fogarty).

³ See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Ser. iv., vol. ii., p. 287.

entrenchments with occasionally a stone facing. Some of these forts have yielded finds of bronze age implements. The type occurs in Wales. We will only notice some well-known examples: St. David's Head has three stone ramparts and a group of huts; outside the walls another detached wall encloses some more huts and a dolmen. At Llanunwas the sea has cut in behind the earthworks. Some have supposed that the embankment was made to defend the bay; but we shall be able to note at Green Island and Baginbun examples so similar to the Welsh fort and so manifestly sea-cut since the building, as well as unsuited at present for any purpose of defence, that we may dismiss this theory from accounting for the works in Ireland. Excavations at St. David's Head fort seem to show that it belongs to the Iron Age.

THE AGE OF THE IRISH FORTS.—In this question also we would use great caution in laying down any statements. O'Donovan boldly dated the Dubh Cathair in Aran 1000 years earlier than Dun Aenghus. To us the great inroads of the sea on the coast of Ireland in even recent years¹ suggest a very different belief, as it is hard to imagine the survival of a headland from such remotely ancient days. Those antiquaries who regard as certain the theory that Dun Aenghus had three concentric circles, half of which huge enclosure has been undermined by the restless waves, may hold that Dubh Caher stood three thousand years ago; but the analogy of the Clare forts, and of many in Great Britain and over the Continent of Europe, rather suggests that Dun Aenghus had a ring-wall in the centre, and "half-moon" walls outside abutting on the cliffs. The comparatively recent cutting away of the neck of Islandikane and of the ends of the ramparts at Dunbeg, Green Island, and Ballyvoony, is unmistakable; so also are the inroads of the sea at Baginbun, Garrarus, Coolum, and Horse Island. The finding of a flint knife at Shanoan *may* imply great age; but, as we have often noted, caution is needed, for, in the case of single "finds," a flint knife may have been an amulet in late times, or lost on the headland before the entrenchments were dug. As to the sea-cutting implying any great age anyone who has seen in his own lifetime (as I have done) natural arches and many feet of cliff removed on the Clare coast, and a large natural arch formed in a single night,² will regard the undercutting of forts as a slight test for this question. The evidence of such cutting in Christian times occurs at Dun Brista (one of the most impressive sights as an evidence of the destruction of the Irish coast), and evidently originated in the collapse of caves; and such a collapse doubtless separated from the mainland³ the early oratory and cell at Bishop's Island,

¹ The late Professor O'Reilly has brought together a mass of such records in the *Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. xxiv. (B), part 2.

² Near Loop Head. Mrs. Macdonnell of Newhall, by a lucky chance, took photographs before and after the event from the same spot. The cleavage which originated the arch is clearly visible in the earlier photograph.

³ The monastery may even have been made in a promontory fort.

near Kilkee, as must some day happen at Doonaunroe, the next headland to the south of Bishop's Island, and at the lesser promontory fort at Baginbun.

It is very interesting to note the causes which lead to the piercing and collapse of the cliffs at these forts. Sometimes where a fault or cleavage crosses the neck of a promontory it gives at once a weak spot to originate a natural arch and a rise or depression of the ground, of which the old fort-makers invariably took advantage. Thus we can account for the bays directly behind the earthworks at Baginbun and Llanunwas, and the arch under Doonaunroe and other promontory forts. A synclinal curve in the stratification of a cliff sometimes leads to the formation of a wide arched cave; its sides collapse; and in the end its roof falls in. Two such curves naturally produce deep bays with a headland between, as at Dubh Cathair, where the slight hollow, in its enclosure and running inland, marks the space between the two rock arches which are ever being bored onward. The destruction of the end of such a headland is slight compared to the deepening of the bays on either side. When we stand in the valley, shut off from the sight and almost from the sound of the open sea by the great wall at Dubh Cathair, we still hear the frequent boom of the waves in the caverns under our feet, telling of the endless sapping that first shaped the cape ready for the ancient builders to fortify. Strange to say, the American poet has sung of such a spot, haunted by the spirits of the past and their memories—

“ I lay upon the headland's height and listened
To the incessant throbbing of the sea
In caverns under me.”

If, as seems probable, the unusual elaborateness of the entrance to Dunbeg fort, at Fahan, is a mark of comparative lateness, we may at least argue for rebuilding in Christian times. Dubh Cathair to our knowledge has been too much rebuilt in the “restoration” as a National monument to make it safe for us to argue from its present condition.

Kitchen middens rarely occur, so that we are precluded from getting light from that humble but satisfactory source. We may suppose that as a rule refuse was thrown over the cliff, though shell-heaps occur at Howth, Horse Island, and elsewhere. When Irish antiquaries can find money and time enough for regular excavations, much may be gained; but, even then, care must be used on account of the known late occupation of the entrenchments. So well adapted for defence were these headlands, that even where one of the numerous castles in the above list (thirteen in County Cork, five in Kerry, two in Clare, one in Wicklow, one in Donegal, and four in Antrim) occurs in a fort, it has sometimes been occupied down to the later seventeenth century.

HISTORICAL AND LEGENDARY ALLUSIONS.—The Irish Nennius mentions “promontoria” among British forts, but probably alludes no less to

structures on mountains and hills than to those on headlands. The Triads give the three forts of Ireland (usually understood as the three *oldest* forts) as Dun Cearmna, Cahireonree, and Dun Sobhairce, all of which, as we have seen, are headland forts, the second being on an inland spur. It will be seen how invariably these structures are called "Dun"; and though there are not a few with stone walls,¹ the term "Caher" only occurs twice, "Reeneaheragh" and "Dubh Cathair," and in each case with a "dun" equivalent—"Doon Point" and "Doon'ahard,"² *i.e.* Dun dubh Cathair.

The earliest legends make the Old Head of Kinsale or Dun Cearmna the residence of Cernmna, brother of Sobairce, of Dunseverick,³ and call Caherconree "the fort of Curoi Mac Daire," in the century before our era. If we take Dunmore, near Sleah Head, as being the fort of Dovinia or Duibhne, the eponymous ancestress of the Corcaguiny or Corca-duibhne, its origin is lost in the deepest night of mythic legend. Few of these forts find a place in our Annals or oldest legends (for we cannot regard the Bailey fort as that "Dun Criffan"⁴ which the writer of the legend in the Dindsenchas states could be seen from Meath); the legend of Balor and his "Prison" is barbarous and primitive enough, but what we learn from it as to the fort is evidently valueless, and it appears to be a hibernicised version of the legend of Danae.⁵

The Waterford forts seem to have lost their legends, and, in the majority of cases, their Irish names. We hear of a Geraldine named Mac Thomas as living 250 years ago at Islandhubboek or Teachanooan, and of the "Entrenchment" of Westtown having been used "in the last wars of Ireland"; but no legend of their founders or earlier occupants has been preserved.

CLIFF FORTS IN COUNTY WATERFORD.

Thanks to the kindness of Mr. Richard Ussher, of Cappagh, not merely in hospitality, but in guidance, help, and suggestions, and to the considerate permission of Captain R. Hawksley, R.E., to make diagrams of the plans of those forts which I was unable to measure, and to fill in the cliffs in my own plans, I am enabled to lay before the Society a Survey, complete, so far as our present knowledge extends, of the cliff forts of County Waterford. Had we a survey of the Cork and Kerry forts (those north of the Shannon having, I think, been examined, and

¹ Dunbeg, Dubh Cathair, and headland west from it, Horse Island; Dunamoe, Porth, Doonaderrig, Doonaneanir, Spinkadoon, Doonvinalla, and others. The preponderance of walled forts in Mayo is very marked.

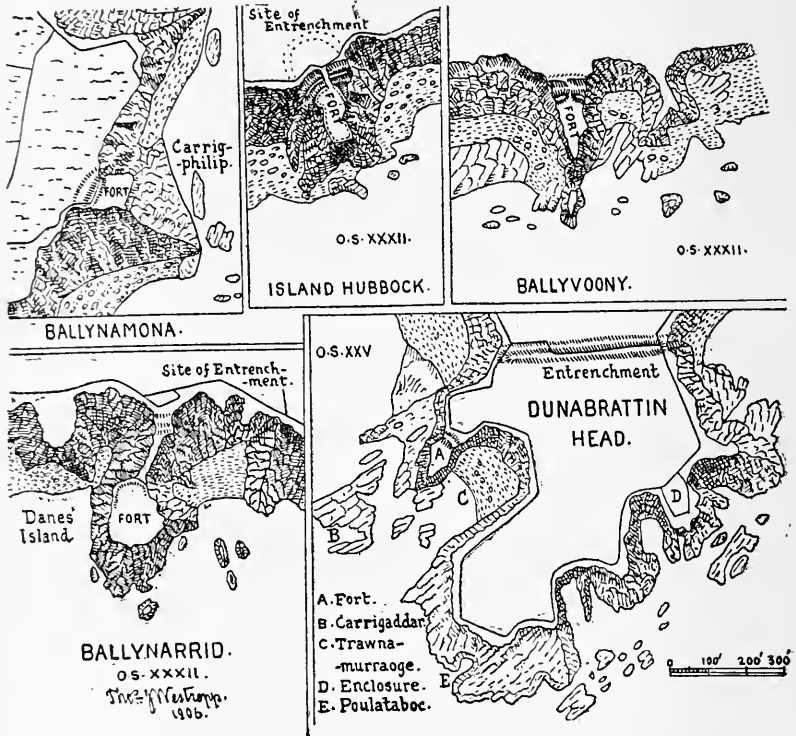
² As on the maps, the people call it "Doon' ahair."

³ Todd Lecture Series, vol. iii. (from Book of Leinster).

⁴ As Duncriffan appears to have been near the sea, it may have been the high fort levelled wantonly to make a site for the martello tower on the great bank over the harbour. The hill intervenes between the Bailey and the direction of Meath.

⁵ See *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. i., p. 113. R.S.A.I. Antiquarian Guide, No. vi. (1904), p. 2.

all the most essential facts published), we would have a fair foundation of field work on which to start more elaborate study. I have been able to examine, with two exceptions, those to the east of Tramore; and, thanks to the careful maps placed at my disposal and Mr. Ussher's visits to the remaining forts, I hope to supply a basis which local workers can build upon: though indeed, as ever, I feel myself only a pioneer, and (especially at Islandikane) the limitation of time pressed sorely on a mere visitor, though aided by the admirable plans of the Ordnance Survey.



FORTS TO WEST OF ANNESTOWN, COUNTY WATERFORD.

Very delightful for lovers of birds, plants, and scenery, are these cliffs of Waterford. The bold headlands, ragged stacks, reefs, and pillars, rise over the waves in every direction; cape beyond cape, islet beyond islet, with natural arches and caves, and here and there a sandy or shingly beach. Rocks, golden with lichen or dark and naked, fall in precipitous escarpments, the homes of the peregrine and raven, the chough and the cormorant, while the stacks and ledges are white with gulls. To the south the sea stretches in ever changing colours, and bright with frosted-gold towards the sun; inland the gold hedges blaze with furze, and beyond all, the blue masses of the Comeraghs rise

to the north-west. The fleets of dark fishing-vessels, and the silver towers that warn ships from the death-trap of Tramore Bay, becoming plainer and clearer as we follow the coast eastward, are now seen from the summit of some bold cliff, now lost as we descend into a deep, stream-brightened glen, leading down to some lonely cove.¹

BARONY OF DECIES WITHIN DRUM.

BALLYNAMONA (39).—Mr. Ussher first called my attention to an unmarked fort in this townland, lying on a small headland called Carrigphilip. The earthworks are higher than any of the forts we examined in the adjoining barony, and the fosse is of unusual width, over 51 feet between the summits of the mounds. It will be marked, I understand, on the new maps. The headland is nearly square, and about 80 feet each way.

BARONY OF DECIES WITHOUT DRUM.

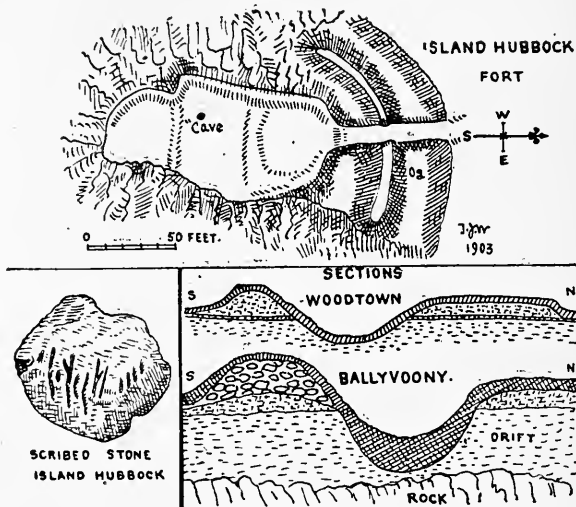
ISLAND HUBBOCK (32).—In a bay to the east of the Bluff Head of Ballinvoye, still crowned by the shattered walls of an old mansion house, a bastion or tower of rock juts out of the face of the cliff. It is in parts perpendicular, and nearly 200 feet high. The neck of this headland had a double depression, which, with a little digging, and the heaping up of a great curved mound in the middle, defends the inner fort of Island Hubbock. In 1840 there was also an entrenchment consisting of a semicircular earthwork and fosse on the mainland, which has now been entirely levelled, probably to make the fences along the edge of these dangerous cliffs.

The first fosse is 25 feet wide. A modern gangway was cut through the bank and raised across the fosses by a former tenant. The mound is nearly 14 feet thick, and 6 to 7 feet high at the roadway, but towards the ends, from the slope of the natural breaks, it is thrice as high; it is made of large stones and earth, and is very steep on both sides. The seaward fosse is 28 feet wide, deepening to the sides; there is no trace of any recent fall of the cliff; the neck, which descends to a beach, is probably as wide as when the fort was made. In the fort itself, at some long gone time, part of the eastern face with the earthwork fell bodily away, but the old bank conforms to the present western face. The platform behind the trench is 141 feet north and south, and from 40 feet to 60 feet wide; its enclosing mound is rarely 4 feet high. It has a salient angle to the west, whence a foundation ridge crosses the garth, while a large circular depression, probably a house site, and a pit, partly filled with stones, believed to lead into a "cave" or souterrain, lies between the ridge and the entrance.

¹ The townland names were as follows in 1655. Petty maps copied by Vallancey in P.R.O.I.:—No. 94, Ballinamony, Islanhobegg, Ballivoni; 92, Tamplabrick, Dunbrattin; 91, Woodstowne, Killfarissie, Island Icaue, Gairros, Great Newtowne; 89, Coolum and Dunmore.

Tradition says that "a Geraldine named MacThomas" lived "in the house in the fort, 250 years ago." The Down Survey of that period (1657) names it as *Islanhobegg*; the Irish name is "Teach an oan." On my first visit I found an irregular stone with scores like an oghmic inscription, but absolutely incoherent. I give a sketch of it herewith.

In the adjoining townland is a remarkable fort which I may be permitted to describe, though not of the class which forms the subject of this paper. We pass a bold cliff called Foilagarrane at a deep little gully with a stream. There is some tradition of eerie music being heard from this rock. The nomenclature of the coast does not seem very striking, much being taken from the birds that nest there (such names in Irish and English as "Aill na shouk," "Eagle Rock," and "Gull



PROMONTORY FORTS, COUNTY WATERFORD.

Rock"), or from animals that fell down the precipices.¹ Fort-names are (unlike those of Cork and the western and northern coasts of Ireland) very rarely Irish. We only recall Teach an oan, Dunbrattin, and Dunmore, or Shanooan.

On the rising ground in Island townland we find a fine "Killeen" or ring-mound, with steep banks $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet to 8 feet high, and 8 feet thick. It contains, near the western segment, a broken pillar stone, one of that interesting class² found in the Decies, with commemorative inscriptions to descendants of the legendary King Nia (Niath or Netta) Segaman,

¹ I would refer to the interesting articles on place-names published by Rev. Patrick Power in the *Waterford Journal of Archaeology*.

² Of the finest of these, at Ardmore, see a photograph in the *Journal*, vol. xxiii., p. 382.

King of Munster, in the century before our æra.¹ The epitaph reads, "Cunet(a)s ma(q)i muc(oi) Netasegamo(n)a(s)," but is broken in two. It is to be hoped that some steps may be taken to have it fenced or removed to a position of safety. The gateway of the Killeen was of large blocks, and faced the west. At the opposite side of the ring lies a stone with an oval bullaun or basin 20 inches by 9 inches across. A perfect but smaller and commonplace rath lies near the road to Stradbally.

BALLYVOONY (32).—The coast for some three miles to the east of Island Hubbock is devoid of suitable headlands for forts. We reached the picturesque "Blind Cove" among the woods to the south of Stradbally, and going eastward continued our search. Opposite Gull Island we noted a little spur not more than 12 feet wide at the neck, and projecting from the cliff. It bore slight marks of entrenchment, but so slight and with so little space, that I do not regard it as even the shade of a vanished cliff fort. Farther eastward, however, after passing a deep valley with a brook losing itself in the shingle of a beautiful little bay, we reached an interesting fort in the townland of Ballyvoony.

This townland is known to omic scholars as giving a name to the curious well of Tubber Cill Eilhe, lintelled with two ogham stones,² sometimes called after Stradbally. The epitaphs read: the outer stone, "Qrit . . . maqi Lobaton | afi Nia Gracoli | nia," the inner lintel, "Netafroqi maq | i t(?)." The outer stone, though broken, is less worn, and the scores more finely cut than the inner. I made rubbings of both, but failed to get the final name, given by Brash and Sir S. Ferguson as "QIT." I also noticed on a fresh-looking stone the fresh-looking scores, "Adamag . . ." in a road wall above, and to the west of the Blind Cove.

The cliff fort was a strong entrenchment, a slight outer mound, with the convexity as usual towards the land. Then a fosse, 6 feet to 8 feet deep, and within, to the seaward, a strong work, mainly of large rude blocks of stone, but without regular facing, rising 10 feet high in the middle, and 12 feet to 16 feet high at the side. It is 27 feet thick at the gap in the middle, and has recurved ends, like the (unwarranted and modern) "returned ends" at Dunbeg near Fahan. The enclosed space is about as large as Island Hubbock, 140 feet long and 36 feet to 40 feet wide. The fall of the drift banks at the sides threatens to obliterate the ends of the mound, but has laid bare a very instructive section. We see over the rock two layers, one of drift and one of dark earth. The fosse was originally cut through the drift nearly down to the rock, the drift being thrown up to the sides. The fosse has been much filled by the darker earth, which also slightly covers the banks to seaward. Finally,

¹ So O'Flaherty; others date him some generations earlier. His place in pedigrees and oghams is emphatic, and at least implies a very early tribal name and tradition.

² For these stones, see Brash, "Ogham-inscribed monuments," pp. 255-6. Ferguson, "Ogham Inscriptions," p. 77, and Mr. R. A. S. Macalister, "Irish Epigraphy," Part I., p. 8., and II., p. 55.

and apparently at a later date than the cutting of the fosse, the great bank of earth and large stones was raised practically from the level of the present sward in the garth.

BALLYNARRID (32).—For a mile and a half eastward we found no further remains, though fairly suitable sites exist at Foildarrig and Coonenacartan. At the latter we noticed some slight signs of an earthwork across the headland near a modern fence, but nothing to show the former existence of a fosse and mound; nothing, either, did we find on Rinnamoe.

The most picturesque and one of the most instructive of the cliff forts is that of Dane's Island or Illaunobrick in Ballynarrid. Nothing save an actual visit can convey any adequate impression of its natural strength and grandeur; description, views, and plans tell but little. A huge tower of dark rock, a natural castle, raises itself up out of a dark recess in the cliffs, and high above the southern headlands, nearly (and in places absolutely) perpendicular, covered in parts by shaggy mantles of long grass, and joined only by a narrow neck to the mainland, along which a dangerous path leads down and up steep slopes to the level platform on its summit. It must have been nearly impregnable to ancient warriors, with even a few defenders on its summit. The platform measures 150 feet to 170 feet across in both directions: the older maps marked the sites of three dwellings on the summit; these we could not see on our visit, the only earthworks visible being a slight fence like that at Island Hubbock, and about 4 to 5 feet high along the landward face. There was, however, in 1840, memory of, and evidently some trace of, a large entrenchment on the mainland, which has now entirely disappeared, its place being taken by modern fences. Smith, in his "History of Waterford," describes this rock as the resort of fowlers, but, as usual, tells us nothing of the earthworks. However, we can easily see that it represents an entrenched village on the cliff, with a citadel secure from any foe who did not take the trouble to blockade it—so far as we can judge, a very rare expedient in early times. To the east of the tower, in the bay, is a most curious group of monument-like rocks and islets rising over the shallow water, a huge menhir of rock, a natural edifice called Templeobrick, and numerous reefs.

Beyond, save "a cashel" at the cliff, near the old mines of Tankardstown, near Knoekmahon, we find no other fort till we reach Dunabrattin Head, four miles to the east of Dane's Island.

DUNABRATTIN (25).—The name and character of this headland told every student of the maps clearly enough that a fort had existed at the place. As a possible site it is included in the list of fortified headlands in "Ancient Forts";¹ and I was pleased to learn that Mr. Ussher on visiting it found an earthwork of unusual size. It is a great fosse, nearly 400 feet long, lying east and west across the promontory, fenced

¹ "Ancient Forts of Ireland," section 120.

on the inner side by a mound, but defaced by modern fences. It encloses a garth of about 7 or 8 acres, to the west side of which, it, like Baginbun and Doonsheane, has a subsidiary fort with a fosse and mounds across the neck of a small headland, little over 100 feet long and 40 feet wide at the neck. A small headland, but larger than the last, is fenced off from the eastern cliff. It seems probable that these little promontory forts represent the original defence of a settlement; and either because of their reduction by the sea, or that the occupants required more room, a larger space was subsequently added. If, as we think more than probable, Mr. Goddard Orpen is right as to the identity of Baginbun, we have at least one historic example of the entrenching of a larger space outside of an older fort in the twelfth century.

BARONY OF MIDDLE THIRD.

WOODTOWN (25).—Two miles to the east of Dunabrattin we reach the little village and picturesque bay of Annestown and its eastern headland, opposite Green Island and in the townland of Woodtown. It is evident that this was once a headland of considerable size. Two portions have been cut through by the sea, and a narrow arch is drilled through the centre fragment. Owing to the extreme narrowness of the southern channel, it is evident that the splitting of the Green Island¹ took place in no remote age. Another line of cleavage along the entrenchment is now being rapidly cut into, so but little trace is likely to remain of this fort for future centuries.

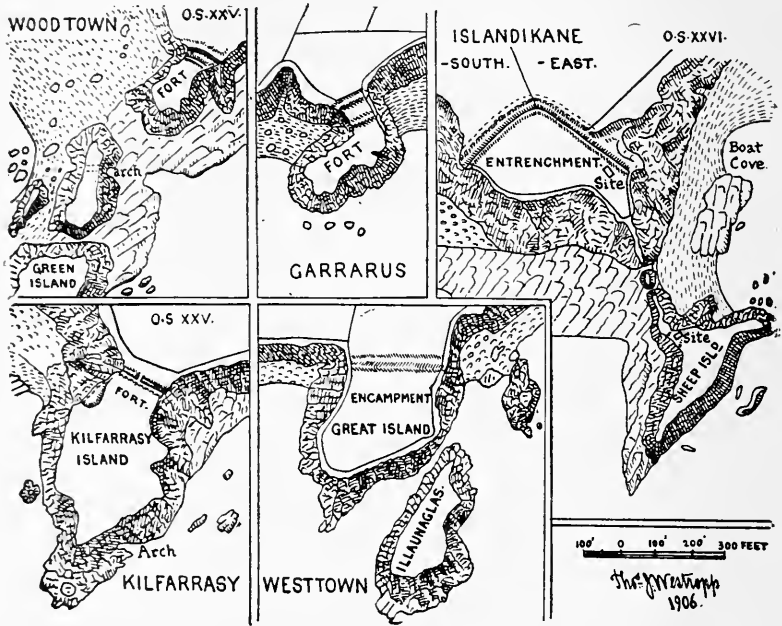
The cap of drift rises high above the rock, and, of course, where the grass cover has slipped away, the crumbling continues with but little cessation. The gap has now eaten away all traces of the mounds for 36 feet from the dangerous projecting angle to the west; thence for about the same distance westward it has swallowed up the main mound and the fosse, save the slight mounds of the outer or landward ring. The middle of the entrenchment for 120 feet is fairly perfect, though a gulf has been cut into the garth close behind it for 33 feet. The outer ring remains for 15 feet more, the cutting probably taking place along some cleavage line under the fosse. The entrenchment consists of an outward or landward mound, 18 feet wide, and 5 feet 6 inches high above the fosse, and 2 feet to 4 feet high above the field. The fosse is 6 feet wide at the bottom, and the inner mound is 7 feet 4 inches high from the fosse, and 3 feet 6 inches high above the garth; it is about 18 feet wide, like the outer mound.

The fall of the bank to the west shows us the section. Over the rock is a thick bed of pale yellow drift; above this a thin, grey layer of splinters; over this (a couple of feet deep) is a bed of darker earth

¹The frequent occurrence of the name Green Island and its equivalent Illaunaglas attached to fragments of promontories along the coasts of Munster and Connaught is very marked.

under the sward. The grey layer is undisturbed under the mounds; the dark earth covers the garth, earthworks, and fosse evenly, not occurring under the yellow drift which forms the core of the mound. The fosse shows hardly any trace of filling, and its outline is equidistant from the sward at all points. The present fragment of the garth is 170 feet by from 50 feet to 80 feet.

KILFARRASY (25).—A walk along abrupt and crumbling cliffs, rising to over 200 feet high, as we go eastward, brings us to a prominent headland in the townland of Kilfarrasy, called Kilfarrasy Island. The term is noticeable as showing how here, as in so many other places, a spot nearly surrounded by the sea, or by a stream, is called an "island."



FORTS BETWEEN ANNESTOWN AND TRAMORE, COUNTY WATERFORD.

Mr. Ussher remembers considerable earthworks on this headland, but, as so often, they were dug away to make fences. I found, however, very clear traces of the fort at about thirteen yards south from the modern bank. There was a fosse 12 feet wide, which is still marshy or full of water for most of its extent; it runs in a fairly straight line across the head, and there is no trace of recent slipping at the cliffs to either end. There was a "gangway" to an entrance 12 feet wide at 51 feet from the western cliff, and the whole work is 138 feet long, and the fosse is deepest towards the east. The inner mound was about

10 feet or 12 feet wide, but is only visible in a few places. I found no traces of hut sites or middens in the garth (which is over 400 feet long and 300 feet across at the widest point) after a careful search, favoured by the clearance of furze and heather by a recent cliff fire. At 60 feet south of the west end of the fosse is a recess or terraced platform, down the cliff, sheltered at nearly every point, and fenced on the outer face by a low mound. The view from the headland is very fine, extending from Dunabrattin to Islandikane, over a wonderful panorama of cliffs and rocks, no less than seventeen rock stacks rising to the immediate east of the headland.

ISLANDIKANE (26).—Crossing another glen and stream at a bay we ascend a bluff on whose heathery flank is a semicircular trench, deceptively like part of a ring-fort, but possibly a natural drain. We proceed along another range of wasting cliffs, past some handsome sea-rocks, one “the Eagle Rock” (shaped like a steep-roofed early oratory, with a regular doorway cut in the end), and about a mile from Kilfarrasy and two miles from Green Island find the important entrenchment of Islandikane.

We first reach a large, straight ditch running inland, and sheeted with heather and yellow gorse; the ditch is $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and rarely less than 4 feet deep. The bank to the east rises 11 feet above it, but the upper part for 4 feet or 5 feet appears to have been reconstructed. How far, if at all, this is ancient, or for what purpose it was made, I would rather leave to local inquiry. It is near the site of an old telegraph tower, levelled before 1840, and may be connected with it, but it is certainly too massive for a mere field fence, and does not lie on a townland mearing.

Passing through two more fields we find, at the edge of the townlands of Islandikane, south and east, a fine ancient entrenchment. It runs in two nearly straight lines, with a rounded corner; the west and east wings are about 230 feet and 330 feet long. There are a very slight outer mound 9 feet wide, a fosse from 3 feet to 6 feet deep and 18 feet wide, and an inner mound about 10 feet thick and high, but evidently much repaired; slight modern banks and ditches protect the sea faces, and we could not find among the heather the house site shown on the maps. To the south-east, about a hundred yards away, lies Sheep Island. A path, like that at Dane’s Island, once led to it, down and up a narrow neck, which has been cut in two places by the collapse of two natural arches. There are traces of slight old earthworks, and a rectangular house site at the head of the old neck. The island is pierced by another arch. Doubtless, we have here again the entrenched village and the nearly isolated citadel. As at Green Island, the rocks are only isolated at half tide.

It is very desirable that local antiquaries should make methodical excavations and a careful study of this most interesting spot. It is

strange that, lying as it does so close to Tramore, we cannot find any published description of it; for this there is the less excuse, as even the 6-inch map shows how remarkable is the fort at this place. That it is a holiday resort for not a few we found on our visit to the place, which fell on an Easter Monday.

A deep gully and stream lie to the eastward, bringing us down to the strand and pretty bay of Garrarus. Time did not allow me to measure, still less to plan, the two remaining forts, which we barely saw. However, by the kindness of the Ordnance Survey officials, I am able to give plans. Just above the bay the cliff fort of Garrarus stands on a steep headland opposite Illaunacoltia. The headland has evidently been deeply cut into from the west, so that it is L-shaped in plan, the outer end pointing westward; across the neck are two earthworks and a fosse running east and west. Nearly a mile eastwards, and close to the three towers and the "Metal Man," is a large entrenchment, at Woodtown, near Great Newtown Head. It consists of a fosse and bank, nearly straight, and about 200 feet long; the headland extends for nearly a hundred yards to the south. There used to be an oval hut-site in the enclosure, but it seems to have disappeared. In 1841, O'Donovan, in the Ordnance Survey Letters,¹ notes that here there were "the remains of an old entrenchment said to have been used in the last wars of Ireland." What exactly is meant by "used" and by the "wars" is so vague that the legend is practically valueless. It is all that he has to tell us of these interesting cliff-forts, and (as we have often regretted, in the case of other counties treated in these "Letters"), it is too evident that his lack of interest in the less historic forts has inflicted great loss on Irish archæology.

BARONY OF GAULTIER (27).

Three cliff-forts remain to the east of Tramore Bay. The first is found about a mile beyond the two white pillars of Brownstown Head. It lies in Coolum at Cloonhamgowel, and, like Garrarus, is on a narrow headland, bending westward at a sharp angle like an inverted L, and fortified outside the angle by a fosse and mound lying north and south.²

The second is near Swine's Head, over Stoneyeove in Rathmoylan, on a small, irregular headland, with a slight outer earthwork and wide fosse (as far as I can learn) and a high mound about 100 feet long, lying N.N.W. and S.S.E.

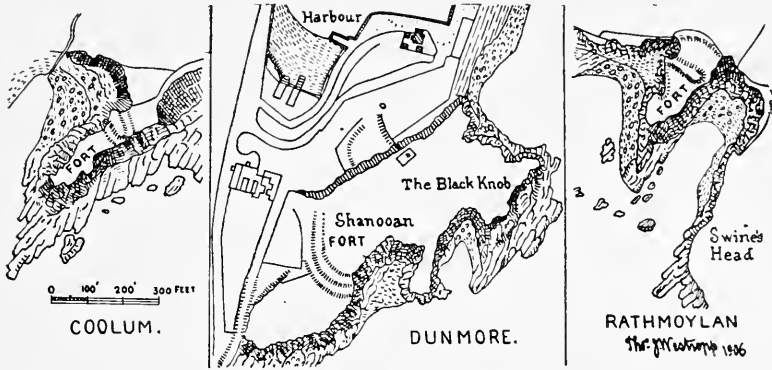
The third, which slightly differs from the ordinary type, is the fort of Shanooan³ on the Black Knob at Dunmore Harbour. The site has manifestly been greatly altered. It was fenced by a fosse and mounds

¹ MSS. R.I.A. 14 G 7, p. 30.

² The west side seems to have been greatly cut away since 1840, an earthwork to that side, and much of the garth shown on the older maps, having fallen.

³ It will be remembered that Ooan means a fort as well as a cave in County Clare, and the usage is at least as old as the date of the "Wars of Torlough," *ante* 1350.

curving across the western neck of the plateau. The Rev. G. H. Reade found a flint knife of a very early type in this fort.¹ Even in 1840 the site had been defaced by modern buildings, and the expansion of the little town and harbour beside it.



FORTS TO EAST OF TRAMORE, COUNTY WATERFORD.

COUNTY WEXFORD.

BAGINBUN.—In the barony of Shelburne, about six miles eastward from the Tower of Hook, is a spot, at all times closely connected with legends of the Norman invaders; for, time out of mind, has the story run:—

“At the Creek of Baginbun
Was Ireland lost and Ireland won.”²

Mr. Orpen, in this *Journal*, brought forward strong reasons for identifying the promontory with the otherwise unknown Dundonnell,³ where Reymond le Gros entrenched himself to wait for Strongbow, about May Day in 1170, with ten men-at-arms and seventy archers; and with a further reinforcement of less than half a dozen men put to rout, with vast slaughter, and a terrible massacre of seventy prisoners, the force of 3000 men sent against him by the Danes of Waterford.

The place where this event took place is thus described: “in rupe quadam marina quæ Dundunnolf dicitur,” and the prisoners were thrown “ab altis in mare rupibus.” The remains at Baginbun ought to have attracted students, no less for their archæological interest than for their history and the charm of the site. The headland is surrounded by low cliffs (rising abruptly from the sea, or from a sandy beach), pierced with caves, in one of which is a spring of pure water. It is sheeted with flowery fields, and has an outlook far along the reaches of low, dreamy,

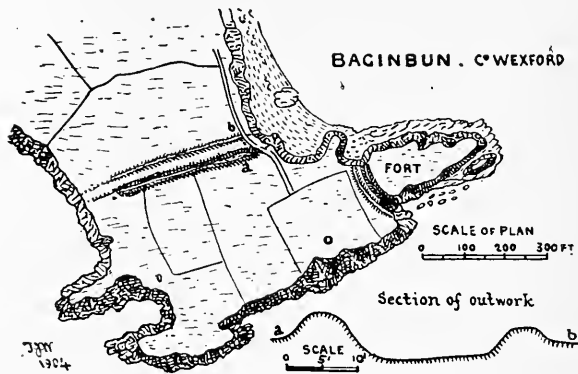
¹ *Journal*, R.S.A.I. vol. x. consec., p. 227.

² Stanihurst's *Chronicle*, 1577, quoting an “olde ancient rithme.”

³ *Journal*, vol. xxviii., p. 155; and xxxiv., p. 354.

blue coast to either side. Not far away lies that mysterious stone which has afforded so much discussion and not a few wild conjectures to readers of the *Athenaeum* and of our *Journal* for many years, and which the subject of this paper happily frees us from the need of discussing once again.

Evidently the whole promontory exceeded the wants of the first fort-makers, who selected a smaller headland, projecting from the eastern cliffs, which at that time probably included the detached rock called "Strongbow's Leap." They threw up from a deep fosse two earthworks convex towards the land. The mounds now extend for some sixty-five yards along the edge of a cliff, where the sea has cut into the headland along some line of cleavage, and for forty-one yards across the neck of the existing promontory, making the length north and south along the curve about 320 feet long. Two little promontories, called Poreen Big and Little, project from the eastern cliffs.



BAGINBUN FORT, COUNTY WEXFORD.

The Normans, as seems most probable, or, at any rate, some later occupants, made, or restored, a second entrenchment across the main headland. It is a huge trench over 700 feet long east and west, and 40 feet wide. There are two earthworks, the inner 20 feet thick and 12 feet high; the outer 12 feet thick and 7 feet high; it has been defaced in parts in making the approach to the Martello tower, and for other purposes.

This Survey, despite its imperfection, we offer (though little more than field notes) to other antiquaries. To them will belong the privilege of making search for local traditions and more detailed plans, and (we may hope) excavations. Till all this work is done, not merely for two counties, but for the other forts all around the Irish coast, little real advance can be made. In hope of furthering that advance this paper is laid before the Society.

EIGHT NEWLY-DISCOVERED OGHAM INSCRIPTIONS IN COUNTY CORK.

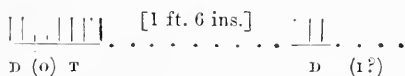
BY R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

[Submitted JUNE 18, 1906.]

DURING three weeks in April last, while busily occupied in visiting every known Ogham site in County Cork, I had the good fortune to light upon eight previously unknown inscriptions of this class—a fact that seems to indicate that a large epigraphic harvest is still to be reaped by anyone who will take the trouble to examine systematically the rubbing-posts, lintels of rath-caves, and other likely stones in the county.

The following is a list of the new inscriptions, with particulars of their positions:—

1. *Dumbulloge*, north of Cork.—A stone about 4 feet high, marked “gallaun” on the Ordnance map, sheet 63 (six-inch scale). It is in a field on the opposite side of the road from the ruined church. The pillar is old red sandstone, and is much scaled and injured: all that is legible is



2. *Derreenataggart Middle*.—A stone about 8 feet 6 inches high, standing on a conspicuous knoll on the north side of the road leading westward from Castletown Berehaven. It is the second such stone on this side of the road passed on the way, the first being just outside Castletown itself, but bearing no inscription. Someone has very carefully destroyed the inscription, by chiselling off the whole of the H-surface, and hammering away any scores that may have been upon the B-surface. A few tips of scores here and there alone have survived; but they tell of nothing but the former existence of a long inscription.

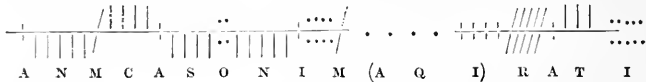
3. *Gour*.—Continuing the same road in the direction of White Ball Head it will be found to describe a curve that runs round the north side of a marshy field, just before it ascends the spur of the Slieve Miskish mountains which runs southward to the sea, three or four miles west of Castletown. A shapely slab stands in the field, 7 feet high above ground, 2 feet 3 inches broad, and 7 inches thick at the bottom. The writing is on the left-hand angle of the face turned away from the road. It has to be looked for carefully, being low down on the stone, and cut in very

minute scores: moreover the inscription has the distinction of being the shortest known Ogham epitaph, being simply



The vowels are abraded and the consonants injured. There never was any more writing, though a little consideration is needed to make sure that some marks before the C, which would make *Docari* or *Tocari*, are not actually letters. The name *Cari* is found in Irish letters in an inscription on the Aran Islands, and in Ogham in the compound name *Netacari*.

4. *Kcenrath*.—Take the road from Dunmanway towards Togher. In crossing the large bridge that spans the river Bandon, a tall pillar-stone will be observed in front, on the right-hand side of the road, and three or four fields from it, behind a slated house. There is a mutilated inscription, much clogged with lichen, on one angle of the stone: it is on the left-hand angle of the side turned away from the bridge just mentioned. My reading is



There is just room for the missing scores of *maqi*, lost by a fracture. For some time I wavered between the above reading and *Anm Modasoni*, which was my first attempt: but ultimately decided that *Casoni* was preferable.

5. *Temple Bryan North*.¹—On the famous obelisk in that most interesting spot, the old graveyard in the middle of the great *cillin* at Temple Bryan, near Clonakilty, is an Ogham inscription that seems to have escaped notice hitherto. It will be found on the angle to the left of the cross incised on one face, and just below its level. It is cut in extremely minute scores and is much weathered. I make



I can find no trace of the father's name, which is spalled off the stone. It must have been about the same length as the son's name, and have consisted of vowels and B-scores only, as H-scores would have shown on the comparatively uninjured H-surface.

6. *Ballykerwick*.—In the centre of a large field round which curves the road from the ruined church of Donoughmore to Stuake. Nothing

¹ See Mr. Crawford's note on Temple Bryan, p. 262, *infra*.—ED.

remains but a *r*, 14 inches above the ground, and an *l*, 6 inches above that. The letters are roughly scratched and do not reach the angle—in fact, I am a little doubtful as to whether this be really an inscription at all or not. The stone is 3 feet 2 inches high.

7. *Knockyroulke*.—In the third field from the road between Stuake and Barachaurin, on the left side of the road, a short distance behind Stuake Roman Catholic church. A stone 3 feet $\frac{1}{2}$ inch high with a much-worn inscription on one angle. The only really clear letter is an *m*: it has traces of scores before and after it, and I thought I made out



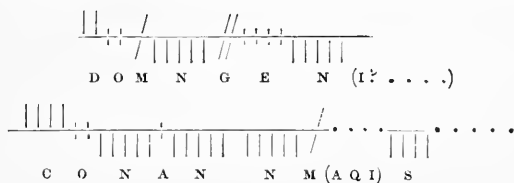
with an almost equal possibility of reading *Asmabi* or *Ormabi*.

8. *Kilmartin Lower*.—On the right-hand side of the road from Barachaurin to Athabatten, in the second field from the road, is a fine rath, in the centre of which is a souterrain (indicated on the Ordnance Survey map, sheet 50. *N.B.*—The townland name itself will be found on the adjacent sheet to the south, sheet 61). This souterrain consists of two chambers, connected by an extremely narrow and awkward doorway, low down on the left-hand side of the outer chamber. Whoever submits to the inconvenience of squeezing through this doorway—a feat I found a bare possibility—will be rewarded by seeing a magnificent Ogham inscription on the innermost lintel of the second chamber. Part of the inscription must be hidden by the masonry: what is visible is



every score being perfect except the *a*, which is lost by a flake. Till the stone can be raised, we can only guess at the meaning of this strange sequence of letters: is it *Uddmensa ce(li)*. . . . “Of U., devotee of”, a formula found also at Whitefield and Drumloghan? *Uddmensa* apparently allies itself in form with *Uddami* and *Uddramett*.

I may add that I have also examined the Ogham inscriptions discovered last year by Mr. J. O’Crowley, of Youghal, in a cave at Carhoovauier near Ballineen, and with his permission subjoin copies of these. Both are imperfect, having been cut short by the souterrain builders: No. 2 has also lost a great flake off the H-surface. The inscriptions read



STONE CIRCLE AT TEMPLE BRYAN, COUNTY CORK.

BY HENRY S. CRAWFORD, B.A., B.E.

[Submitted JUNE 18, 1906.]

THIS circle is situated beside the road from Bandon to Clonakilty, at a point two miles north of the latter, and close to Ballyvahallig cross-roads. The parish and townland are called Temple Bryan; and the monument is marked on the Six-inch Ordnance Map, No. 122. The nearest railway station is Ballinascarthy, two miles distant.



PILLAR-STONE AT TEMPLE BRYAN, COUNTY CORK.
(260 yards north-west of Stone Circle.)

It is remarkable that this so-called "Druids' Temple" had the honour of being described and illustrated in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society more than 160 years ago, in consequence of which we can

compare its present condition with what it was at that time, and unfortunately it has suffered considerable injury in the interval; four of the nine stones having been removed altogether, apparently alternate ones. The white stone which occupies the centre of the circle also appears to have had its top broken; that is, if we may take the old sketch as showing its form correctly.

Lewis, in the "Topographical Dictionary," describes the monument as consisting of five stones in a circle, with a white stone of larger size in the centre; so that the four others had evidently been destroyed before 1837, the date of his work. The centre stone is of course smaller, not larger, than the others, and is so described in the Philosophical Transactions before mentioned. Lewis also mentions "the shaft of a cross 11 feet high"; this, I think, refers to the pillar-stone of that height which stands in the centre of the disused burial-ground close by. He also notes that "The Druids' Temple" had been described by the Bishop of Clogher in the Philosophical Transactions for 1742.



STONE CIRCLE AT TEMPLE BRYAN, NEAR CLONAKILTY, COUNTY CORK.

The paper in question was in fact read by the Bishop of Cork in November, 1743; it will be found on page 581 of the volume for that year. The description given is as follows. The circle consists of nine stones about 6 feet high, and from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 feet wide; they are placed $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the smaller white stone in the centre, which is of a conical shape, and not more than 3 feet high. The circle is so arranged as to have stones fixed at the north and west points, and openings between stones at the south and east points. About 100 yards away is a pillar-stone 10 feet high, round which burials take place. Some of the stones have been reduced to their form by art. The Bishop also states that the plan is correct, having been made by him on the spot; but that the sketch was made afterwards from his description.

The photographs (figs. 1 and 2) show the existing remains of the circle, as seen from the north-west, and the pillar-stone,¹ the height of which is 11 feet above the present ground-level. When on the ground time did not allow me to prepare a new plan; but I did not notice any inaccuracy in the old one, except as to the pillar-stone, which is more than 260 yards distant from the circle in a north-westerly direction, and is not so regular in shape as shown. I could not see any evidence that the stones had been worked to shape.

I have seen several instances of a stone-circle and a pillar-stone in close proximity; but this is the only circle I know of which has a single stone fixed in the centre.

¹ An additional interest has since been given to this pillar-stone by the discovery by Mr. R. A. S. Macalister, of Ogham characters, very faintly marked as described by him on page 260. *supra*. Mr. Crawford's visit took place during inclement weather; and owing to the wet and darkness, he missed seeing the scores.—Ed.

NOTES ON THE PLACES OF ANTIQUARIAN INTEREST
VISITED BY THE SOCIETY, MAY, 1906.

BY JOHN COMMINS, MEMBER.

[Read MAY 29, 1906.]

ON leaving Kilkenny by the Callan road we see a portion of the old town wall, and one of the towers which defended this part, in the grounds of the Model School. A breech-loading cannon was found here some years ago, which probably had been mounted on the tower, and used in the defence of the city, when besieged by Cromwell. It is preserved in the Society's Museum, Rothe House, Parliament-street.

About three miles outside Kilkenny, at a short distance to the right, is seen the church of Castleinch, or Inchehologhan, as the place was formerly called. On the passing of the Irish Church Act, service was discontinued in this church, and the roof was removed, except from the chancel. Under the floor of this part, there is a vault which is the burial-place of the noble family of Desart. There is a fine mural monument in memory of Joseph Cuffe, Esq., the founder of the family in the County Kilkenny, who died in 1679. He lived opposite the church on the other side of the road, in a castle which had been previously owned by a branch of the Comerford family. No part of the castle now stands; but a large square paved area, the draw-well, and the site of the fish-ponds can still be seen. At the south side of the church there is a human figure carved in stone, but nothing to show whom it represents. St. David was patron of Castleinch.

At Cuffe's Grange is crossed *Boher Kieran*, *i.e.* Kieran's road. There is a tradition that St. Kieran used this road as a passage from his monastery at Sier Kieran, in the King's County, to his churches in the south of Ossory, several of which still bear his name. The road can be traced, and is still used as a thoroughfare, in several places, by Ballycallan, through Tullaroan parish, and on by Urlingford.

A little beyond Grange, we come to

BALLYBUR CASTLE.

This has been used as a farmer's residence probably since the original owners, another branch of the Comerford family, were dispossessed at the time of the Cromwellian confiscations; and on that account the interior of the castle is in a better state of preservation than in most buildings of a similar kind. Not only the stone arched floors yet remain, but even

the old oaken lofts are there, showing after the lapse of between three and four centuries very few traces of "decay's effacing fingers." The last owner of Ballybur, John Comerford, had his estates confiscated in 1653. His sister, Ellinor, was married first to John Kennedy, of Ballingarry, County Tipperary, and secondly to Dermot Mac Gillpatrick, son of the fourth Lord of Upper Ossory. Their father and mother, Richard Comerford and Mary Purell, daughter of Purcell, Baron of Loughmoe, erected in Grange a cross "in honour of the Holy Cross of our Lord," as the inscription shows. A portion of the base is used as a building stone in the present Roman Catholic Church of Grange. Richard Comerford's tomb, now in a ruined state, may also be seen in the graveyard at Grange.

Besides Castleinch and Ballybur, branches of the Comerford family owned castles and estates at Ballymack, Castlemorres, Danganmore, Callan, and other places. After the treaty of Limerick some of the Comerfords rose to high rank in the armies of France and Spain.

Some local historians have given Ballybur as the place where the Nuncio, Rinuccini, stayed the night before he made his pompous entry into Kilkenny; but this is mere conjecture. He mentions himself that he stopped at a villa three miles from the city; but whether the house which afforded him shelter and hospitality was situated at Ballybur, or somewhere else in the neighbourhood, there is now no means of ascertaining. The late Rev. James Graves considered Castleinch was more likely to be the place.

BURNCHURCH.

Burnchurch Castle was formerly the residence of one of three branches of the Fitz Gerald's which settled in the County Kilkenny: the other two lived at Brownsford and Gurteens. The last Baron of Burnchurch was Richard, who was transplanted to Connaught in 1654, and his estates given to Colonel William Warden. They afterwards came into possession of the Flood family by marriage. Colonel Warden also obtained, at the same time, a grant of the lands of William Fitz Gerald, who probably lived at Graigue, a short distance from Burnchurch, where there are some remains of ancient buildings. In the course of time the title (Baron) became the surname, which is very common at the present day in South Kilkenny and Waterford.

Burnchurch Castle, which is in a fair state of preservation, is a tall, square keep, covered with a thick mantle of ivy, and differing little from most other such buildings. One of the flank towers of the court-yard still stands, but the other outworks have disappeared. (*See illustration in Journal, vol. xxiii., p. 179.*)

It is almost certain that this castle can claim the distinction of having been occupied for a short time by a man whose name is writ large on a page of Irish history—Oliver Cromwell. After the siege of Kilkenny, in March, 1650, in consequence of the prevalence of the plague in the

city, he removed his army and encamped at Burnchurch. So we may fairly conclude that the man of "blood and iron" took up his quarters in the best house in the place. One of the last, if not the very last, to occupy the building was the Rev. William Swift, R.P. of the district, who died in 1817.

South of the castle lies the churchyard where the celebrated orator Henry Flood is buried. There are two vaults belonging to the Flood family, but neither contains his remains. The people of the neighbourhood point out his grave at the east end of the Protestant Church, and they say that his coffin was come upon by workmen when making a sewer some years ago. Henry Flood, who died without issue, willed his property, worth about £5000 a year, to Trinity College, Dublin, to promote the study and teaching of the Irish language. However, his next-of-kin disputed the validity of the will, and succeeded in wresting the estates from the College authorities.

The name Burn(t)church is a translation of the Irish name, but it is not certain when or how the burning took place. It is probable that the event occurred either in 1316 or in 1327. On Palm Sunday in the former year, Edward Bruce burned Kells; and it is stated in Clyn's Annals that almost the whole barony of Kells was burned by Lord Bermingham and the Geraldines in November of the latter date. Burnchurch parish was attached to Kells monastery since the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The site of an old church and a holy well are shown at a short distance over in the fields, in the direction of Ballybur. The ancient name of Burnchurch was Kiltrayn. St. Dallan was patron of the parish.

NEWTOWN ERLY.

This place got the latter part of its name from a Norman settler named Erly, or de Erlegh. It afterwards passed into the ownership of the Sweetmans.

The objects of interest in Newtown graveyard, besides the ruined church, are two monuments of the Sweetman family, with Latin inscriptions, and some coffin-shaped slabs, having incised crosses, but uninscribed.

Newtown Castle, which possesses no special features of interest, belonged to the Sweetmans; and at Rathculbin, a little farther on, are some portions of another Sweetman castle; but the principal residence of the family was at Castle Eve. Judging from present appearance, this must have been a very important stronghold in its day. It would seem to have been erected at a later time than the castles already noticed. A member of this family, Milo Sweetman, was Archbishop of Armagh, and died in 1380.

KELLS.

The Priory of the Blessed Virgin of Kells was founded in 1193 by Geoffrey FitzRobert, a dependent of William Marshall, the elder, for Augustinian Canons, four of which order he brought from Bodmin, in Cornwall, and placed in charge of the newly-established house. Several charters were granted to the monastery conferring rights and enlarging its possessions. The Prior was a lord of Parliament; and he held spiritual jurisdiction over, and received tithes not only from a number of parishes in the neighbourhood, as well as from two—Kilvemnon and Modeshel, a few miles distant, in the County Tipperary—but he had possessions in several other counties also.

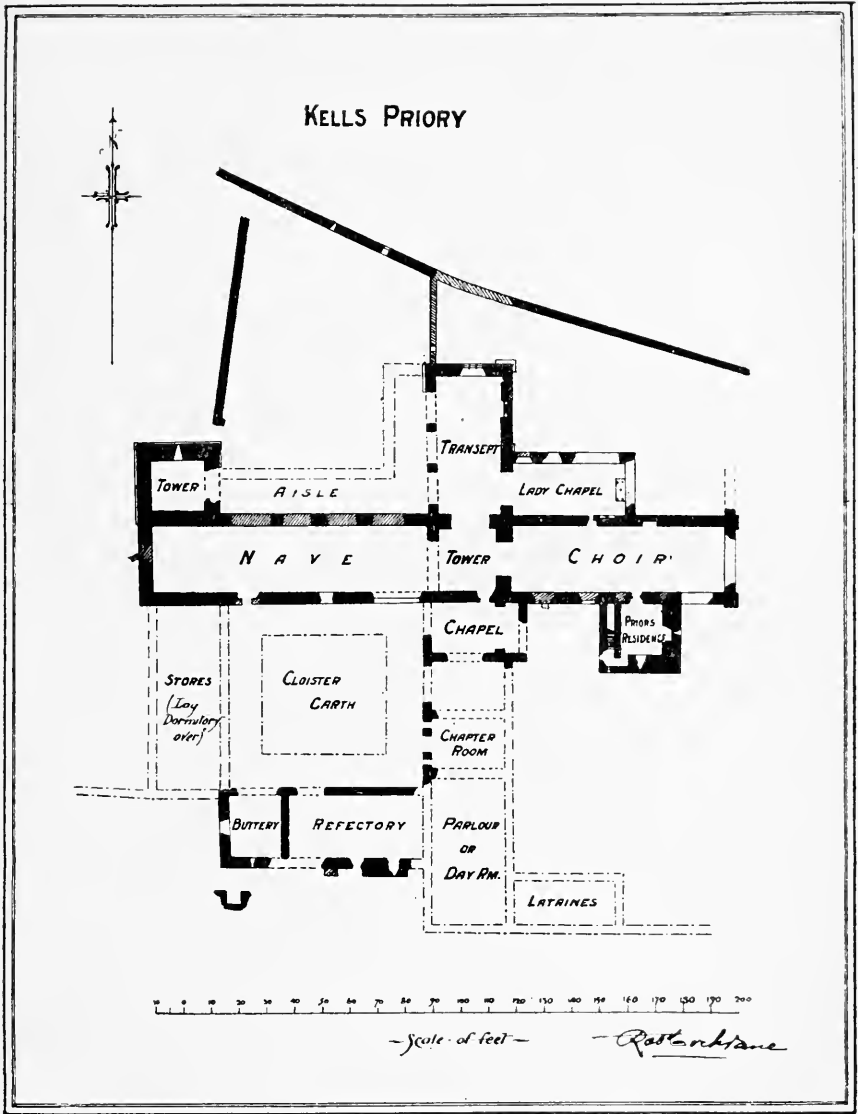
On the suppression of the religious houses, in the reign of Henry VIII., the Priory was granted to James, Earl of Ormonde. Philip O'Holohan, who had been appointed Prior by Papal Brief in 1531, surrendered the church and property in 1540.

It is recorded that three of the dissolved community received pensions, viz., Nicholas Tobin, called Prior in Morrin's Patent Rolls—probably he was only sub-Prior—£5; Edmond Laughnan, 40s.; and Nicholas Laby, 26s. 8d.

The hand of time commenced at once its work of destruction, which has continued down to the present day, so that we need not be surprised at the dilapidated state of several of the buildings. Indeed, the wonder is that so many have escaped the wreck. The Board of Works executed some much-needed repairs of the ruins a few years ago; and further repairs have recently been put in hands, and desirable improvements are being carried out. If the floors of the churches and other buildings could be lowered to their original levels, and the débris removed, it would add very much to the appearance of the place, and might bring to light a number of monuments; but the presence of gravestones and burial-spaces interferes with the levelling of the floors.

Only a few monumental slabs are visible. Under the end window of the transept there is a large flat stone, half buried in the ground, on which two human heads are carved in high relief. I must not omit to mention that upon the removal of a pile of loose stones from the altar end of the principal church, at the time of the repairs, the painted decoration on the wall plaster appeared quite fresh and distinct.

From a plan of the buildings, which the courteous and obliging Honorary Secretary of the Society, Dr. Cochrane, i.s.o., has furnished me with, and which is reproduced on the opposite page, it appears that the church consisted of chancel and nave, with a large square tower between; a north transept, having an aisle on the west side, connected with an aisle on the north side of the nave; a small chapel on the south side of the tower; and a church of considerable size, called the Lady Chapel, opening from the transept, and beside the chancel,



GROUND-PLAN OF THE CHURCH AND CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS.

with which it is connected by a small doorway. A large arch in the south wall of the tower shows the existence of a transept at one time in that direction also. A castle, evidently of much later date than the church, is attached to the south side of the chancel. This is generally believed to have been the residence of the Prior; but it is likely that the basement was used as a sacristy and repository for the sacred vessels used in the churches. The tower is plainly an after-work also. The west wall has completely fallen away.

The position of the cloister, chapter-room, and refectory, is shown in Dr. Cochrane's plan, south of the tower and nave. The cloister has entirely disappeared; only a portion of one wall of the chapter-room remains; and the refectory is in a very ruinous state at present.

Three of the four Canons brought by the founder from Bodmin ruled the monastery in succession as Prior, and one of these became a Bishop in Italy. Another, Hugh Rous, or Rufus, succeeded Felix O'Dullany as Bishop of Ossory in 1202, and was the first Anglo-Norman Prelate of that ancient diocese. He died in 1218, and was buried in the middle of the choir of the Priory Chapel. Peter Barret, Bishop of Ferns, who had previously been Canon of Kells, and who died in 1415, was buried here also.

The ruins are situated on the right bank of the King's River, within an oblong area, containing about ten acres, and which is enclosed by a strong wall. The enclosure is divided into two parts by a wall running parallel to the river, beside which flowed a stream that turned a mill, and supplied water to a brewery, and, doubtless, for other purposes also. The division next the river contains the churches and other buildings. The other part was probably enclosed at a later time, and was defended by large square towers, placed at different points around the wall. Here were probably stored the products of the farm, and the cattle were kept in time of danger.

Hardly anywhere in Ireland has an archæologist a wider or better field for study and contemplation than at Kells. In several places throughout the country battlemented and loopholed castles are met with in connexion with churches, for purpose of defence; but here we have what might be fittingly termed a monastic fortress, so well protected was it by every contrivance known at the time for keeping out an enemy.

Viewed from the high ground on either side of the river the buildings present an appearance more like the ruins of a military establishment than the home of men whose mission was to promote peace and charity.

It is said that the town of Kells was burned on three occasions. It passed through the hands of several proprietors. After the Anglo-Norman invasion it belonged to Geoffrey FitzRobert, who held it from Strongbow's son-in-law, the Earl Marshall. In the early part of the fourteenth

century the barony was granted to Sir Eustace le Poer; afterwards the De Berminghams owned the place, and subsequently it came into the possession of the Mountgarret branch of the Butlers. Most Irish Histories mention that a battle, in which the Lord Deputy Mortimer, Earl of March, was killed by the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes of Wicklow, was fought at Kells; but the more generally received opinion of late is that the fight took place at Kellistown, in Carlow. The Manor House or Castle of Kells stood near the moat, behind the present Roman Catholic Church.

The name Kells is an anglicised pronunciation of the Irish word *Cennannus*, which means "head abode." It is believed that the Kings of Ossory had a residence there in ancient times.

The Church of Kells, before the establishment of the monastery, was dedicated to St. Kieran. The ruins of the former Protestant Church probably stand upon the site. A portion of an ancient monumental stone effigy is used as a building-stone in the wall of the graveyard. In the field opposite there is the base of the old market cross.

A short distance above the village, on the side of the King's River, stood the Church of Killiney, which Dr. O'Donovan considered to be the Cill Finuche in Ossory, which the Four Masters say was burned by a party of Danes in the year 837.

KILREE.

About a mile to the south of Kells is Kilree. The objects of interest to the antiquarian in this place are a round tower, an ancient Celtic cross, a ruined church, and a couple of altar-shaped tombs of old proprietors in the neighbourhood. The round tower is a well-built structure, nearly 100 feet in height, in a corner of the churchyard, and if it had not lost its conical stone roof, it would appear as perfect as when it left the builder's hands. When Irish was spoken in the district, the people called it *Cuilleagh* Kilree, *i.e.*, Kilree bell-tower, which goes far to prove that it was used as a *belfry*. Unlike the round tower at St. Canice's Cathedral, which is built over graves, as has been clearly proved, care was taken to give this one a proper foundation. In my opinion, which I admit counts for little in such matters, this is by no means a very ancient building. I am inclined to think that it and the church were built about the same time.

The altar-tombs, with Latin inscriptions, are in the chancel of the church, and belong to the Comerfords of Danganmore, and the Howlings of Kilree. There is a portion of a wayside monument on the road near Danganmore which was erected by one of the first-named family. A branch of the Walsh family adopted the name Howling, which has now become Holden. The Wallaecs of South Kilkenny, and there are grounds for believing the family of Davis also, are offshoots of the great family of Walsh.

The cross, which is about 8 feet in height, and supported on a pedestal, is situated in a field at a considerable distance from the churchyard. The Celtic cross erected in memory of the Four Masters opposite the Mater Misericordiæ Hospital, in Dublin, is copied in great part after this one.

The name Kilree signifies "King's Church"; St. Brigid was Patron. The holy well called after her is pointed out in the low ground near the road to Kells.

DUNAMAGGAN.

In the churchyard at this place there is another Celtic cross, and portions of a ruined church. The cross is of small size, and appears to be much more ancient than that at Kilree. There is no inscription on either.

There are seven ancient crosses in different churchyards in this direction, and the tradition regarding them is that they mark the graves of seven bishops, but this is most unlikely. The late Miss Stokes, who gave much thought to the subject of Celtic crosses, considered they are not sepulchral monuments at all, but that they were used to mark the boundary of termon lands, and to remind the people of some leading truths of the Christian religion.

The road from Dunamaggan to Callan passes by the ruined church and graveyard of Whitechurch, in Mallardstown parish, so named from the Norman proprietor named Mailard or Mallard.

CALLAN.

The antiquities of Callan consist principally of the ruins of two large churches, a castle, and a moat.

The larger of the churches is situated near the centre of the town, and was probably built in the fifteenth century. It is formed chiefly of three buildings of equal length and height, placed side by side, and connected interiorly by arched openings. The two side churches have pointed gables and large windows in each end, but from the east end of the middle one a long chancel was continued, which has been used as a Protestant church, and at the west end there is a large square tower, at present used as belfry, the lower part of which seems much older than the upper part or any portion of the church. Rev. W. Carrigan, M.R.I.A., the historian of Ossory, considers it was the presbytery belonging to an older church. There is a beautifully moulded doorway in the side wall of each "aisle."

A number of ancient monuments lie around in all directions. Among the inscriptions occur the following names:—Rothe, Le Blund (now White), Tobin, Butler, Troy, Grace, Forristal, Comerford, Walle, O'Haloan *alias* Merry, Croke, Smith.

The late Mr. Thomas Shelly published copies of the inscriptions in

valuable and interesting papers on the history of his native town, about thirty years ago.

There is a large limestone slab in the floor of the ruin, having raised carvings upon its upper surface. On each end is shown an elevation of the windows in the gables of the north "aisle" and the space between on the stone is occupied by a number of intersecting lines, somewhat after the manner of a geometric spider's web. This is considered to be a plan of the interior of the roof of the same "aisle." A stone with similar carvings may be seen at the Cathedral of Old Leighlin. Attached to the church was formerly a chapel of St. Catherine, containing a shrine of the Holy Trinity. The present vestry was formerly a mortuary chapel belonging to the Butlers of Mallardstown and Courtnaboolia.

Lewis and others state that this church, which in old documents is alluded to as "the Church of the Blessed Mary at Callan," belonged to Augustinian Canons; but for this statement there is no foundation. It never belonged to the Canons: it was simply a parish church, served by secular clergy.

I may mention that the best carvings on the woodwork of the roof of St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny, are copied from the old roof of the chancel, now the Protestant church.

The other ruined church was founded by Sir James Butler, lord of the Manor of Callan, and father of Pierce, eighth Earl of Ormonde, for Augustine Hermits, about the year 1471. This Sir James married his cousin, Sive Kavanagh, without dispensation, in defiance of the laws and authorities of the Church, and continued to live in that state for some years. He, however, sought and obtained a dispensation from the Pope, and the couple were solemnly married in the church of Listerlin, near New Ross, two of their children already born being present at the ceremony. It is said he built the Friary as an act of atonement for his offence.

The church is a long building, nearly midway in which rises a massive square tower supported on arches standing inside the side walls. A large arch in the north wall of the church shows that an arm stood in that direction. The windows are all of unequal size, the one in the east end being much larger than any of the others. The mullions of this one have fallen away, and lie in broken pieces inside the ruin. The principal entrance was in the west end. There are sedilia in the usual place. The founder directed by his will that he should be buried in this church, but his tomb is not to be seen.

At the dissolution of the monasteries, the Friary was surrendered by William O'Fogarty, the last Prior, and the "site, ambite, and possessions" were granted to Thomas *Dubh* (black Thomas), tenth Earl of Ormonde, in 1557.

Some Augustinian Friars continued to reside in Callan and succeeded

in building the present church in the early part of the last century. The old grounds and ruined church—portion of which is used as a burial-place—fell into their hands about the same time.

Callan, as a town, probably dates from the end of the twelfth, or the beginning of the thirteenth, century. Besides Kilkenny Castle, Danesfort, Lisdowney, and other places, the Earl of Ormonde obtained possession of the place by purchase from the De Spensers; and, it continued part of the Ormonde property for about 300 years, when it was bought by Lord Desart. It was after a short time re-sold to an ancestor of the Clifden family, one of whom (Lady Annaly) is landlord at the present time.

The Four Masters record the drowning of Neill Caille, King of Ireland, in the Callan River, in the year 844 A.D.; but some historians think this event occurred in the County Armagh, where there is another river of the same name. The annalist Clyn records the burning of Callan in 1286. Maurice Fitz Thomas Fitz Gerald, Earl of Desmond, summoned a parliament of the magnates of Ireland to meet him here in 1344, in opposition to that convened by the Lord Deputy at another place; but the rigorous measures enforced by the Deputy prevented its assembling. In 1407 a great battle was fought near Callan, in which the Deputy, Sir Stephen Scroope, defeated O'Carroll, lord of Ely O'Carroll, and his allies, who were adherents of Art Mac Murrough. O'Carroll and 800 of his followers were killed.

Callan, like most Irish towns, was formerly surrounded by a wall having arched gateways, defended by towers, at the different entrances. It was besieged and taken by one of Cromwell's commanders, General Reynolds, in February, 1650.

A structure like a gate pier, beside the Kells road, is believed to be a remnant of the town wall.

There were a number of castles long ago in Callan, but only one is left standing. Near it a great quantity of human bones was found about seventy years ago.

The moat is just beside the river, and is probably a monumental mound raised over some important person who was buried there.

William Marshall granted a charter to Callan in 1217, conferring corporate rights on the inhabitants. Other charters were granted at different times afterwards. It was first made a Parliamentary Borough in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in 1585, when it was allowed to return two Members of Parliament; a privilege which it retained down to the time of the Union, in 1800. The first two members were Gerald Comerford of Inchiolaghan and Edward Brennan. Comerford was a lawyer, and afterwards became Chief Justice of Munster, and subsequently second Baron of the Court of Exchequer, Dublin. He died at Coolnamuck, County Waterford, and was buried in the church of Callan, where his tomb still remains. The last representatives were Patrick

Walsh and James Savage. Lord Callan, the Patron of the borough, on the passing of the Act of Union, received £15,000 as compensation for its disfranchisement.

About the middle of the eighteenth century, a bitter feud arose between the Flood and Agar families regarding the patronage of the borough, and the election of Sovereign and Members of Parliament. Rival factions kept the town in a state of tumult and disorder for several years, so that it acquired an unenviable notoriety for strife and litigation, and was known to outsiders by the name of *Calling a Cloumper*—Callan of the wrangling.

Since the year 1840 the municipal government of the town has been carried on by Town Commissioners. Previous to that date the ruling body were "Sovereign, Burgesses, and Freemen." John Lewis, gent., was Sovereign in 1688. The last holder of that pretentious title was Henry Ryan, of Kilfera, who was agent of the Clifden property. The mace and seal of the old corporation are in possession of the Town Commissioners.

Callan had works for smelting iron about the middle of the eighteenth century, and potteries and a distillery in later times. In a celebrated *caoine* or lament for the death of John, second Lord Desart, who died in 1767, it is mentioned that, at the moment of his death, the furnaces of the iron works were suddenly and mysteriously extinguished. This nobleman, who was a noted sportsman and most popular in the district, before he died, directed that he should be "waked" and keened according to the Irish custom, and his directions were carried out. Portions of the dirge composed on the occasion are still recited in the neighbourhood of Desart.

We know from Young's "Tour in Ireland" that the houses of Callan, about 100 years ago, consisted for the most part of wretched cabins; but since then a vast improvement has taken place. It now compares favourably in this respect with towns of the better class in Ireland.

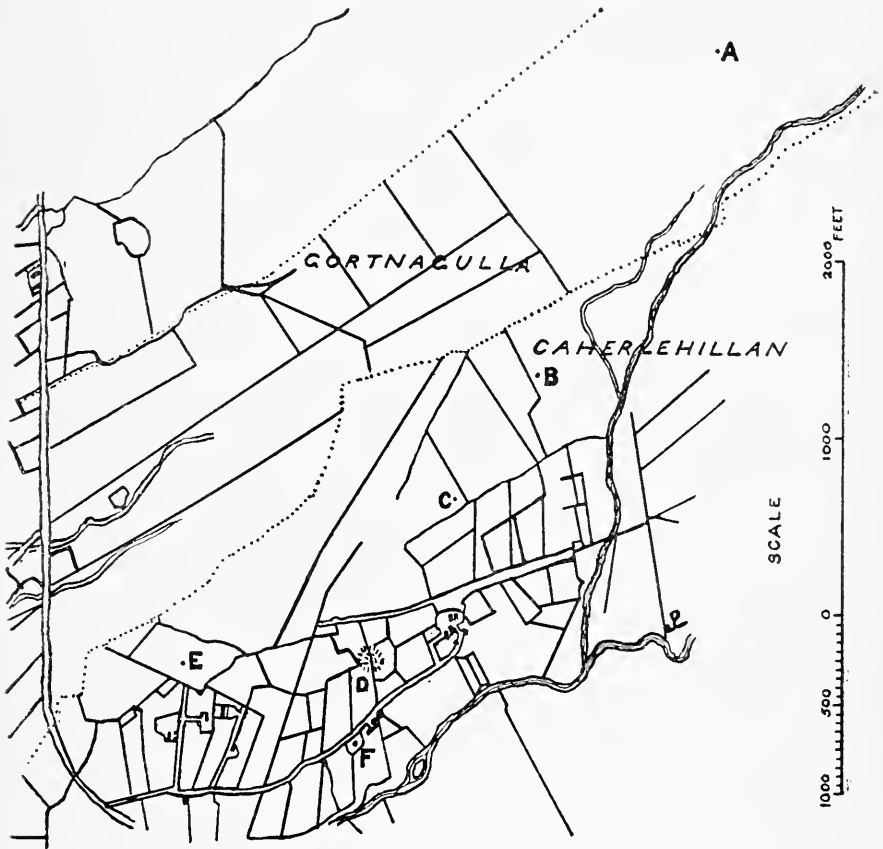
THE ANTIQUITIES OF CAHERLEHILLAN, IVERAGH,
COUNTY KERRY.BY P. J. LYNCH, FELLOW,
MEMBER OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS OF IRELAND.

[Submitted JUNE 18, 1906.]

CAHERLEHILLAN is in the parish of Killinane, and about seven miles north-east of Caherciveen. Under ordinary circumstances the antiquities I am about to direct attention to might not be considered of such exceptional interest as to form the subject of a special paper, but might possibly find a place amongst the "Miscellanea" of the *Journal*. But at a meeting of our Society in Kerry I think it is important to bring under notice this group of antiquities, hitherto unknown, as evidence of how much even now remains unexplored in Kerry, though for years it has been "the happy hunting-ground" of the archæologist. There are few counties in Ireland which have received more attention from the antiquary than Kerry: its glens and mountains are identified with the heroes of ancient history and mythology, while tradition points to its estuaries as the landing-places of some of the earliest colonists of Ireland. Smith, in his *History*, published in 1756, collected many useful records. In the first half of the last century Mr. Hitchcock, a native of Kerry, made many valuable contributions to the topography of the county; he died in 1856. Petrie, the father of Irish archæology, was here in 1841; and some of his letters from Kerry, published in his *Life* by Dr. Whitley Stokes, evidence his appreciation of the remains he noticed here. Du Noyer was engaged on the Geological Survey about 1855, and did much useful work, particularly his description of the interesting remains on the Dingle peninsula. The late Bishop Graves, who in recent years made Kerry his home, did much to unravel the mystery of our Ogam inscriptions, and to describe many of the sculptured stones in the county. The late Archdeacon Rowan, in the pages of the *Kerry Magazine*, did good work, which was continued afterwards in other publications by Miss Hickson. I mention these names, amongst the many who from time to time have given their attention to the antiquities of Kerry, not so much as a slight tribute to their memory, as to illustrate what a wide field has been already covered, and to impress on those who reside here how much still remains to be done.

Some time ago Mr. James P. Moriarty, of Caherlehillan, wrote to our Hon. Secretary, calling attention to some inscribed stones in his locality; and the Council requested me to make an examination and report on

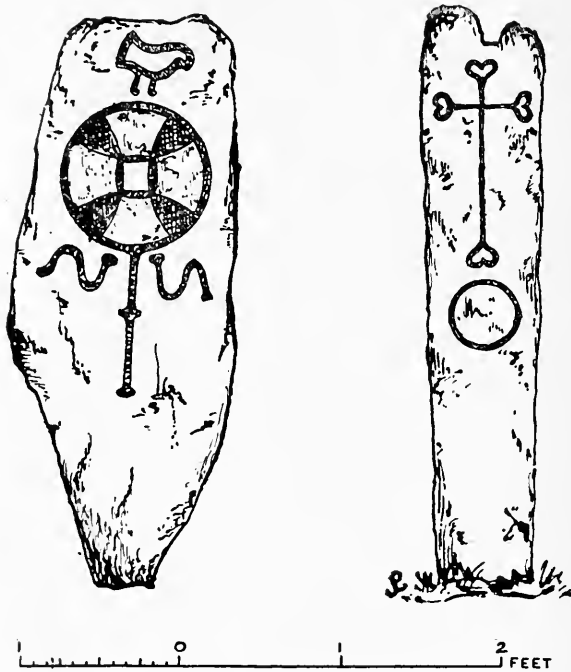
them. I took the next opportunity of meeting Mr. Moriarty, who pointed out to me in an old *cealluragh* those inscribed crosses which I illustrate. On inquiry I found there also the ruins of a stone fort, two cromleacs, and two curiously-inscribed rock boulders, all indicating a very early occupation of this district. Such are the circumstances under which the antiquities at Caherlehillan came to my notice; and these particulars, which, at another time, would form an ordinary report to Council,



are now laid before this meeting. As none of these remains, except the caher, are marked on the Ordnance Map, I have prepared a copy, on which I have identified them by letters.

CAHERLEHILLAN.—This name indicates the caher at the bend or elbow; and a study of the map will show where the lines of the road and river contour the spur of the hill, and form an elbow on which the caher stands.

This was one of the massive circular stone-forts of which there are so many fine specimens in Kerry; such as Staigue, Caherdaniel, and Cahergal. There is a fine prospect from the caher extending on to the estuary known as the Valencia river, and as far as Cahergal; it occupied a commanding position at the entrance to the glen. The caher is now a complete ruin; doubtless it has provided building material for the improving farmer and road-contractor for a long time. It was about 90 feet in diameter inside, and the walls were probably about 14 feet thick. Inside the caher stood the clochan, the remains of which can be seen. It may be

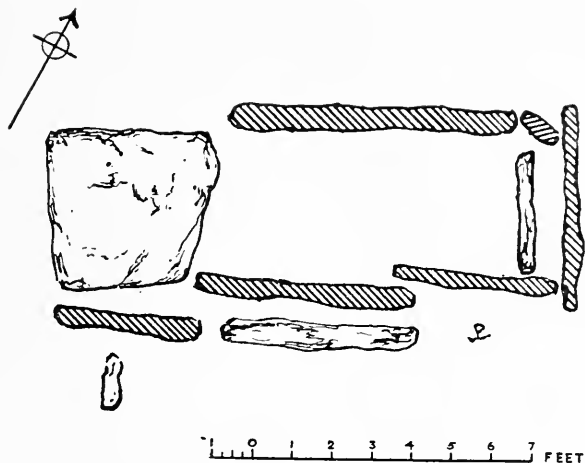


CROSS-INScribed STONES AT CAHERLEHILLAN, COUNTY KERRY.

well to take this opportunity of pleading for the preservation of all that is left of these fine old cahers, as I know that their destruction is still going on. Some time ago a report was made to me of the removal of one by a road-contractor. The stones are being removed for any purpose they may be required for; and in hare- and rabbit-hunting many a fine old caher has been almost levelled to the ground. And there are those who believe that the improving farmer will be so fully developed by the recent Land Act, that it bodes ill for some of our ancient structures. However, a new spirit is animating the youth of Ireland, which, in its efforts to diffuse a knowledge of the nation's history and language,

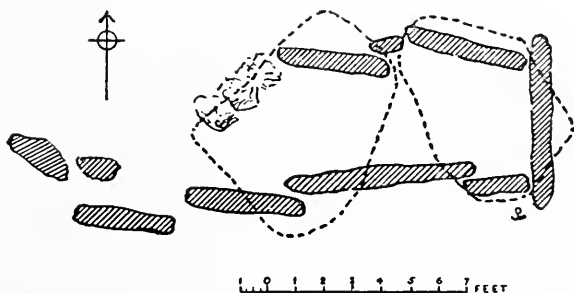
will, I believe, in no small measure assist in preserving our national monuments.

The CEALLURAGH.—Alongside the by-road is one of these small disused burial-grounds, spotted with little grave-stones, so common in the county. There is one grave-mound larger than the others, forming a kind of rude tomb; beside it stand the two inscribed crosses. The larger one is cut on



PLAN OF CROMLEAC, MARKED B ON MAP.

a flag-stone about 2 inches thick, 3 feet 5 inches high, and about 1 foot 4 inches wide. The late Dr. Graves, referring to this type of cross, states¹ that it is peculiarly Irish. He continues—"It will be remarked that



PLAN OF CROMLEAC, MARKED C ON MAP.

the outlines of the cross are formed not by straight lines, but by arcs of circles. Examples of it occur on Christian monuments in Ireland, supposed to belong to the fifth or sixth century. Other instances are known to

¹ *Journal*, vol. xxi., p. 356.

me of its use on monuments bearing Ogam inscriptions; and on every anniversary of St. Patrick's Day one may see crosses of this or some similar pattern worn on the breasts of children in our streets; it is commonly called a St. Patrick's Cross, and I believe the name appropriate." The sculpture beneath may represent serpents or be mere ornamentation. On a cross of this kind found at Aghish, in the parish of Minard, and engraved in the *Journal*,¹ two swastikas were found in similar positions. Over the cross is a bird, but what bird was intended it would be difficult to determine. The second stone is 3 feet 8 inches high, and 3 inches thick, but



CROMLEAC, MARKED C ON MAP.
(From a Photo by Mr. Lynch.)

only about 7 inches wide. It has a square notch cut on the upper portion, as if it had been used for some other purpose. The circle under the cross is a symbol of eternity.

Amongst the many illustrations in the *Journal*² of the inscribed Christian crosses found in Ireland there are no crosses similar to these.

CROMLEACS (b and c on map).—The townland next Caberlehillan is called Gortnagulla, 'the field of the weeping or lamentation.' This cromlech is quite close to the present boundary. The situation of these cromleacs would suggest a reason for the name of the townland.

¹ Volume xxi., p. 355.

² *Ibid.*, p. 350.

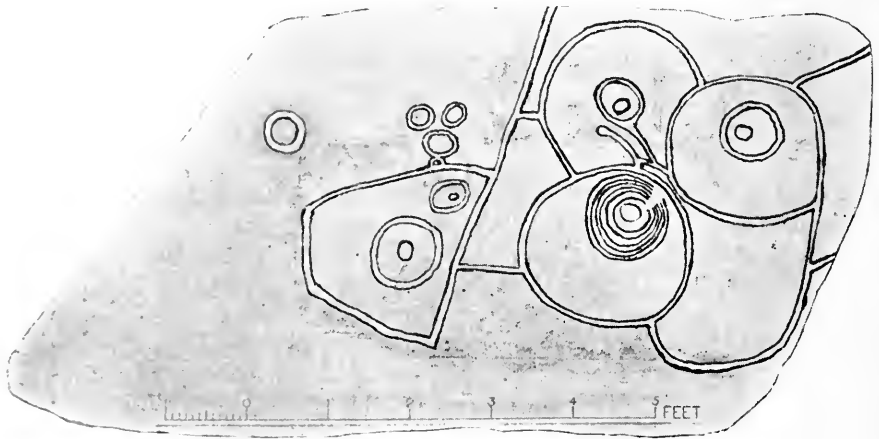
The plan of the cromleac shows the position of the stones, which are from 5 inches to 9 inches thick, and stand about 2 feet 6 inches over the present surface. One of the side stones at the west end is prostrate. One of the covering-stones stands on edge, almost covered, on the south side, as shown. I am inclined to think that another of the covering-stones at the east end has fallen in, crushing out the sides, and now stands on edge about 12 inches inside the east end, forming a chamber there. If this were not so, this chamber as shown on the plan would be unique. The remaining stones to complete the cist are doubtless covered up in the soil. I believe this cromleac stood within a small tumulus, as indeed did many more in Ireland than is generally supposed—an opinion in which I am fortified by a recent examination of some of the cromleacs (as we should call them) in Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly.

Further west, on the ridge of the hill, not far from the caher, are the remains of a second cromleac (c), which I have photographed. This one was similar in plan to the other, but the stones are larger and thicker. It stands about 2 feet 3 inches over the present surface at the east end. Two of the covering stones are in position—one, 6 feet by 4 feet 6 inches, at eastern end, has a small cup formed about central in stone; the other, at western end, is 7 feet by about 4 feet, and is 3 feet 6 inches over the surface. This slab has three small cups, each $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and over an inch deep, their centres joined, forming an equilateral triangle of 6 inches. The geometrical accuracy of these sinkings would at first suggest the idea of some old survey marks, to be followed naturally by the question: If so, how did the cromleac escape being marked on the survey? In reference to cup-markings on rock-surfaces many theories have been advanced connecting them with primitive ritual, &c. A very rational theory, as applying to rocks which may have been submerged at any time, was advanced by the late Dr. Frazer in the *Journal*¹ of the Society, that in many cases they were the hollow sinkings of a species of sea-urchin (echinus) which has the power of excavating such hollows, or cups, in rock-surfaces under water for its protection. This, I have no doubt, applies to the cup-markings found on the surfaces of many of our rude-stone monuments, where the nature of the geological formation from which the stones were taken would justify such a theory. Both these cromleacs were of the wedge-shaped plan so general in the South of Ireland; but in their present condition, and without excavation, it would be impossible to say if *antæ* had been formed at the west end, or to give further details.

GORTNAGULLA INSCRIBED STONE.—From the cromleacs, passing into the next townland, I travelled up the mountain, with the assistance of my guide, towards the summit, marked Been Hill, 2053 feet, on Ordnance

¹ Volume xxv., p. 61.

Maps, and at about 1200 feet elevation, found the large rock-boulder, with archaic sculpturings, as illustrated. Its mean length is 8 feet 4 inches, and breadth 6 feet, and it is over 2 feet thick; the top surface sloping with the fall of the mountain. On the upper surface are sculptured these cup- and circle-markings, the meaning of which has not yet been satisfactorily explained. The circles and other channels are all clearly marked, and about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch wide. The cups in the centre of the circles are from $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch to 1 inch deep. The surface is fair, except towards the lower edge (under the scale in illustration), where it has weathered into a deep channel. The illustration is from a photograph of the rubbing having the lines drawn in. The white material for the rubbing is cut to the shape of the stone.



GORTNAGULLA INSCRIBED STONE.

Many years ago the late Bishop Graves brought under the notice of the Royal Irish Academy a series of boulder-stones in Kerry with sculpturings of this class; and for a time it was supposed that such inscribed boulders were peculiar to Kerry. That there are many more of these stones is shown by the present examples, and some others which Mr. Cooke and Dr. Digby have recently discovered in the Beaufort district.¹

Amongst the many theories that have been advanced in reference to these sculpturings—that they were sacrificial altars, astronomical diagrams, tables for games, &c.—there is one brought forward by the late Bishop Graves, that they were rude maps showing the forts and raths or cahers of the district.²

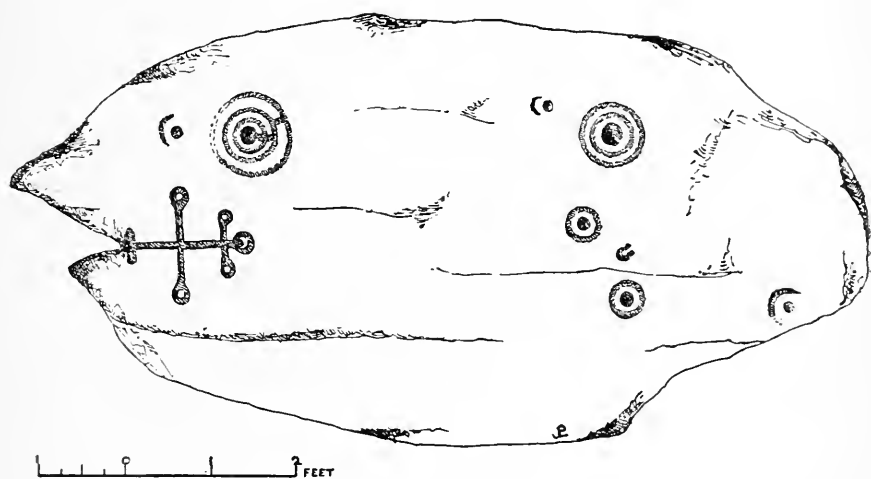
While there are several sculpturings that I know for which such a theory could not be accepted, in my opinion, this stone goes very far in

¹ *Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. xxvi., Sec. c.

² *Ibid.*, vol. xiv., p. 283.

support of it. The main lines might represent divisions of land or passages; the smaller circles, cahers or outlying forts or clochans, some with three ramparts, others with a single rampart, the cups representing the clochans inside the cahers. All this requires no great stretch of the imagination; while the topography of the district affords some corroboration, as on either side the townlands are—Cahernaman, ‘the fort of the women,’ and Caherlehillan, and adjoining, on the southwest, is Cahereighterrush, ‘the caher of the lower wood’; and there are no fanciful details on this stone to disturb the theory.

CAHERLEHILLAN INSCRIBED STONE.—Descending the mountain, and passing the caher out towards the public road, is met with the stone marked E on map. It is 8 feet 8 inches in length on the major axis or



CAHERLEHILLAN INSCRIBED STONE.

line of the cross; the head of the cross is due east. The breadth is 4 feet 7 inches, and it is 2 feet 6 inches over ground. The top is fair and perfectly level. It is known as *Leac Sgrubneoiracó*, ‘the inscription stone.’ There are few sculpturings on it now, for, as I have been informed, it was used to light bonfires on, so that much of the surface on the south side has shaled, and the stone is fractured. It is probable that at one time it was well covered, and the few markings that remain are interesting. The character of the sculpturings on this stone may be taken as differing materially from those on the mountain stone; and it would be difficult to apply Dr. Graves’ theory here. I was unable to take a rubbing of the entire stone. I regret this, as it might have developed markings which, owing to the peculiar nature of the injury by fire, may be obscure. I defined on the northern part a cup and three

circles, with a radial line from the centre, but divided into two parts. The principal one, on the other end, consists of a cup and two concentric circles; the others are cups and circles, or what remains visible of them, of the ordinary type, except one peculiar half-dumbbell pattern, near the centre line. In that most valuable and exhaustive paper by Mr. George Coffey on the "Origins of Prehistoric Ornaments in Ireland," published in our *Journal*,¹ he leaves almost nothing to be said on this subject. He states:—"The prevailing opinion is that these mysterious markings found so frequently on rude-stone monuments, erratic blocks, and rock surfaces, are symbols expressive of some religious conception." But while the cup- and circle-markings have a wide distribution in Europe, he states that the cup- and ring-marks, with radial gutters, are absolutely confined to Great Britain and Ireland. The fact that the gutter on this stone is not in one continuous line is to be noted.

It is very interesting to find a cross of a peculiar type sculptured on this stone. It looks like that Christianizing process which it is believed was sometimes practised on pagan monuments in Ireland. The shaft of the cross may have been longer, as the stone is broken into the lower arm. This triple cross is very rare in Ireland. In the illustrations of the different designs of early Christian crosses found in Ireland by Mr. Wakeman, and published in the *Journal*,² he shows one triple cross found at Inismurray; but he is at a loss to explain this unusual design. It is really a Syrian type of cross. The form is derived from the following sources:—The title-board which bore the inscription, next the arms proper of the cross, and then the foot piece, all portions of the gibbet of Roman times. In the Syrian, Greek, and Coptic churches this cross is to be seen, but the upper traverse or title-board is always slanting, as is shown on the Inismurray cross, though it is square on this one. How this type of cross came to be sculptured with the cups and circles of an earlier age, opens up a fair field for discussion.

At the close of my interesting visit to Caherlehillan, I could not help thinking how many other landmarks of our early history remain unnoticed and neglected in the mountains and glens of Kerry. To remedy this, an intelligent interest in such must be created amongst the people—at present it is wanting. This Society affords useful help at its provincial meetings, but only to a very limited extent. The work must be done locally, and vandalism of all kinds prevented; but until the County Councils avail themselves of their powers, and become the guardians of the county monuments, we may not hope for any permanent measure of success.

¹ Volume xxvii., p. 28.

² Volume xxi., p. 350.

THE ABBEY OF KILLAGHA, PARISH OF KILCOLEMAN,
COUNTY KERRY.

BY THE REV. JAMES CARMODY, P.P.

[Read JUNE 18, 1906.]

THOSE who travel by rail from Killarney to Valencia may observe, among the trees south of the railway, a few hundred yards west of Milltown Station, the grey walls of an ancient ruin. This is what now remains of the Abbey of Killagha. The ruin is situated about half a mile north-west of Milltown, and eleven miles nearly due north from Killarney. It stands on the south bank of the Maine—the ancient boundary between Kerry and Desmond, and enclosed within the beautiful Kilcoleman demesne. Historic Slieve Mish rises boldly to the north, and north-west is seen the fort of Curoi Mac Daire sharply outlined against the sky. It is surrounded by green pastures, and sheltered by groves of sycamore and elm, retaining still traces of its former glory. It has been variously called Kilcoleman Abbey, the Abbey of Our Lady de Bello Loco, but more commonly Killagha, the Irish equivalent of de Bello Loco—the church or abbey of the beautiful place. St. Coleman, we are told, built a church and monastery here. Hence the name Kilcoleman. Who this St. Coleman was of the many who shed lustre on our early Church I have not been able to discover; nor does tradition hand down to us the date assigned for his festival. It may have been St. Coleman, of Cloyne—the friend and fellow-student of St. Brendan—and who is believed to have established more than one monastery in this district. Cardinal Moran, speaking of this abbey, says:—“It was on the banks of the Mong that the youthful Mochuda was so enraptured with the chant of the monks that he abandoned everything to serve God alone.”—Notes to Archdall.

The Abbey of Killagha was erected on the site of the Abbey of St. Coleman by Geoffrey de Marisco for Canons Regular of St. Augustine, and dedicated to our Blessed Lady. Hervey de Marisco, one of the first Norman Knights who came to Ireland, acquired large tracts of land in Tipperary, Wexford, and Kerry. He died without descendants, and his large estates passed to his brother, Geoffrey. The latter is mentioned as Justiciary of Ireland in 1215. Smith, in his “History of Kerry,” says Killagha was erected in the reign of Henry III., which would be some time after 1216. Geoffrey de Marisco founded also a house for Knights Hospitallers at Awney in Limerick, and built the castle of Castleisland.

It is to be regretted that the records of the Augustinian Order in Ireland are of the most meagre character. The Canons Regular aimed

at a contemplative rather than a missionary life. They sought to realize the spirit of an à Kempis rather than a Dominic. Hence they were not bound up in such close relations with the people among whom they lived as were, for example, the Dominicans and Franciscans. When the ties were broken in the sixteenth century that bound the Canons Regular to their abbeys, they did not look back with the same wistful longing as did the members of these two orders, to recover their lost homes and renew old relations. As a consequence, we see the Dominicans and Franciscans dwelling once more beside their old monasteries, while hardly an instance occurs of the Canons Regular returning to the place



KILLAGHA ABBEY—VIEW FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

(From a Photo by Mr. P. J. Lynch.)

that they left. This complete severance of old ties helps, no doubt, to explain why so little is known of the past history of this illustrious and once-flourishing Order. Still may we glean some knowledge of them by studying such of their works as have come down to us.

The Abbey of Our Lady grew into importance soon after the Canons Regular had taken possession of it. It received large tracts of land in different parts of the county. Tithes and glebes were added, and the abbey became very wealthy. The Canons Regular happily united industrious habits of life with contemplation, and probably spent part of their

time in manual labour. Lands were tilled and woods planted, and the surroundings of Our Lady's Abbey became quickly changed. The place came to be recognized as one of unusual beauty, and the abbey henceforth to be known as Killagha, or the Abbey of Our Lady de Bello Loco. We may well believe the monks were not slow in turning to the best advantage the lands attached to their abbey. Even still do we find traces of their industry. Smith, writing about 1750, says that considerable quantities of wild hops grew near the abbey in his time, "which were," as he says, "probably planted here by the monks." Beside the abbey is a large field still known as the "abbey orchard," and believed to have been the fruit-garden of the monks; and old people remember to have seen within it a large stone evidently intended for a cider-press, and said to have been the one in use at the monastery.

Growing numerous at home, the monks of Killagha sent out a branch-house to Dingle. There also grants of land were made to them. Indeed, everywhere in Ireland the Canons Regular grew popular, and their abbeys became very numerous. They had in this country as many as 223 houses for men. The superiors of nine of these houses were Lords of Parliament, of which the Prior of Killagha was one. "The Prior of this house," says Archdall, "was a Lord of Parliament; but on account of the very great distance between his place of residence and the metropolis, he was seldom summoned." In time a leper-house was erected in connexion with Killagha. A public road lay beside the grounds leading westward; and south of this road at some distance from the abbey was the hospital. The actual site, however, I have not been able to ascertain.

In the "Papal Taxation" of 1302, Killagha is rated the third highest of all the religious establishments in the Diocese of Ardfert. As may be supposed, the large revenues of the bishop had a high valuation. He had three sources of income which were severally taxed. First, he received certain emoluments as ecclesiastical judge within his jurisdiction; secondly, in cases of episcopal visitation, offerings from the incumbents of the parishes visited, entitled Procuracy; thirdly, the regular episcopal revenue, in offerings made to the cathedral church. Revenue was valued at £32; Procuracy, £10; Administering of justice, £7 13s. 4d. Next was the *Ecclesia Nova*, valued at £5. The late Father Denis O'Donoghue, P.P., believed that this was the church of Kilmurry, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, in the townland of Cordal, east of Castleisland. It must have been noted as a place of pilgrimage, and in receipt of a large revenue from the offerings of the pilgrims. Next was Killagha, rated at £4. The tenth of this sum—8 shillings—was the annual amount chargeable to Killagha. The above assessment, called also "Papal Tenths," was that which regulated all taxes both to the Pope and the King, from the beneficed clergy, down to the Survey in the 26th of Henry VIII. The Taxacio was made in the time of

Edward I. This King's wars involved him in extraordinary expenses; and his rapacity, which knew no bounds, spared neither Church nor state. On one plea or another he took possession of the Papal taxes when collected, and used them for his own purposes. Regarding the Procuratio of the bishop above mentioned, and rated at £10, I may remark, that this continued as a source of income for that dignitary down to the Council of Trent. It was abolished by this Council, and strictly prohibited thenceforth under very severe penalties. I believe it was continued in the Established Church under the title of "Proxy." Dr. Smith states that in 1750 the Proxy of Killagha, though then in ruins, was placed at 5 shillings.

In Ireland, as elsewhere, there was a law that church property should be exempt from all civil charges and duties. "Every church has allotted to it," says Sir Henry Piers, "a certain portion of land (with servants appertaining thereto) free from all temporal impositions and exactions." (*Journal*, Part i., vol. ix., p. 51.) How jealously were these rights guarded will appear from the following:—"In a Parliament held in Kilkenny in 1346 an attempt was made to levy a tax on church lands to meet certain expenses of the king; but the Archbishop of Cashel, with the Bishops of Emly, Limerick, and Lismore, claimed exemption, and threatened to suspend any clergyman or excommunicate any lay tenant who paid it. The Government stormed, but the bishops persevered."—"Hist. Portraits," p. 291. M'Carthy Mor, however, who exercised more than regal sway over this portion of Desmond, little heeded law or custom when they were not in accord with his views. Accordingly we find him imposing a fixed charge on all the monasteries within his territory. In an account of his income furnished to the Government, there appears the item £4 for the Abbey of Killagha. In those times £4 would be equal to a sum of £40 to £60 of our money.

I have very little to record of Killagha during the intervening years down to the sixteenth century. Some improvements were made in the church, most probably in the fifteenth century. The beautiful east window was put in, also a handsome double-lancet window at the south side of the chancel, an aumbry within the sanctuary, two Gothic doors leading to the church from the south side, and a square window of three lights in the western gable. The insertion of these windows and doors has led Archdall to conclude that the foundation of the abbey is of more recent date than that assigned to it. "The architecture," he says, "which is of a dark marble, bespeaks the structure to be much more modern than the time before mentioned." The windows and doors that I have named are, indeed, more modern, but the other parts of the building, which are altogether different in character from the insertions, date most probably from the time of Henry III.

A time of trouble for the monks is at length approaching. In a Parliament held in Dublin, May, 1536, "by one act," says Plowden, "twelve houses were suppressed." Killagha, with its vast possessions,

strange to say, has this time escaped the myrmidons of Henry. Its distance from the metropolis has, no doubt, once more done it a service. Nor have its monks been molested during the entire of that king's reign, and far into that of Elizabeth. The first reference to it that we find, however, reads like a threatening notice. In 1572 Sir John Perrott, Lord President of Munster, has for the second time laid siege to the castle at Castlemaine. Miss Hickson says—"A curious plan or picture of the siege lies in the State Paper Office; it represents the old fortress on the bridge; in a field before it are two large cannon, volumes of smoke issuing from their mouths . . . close by stands the Abbey of Killagha, not yet ruined, but between it and the President's camp ominously stands a tall gallows! &c." (K. Records, 1st ser., p. 308.) The castle was taken after a stubborn resistance, but happily the monks do not appear to have been hanged. Indeed, we find mention of them the next year in reference to this same castle. At the end of August, 1572, Castlemaine was taken, and in 1573 the Earl of Desmond, who was in Dublin in not very close confinement, found means to escape, and made good his way to South Munster. The incident seems to have created something akin to a panic among the Queen's party in Ireland. On the 20th November, Lord Justice Walshe notifies the escape of Desmond to Lord Burleigh, tells that "he was conveyed through Kildare by Rory Oge and Piers Grace, received in Leix by 400 of the Mores, and in Limerick by James Fitzmaurice"; and adds that an attempt was made to capture Castlemaine. Nearly all Desmond's castles, which were in the hands of the Government, were soon retaken. Word is sent to the ward in Castlemaine to "stand firm"; still, on November 27th, one John Thiekpenny writes to the Lord Deputy (Sir William Fitzwilliam) to say he fears Castlemaine will be taken. Then comes the letter of Justice Walshe, in the last days of December, to the same official:—"My duties remembered, sithence my last advertisement Castel Maine is taken by treason of the porter which suffered the Pryor of Killaghie and his brethren with xxx men to enter on christmas Eve and on christmas Daie the Erle came to the Castell and put in his ward &c." (K. Records, 1st ser., p. 309.) Miss Hickson adds:—"The Pryor of Killaghie and his brethren' do not figure in the examinations taken in 1574 when the betrayal of the place was made the subject of Government inquiry; their share in it having been probably limited to the performance of a 'mass of thanksgiving' on that memorable Christmas Eve."

At length the evil day for the monks has arrived. The abbey was suppressed in 1576, and the monks sent adrift. In the Public Record Office there appears a fiant of that year as follows:—

"Lease under Queen's letter, 3 October xvii to Thomas Clinton, gent. of the site of the Abbey of Killaha, *alias* Our Lady's Abbey of Bello Loco, Co. Kerry, the land of Callanyferrey, Kildorrey, Ballyoughtreghe, Clonemoore, Brackhill, Kyltallaugh, Kyllynifynan,

Ballymony, Kilremyne, Inshie, and one piece of land in the Dingle. The rectory of Kylaha, half the rectories of Kylvullaugh, and Garrenlondry, the rectories of the Dingle, Killorglin, Kilmacollok O'Cestie, half the rectories of Keynmarrie, Templenoe *alias* New Church, Kilerokane, Dromede, Kylmonane, Kylmoor, Cahirbegge, Ryncaheragh, Glanbehic, Kilvonane in the countie of Kerry. To hold for 21 years; rent £17 1s. 9d., maintaining two English horsemen. Not to alien without license, unless to English, either by father or mother, and not to charge coyne. Fine £17 1s. 9d. 15 June xviii." (*Journal*, vol. xxi., p. 48.)

Although this lease was given for a term of twenty-one years, Miss Hickson says—"In less than seven years a lease of the same lands and churches was made by the Queen to Sir William Stanley, who afterwards deserted her service for that of Philip of Spain" (*Journal*, *ib.*).

The lands mentioned in above lease constituted, as I believe, most of the possessions of Killagha. That they did not comprise the entire, however, will appear evident from the following notice, taken from the Gross Survey Books:—"Glanerought Barony, the four plowlands of Cahir, the four plowlands of Droumdagour and Bar—Neddeen belonged always to the Pryor of Killaha as to the impropiation" (K. Records, 1st ser., p. 275).

I have here to record a lamentable fact in connexion with the last Prior of Killagha.

"The evil that men do lives after them;
The good is oft interred with their bones."

He was O'Moriarty. When disaster came upon the monks, he was one of the rare few of his class in Ireland who were found unfaithful. After the suppression he laid aside his cowl, renounced his vows, and returned to the world. Nor does a subsequent notice of him that I find show that he made speedy atonement for his unhappy fall.

The next owner of Killagha was Captain Thomas Spring. Miss Hickson says that "he, with his two brothers, had bravely served in the Queen's army against Desmond." He seems, indeed, to have gained the high esteem of Elizabeth's ministers. Sir Walter Raleigh writes:—

"To MICHAEL HICKES, Secretary to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh.

"From SHERBURNE, July 12th.

"WORTHY MR. MICHAEL,

"I am most earnestly to entreat you for this gentleman Captain Spring, that partly for love, partly for honest consideration, you will further him with my Lord Treasurer for a debt of £300 which her Majesty doth owe him. It hath been long due and he hath good warrant for it. Besides he hath served her Majesty very long, and hath received many wounds in her service. These reasons delivered by a man of your utterance, and having his good angel at your elbow to instruct you, I doubt not but it will take good and speedy effect. I never wrote unto you for any man, or in any matter, wherein you shall bind me more to you than for this bearer and so not doubting of your assured friendliness leave you to God and remain your

"Most assured loving friende

"WALTER RALEIGH." (K. Rec. 1° 314.)

This characteristic letter of Raleigh's on behalf of Captain Spring, and the good offices of others no less, told in his favour. So on the 12th December, 1588, a new lease of the abbey and lands was made to him. The lease is nearly in the same terms as that to Thomas Clinton. It contains, in addition, a special clause, enjoining Captain Spring to "rebuild the abbey castlewise." He had ultimately a grant in fee of the abbey and land and churches mentioned in the lease. In accordance with the terms of his grant he seems to have "rebuilt the abbey castlewise," and to have dwelt in it. Indeed, in an Inquisition taken in 1612, the proprietor is described as "Walter Spring of the Abbey of Killaha." At the time of the religious wars of 1641 the proprietor of the abbey was another Walter Spring, great-grandson of Captain Thomas Spring. He was a Catholic, and no doubt joined the Catholic party. Tradition has it that the abbey was attacked by the Cromwellian army. Cannon were placed on the elevated ground west of Milltown, near the present Danish fort, and commanding a view of the abbey. The woods that now intervene did not then exist. The abbey building, being exposed, was, no doubt, demolished, while the church, which was more or less protected, suffered little. Bearing out this tradition, we find that in 1649 Walter Spring was deprived of the abbey and lands of Killagha, and all were given over to Major John Godfrey, an officer in the Cromwellian army.

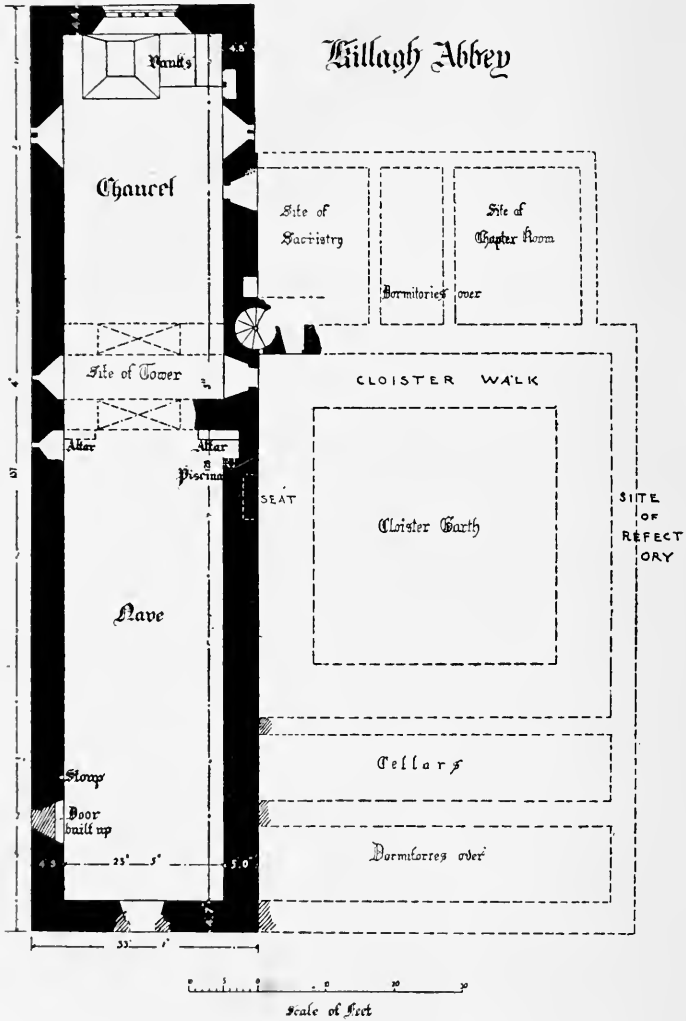
Of Walter Spring, called, from the extent of his forfeitures, "Walter the Unfortunate," little further is known. To preserve, no doubt, a scanty remnant of his possessions, he attended the Protestant service with his family for a few Sundays. Not having gone over bodily, however, this did not save him, and he is mentioned as one of those subsequently transplanted to Clare by the Cromwellians.

The war dragged along until the taking of Ross Castle in 1652. Archdeacon Rowan, writing of the siege of Ross in the *Kerry Magazine*, says:—"The commissioners of the Government in Cork, writing to the Council of State in London, say—'The Lieutenant-General (Ludlow) met and routed the enemy on the 15th (June), took some 50 horse and some prey, with the abbey called Killara, where they found 4 barrels of powder.'" And the Archdeacon adds—"Killara is a misspelling for Killagha." There is a difficulty in this supposition, however. The abbey at this time should have been in the possession of Major Godfrey, and would be an unlikely place for the Catholics to have kept their stores, unless we suppose it to have been retaken by them, of which I find no mention.

There was a readjustment of lands in Ireland under Charles II.; but Lewis says the grant of the abbey and lands to Major Godfrey was then confirmed.

The church is the only portion of the abbey buildings that at present remains; a few feet of masonry attaching to the south side of the chancel are all we now see of what was once the abbey of Killagha. I am

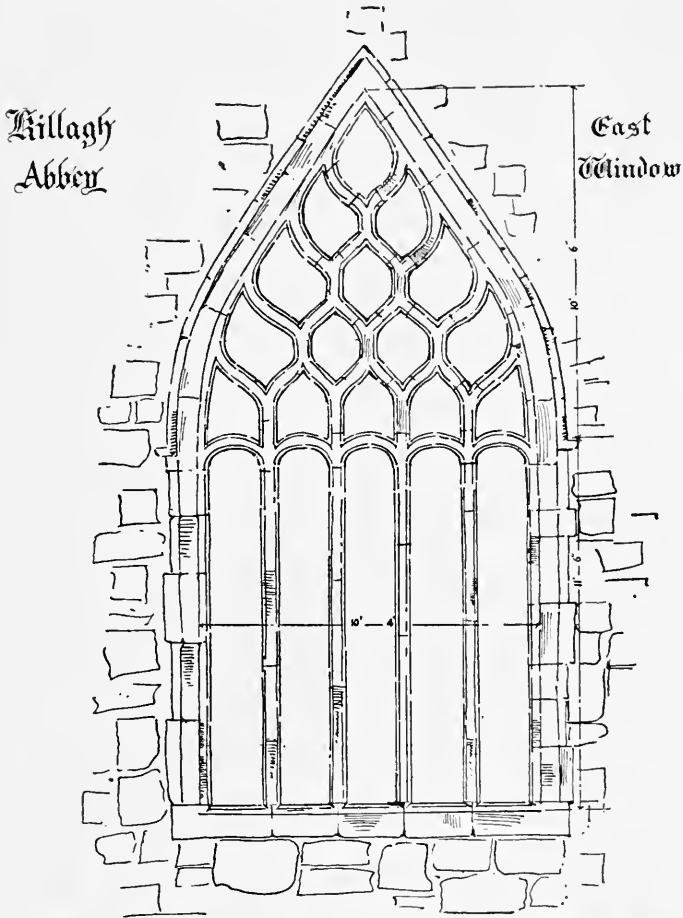
inclined to think that the materials of the abbey were removed soon after it was destroyed in 1649, as Smith and Archdall make particular mention of the church, but make no reference to the abbey structure. A good



GROUND-PLAN.

idea of the plan and dimensions of the dwellings of the monks may yet be formed, however, from the few feet of wall that are left. The church is of rubble masonry, and, though of plain workmanship, is

solidly constructed. Though still in a fair state of preservation, there are evidences of approaching decay. Rents appear in the western



Plan
Scale of Feet

gable and southern wall; and the joints are becoming much open in the east window. The buildings were after the general plan of the Augustinian houses. The church, rectangular and without aisles, lies

east and west, and very long for its width ; length 128 feet 5 inches, and breadth 23 feet 5 inches. The walls are very massive, those at the sides 4 feet 8 inches, and in parts 5 feet ; eastern gable 4 feet 4 inches, western 4 feet 7 inches. It was divided at intersection of chancel and nave by a steeple or bell-tower.

The dwellings of the monks abutted on the church at the south side, and formed three sides of a square. A parapet rose over the sidewalls of the church, and by an unusual arrangement went round the western end wall. Height of sidewalls and parapet 22 feet. All the original doors and windows had circular arches. The western door was circular-headed, and sides splayed inwards. The front jambs and facing of arch were of dressed limestone, but have been torn out and removed. On entering this door, there is at the left an arched recess within which was a door opening to the north—a detail very unusual in the old abbeys. Beside it, supported on a plain bracket, was a holy-water stoup, the bowl of which has been broken off. Above the parapet, in the western gable, was a square window of three lights. This window had glass, and was probably an insertion. The tower, which stood between chancel and nave, rested on four piers, and was vaulted. The connecting stones extending from the walls are the only portions of it that are left. United with the tower, and extending 9 feet into the nave, was the rood-loft, access to which was probably from the tower. There were three windows in the north side of the church—all with circular arches and without glass ; a double-lancet window in the chancel, a single light under the tower, and a single-lancet window in the nave beside the tower. The ope of the lancet in the nave was 5 feet 7 inches high by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad. It splayed inwards at the side next the tower up to 2 feet from the face of the wall, then ran in a line with the base of the tower. It splayed on the other side to within 2 feet 8 inches of the surface of the wall, thence went straight forward. This edge had a deep chamfer which ran round the arch. The window was recessed to the ground. Directly opposite it, at the south side, beside the tower, was a recess, with a circular arch, and the right side of this, under the springing of the arch, was again recessed for a piscina. There were probably small altars fixed here, one at each side. This window beside the tower, and the square window in the gable, were the only provision made for lighting the nave. The single lancet under the tower was intended to light the passage. It had an internal splay to within 12 inches of the surface of the wall, thence went forward in a line with the sides of the passage under the tower. It is on a higher level than the window in the nave, probably as the floor there was higher. The ope of this window was 7 feet 2 inches by 9 inches ; breadth of splay 6 feet 9 inches. In the chancel, north side, each light was 9 feet 3 inches by 9 inches ; internal splay 10 feet 2 inches broad. These three windows were provided with shutters. There are sockets to take posts on which the shutters were hung, and opes in the wall for

bolts. The east window is truly beautiful, with ogee arch and splaying inwards; it has four mullions. The five lower lights are circular-headed; over these a line of small lights with ogee-heads, and thence the mullions issue into flowing lines, enclosing pointed loops of different patterns. It is surmounted by a plain label; the dimensions from sill to head of lower lights, 11 feet 6 inches; tracery, 10 feet 6 inches; entire height from sill to point of arch, 22 feet; breadth between jambs, 10 feet 4 inches. This had glass, and was a later insertion; so, too, was the two-light lancet at south side of chancel. This was a very handsome window; it was directly opposite the double lancet at the north side, and nearly of the same dimensions. The jambs, externally, had different mouldings, which were carried round lintel and sill. It had a square label, and was provided with glass. In the sanctuary, south side, some 3 feet from the ground, was a recess divided in front by a pillar, and open within. Each division has an ogee-head and a large torus moulding round the edges. This was probably an insertion, judging from its ornamental character. It was used as an aumbry, or, perhaps, a credence. There are two doors in the south side, one leading from the sanctuary into the sacristy, the other leading from the nave by the tower into the cloister. They had pointed arches, but the one under the tower had an arch within a circular arch. The jambs are of beautiful dark limestone, and have mouldings. Near the door leading into the cloister there is a circular stairs, access to which is by an arched door in the cloister wall. Beside the door was a rectangular aperture to light the stairs. This stairs was cut off from the sacristy by a wall. Within the sacristy was an aumbry with plain angular head. This had a shelf, the mark of which is still in the masonry. Enclosed between the abbey and the church was the cloister garth, each side of which measured 58 feet. Around the cloister ran an arcade for the use of the monks in wet weather. The lean-to roof of this rested on the church and abbey walls, and was supported in front by pillars. There was a hollow moulding along the walls to receive this roof, and some 14 inches lower was a line of corbels to carry joists to support it. There is a recess in the church wall under the arcade intended as space for a seat. The recess is circular-headed, of the same dark limestone, and chamfered at the edge. The wings of the buildings abutting on the church were 23 feet 5 inches broad. Where they joined the church there rested on the side wall two gables, the eastern one of which still remains. In this there was a door by which the monks could go on the roof of the church from the abbey. Most probably the passage to the tower and thence to the rood-loft was also by this door.

The abbey is now used as a cemetery, and every portion of it, even the space within the church, is utilized for the purpose. The very sanctuary has been usurped by a hideous vault, which interferes with a proper view of the noble window. While the Irish people do not

always show the best taste in keeping their cemeteries in order, they are proverbially most respectful towards the dead. About 120 years ago there lived in Callinafercy a man named Botteaux. The unhappy man committed *felo de se*, and was interred in the abbey. The people took great offence that a self-destroyer should rest among the bones of their departed dead, and determined that other interment should be provided for the remains. Accordingly, it was found the next morning that the body was placed beyond the precincts of the abbey, and the grave again filled in. It was then interred in another part of the graveyard, but again was it removed outside the grounds. The body was afterwards taken to the sea-shore beside where the man had lived, and buried in the sand in an inlet still known as Botteaux's creek.

In past times there was an old quay in the river not far from the abbey. Some time in the beginning of the last century a small trading vessel arrived there with a cargo. In due time the captain was ready to return, and made arrangements to set sail the next morning. That night, however, he and the sailors came to the abbey and broke down and took away one of the mullions and a small portion of the tracery of the east window. They left early, and were out to sea before the outrage was discovered. It is commonly said in the district that a storm overtook them in the bay. Whether they then succumbed is not known, but it is confidently stated that no tidings were afterwards heard of ship or sailors. Sir William Godfrey, the proprietor of Kilecoleman at that time, had the window repaired; and the new portions are a good imitation of the original.

I had the pleasure of accompanying Dr. Robert Cochrane and Mr. P. J. Lynch recently to Killagha, and have to express my obligations to both for much information regarding the abbey.

It were much to be desired that the Board of Works would take up the care of what remains of the abbey of Killagha. Our old ruins are our country's asset. These walls, whose value to the builder may be reckoned at a few shillings, become priceless as interpreters of our nation's history. With them we may live the past over again. By them we read into the ways, and habits, and thoughts of those who went before us. These walls remind us that, from the early days of Christianity in Ireland, there lived in Killagha men whose lives were an abiding example of holiness and truth, a standing censure on deceit and crime. They help us to explain that phenomenon unique in the world to-day—the religious instincts of our race. They tell us we have still an interesting history, and that in religion, at least, we have successes to record more truly noble than the triumphs of military science.

THE INCHAGOILL INSCRIPTION, LOUGH CORRIB,
COUNTY GALWAY.

BY R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

[Submitted JUNE 18, 1906.]

IF I feel obliged to express my inability to accept the conclusions for which Dr. Joyce has so ably argued in a paper recently read before the Society, it is from no want of appreciation of the value of his labours in the cause of Irish studies. I much regret finding myself in disagreement with him; all the more because the theory is so attractive. The Inchagoill inscription would go near to being the most interesting monument in Ireland if it were actually the memorial of the nephew of St. Patrick.

Let us first look at the inscription. It is well represented in Wakeman's drawing, reproduced by Dr. Joyce; but reference should also be made to the photographic fac-simile in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy, Series II., vol. i., plate ix.; or to an excellent photograph in this *Journal*, 1901, p. 243. These show that the sixth letter is even more like a reversed z than Wakeman has drawn it, and that the antepenultimate letter of the first line is rather more angular than in the cut.

The following is a transcript of the inscription, representing disputed letters by a star, and numbering the characters for reference:—

L	i	e	l	U	G	*	a	c	d	o	n
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
m	a	c	c	*	m	e	n	U	e	h	
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	

The first point to notice about this inscription is that the letter-forms are transitional in type. The alphabet has not yet assumed the specifically Irish form which it had obtained by the time that, for example, most of the Clonmacnoise inscriptions were engraved. The a, c, e, h, i, m, o, have attained, or nearly attained, the characteristic Irish type; the l, n waver between the Roman capital (1, 20) and the minuscule (4, 12): the d (10) has the minuscule Roman form that it still retains in some of the Clonmacnoise inscriptions; while u retains its Roman capital form.

The sixth letter is especially interesting. It is not the isolated phenomenon that Dr. Joyce considers it, however, but a definite link in

the evolution of the Irish δ from the Roman g . A diagram will make this clear. (See below.)

With regard to the two disputed letters, no one can, I think deny that the seventh character is *absolutely identical* in every respect with the fifth, save that it is a trifle smaller. The fifth, all agree, is a τ ; therefore, the seventh must also be τ . Dr. Joyce, however, takes it for an inverted x , and quotes other instances of the inversion of characters, and of the use in the limits of one inscription of different forms of the same character. Indeed, as we have seen, this short inscription presents us with two forms of L and two of x ; and, of course, letters are sometimes inverted in inscriptions (though I may say I have the gravest doubts of the correctness of the reading and interpretation of the *Cirini* inscription—now unfortunately lost—quoted by Dr. Joyce). But is there any other example of an inscription cut, on the whole, with such clearness as this, in which one letter is inverted and varied to such an extent as *exactly* to counterfeit another? I hardly think so.



DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING THE EVOLUTION OF THE IRISH ' δ ' FROM THE ROMAN ' G .'

- (1) Roman ' G .' From an inscription (second century A.D.) at Saguntum. (2) From a third century Christian inscription at Rome (Lateran Mus., No. 27). (3) Ogham and Roman inscription, Lewannick, Cornwall. (4) Ogham and Roman inscription, Llangwarren, Pembroke. (5) *Inchagoill*. (6) Caldey Island. (7) The Irish ' G .'

The seventeenth letter has obviously been an l in the mind of Wakeman, for his "unconscious cerebration" has caused the pencil to curve and recurve the line in a way which suggests this letter. But the mechanical paper-squeeze and photograph process which has produced the Academy's fac-simile refuses to yield anything but an l , with the very slightest bend to the right at the bottom. Now the lower bends of the L 's in this inscription are very bold; and had the engraver been obliged to insert a forgotten L in the seventeenth place, after he had cut the rest of the inscription, he would certainly have carried it below the line of writing in order to make room for the curve. Here again, we ask, is it likely that a letter would be so varied as to be capable of confusion with another *within the same inscription*? That an L of one inscription resembles an l of another is quite possible; but that an L of an inscription should resemble the l of the same inscription is not likely. Let me ask anyone interested in the question to turn up the fac-simile in the Academy's

Proceedings, and compare together the letters in each of these series in order :—

L l I I
1 4 17 2

and

N n U U,
20 12 7 5

and I shall be much surprised if, as the result of his study, he do not agree with me in reading

Lie Luquaedon Maccimenuch.

And, further, he will notice that there is a comparatively *narrow* gap between the c and I (letters 16, 17), and a *wide* gap between the I and x (letters 17, 18), and that, consequently, the second line divides most naturally into *macci Menuch*.

Secondly, let us consider the topographical arguments in favour of the alleged identification. The first point which occurs to me to notice is the absence of evidence connecting Lugnath, St. Patrick's nephew, with *Lough Corrib*. Dr. Joyce finds traces of him in topographical names near the north end of *Lough Mask*; but the whole length of that lake intervenes between the Lugnath district and the island in Lough Corrib where stands the inscription. In days of rapid transit and peaceful society the distance of fifteen or sixteen miles that intervenes is comparatively short; but distances were longer in the days of Lugnath, and some further evidence is needed before we can accept as his a tombstone fifteen or sixteen miles from the place which ancient records and modern place-names agree was the scene of his labours. That Lugnath was carried for burial to this remote island is, of course, possible; there is, however, no evidence that this was done, outside the inscription itself.

Were there no tradition or record of Lugnath, the monument would most naturally be assigned to whatever anchorite dwelt on the island and served the oratories whose ruins still remain. Of course, this anchorite might have been Lugnath himself, who, after a period of activity in the district assigned to him on the shores of Lough Mask, retired to this island; but this, again, is pure assumption.

Dr. Joyce refers to the Irish name of this island—*Inis an Ghail Chrabhthaigh*—"the island of the pious foreigner." This he regards as a tradition "rendering it certain that it was once the abode of some saintly native of Gaul." I hardly think that the tradition teaches so definite a lesson. So far from interpreting the inscription by the island-name, I should interpret the island-name by the inscription. In the absence of proof of any very high antiquity for this name, I am inclined to regard it as the invention of some local Sherlock Holmes, who inferred, from the presence of the oratories, that the island had once been inhabited by a pious person, and that the pious person was a *Gall*,

or foreigner—not necessarily a Gaul—from the mysterious letters on his tombstone. For, alas! Ireland is the one country in Europe where an inscription in the native language and character might be taken as foreign and strange. A car-driver who was conducting me from Kenmare in the direction of Kilgarvan some years ago, told me that by the roadside was an inscription that no one, save one priest, had ever been able to decipher. When we reached the inscription in question, I was disappointed to find that this attractive account applied to a drinking-fountain, dated about 1840, with, as well as I remember, the not very recouidite legend, “*bí cúpam aḡ an ḡume ionnpaie a n-anam a beaḡuḡ,*” over it. If such a mystery should come to attach to such an inscription, put up within the lifetime of persons still living, in the heart of an Irish-speaking district, what wonder if the Inchagoill stone should come to be regarded as equally obscure in its origin? Similar stories have been told me about an Irish tombstone in Dunbulloge cemetery, County Cork; and I have no doubt that an inscription in “Haybrew, that no man could read,” which I was told existed at Clonmines, in Wexford, but which I have not investigated, was something of the same sort.

Thus we have seen—

(1) That the inscription cannot be read as the “stone of Lugnath son of Liemania” without assuming twice over that certain letters, which occur in the inscription in normal forms, have been so distorted elsewhere in the inscription as to be identical with certain other letters.

(2) That the traditions which connect Lugnath with Lough Mask do not necessarily connect him with Lough Corrib.

(3) That there is no evidence connecting him with Inchagoill.

(4) That the name of the island proves nothing.

Thirdly, we can advance some philological considerations. In the first place, I need not do more than allude to the extreme improbability of an initial LM, or to the use of the final H, to which I will return presently. It is sufficient to mention here that the latter is inconsistent with any form of *Liemania*. Nor need I notice that in an inscription so old as St. Patrick’s time *Lugnaedon* would not be the genitive of the name in question. It would certainly be *Lugnaedona*, if not *Lugnaedonas*.

A word may, perhaps, be said here about Sir S. Ferguson’s notice of the inscription, to which Dr. Joyce refers. He transliterated the inscription as I do; but evidently was as unwilling as anyone would naturally be to give up the tempting identification with Lugnath. He therefore called in the aid of a theory he had himself formulated, of the “dispartition of proper names in Ogham inscriptions,” and attempted to make *Liemania* out of the initial *Lie* and the final *menueh*. This theory of decipherment, natural enough in the early days of epigraphic study when it was put forward, can hardly command acceptance now, and with it falls away this

attempt at maintaining the identity in the face of what Sir Samuel Ferguson saw to be the true rendering of the letters of the inscription.

The name *Luguaedon*, as I read it, allies itself with a series of Ogham names compounded with the god-name *Lug*—*Loga*, *Lugu-vre*, *Lugu-vreca*, *Lugu-deccas*, *Lugu-grit* are the forms, mostly genitives, as they appear on the inscriptions: and a second series with the terminal *aidon*, the meaning of which is given by Stokes as “fiery-flashing.” Such are *Dov-aidonas*, *Ere-aidana*, *Biv-aidona*. The name *Ere*, which seems to have some meaning analogous to ‘brightness’ or ‘heaven,’ and therefore to be of the same class as *Lug*, presents interesting parallels to that name in its compounds: thus, we have

Ere, *Ereaviccas*, *Ereaidana*,
Lug, *Luguvreca*, *Luguaedon*,

--all but the last being found on different Ogham stones. The last is on the Inchagoill stone, and this with its *macci* looks back to the days of Ogham monuments far more than it looks forward to the period of the later Irish character.

I trust that these analogies will show that *Luguaedon* is not at all so impossible a form as Dr. Joyce seems to believe. The second *u* is a semi-vowel, which had disappeared when the Reichenau *Bede* was written.

With regard to *Menueh*, the important part to consider is the force of the final *h*. In this position it must be intended to represent the guttural *ch*; and I take it that the name is to be equated, not to “*Men*” (whatever the authority for this name may be), but to the later Irish *Mainech*. The *u* here, again, is a semivowel.

If the historical interest ascribed to this inscription be, as I think, spurious, nothing can rob it of its palæographic and philological importance. I know not whether it or the “alphabet” stone at Kilmalkedar be the more valuable document for the study of the history of the Irish alphabet—a subject as yet by no means fully worked out, and which cannot be worked out till trustworthy fac-similes of the lapidary and manuscript documents are available for students.¹ The Inchagoill inscription, like an instantaneous photograph of a moving animal, has caught the process of evolution at a very curious stage—when certain letters have become transformed in shape entirely, some are on the way, and some not yet started.

The contents of the inscription are also interesting, as well as its outward form. It is unusual for the governing word *Lie* to be expressed before the genitive depending upon it: it takes the place of *Ann*, which began to be used a little before the end of the Ogham period.

¹ Dr. Joyce makes large use of the “Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language” in his arguments. My own limited experience of comparing the illustrations in that work with the original stones compels me regretfully to the remark that palæographic deductions drawn from the forms of letters (as shown in its plates) must be made and received *with the greatest possible caution*.

As to the date of the inscription, we have various indications to guide us. It is clearly later than most Oghams, and earlier than most inscriptions in the Irish character. That is to say, it is probably to be ascribed to some time fairly early in the eighth century. Closer to this approximation we cannot yet go: for there are still many questions requiring thorough discussion—such as the stages of development of the character, and the possibility that linguistic archaisms were retained in writing after they had ceased to exist in the spoken language.

In any case, it is impossible that the stone should be old enough to commemorate a contemporary of St. Patrick.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF INISCALTRA, LOUGH DERG,
COUNTY GALWAY.

BY R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

[Submitted JUNE 18, 1906.]

ON 1st of May of this year I had the privilege of accompanying Dr. Cochrane to Iniscaltra on one of his official visits of inspection, and so for the first time saw the antiquities on this very interesting island. Till now the only account that has been published of them as a whole has been Sir Thomas Deane's official description of their restoration, contained in the forty-eighth report of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland (Dublin, 1880). This report contains a summary description of the remains, illustrated by seven plates, which give a very good idea of the churches and sepulchral slabs. But a full account of the remains on the island has yet to be written.

I do not propose to undertake such a task here. The few hours that I spent on the island with Dr. Cochrane were quite insufficient for the collection of material, which would probably require the hard work of a full week. Postponing, therefore, for the present, any attempt at describing the remains on the island, I confine myself in this paper entirely to an account of the grave-slabs which bear inscriptions in addition to the crosses.

There are over a hundred grave-slabs on the island, all of which require to be illustrated: Sir Thomas Deane has given us good, though in some cases rather sketchy, drawings of about thirty or forty of these. Some have very beautiful diapered back-grounds cut upon the slabs, and there are not a few remarkable designs among the crosses. But the task of copying and rubbing the inscriptions alone fully occupied the whole available time of my visit; and as Sir Thomas Deane's drawings are accessible, I need say no more words of general description, but pass at once to the inscriptions. It is the more desirable that these should be published without delay, as most of them were not discovered till the works of repair and preservation were undertaken, after the publication of the "Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language," and so have no place in that work; and Sir Thomas Deane's copies in some cases do not pretend to be more than an indication of the existence of an inscription, without attempting its decipherment. With the numbering of the inscriptions I give Sir Thomas Deane's reference letters.

1. (Deane, E).—I give a drawing of the whole of this slab, partly as it is a good typical illustration of the normal type of grave-slab at

Iniscaltra, and partly on account of the curious story of its alleged loss. This first appears in a foot-note in this *Journal*, vol. xix. (1889), p. 164, where we are informed that "the Cosgrach stone disappeared in the summer of 1888." Mr. Wakeman (*Id.* vol. xxi. (1890-1), p. 274) repeats this, adding the following categorical statement: "It so

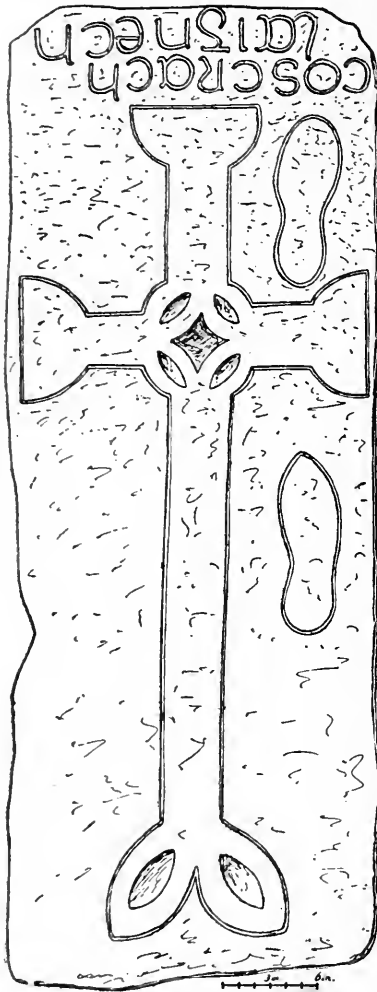


FIG. 1.

happens that a person with whom I am well acquainted, and upon whose veracity every reliance can be placed, witnessed the appropriation of a cross-inscribed stone which lay in the cemetery . . . by a party of tourists who, from their dress and style of speaking, appeared to have hailed from America, or perhaps from some part of Australia. The stone was then placed by them in a cot or boat, one of the strangers remarking at the moment: 'How pretty it would look in the garden on the other side of the water.' This stolen relic, for it was carried away, was doubtlessly [*sic*] the stone of Cosgrach."

This statement is too definite to be set aside; the only flaw being the identification of the stolen stone with that of Cosgrach. This is still in the place indicated in Sir Thomas Deane's plan, which seems to have been its original situation. Moreover, it is too heavy to be easily carried off, and the ordinary curiosity-pirate would not be attracted by any special beauty or interest in the stone, for the darkness of ignorance would blind his eyes to its very remarkable character. That Iniscaltra has suffered *some* loss from the tourist nuisance must,

I fear, be accepted as the inevitable conclusion to be drawn from Mr. Wakeman's statement: and if a conjecture may be hazarded, it is not improbable that the stolen slab is that of Moengal mac Lodgin, figured in the "Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language," vol. ii.,

plate xxvi. This was not to be found when Dr. Cochrane and I visited Iniscaltra. Another, with a cross having triquetra terminals, and the inscription *Oṛ do Chunn*, also seems to have disappeared. Both these were lighter, and to a rockery-builder more attractive, than the Leinsterman's monument.

The *Coserach* stone bears a simple Latin cross, with a circular expansion at the centre, perforated ornamentally, and with a base evidently intended to suggest a Calvary. The most peculiar feature are two outlines of feet on the sinister side of the slab. Some more skilled iconographer than I may be able to explain these.¹ The inscription is in two lines, above the head of the cross, and inverted with respect to it: the same arrangement is found in several others of the series. It reads *Coserach Luignech*—that is, “Coserach, a Leinsterman.” An attempt has been made to identify this Coserach with a certain anchorite of the island, whose obit is recorded in the Annals of the Four Masters, anno 898: he was nicknamed *truaghan*, “the meagre,” probably on account of the results of extreme asceticism. But I hardly think the slab so old:



FIG. 2.

were I seeking to identify the Leinsterman, I should be more inclined to think of the Cosgrach, son of Angidh, comarb of Flannan and Brenainn—that is to say, Bishop of Killaloe, who died in 1038, according to the *Chronicon Scotorum*. The Iniscaltra series of crosses is, as a whole, distinctly later in date than are the slabs of Clonmacnoise; and we would be more inclined to look for a slab of the Clonmacnoise type as commemorative of the anchorite Coserach, than one of the more formal Iniscaltra type. But it is futile to attempt to identify Coserach. We have records of two Coserachs who *might* have been buried in Iniscaltra. How many Coserachs actually were there buried of whom no information survives? The specification of this Coserach as “a Leinsterman” (observe, not “*the* Leinsterman”), to my mind, seems to show that he was nothing but an obscure stranger, from a distant province, brought for sepulture to the holy island: it is a valuable testimony to the popularity and fame of this cemetery over the

¹ See the article *Footprints*, in Smith and Cheetham's “*Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*.”

whole of Ireland, but not a clue that can aid us in discovering the individual.

2. (Deane, F).—This inscription is arranged with respect to the cross in the same way as that of Coserach; but it is remarkable that the lower line is to be read first. It reads:—[*Or*] *do Maelsechnaill*. The initial letters of each line are lost or injured by a fracture in the stone.



FIG. 3.

3. (Deane, K).—This inscription illustrates another favourite disposition of the writing—on the surface of the stem of the cross. In this case it reads downwards; in others it reads upwards. The inscription is *Or do Domnall u . . . art*, the lost letters being defaced by an unfortunate flake in the stone. It may be suggested that the last name is abbreviated, and that the whole (restoring the missing characters) read *Oroit do Domnall ua Carthaig*—"A prayer for Domnall, grandson of Carthaeh." The *o* of *do* is written above the *d*: evidently the engraver, confused by the initial *Do* of the name, omitted this word, and crowded it into the inscription afterwards. I can find no trace of any Domnall ua Carthaigh.



FIG. 4.

4. (Deane, N).—This inscription is also written on the stem of the cross. It gives the same name, *Domnall*, as in the previous stone. No parentage is stated, which, of course, makes identification, if possible, even more hopeless. The surface of the stone is much flaked. Notice the lozenge-shaped *o*.

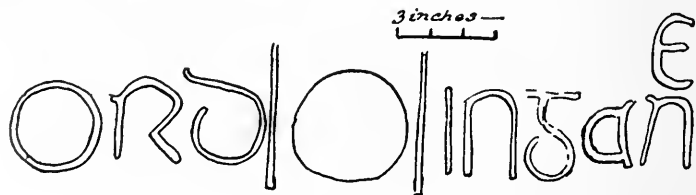


FIG. 5.

5. (Deane, O).—The inscription in this case is cut in a similar position to that of No. 1, save that instead of being above the head it

runs across it. It reads *Or do Ingane*: I cannot find this name anywhere. The *o* of *do* is a circle completely hollowed out, not merely a circular line. The inscription is much worn, the *g* being especially faint.



FIG. 6.

6. (Deane, Q).—This is a very handsome slab, with an elaborate, but much-worn, background. Of the inscription, which reads downwards on the stem of the cross, I can find only *Or̄*. It seems to me as though the rest of the lettering had been left uncut—at least I cannot see the faintest trace of it.

7. (Deane, R).—This inscription is in a panel above the head of the cross, and, as usual, inverted with respect to it. I found decipherment impossible, though it may be that with unlimited time and satisfactory conditions of lighting something might be made of it.



FIG. 7.

8. (Deane, S)—The inscription is in one line, disposed as in the *Coserach* stone. The upper dexter corner of the slab is broken off, and with it the termination of the inscription, which begins *Or̄ do Mael* . . .

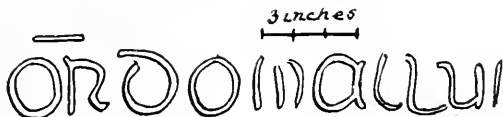


FIG. 8.

9. (Deane, T).—There is no cross on this stone, which simply bears the inscription in one vertical line, reading downwards. I made out *Or̄ do Mallui*, which is, to say the least, unlikely, and unlike anything I can find. The name may be *Mailui*, and be the commencement of some such name as *Mailumha*.

10. (Deane, U).—This inscription is interesting as being the only one of the series that gives us a clue to the person commemorated. As before, it is in two lines, inverted with respect to the cross, and reads *Or̄ do Gillu-Cri[st] Episco[po]*. *Gillu* is the dative of *Gilla*, governed by *do*. I have not succeeded in discovering any Bishop Gilchrist; he is as obscure as the "Bishop Dathal" of one of the Clonmacnoise stones. Of the latter, Miss Stokes ("Christian Inscriptions," vol. i., p. 22)

observes: "It is possible that [it] has been wrongly read; . . . there was

FIG. 9.

a Bishop Cathal of Clonfert . . . in the year 961. . . . [The stone] is no longer to be found." However, the stone, I am glad to say, is still safe at Clonmacnoise, and the name is certainly Dathal, not Cathal.¹ The *d* and *e* of the Gillachrist inscription are injured by a flaw.

FIG. 10.

11. (Deane, W).—This inscription reads upwards on the stone of a cross. It is placed rather too high up with reference to the cross in Deane's drawing. It reads *Or do Chellach*.

FIG. 11.

12. (Deane, plate ii).—This interesting inscription is cut on the upper surface of the base of a standing cross, the socket for which remains, though the cross itself has disappeared. A drawing of it will be found in "Christian Inscriptions," vol. ii., plate xxvii. The inscription is + *Ilad i dechenboir*, that is, "the monument of the ten men." The word *ilad*, more commonly written *ulad*, is explained by Cormac (Glossary, trans., p. 166) as a "sepulchre"; and *fert*, in O'Davoren's Glossary ("Arch. für Celt. Lex.," vol. ii., p. 362), is explained as *ulad cundachta*, or "covered tomb." I do not think there is any other example of its use in a monumental inscription, though it is not infrequent in the ms. literature, and still survives as the designation of a stone tomb or penitential station. There was a monument at Clonmacnoise, mentioned in the Annals of the Four Masters, under

¹ As a matter of fact, a Bishop Dathal is recorded in the Annals of Ulster.

dates 918, 1026, known as the *Ulad na ttri cros*, or grave of the three crosses.

This inscription arouses our curiosity. Who were "the ten men"—clearly some well-known group of individuals—commemorated by this cross? Possibly ten victims of some notorious raid or massacre, such as that wherein Iniscaltra was burned by the foreigners, A.D. 836. Miss Stokes justly compares the tombs of "the two canons" and "the seven Romans" on the Aran Islands; but this epitaph "of the ten men" is to us even vaguer than those better-known monuments. The inscription appears to give us a tantalising glimpse at some episode of history whose details we can never hope to know.

The foregoing are the inscriptions to be seen on the grave-slabs in the "saints' burying-ground" at Iniscaltra. The following are now preserved in St. Caimin's Church:—



FIG. 12.

13. (Deane, plate ii.: "Christian Inscriptions," plate xxvii.).—This inscription is disposed in two lines, like that of the "Leinsterman." It reads: *Oṛ do Diarmait macc Delbait*—"a prayer for Diarmait, son of Delbaoth." The first of these two names is common in every generation: the latter is rarer, and is reminiscent of traditions of the Tuatha Dé Danann invaders, whose leaders were the sons of Delbaoth. No Diarmait, son of Delbaoth, is recorded in connexion with Iniscaltra: a Bishop Diarmait, son of Caicher, who died 951, is naturally thought of; but the discrepancy in the patronymic is quite insuperable.



FIG. 13.

14. (Deane, plate ii.: "Christian Inscriptions," plate xxvii.).—The inscription is arranged as in the previous slab. It reads: *Oṛ do Lathbertach*, and is interesting as illustrating the infection and silencing of initial *F* by the preposition *do*: for the name is certainly the dative of Flathbertach, the modern Flaherty. There is a perfect wilderness of Flathbertachs recorded in the annals; and even if our Flathbertach were certainly one of them, it would be impossible to pick him out.

15. (Deane, plate vi.).—The slab is rather older than any of the



FIG. 14.

preceding. It is smaller in size, and bears a plain quadrate Latin cross, with square, expanding arm-ends. The inscription is, as usual, over the head, and inverted with respect to it. It reads: *Oṛ do Murchad.*



FIG. 15.

16. (Deane, plate vi.).—A cross-slab of similar type to the last, though differing in the details of the shape of the cross. The inscription, in two lines, is placed in the same way. It reads: *Oṛ do Maelpatraic.*

17. (Deane, plate vii.).—A fine, free-standing cross, with the face ornamented with spirals and other decorations, rather summarily indicated in Deane's plate. There is an inscription on both edges of the cross, reading downwards. It is so placed that it is next to impossible to obtain a rubbing; and as its decipherment would probably take the better part of a day to itself, I was unable to attempt it.

Seven inscriptions from Iniscaltra are recorded by Miss Stokes in "Christian Inscriptions." Four of these have been given above—Nos. 12, 13, 14, and 16. The other three are missing—at least Dr. Cochrane and I could not find them. They read:—

18. *OR DO ARÖSEI . . .*

19. *moenzal mac loðgin*, in two lines, occupying the two upper cantons of a Greek cross, *fourchée*, the terminals being recurved spirally outward: the whole enclosed inside a panel.

20. *OR DO CHUNN*, with a Latin cross made of a winding band, having triquetras at the terminals.

Such, then, are the inscriptions of Iniscaltra: one commemorates a bishop; another commemorates a man by a territorial designation, very rare in Irish slabs; a third is probably a memorial of some event of local history. Over the rest we can but quote the inscription on the font of Constantine's church at Bethlehem:—

"ΤΗΡ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΠΑΤΣΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΦΕΣΕΩΣ ΑΜΑΡΤΕΩΝ ΩΝ Ο ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΓΗΝΟΣΚΙ ΤΑ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΑ."

Miscellanea.

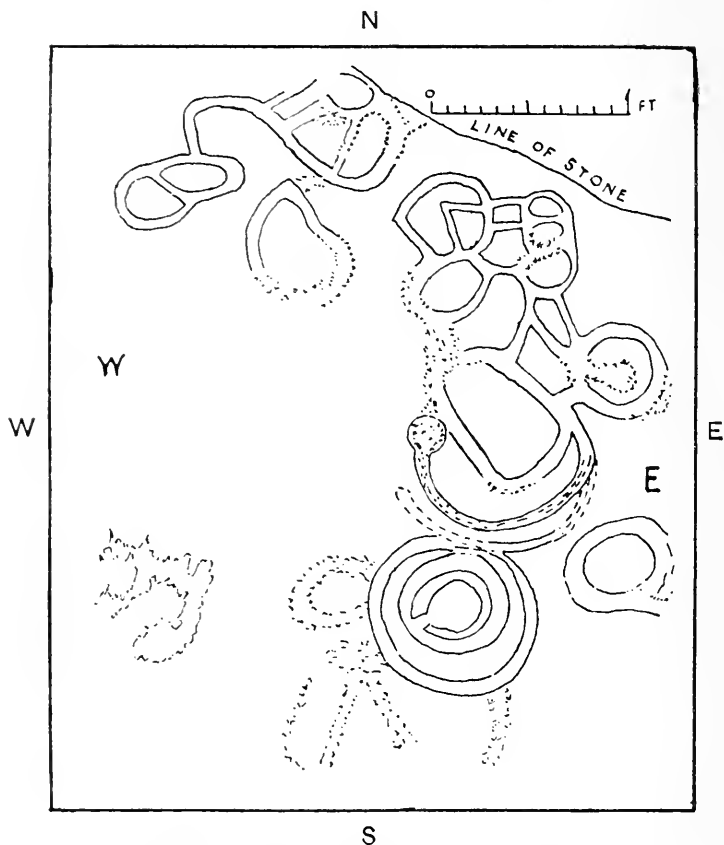
Ennis Abbey—The Kilclaran Chalice.—Sir Arthur Vicars, Ulster King of Arms, informs me that he purchased a chalice inscribed “Conventus de Ennis, Kilelare,” and has presented the same to the parish church of Ballinure, in the diocese of Leighlin. I regret to hear that, in its repair and re-engraving, the old inscription has been obliterated. It is probably the chalice described to me by Dr. George U. Macnamara, *Hon. Local Secretary for North Clare*. When he saw it, it was broken in two and for sale. It was a silver chalice with a hexagonal base, and bore on the cup—“Fr. Fran. Mac Namara procuravit pro conventu de Ennis 1752.” On one of the panels of the base the word “Kilelarin” was engraved “in rude current style.” Kilelaran is an old Roman Catholic church in a secluded valley in the parish of Feakle, County Clare (O.S. Map 20), under the furzy ridge on which lies the dolmen of Corracloon, and to the south of Lough Grancy. The late Most Rev. Dr. MacRedmond, Roman Catholic Bishop of Killaloe, told me that a Franciscan Friar was always located in Ennis to represent the old community of the convent. He (like the last friar of Quin) assisted the parish priests. For the older plate of Ennis “Abbey,” see the *Journal*, vol. xxvi., p. 137.—T. J. WESTROPP.

Inscribed Stone at Poulacopple, County Kerry.—This stone is not far from Kenmare, on the road from Ruscussane to Direen (Ordnance Sheet, No. 92), on the farm of Mr. Patrick Downing. It is a large boulder, the greater portion being embedded in the soil. The upper surface was at one time entirely exposed; but, in tillage operations, the lower portion—it lies with the incline of the field—got covered with clay. This, as the field has been for some time in pasture, had been gradually washing away, and, in 1904, the markings on the top surface were noticed; and, on clearing the stone, the complete sculpturing became visible, as shown in the illustration.

The stone was originally about 7 feet 5 inches from west to east; 1 foot 8 inches of the west end is now broken off by a natural fracture; it is about 6 feet in width, and about 2 feet 6 inches thick. The inscription is somewhat midway on the stone, commencing 2 feet from the eastern end. I have taken a rubbing of this portion, the photograph of which I lined over for the present illustration.

On my first examination of this stone I was greatly puzzled, for while some of the concentric circles, cup-markings, channels, &c., were archaic in appearance, there were several punch-markings in connexion

with the sculpturings which were clearly modern, as well as some portions where the lines were defined by punch-marks only, with the channels unfinished, and random markings on different parts of the stone, which I could not well understand. These I have, for the most part, shown by dots, or broken work, on the illustration.



INSCRIBED STONE, POULACOPPLE, COUNTY KERRY.

On making inquiries, I found that it was within the memory of some old people that during the relief works in the "forties" a forge was erected on this farm—probably close to this spot—for preparing tools for the workmen; and this, I think, affords an explanation of many of the random markings—and I might almost say—the disfigurement of this stone. So many of these inscribed stones have been found in Kerry, that it is not unreasonable to suppose that this was another specimen. The cups, concentric circles, channels, and other markings of an early age must have attracted the attention of some modern sculptors at the forge,

who, with the tools ready to their hands, attempted to improve on them, as well as strike out some original designs of their own.

In connexion with my notes on Caherlehillan, I thought a description of this stone would prove interesting; and though it may not be taken in its entirety as an example of early sculpturing, still it is such a stone as it might be well to place on record.—P. J. LYXEN.

Congress of Archæological Societies, July 4th, 1906.—The Seventeenth Congress of Archæological Societies was held on July 4th, at Burlington House. Lord Avebury, President of the Society of Antiquaries, in the Chair.

The Congress was attended by Delegates from the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, the British (3) and Cambrian Archæological Associations, the Folklore (2), Huguenot, and British Record Societies, and the Societies for Berkshire (2), Birmingham, Bristol, and Gloucestershire, Bucks (2), Cambridge, Derbyshire, Essex (2), Hampshire, East Herts (2), Leicestershire (2), Shropshire, Suffolk (2), Surrey (2), Sussex, Wilts. Yorkshire, East Riding, Members of the Standing, the Earthworks, and Court Roll Committees, and other delegates who omitted to sign the Register.

Count Plunkett represented the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

Mr. Ralph Nevill, F.S.A., was re-elected Hon. Secretary, and the thanks of the Meeting expressed to him for his services in the past year.

At the 1905 Congress a Resolution was adopted, and duly sent to H.M. Government, asking that the Inspectorship of Ancient Monuments for England, vacant since the death of General Pitt-Rivers, should be filled up.

Lord Avebury pointed out that the Act for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, which he had himself introduced, contemplated that the Inspector should be appointed not only to keep watch over the monuments that had been made over to the public, but should help in the preservation of others, and give facilities for their being handed over to the nation.

Lord Balcarres said that he quite agreed with what Lord Avebury had said, and pointed out that in the Report of the Earthworks Committee, there were numerous cases of destruction of ancient Earthworks; in all such cases it would have been most useful if there had been an Inspector to whom appeal could have been made, and who could have brought to bear the influence bestowed by the prestige of his office. He pointed out that it was the statutory duty of the Government to appoint an independent Inspector; and he thought archæologists should enter a strong protest against any other arrangement.

The Earl of Liverpool and others agreed in this view; and eventually Lord Avebury proposed, and Mr. Keyser seconded—"That this Congress

regrets that the Government has not carried out the provision of the Ancient Monuments Act for the appointment of an Inspector. Various monuments have been placed under the Act on the faith that the provisions of the Bill would be observed. The Congress therefore urge that an Inspector of Ancient Monuments should be appointed in accordance with the Act."

This was carried unanimously, and the Hon. Secretary was directed to prepare, in conjunction with Lord Balcarres and Lord Avebury, a covering letter, still further explaining the views of the meeting.

Colonel Freer, F.S.A., said that he thought the meeting should express its gratification at the announcement made in the Report of the Standing Committee, that arrangements had been made by which it was expected that Mr. Gomme would be able to complete his General Index by the autumn.

Mr. H. Farnham Burke, c.v.o., Somerset Herald, the Hon. Secretary of the Committee appointed at the last Congress to prepare a Scheme for the preservation and utilization of Court Rolls, read the following Report:—

"The Committee appointed at the Congress in July last have considered in some detail the matter referred to them. The subject is of such a nature, that they feel it can only be adequately dealt with by a Society to be formed *ad hoc*. They unanimously recommend that they be empowered to take the necessary steps to this end forthwith; and they feel that the Society might be made self-supporting from the outset.

"It is felt that without a definite organization competent to deal with the matter, any attempt to get the co-operation of Lords of Manors must fail."

Mr. Burke stated that the Committee anticipated no difficulty in the formation of such a Society, which had already received promises of influential support; he read a sketch programme for its work prepared by Mr. Brady.

Mr. Nigel Bond spoke to the advantages possessed by a Chartered Society; and after Dr. Round had pointed out that the action of the Congress must necessarily be limited to good wishes for the prosperity of the new Society, any preliminary assistance necessary for its formation, and a recommendation of its objects, it was proposed by the Earl of Liverpool, and seconded by Colonel Attree, R.E., F.S.A., and carried:— "That the Report of the Committee be received and adopted, and that the Congress pledge itself to promote the objects of the Society."

Mr. Chalkley Gould, F.S.A., then presented the Report of the Earthworks Committee, which has been printed for general distribution. He

asked Secretaries of Societies to give information as to their Counties on such matters as Bibliography and notices of impending destruction. This was frequently the result of want of knowledge, and might often be averted; and he instanced the case of Wolsborough, near Bere Regis, in Dorset, that Mr. Bond and the National Trust were now engaged in saving. Mr. St. Clair Baddely had also been able to preserve Painswick Beacon, famous for its wonderful view; the fosse of Lewes Castle had also been preserved.

The Hon. Secretary read a letter from Mr. James G. Wood, F.S.A., calling attention to the necessity of some skilled supervision of the Ordnance Maps. He gave various instances of mistaken names.

The Hon. Secretary pointed out that Ordnance officers were largely at the mercy of local information; the Earthworks Committee would, no doubt, be able to help in gradually correcting and supplementing the maps. On the motion of Lord Avebury, seconded by Lord Balcarres, the Report was received and adopted, and the Committee thanked for their energy.

The Hon. Secretary then brought forward proposals for a uniform system of recording Church and Churchyard Inscriptions. At his suggestion, the Surrey Archæological Society were promoting a scheme for such a Record, and, in response to an announcement in their Annual Report, had received several offers of assistance.

He had since found that the Suffolk Institute had already started such a scheme, and were energetically at work on it. Delegates from Suffolk were present, and would, no doubt, give their experience. The East Herts. Society were also on the point of issuing a scheme. It was obviously desirable that a uniform system should be adopted throughout the country; and he read a draft scheme that he had prepared for submission to Mr. A. Ridley Bax, F.S.A., and Mr. Bruce Bannerman, F.S.A. (Hon. Secretary of the Harleian Society), who had been appointed a Committee by the Surrey Society.

The principal points were that every fact, however trivial, must be recorded, but that formal phrases such as "Here lyeth," &c., and religious expressions, such as "In hopes of a joyous resurrection," and texts and verses need not be given. Although an exact copy was best of all, it was felt that no great progress would be made with the work if it were insisted on. It was suggested that the transcripts should be lodged in the libraries of the societies, or other suitable places; where possible they could be published by archdeaconries, rural deaneries, or as might be most convenient.

The Rev. Canon Warren, Hon. Secretary of the Suffolk Institute, gave an account of the scheme adopted by them. Circulars had been sent to all the clergy, but the responses had not been numerous. On the other hand, Mr. Partridge, at whose instigation the scheme had been

adopted, had himself copied the inscriptions of sixty-four churchyards, and it was probably on the work of similar enthusiasts that societies must rely.

Mr. C. Partridge, F.S.A., in response to calls, gave an account of his methods, and stated that it was his custom to draw rough plans of the churchyards for convenience of recording in sections. He was now publishing some parishes in East Anglian "Notes and Queries." The oldest churchyard tombstone he had found was dated 1662, and there were a fair number of the seventeenth century.

Mr. R. T. Andrews handed round copies of his publication of the inscriptions at All Saints and St. Andrew's Churches, Hertford, and pointed out the value attached to the former since the church had been burnt down, and the monuments destroyed.

Sir Edward Brabrook, c.b., instanced the work done by Mr. L. Duncan, F.S.A., in recording and publishing the inscriptions at Lewisham Church, of which he had also published the Registers. Many of the inscriptions had since become illegible.

Prof. M'Kenny Hughes thought that the value of the Record might be increased by notes on the present existence of groups of names in the different villages; he had found such records to have distinct ethnographic value.

Mr. C. J. Williams thought that churchwardens, as local men, would often be more interested in the scheme than the clergy, and might give assistance; but other members stated that they were very often the cause of destruction of tombstones.

Lord Balcarras thought the subject one of extraordinary interest; Prof. Hughes' object might be attained by inspection of the polling lists, which gave a full list of the inhabitants in a convenient form. He thought it might be desirable to limit the date, say to 1812. He did not like omissions in transcripts, though they might be made in publication, and confessed to a liking for the somewhat turgid prose of the seventeenth century.

Count Plunkett said that armorial designs on tombs often gave information not otherwise obtainable. As it was proposed to include tombs within churches, much good material should be gleaned; he hoped that anything approaching symbolism would be recorded, and all work of artistic excellence or archaeological interest. He instanced the late use of mediæval symbols on some Irish churchyard slabs. He urged that the work of transcription should be carried out under the systematic supervision of learned societies, advising the use of rubbings, to meet the difficulties of Latin forms, abbreviations, and disputed readings.

Dr. Laver hoped that record would also be made of inscriptions in meeting-houses and burial-places.

Mr. Ralph Nevill, in replying, stated that, on consideration, he had thought it better not to introduce a limit of date. In populous places

the churchyards had mostly been closed for some time, and the extra labour in other places would be small; it was, however, open to any transcriber to adopt a limit so long as the record was complete to such limit. He shared Lord Balesarres' liking for the prose of the seventeenth century, but that was chiefly found inside churches; and it was certainly desirable that inscriptions in churches should be given in full. Mr. Bax, who had copied from a very large number of churchyards, had also copied from Quakers' burial-grounds and similar places, and from cemeteries—a task for which, perhaps, few would have courage. He considered parish magazines might be of great use in such matters. He thought that a number of people might take up this work, which they would be able to manage, and so might be led to take an interest in other archæological matters.

It was resolved—"That it is desirable that there should be a uniform system of recording Church and Churchyard Inscriptions, and that Mr. Nevill, Mr. Partridge, and Mr. Bruce Bannerman, with power to add to their number, be appointed a Committee to draw up a scheme."

At the afternoon meeting, Dr. Haverfield was to have read a paper "On the abuse of the term 'Late-Celtic,'" but, as he did not appear, at the request of Sir Edward Brabrook, who was in the Chair, Mr. C. H. Read, Secretary Society of Antiquaries, gave an account of what the term, as used in the National Collections, was intended to cover. In France and Switzerland the style began perhaps a century sooner than in Britain, and it survived a century or two later in North Britain and Ireland, as shown in the work in the Book of Kells. Some elements in Ireland were, however, Scandinavian, and not Celtic, and must be carefully distinguished. There were also later survivals in parts of England and in Wales. At Hod Hill, in Dorsetshire, Celtic enamels and scrolls were found intermixed with articles of Roman make, which were quite uninfluenced by Celtic art; undoubtedly, however, Celtic art did influence Roman, and soften its rigid character. In Britain, Celtic art was carried to higher perfection than elsewhere, and especially in the South and West of England.

Mr. Page stated there had been some controversy in the case of the Warwickshire Victoria History whether certain objects should be described under the heading of Early Man or of Roman Period.

Count Plunkett thought it very undesirable to limit Schools of Art to periods of time. Time does not affect all places alike. The work of the Irish Schools was admittedly free from Roman influence. Celtic work in Britain that was altogether racial in character, though produced under the Roman dominion, would be misdescribed by a term that seemed to imply foreign direction. If they used the phrase "Roman Period" to label such work, they must use, for the same division of time, a different terminology for the Celtic work of Ireland—to the confusion of the student of our native arts.

Mr. Read, in replying, said he did not think that any better term than Late-Celtic could be found. Such titles must always be arbitrary, but were necessary and harmless as long as their meaning was not strained.

Sir Edward Brabrook thought that what had been said fully vindicated the choice of the name by the late Sir Wollaston Franks. General regret was expressed that the meeting had not been able to hear Dr. Haverfield's views.

The Arms of the O'Rourkes (p. 123, *ante*).—It is very unfortunate that the Rev. Joseph Meehan's extremely interesting paper on the County Leitrim, hitherto the county most neglected by antiquaries, should be disguised under such a misleading title. It is evident that the very rude and inartistic casting does not represent the Arms of the O'Rorkes, but seems to be an attempt to give expression to the doggerel rhyme quoted in the paper. While it is generally admitted that the man who is his own lawyer has a fool for his client, and that when one is ill it is best to consult a physician, the domain of heraldry is regarded as a kind of no man's land, where everyone may wander about at will, and discourse of blue grounds and speckled shields. Heraldry has been defined as "the art of blazoning, assigning, and marshalling coat-armour," or, more particularly, "the art of arranging and explaining, in proper terms, all that relates or appertains to the bearing of arms, crests, badges, quarterings, and other hereditary marks of honour." Without a thorough knowledge of this art, it is as impossible to write about it as to write about Ogham inscriptions without a knowledge of the Ogham characters. The casting and the rhyme probably refer to a tribal badge of the O'Rourkes—a very different thing from arms, but generally confounded with them by those unacquainted with heraldry. This confusion pervades Canon French's paper, entitled, "The Arms of Ireland and Celtic Tribal Heraldry" (*Journal*, vol. xxxv., p. 234), though the writer seems to have had some idea of the distinction.

Betham is entirely misrepresented as stating that the Desmond crest is a monkey. It is not, and never was, either a monkey or a lion. This is what Betham did say in the passage referred to ("Irish Antiquarian Researches," Part I., page 227)—the italics are in the original:—"The supporters of the house of Kildare were originally *two lions*, but from the odd way of sketching or painting them, have been mistaken *for monkies*, an error which has been perpetuated and established. It is remarkable also that the story of the ape conveying the child to the top of the castle, from which the Earls of Kildare *are said to have taken their crest, of a monkey*, was told of *one of the Desmond family*, viz. Thomas Nappagh, or the ape, third Lord of Desmond. The truth is, that the crest was also originally a *lion passant*, but ignorantly

changed to a monkey, from the same cause as the supporters, added to the tradition alluded to, but which was not at all applicable to one of the Kildare family." Nothing can be clearer than that the crest referred to is the Kildare crest. Heraldry is continually reminded of their shortcomings by the motto engraven on the coronets of the Kings-of-Arms:—"Miserere mei Deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam." Oh! that those who are not heralds would adopt as theirs, "Ne sutor supra crepidam." If antiquaries, wishing to write about arms, would only consult the Office of Arms, where information is always willingly and freely accorded them, they would be saved from falling into many an error.—G. D. BURTCHAELL.

The Manor of Erley (*antea*, p. 156).—My attention has been called to the fact that there is no such place as "Corsham, in Hampshire." The place referred to is evidently Cosham, in Hampshire. Erleigh, or Erley, near Reading, is now known as Early.—G. D. BURTCHAELL.

Notices of Books.

NOTE.—*The books marked thus (*) are by Members of the Society.*

**Blake Family Records*.—A Chronological Catalogue, with Notes, and the Genealogies of many branches of the Blake Family. Illustrated with Photographs. Series I., 1300 to 1600, and II., 1600 to 1700. By Martin J. Blake. (London: Elliot Stock, 1902 and 1905.) Cr. 8vo, pp. viii + 200, and xii + 298, with Index to the Records in the First Series, pp. xviii. Price 10s. 6d. and 18s.

It is not likely that anyone but a member of the family would read these volumes straight through; and yet there is not a page without something to interest the reader, especially if he be an antiquary.

This family descends from one Richard Caddell, who had grants of land in the neighbourhood of Galway in 1277. He assumed as a surname the appellation of Niger or Black, which, in the form of Blake, displaced his patronymic. His descendants, after the lapse of six centuries, still retain some of the lands he held; and, what is even more remarkable, have preserved the originals of their family charters, wills, and other legal documents. These form the staple of the two volumes which Mr. Martin Blake has edited.

In the first series, which embraces three centuries, 174 "Records" are given. All are here presented in English, being, in most cases, translated from Latin originals, and summarised. Only once, at p. 82, was an undeciphered passage. "Falinga" alone was unexplained. Some of the originals are said to be in "Old" English; but the traces of Irish, chiefly in the names, are extraordinarily rare. Indeed, the incidental references to foreign influence are as numerous. For example, in record 135 of 1560, mention is made of a mortgage paid by "40,000 marvedis of Spanish money, and a ton [*sic*] of good Spanish wine." James Adurnus, of Genoa, appears at page 46. Lisbon is mentioned oftener than Liverpool; and one of the family makes his will before "going to sea for the Canaries." At p. 83 there is mention of a Bishop "with no English"; but this is exceptional.

The documents cited illustrate not merely the history of a single district and of one family. Though specially and mainly conversant with the towns of Galway and Athenry, they give much information about other places in Connaught, as, for instance, Abbey Knockmoy. From these deeds alone the names of the mayors of Galway for many

years can be ascertained, as also those of the wardens of the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas. The references to the Archbishops of Tuam are frequent. They seem to have been in great request as witnesses; and so many documents bear their signatures and seals, that it seems likely that they passed much of their time away from Tuam. The Bishops of Clonfert and of Enachdune also figure frequently in the Records. Ten photographic reproductions from the original deeds are given in the first series, one being the Seal of John (Wingfield *alias* Birmingham), Archbishop of Tuam, 1430-7. One deed, of 1554, is said to have impressions in wax of the seals of six arbitrators—all of Galway families—with the family seal of the Archbishop, Christopher Bodkin.

The study of names—both family and individual—surnames and Christian names—receives much light from these Records. The actual origin in 1315 of the name Blake—as already referred to—is exactly ascertained. Their great chiefs, the Clanrickarde de Burghs, seem to have long eschewed the use of a surname, perhaps deeming it a privilege of princes to do so. Accordingly, we find, so late as 1549, members of that family described as “Walter Flavus, son of David, son of Richard,” and “Theobald Rufus, son of blind Edmund.” Red hair was distinctive; and it probably was black hair which gave a name to the Blakes. The indigenous Duffys, so numerous in Connaught, probably derived the name from like peculiarities. One Blake is called “Thomas Dof Blake.” As Dof was not a Christian name, it seems tautological. The orthography of names was very unsettled. For example (at p. 103), we find Bremichayn, doubtless a variant of Bermingham (who got the Earldom of Louth); and, perhaps, “Sir John Braudegain, warden” of Galway, was of the same family. “Geos,” perhaps, is Joyee. French is, without a second f, expanded to Freinche.

Then in Christian names many curious ones occur, not to be found in Miss Yonge’s “History of Christian Names.” For example, Shepishet, Iriell, Boetius, and Anorine. We meet Balthazar Affonza, and Gyllymael Casebol, Christine, Edussa, Cornell, Honorina, Katalina, Anastas, and Sescilia.

Several uncommon forms of names appear, perhaps owing to the unsettled spelling of the time. Thus Willuc represents William, and Vadyn is for Valentine. Jonack, Jonoch, Jonekyn, Johnneckane, and Johnneg figure as diminutives of John, or rather Johannes, and Ulick is found in the name “John McWilleke.” Robeg is, probably, a variant for Robert; and we find “Robbug Lynch Fitz Jonykin.”

Some curious modes of expressing dates occur, such as “A thousand V^e and twayn,” for 1502.

Though Galway enjoys the reputation of having abundance of stone, it would appear not to have been always used in the construction of dwelling-houses; for in 1625 a “mansion stone-house” is mentioned with pride, in contrast to “tenements covered with thatch.” In

the fourteenth century there was in Athenry a "House of the Lepers."

There is a very full and interesting account of the Galway river, and its fishery.

A remarkable document is a dispensation from Pope Paul IV. in 1556, through "Reginald, Cardinal Priest of the holy Roman Church of St. Mary in Cosmedin," of a marriage within the fourth degree of consanguinity which had been contracted in the face of the Church "in the time of the late schism," due penance being imposed, and the issue legitimatised. A photograph of this is given.

The documents included in these two volumes, though all more or less legal, differ widely in their nature, and most of them illustrate not only the varying forms used by men of the law, but also in a very interesting way the history of various places and institutions, as well as the habits and surroundings of the inhabitants.

Foremost amongst these may be mentioned some half-dozen wills of members of the family between 1420 and 1502. As the Records from the Consistorial Court of Tuam—now in the Public Record Office—contain no wills earlier in date than 1580, these must be regarded as of great historical interest; and, being free from the modern jargon usual in such documents, are easily understood.

Record No. 39, of A.D. 1444, is a writ of Henry VI., citing an Act of the Irish Parliament in the reign of Henry IV., 1402 (prohibiting forcible entry on land), which is not printed in any edition of the Irish Statutes.

The strictness of entail in the male line is illustrated by a Record of 1547, which lays down (in Latin) that "A woman neither ought to nor can be heir according to the custom and ordinance of the Blake nation." It would be curious to trace the extinction of this rule.

The "town tenants'" grievance of the present day is nothing new; and these records relate a controversy in the "shire of Galway" as to whether a castle built on rented land by the tenant should be paid for at the termination of the lease. It was decided that it belonged to the land, so compensation for improvement was ignored.

The notes appended to the documents by the editor, Mr. Blake, are admirably compiled, and often embody very interesting summaries of legal lore.

At the end of the first series some sixty pages are devoted to genealogical memoirs of various branches of the Blakes of Galway, founded for the most part on Burke's "Peerage and Baronetage" and "Landed Gentry." These include the Houses of Renvyle, of Menlo (Baronets), of Ballyglunin Park, Kiltolla, and of Cregg. Also of Langham, County Suffolk, and of Ballinafad, County Mayo, of Ardfry, now Wallscourt (Lords), and Blake, formerly of Merlin Park, now of Coolcon, County Mayo, with a branch of the Ardfry stock formerly of Corbally.

These are supplemented by notices of some branches whose genealogies have hitherto been unpublished, viz. :—Blakes, formerly of Drum, County Galway ; of Oranmore, in that county, and Dunmaerina in Mayo ; of Furbough, County Galway, formerly of Castlegrove, in the same county ; and finally “of Canada.”

In the second series (pp. 129–226) these are amplified to twenty-five, and revised, and as far as possible brought down to date.

The second series comprises 208 “Records” of the seventeenth century. It includes fifteen illustrations, most of which more properly belong to the first series. Of these five are reproductions of early deeds. Six exhibit ancient seals, including the Great Seal of Ireland of James I. (which was used by the court of wards in the fifth year of Charles I. curiously), and the remainder are of varied interest. One exhibits the arms of the fourteen “tribes” of Galway, but taken from Hardiman, dated 1820.

A brief account of the families or “tribes” is given, and with this a description of the corporate arms used by the Town of Galway at different periods, with illustrations and lucid explanations of the three sets which were successively adopted.

An additional mass of information about the possessions of the Blakes follows in Appendixes A to F, to each of which is prefixed an index (in alphabetical order by Christian names) of the several Blakes concerned. These relate to seventeenth-century wills, Letters Patent granting lands, &c., Mayo landholding Blakes of 1636, Decrees for Transplanters, 1655–9, Grants under the Acts of Settlement, &c., Claims in respect of Estates forfeited in 1688.

At the end is given an index to the former series, but it is almost confined to names of persons and places, and of those it only includes such as are named in the Records.

Series the second still lacks an index.

The work must have entailed a vast amount of research ; and Mr. Blake’s enterprise has placed under a great obligation, not only the various branches of his family, but all persons interested in historical research, particularly as to the Province of Connaught, which has few such books as yet. The publisher has efficiently done his part, and the two volumes are presented to the reader in a dainty dress.

* *Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls, or Proceedings in the Court of the Justiciar of Ireland*: Preserved in the Public Record Office of Ireland. xxiii to xxxi years of Edward I. Edited by James Mills, r.s.o., under the direction of the Master of the Rolls in Ireland. Published with the approval of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, under the authority of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury. Dublin: Printed for His Majesty's Stationery Office, by Alexander Thom & Co., Limited, Abbey Street.

THOUGH the volume before us belongs to the class of purely legal antiquities, considering the importance of its contents as bearing on the social history of Ireland, and the light it sheds on life in this island during the reign of King Edward the First, a notice of the work can by no means be omitted in the columns of our *Journal*. The editor, Mr. James Mills, is one to whom this Society owes much, and we have peculiar pleasure in welcoming his appearance as editor of a new series of Government publications. Mr. Mills possesses special qualifications for the task, uniting, as he does, profound knowledge of his subject with a sound judgment.

The Justiciary Rolls of Ireland are comparatively unknown, though they contain the record of legal proceedings before the Chief Justiciar or Chief Governor of Ireland, whose Court in this country corresponded to the Curia Regis in England.

In 1295, the date at which the Calendar commences, William de Oddingseles was Justiciar, and the Preface supplies interesting particulars regarding the various Justices assigned to hold pleas following the Chief Justiciar, and other ministers of the Crown connected with his Court, who were all Englishmen.

In Dublin, the Court sat in the hall of Pleas, which is believed to have been located in the Castle; while on circuit, the Justiciar's arrival at each place was announced by proclamation. His tribunal was the Supreme Court of Law in Ireland, and it reviewed the proceedings of the Bench, Exchequer, Justices in Eyre, Liberty, and County Courts, &c., while its own proceedings were always liable to review in England. The Common Law of England, and such statutes as were transmitted for observance in Ireland, were administered under the Justiciar's Court.

In the volume, the Ireland of the day stands revealed with microscopic accuracy; and to its future historians of the period must come for fresh material. As the series of Calendars is continued, new and much-needed light will be shed on countless problems and points which have hitherto been obscure.

A very full index of persons and places is supplied; but to the index of subjects all students will turn with gratitude for the help afforded them in their investigations. This compilation is the result of much labour; and its clearness leaves nothing to be desired.

The exact position of the Irish villein or *Hibernicus* has never been clearly defined; and under the latter term in the subject index a number of decisions and instances are grouped together, which go far towards settling some disputed points.

In 1295, Henry and John le Norreys plead that they ought not to answer a disseisin against William le Teynturer, because he is *hibernicus* and of servile condition. They assert that he is an Irishman of the Omoleyns, and son of Thomas Omolyon. William declares that so far from being *Hibernicus*, he is, in reality, *Houstmannus*, an Ostman, namely Macmaekus of Limerick city, and of free condition. The jury found that William's father was all his days held as *hibernicus*; and on his death, Olyna, William's mother, seeing her son reduced to servitude, went to Limerick, and obtained the liberty of the Ostmen for her son. As he enjoyed that liberty, it was adjudged that he be answered to this writ.

Again, in 1297, it was objected to one Philip Beneyt that he was *hibernicus*: he was, however, found to be *Anglicus*. Afterwards, it was asserted that though Philip had proved himself an Englishman, he was by surname McKennabhyth, and was born in the mountains of the O'Tooles.

In 1295, a merchant complained that he was defamed by being called *hibernicus*, and the defendant was committed to prison for trespass. In the case of Walter de Capella in 1300, the jury found that he was an Irishman of the name of the Offyns; and that though he and his father were millers of John Thebaud, they were not his *hibernici*.

The goods of a deceased *hibernicus*, in another case, were taken by his lord, the wife claiming ownership.

Under the term "Ecclesiastical," a number of most valuable references as to the claims and jurisdiction of the Church, the right of sanctuary, &c., are supplied.

In 1300, William, archbishop of Tuam, was summoned to answer the King by what warrant he held the bishopric of Annadown, the temporalities of which ought to be in the hands of the King. The archbishop pleaded that this was never of right a bishopric, though certain Irish *reguli* intruded chaplains there, whom they called bishops; that the temporalities belonged of old to the church of Tuam. On the death of Thomas, the late bishop, the church of Tuam being vacant, elections took place to both sees. The elect proceeded to Rome for confirmation, when that to Annadown was annulled by judgment of the Roman Court, and the bishopric perpetually re-united to Tuam. When the archbishop was asked for evidence, he declared that his predecessors had documents which were placed in the monastery of Cong. But the chest wherein they were deposited was broken, and the deeds taken away. The King's prosecutor replied that there should have been enrolments; and as the archbishop did not show any special act of Pope or King for the union, he prayed judgment for the King.

The Archbishop of Tuam, in the year 1297, displayed great hostility to the Friars Preachers, causing proclamation throughout his diocese that no one should supply them with victuals. The King issued a writ commanding the archbishop to revoke his proclamation, and cease from troubling the Friars. The archbishop declared that he held the order in particular affection, and if he had aggrieved them, he would make amends. In the end, both parties came to an agreement, and he undertook to compel his archdeacon, who appears to have been in fault, to revoke the *libellum famosum*, &c.

The heading "Names" introduces the reader to a long list of such as were derived from trades, employments, or personal characteristics; and here we learn incidentally that a woman several times married was always known by the surname of her first husband.

Such incidents as the great scarcity of nunneries as places of education for girls; the sale of marriages; punishment of coiners; proceedings against sheriffs and their officers for misconduct, and armed resistance against sheriffs; murderers being received by the bailiffs of a town with a kiss, and their arrest prevented; clearing of woods and passes; parliamentary proceedings; highway robbery; border wars, &c., show the varied nature of the contents of this remarkable volume; and these are but a few taken at random.

Here, at last, has been given to students of Irish history something solid and authentic; and the future calendars of the new series will be awaited with impatience. The accomplished editor has laid scholars and students under a deep debt, for having in the first instance, with singular clearness of judgment, seen that in the Justiciary Rolls lay a mine of hitherto unworked historical material, and for having, in the present issue, performed his task in so scholarly and painstaking a fashion.

Proceedings.

MUNSTER MEETING, KILLARNEY.

A GENERAL MEETING of the Society was held in Killarney on Monday, the 18th of June, 1906, at 8 o'clock, p.m., in the Town Hall (by kind permission of the Right Hon. the Earl of Kenmare) :

COUNT PLUNKETT, M.R.I.A., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

The following took part in the Meeting and Excursions :—

[The names marked thus (*) are Associates.]

- Allen, Mrs., Ailsa Lodge, Kilrane, near Wexford.
Browne, Miss K. A., Bridgetown, Wexford.
Butler, Professor, M.A., F.R.U.I., Mount Verdon House, Cork.
Campbell, the Very Rev. R. S. D., D.D., Dean of Clonmacnoise, Athlone.
Carmody, Rev. James, P.P., Milltown, Co. Kerry.
Carolan, John, J.P., 77, North King-street, Dublin.
*Carolan, Miss, 77, North King-street, Dublin.
Carolin, George A., J.P., Iveragh, Shelbourne-road, Dublin.
Coleman, Rev. A., O.P., Dominican Priory, Drogheda.
Coleman, James, 2, Rosehill-terrace, Queenstown.
*Coleman, M. J., 2, Rosehill-terrace, Queenstown.
Cochrane, Robert, I.S.O., LL.D., 17, Highfield-road, Dublin.
Digby, Cecil, M.D., Knockane, Beaufort, Co. Kerry.
Fayle, Edwin, Kylemore, Orwell-park, Rathgar.
Feely, F. M., D.I., R.I.C., Killarney.
*Feely, Mrs., Killarney.
Felix, Rev. John, Cilcain, Mold, N. Wales.
Goodwin, Singleton, M. INST. C.E., *Hon. Local Secretary, Kerry*.
Gnillbride, Francis, J.P., Newtownbarry, Co. Wexford.
Hilliard, John, Lake Hotel, Killarney.
*Hunt, Miss A. L., Blenheim, Kingstown.
*Hussey, Miss, Aghadoe House, Killarney.
Keaveny, T., 59, Clifton Park-avenue, Belfast.
*Keaveny, Mrs., 59, Clifton Park-avenue, Belfast.
Kiernan, M. K., 12, Lower Fitzwilliam-street, Dublin.
Kyle, Valentine J., Gortin, Co. Tyrone.
Loughlin, Robert C., Gortin, Co. Tyrone.
Lynch, P. J., M.R.I.A.I., *Hon. Prov. Secretary*, 8, Mallow-street, Limerick.
M'Ternan, Miss, Kilworth House, Kildare-street, Dublin.
Miller, Rev. R. M., Monaincha, Roscrea.
Moore, Rev. Canon Courtenay, M.A., *Hon. Prov. Sec.*, Rectory, Mitchelstown.
Mullen, Frank, 12, Wellington-park, Belfast.
*O'Hagan, James, Margaret-street, Newry.
Orpen, the Ven. Archdeacon, Rectory, Tralee.

- Parkinson, Miss, Westbourne, Ennis.
 Perceval, J. J., 41, Waterloo-road, Dublin.
 Plunkett, G. N. Count, 26, Upper Fitzwilliam-street, Dublin.
 Plunkett, Thomas, Enniskillen.
 Powell, Miss U. T. E., Bello Squardo, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
 Reeves, J. T., Bank of Ireland, Dublin.
 *Reeves, Miss.
 Roycroft, A., 57, Grosvenor-road, Rathgar.
 Shackleton, Mrs. J. F., Anna Liffey House, Lucan.
 Sheridan, George P., M.R.I.A.L., 25, Suffolk-street, Dublin.
 Small, John F., 37, Hill-street, Newry.
 *Small, Miss M. J., 37, Hill-street, Newry.
 Tighe, M. J., M.R.I.A.L., Merville, Galway.
 Vaughan, Joseph, J.P., Mount View, Athlone.
 Walsh, Rev. Chancellor J. H., D.D., 44, Upper Mount-street, Dublin.
 Warren, Miss E. G., 12, Fitzwilliam-square, Dublin.
 Webster, William, Alverston Chambers, St. Helens, Lancashire.
 White, William Grove, LL.B., St. Helen's, Lucan.
 *White, Mrs. Grove, St. Helen's, Lucan.
 Whitton, J., B.A., B.E., Tralee.
 Whitton, Mrs., Tralee.

The Minutes of last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following address was read, and presented by Mr. Michael Healy, Clerk of the Urban Council, accompanied by a deputation representing the Urban District Council, and the principal residents of Killarney and neighbourhood:—

“ADDRESS TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF
 “IRELAND.

“GENTLEMEN,

“We, the Members of the Urban Council, and others representing the inhabitants of this district, welcome you, the Members of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, to the town of Killarney. It is now fifteen years since the Society honoured us by holding their Annual Summer Meeting amongst us.

“We are well aware of the nature of your labours in the great field of Archæology, in the study and investigation of the records and remains of primitive ages, and of the early Christian period in Ireland, to which you are particularly devoted. We know, too, of the very special interest your Society shows in the preservation of the Ancient Monuments in our native land; and in this all-important work you have our cordial sympathy, and, as far as we can, our loyal support.

“During your visit we hope to learn more concerning such objects of interest as Killarney and its district possesses; and we trust that your stay may prove profitable to the Society in the way of Archæological researches as well as to the members who have assembled here. Though

we cannot boast of such antiquarian treasures as other more favoured districts in Ireland possess, yet we hope that you will find compensation in the riches with which nature has so abundantly endowed our locality.

“ Dated this 18th day of June, 1906.

“(Signed),

MICHAEL HEALY,
“ *Clerk to the Council.*

“ MAURICE LEONARD, J.P., U.D.C.
JOHN HILLIARD, U.D.C.
THADDEUS J. O’CONNOR, U.D.C.
JAMES J. FLEMING, U.D.C.
CORNELIUS CONNIHAN, U.D.C.
CHARLES FOLEY, U.D.C.
DAVID HURLEY, U.D.C.
M. A. ROONEY, U.D.C.
WILLIAM MAC SWEENEY, M.D.
BIRT ST. A. JENNER, J.P.
JOHN M. REIDY.

“ C. P. CRANE, Capt., Resident
Magistrate.
MORGAN ROSS O’CONNELL, Bart.
CECIL DIGBY, M.D.
J. W. LEAHY, J.P.
BARTHOLOMEW MANGAN, M.D.
JAMES WILSON, M.A.
W. DOWMAN.
PATRICK COAKLEY.
J. D. MADDEN, *Clk.*”

In reply, Count Plunkett said :—

I desire to thank you, the members of the Urban Council and the people of Killarney, for your extreme kindness in presenting us with this address. My presence in the chair is, I may say, an accident, due to the unavoidable absence of the President. On behalf of the Society I have to thank you for your generous appreciation of the work undertaken by us. I think it is a very happy augury that you have presented this address, not merely that it is a compliment to the Society (which has done its best), but because it manifests the friendly relations that should exist between public bodies in Ireland,—setting a suggestive example in this direction to representative bodies, that they should bring themselves into touch with other organisations working in the public interest, in order that the history of Ireland should be unveiled, and that once more the people should take pride and honour in it. In your admirable address you refer to the wonders that nature has done in Killarney. But the people, too, have done something for it. I think that while Killarney does not contain many ancient memorials, the patriotism of the people extends beyond the natural boundaries; they feel that they belong to a county memorable in the history of Ireland, and the credit due to a past generation of scholars, who held their own during the darkest periods, has not passed away without leaving its traces in the opinions of the present generation. The Society feels that, in receiving us, the Urban Council and the people recognise in us a body that thinks it is the business of the Irish people to know their own history.

In other countries I have seen how national self-respect has grown out of a study of the history that was theirs; and I am glad to see that the same spirit is abroad in Ireland, and does not confine itself to any class or creed, or even to any party. All are uniting for the common good, in the study of the memorials of the past. In this County of Kerry a good deal still remains to be done. Something has recently been done, such as the publication of O'Sullivan's History by Father Jarlath. But much that was written in the past requires to be re-written, or brought up to date. For the people of Cork, Smith's History of Cork was revised and put into popular form; and I hope that someone will take up Smith's History of Kerry, and do the same for that admirable work. There are other materials relating to the history of your county that are within reach of the Society, manuscripts and other matter of great interest, in particular, the invaluable Survey, due mainly to the labours of O'Donovan, O'Curry, and Petrie, which I hope by generous assistance may be made available not only to the people of Kerry but to the whole nation, because, however we may be divided by local feeling, we all feel a pride in a common Ireland.

The Chairman, dealing with a recommendation regarding the preservation of our ancient remains, said that the suggestion that the County Councils should take up the matter was an admirable one. It was the business of the present generation to hand these monuments of the past down to future generations, with every possible information regarding them. Other countries had done much in this direction; and it would be a poor compliment to the Irish race to say that they were behind any other people on the question of preserving the many venerable ruins with which their country was dotted.

The following Candidates, recommended by the Council, were elected members of the Society:—

- Browne, Miss Kathleen Annie, Lecturer Department of Agriculture, Bridgetown, Wexford: proposed by John J. Perceval, J.P., *Fellow*.
- Brunker, Thomas A., Provincial Bank of Ireland, Carlow: proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.
- Cavenagh, Lieut.-Colonel Wentworth Odierne, St. Margarets-at-Cliff, Dover: proposed by Philip H. Hore, M.R.I.A.
- Kenny, Miss Elizabeth, Grace Dieu, Clontarf, Dublin: proposed by P. J. O'Reilly, *Fellow*.
- M'Goldrick, Right Rev. James, D.D., Bishop of Dunaluth, Minn., U.S.A.: proposed by Rev. J. J. Ryan.
- Mason, Thomas H., 5, Dame-street, Dublin: proposed by John Cooke, M.A., *Fellow*.
- Nolan, Miss Louisa A., 69, Northumberland-road, Dublin: proposed by Miss Monahan.
- O'Connor, Rev. W., Vicar's Lodge, 11, Wellington-place, South Circular-road, Dublin: proposed by Rev. Canon C. Moore.

O'Crowley, James J., The Mall, Youghal, Co. Cork : proposed by R. A. S. Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

O'Halloran, Thomas Patrick, The Town, Enfield, Middlesex : proposed by Robert Cochrane, *Fellow*.

The following Papers were read, and referred to the Council for publication :—

“The Lordship of Mac Carthy Mor,” by Professor W. F. Butler, M.A., F.R.U.I., Queen's College, Cork, *Member*.

“Notes on Killagha Abbey, Kilcoleman, Milltown, Co. Kerry,” by the Rev. J. Carmody, P.P., *Member*. (See p. 285.)

“Notes on some Antiquarian Remains at Caherlehillan, Iveragh, Co. Kerry,” by P. J. Lynch, M.R.I.A.I., *Hon. Provincial Secretary*. (See p. 276.)

The following Papers were taken as read, and referred to the Council for publication :—

“On Some County Cork Ogham Stones in English Museums,” by R. A. S. Macalister, M.A., F.S.A., *Member*.

“Eight newly-discovered Ogham Inscriptions in County Cork,” by R. A. S. Macalister, M.A., F.S.A., *Member*. (See p. 259.)

“Old Limerick Castles,” by Thomas J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

(a) “The Inscribed Stone at Inchagoill, Lough Corrib, Co. Galway” (see p. 297);

(b) “The Inscriptions of Iniscaltra, Lough Derg, Co. Galway,” by R. A. S. Macalister, M.A., F.S.A., *Member* (see p. 303).

“Stone Circle at Temple Bryan, County Cork,” by Henry S. Crawford, B.A., B.E., *Member*. (See p. 262.)

Count Plunkett desired on the Society's behalf, before the adjournment, to thank the Local Committee for their excellent arrangements for the visit of the Society, and for the very successful meeting of that evening. In this compliment he had the pleasure to include their unwearrying Honorary General Secretary, Dr. Cochrane. It was within the knowledge of those who had watched the growth and development of the Society within the past eighteen or twenty years, that Dr. Cochrane practically had reconstructed the Society, under circumstances of great difficulty. He had done so not by self-assertion, but rather by effacing himself and bringing others forward; and to his persistent care and forethought was mainly due the Society's success to-day. A widespread sympathy with research had been created, and had affected many who but for the Society would probably have remained unconscious of their inheritance of the past. This was not a matter merely of self-congratulation; for a society in vigorous life, with a membership of thirteen hundred, and dealing with questions which the people found a bond, not a source of division, might fairly be said to represent Ireland.

WEDNESDAY, *June 20th*, 1906.

MUCKROSS ABBEY AND DEMESNE, CASTLE OF MAC CARTHY MOR,
INISFALLEN ABBEY AND ORATORY, &c.

- | | | | |
|-------|-------|----|---|
| 9. 0 | a.m., | .. | Left in carriages for Muckross Abbey. |
| 11. 0 | „ | .. | Left Muckross Abbey for Tore Waterfall and Dinis Cottage. |
| 1. 0 | p.m., | .. | Luncheon at Dinis Cottage. |
| 2. 0 | „ | .. | Proceeded by boat down back channel round Middle Lake; arrived at and examined the remains of the Castle of Mac Carthy Mor. |
| 3.45 | „ | .. | Afternoon tea at Lake Hotel, by kind invitation of Mr. Hilliard, <i>Fellow</i> . |
| 4.30 | „ | .. | Inisfallen Abbey and Oratory. |
| 5.30 | „ | .. | Arrived at landing-slip at Ross Castle. |

THURSDAY, *June 21st*, 1906.

TRALEE, ARDFERT ABBEY AND CATHEDRAL, RATASS CHURCH, &c.

- | | | | |
|-------|-------|----|---|
| 9.51 | a.m., | .. | Train for Tralee. |
| 11. 2 | „ | .. | Arrived at Tralee. |
| 11.15 | „ | .. | Started in vehicles for Ardfert Cathedral, and the Franciscan Friary at Ardfert. |
| 1.30 | p.m., | .. | Luncheon at Ardfert Abbey, by kind invitation of Mr. Lindsey Talbot-Crosbie, D.L. |
| 3.15 | „ | .. | Arrived at Tralee; visited Ratass Church. |
| 5. 0 | „ | .. | Left for Killarney. |
| 6. 0 | „ | .. | Arrived in Killarney. |

FRIDAY, *June 22nd*, 1906.

AGHADOE CATHEDRAL AND ROUND TOWER, KILLAGHA ABBEY,
AND WHITECHURCH, KILCOLEMAN.

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------|------|--|--|
| 9. 0 | a.m., | .. | Left by Brakes for Aghadoe. | |
| 9.30 | „ | .. | Arrived at Aghadoe. | |
| 10.45 | „ | .. | Knockane Church. | |
| 11.30 | } | „ | .. | Ardrath. |
| 11.45 | | | | |
| 12. 0 | } | p.m. | .. | Ruined Church, Dromavally, Killorglin. |
| 12.15 | | | | |
| 12.45 | | | | |
| 1.30 | „ | .. | Luncheon at Poul-na-Ratha. | |
| 2.30 | „ | .. | Left Kilcoleman, or Killagha Abbey. | |
| 3. 0 | „ | .. | Afternoon tea, by kind invitation of the Rev. J. Carmody, P.P., at St. Colman's, Milltown. | |
| 4. 0 | „ | .. | Arrived at Killarney. | |

SATURDAY, *June 23rd*, 1906.

LIOSAVIGEEN STONE CIRCLE.

- | | | | |
|------|-------|----|---|
| 9.30 | a.m., | .. | Started from Hotels by Wagonettes to Liosavigeen Stone Circle and back. (See <i>Journal</i> , vol. xvi., p. 306.) |
|------|-------|----|---|

NOTES DESCRIPTIVE OF THE PLACES VISITED.

(June 18th to 23rd, 1906.)

ROSS CASTLE.

THE route of the excursions for the opening days covered the ground usually taken by visitors to Killarney; and the time was occupied more with the contemplation of the natural beauties of mountain and lake than with objects of strictly antiquarian interest. The latter was, however, by no means absent. The first structure to engage our attention was the well-known fortress known as Ross Castle. It was the last in Ireland to surrender to the Parliamentary army. The name is derived from the land on which it is situated—a promontory or isthmus running into the lower lake containing a well-wooded area of about 150 acres. It is now joined to the mainland by a causeway giving an approach by land to the castle. The castle is a good example of a fortified residence, with a bawn or courtyard defended by towers at the angles.

A stone staircase gave access to the various floors of the castle, and to the summit, from which a magnificent view of the surrounding scenery is obtained. It was a stronghold of the O'Donoghues, and dates back to the fourteenth century.

There was a tradition that the place could not be captured from land, and not until attacked by armed vessels approaching it from the lakes. It is said that Ludlow, the Parliamentary general, took advantage of the superstition, and had a large armed vessel launched upon the lake, and on seeing it approaching the castle, the garrison, though very strong in numbers, gave up all hopes of successful resistance, laid down their arms, and surrendered.

MUCKROSS ABBEY.

This, though a Franciscan house, is generally known as an abbey, and was originally called Oirbealach, or 'the Abbey of the Eastern Pass or Way.' Its foundation is ascribed to the MacCarthys in 1440; and in its chancel is the tombstone of MacCarthy Mor, who was created Earl of Clancarty by Queen Elizabeth. It was the chief burial-place of that family, as well as of the O'Sullivans, MacGillycuddys, and the O'Donoghues.

The existing remains consist of a nave, with a large southern transept, a chancel or choir, with a tower separating the nave and chancel. North of the chancel is a small apartment, evidently the

sacristy, and in a passage leading therefrom are the stone steps leading to the dormitory overhead. The cloisters are to the north of the church, and the small space the garth occupies is almost all taken up by an enormous yew-tree, which is traditionally said to be as old as the abbey.

The cloister-garth is surrounded by a cloister arcade, some of the arches of which are semicircular, and others pointed. The stone used in the structure is a hard limestone, which shows no sign of weathering. The architectural style of the church is late pointed, of a simple and severe character; the hardness of the stone not lending itself easily to carved or deeply-moulded work.

East of the cloister-garth is a long narrow building lighted by three small windows, usually described as a dormitory. It is, however, more likely to have been used for storage purposes, and the room over used for a dormitory. This dormitory extends over the cloister ambulatory, the upper floor extending the full width of the narrow apartment, and over the cloister walk as well. The north range contained the kitchen and cellarage, with probably the refectory over, which was approached directly by a flight of stone steps from below.

The north and west cloister walks had originally sloping roofs; but at a later date the roofs were removed, and the walls were carried up a second story to afford more space on the upper floor. For illustration of this structure, see vol. xxii., pp. 160-2.

The west range contains the entrance to the conventual buildings, and to a large apartment adjoining the entrance. This has been described as the abbot's house, overlooking the fact that the head of a Franciscan house was not an abbot. It may have been the Guardian's lodgings. In other houses of this community such quarters were provided nearer to the chancel, and generally occupied the block north-east of it. This apartment has a hagioscope or squint, which gives a full view of the altar in the transept. Such squints are not uncommon in connexion with apartments occupied by sick persons, and this apartment may have been used as an infirmary. The apartments over the sacristy are more likely to have been the Guardian's lodgings. There is a squint there also, giving a view of the east altar.

The tower, as is the case in most Franciscan houses, is a later insertion; it is carried on two arches on massive cross-walls instead of piers, and the openings between the nave and chancel are very narrow, which spoils the architectural effect and prevents a continuous view of nave and chancel. The tracery of the windows is plain without cusping, and is formed by the intersection of the mullions, which are carried into the pointed arch as arcs of circles.

From an inscription on a tablet, it would appear that the structure had undergone works of repair and restoration in 1626. The buildings were in the occupation of the order until the date at which Ross Castle surrendered to Cromwell.

AGHADOE CHURCH (commonly called AGHADOE CATHEDRAL)
AND CASTLE.

This site is $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Killarney, on an eminence affording charming views of mountain, island, and lake. A church is said to have been founded here by St. Finan the Leper in the seventh century, which afterwards became the seat of a bishopric. The base of a round tower is still standing at the boundary of the graveyard, a portion of the base of the tower having been cut into, to range with the enclosing wall which separates the graveyard from the county road. There are notices of this church in 992, and under A.D. 1044, when a stone church is mentioned in the "Annals of Inisfallen" as existing here. The original church was a small structure of 36 feet by 23 feet 6 inches wide, and had a later addition of somewhat greater length, 44 feet 9 inches, but of the same width; a cross-wall divides the two portions, but, contrary to the usual practice, there is no chancel-arch in the dividing wall, which, however, has a window opening. The cross-wall is not bonded into the side walls, and looks as if it had been an insertion. It has been surmised that the division, instead of forming nave and chancel, is more likely to have been used to give a residence for a priest at the west end, the eastern portion being reserved for the church. The western doorway is the principal feature in the church, and consisted originally of four orders of arch mouldings. The first order is a plain, semicircular arch springing from plain jambs; the second arch has a chevron moulding springing from a cap covering an ornamented jamb having a beautiful step pattern; the third springs from engaged columns with carved caps, both columns and arch having pellet ornaments, the former arranged on the shaft in chevron pattern, and the arch-stones had larger pellets, which were separated from each other by a row of smaller pellets arranged in lines corresponding with the radius of the arch; the fourth order had plain piers and caps projecting from the face of the walling, the arch decorated with chevron moulding, over which were ball ornaments in a row under the hood moulding which completed the beautiful doorway.

The west gable presents several types of masonry; that in the north-west portion, being composed of large stone, is apparently of an earlier date than the southern portion. The interior masonry presents the appearance of having been injured by fire, the faces of some of the stones having flaked off.

There are two small windows in the western portion of the church, that on the north having inclined jambs, widely splayed to the inside, and measuring only 4 inches wide on the outside, with a semicircular head.

In the eastern, or later, end there are two lancet-windows in the east gable, 9 feet 6 inches high, and 6 inches wide, widely splayed on the

inside. It is remarkable that the head of one of these lights is semi-circular, and the other is pointed. These windows would fix the date of the eastern extension as of the thirteenth century. There are no other windows to be seen in this portion of the church; there are traces of a doorway in the south wall at the western end.

South of the churchyard is a round castle, or "military tower," like the circular keep of a Norman castle of the thirteenth century. It is 21 feet in diameter internally, and has a flight of stone steps in the thickness of the walls, which are 6 feet in thickness. The masonry of the tower is of inferior character. The structure is surrounded by an earthwork entrenchment, square in plan, intended for defensive purposes. There is no record of its erection or occupation; and nothing is known of its history. (For illustration of the church and tower, see vol. xxii., pp. 163-7.)

There is a portion of an ogam-stone lying on the top of the south wall of the chancel, containing an imperfect inscription. Brash has the following notice of it:¹—

"This inscribed stone was discovered by Mr. Pelham in the north-west corner of the old Cathedral of Aghadoe, near Killarney. He communicates a short account of it, illustrated by an engraving, to Val. Col., vol. vi., p. 193. He described it then 7 feet in length; if such was then the fact, the present stone must be but a fragment of the original, as it is but 4 feet 2 inches in length, and 9½ inches by 7 inches at the centre. Mr. Windele states that 'the inscription contains only six letters, all consonants, and duplicates of each other; the absence of vowels is remarkable. The characters read GG, FF, SS, forming quite a sufficient riddle to those desirous of penetrating its mystery' (Windele's 'Cork and Killarney,' p. 337). Lady Chatterton also visited this stone, of which she gave a drawing in her 'Rambles in the South of Ireland,' vol. i., p. 231."

Another reading of this stone has been given as follows:—



INISFALLEN.

This island contains an interesting group of ecclesiastical ruins said to have been founded by St. Finan the Leper. The earliest building is the beautiful little oratory standing on a low cliff hanging over the shores of the lake. This little structure is 16 feet long by 11 feet wide. The side walls are only a few feet in height; but the west gable, containing a Romanesque doorway, and the east gable, with a single light, are still standing at their original height.

The doorway has a semicircular head 2 feet 6 inches wide, and is 6 feet high. The arch-stones have chevron ornaments, over which are

¹ "The Ogam-inscribed Monuments of the Gaedhil in the British Islands," by the late Richard Holt Brash. Edited by G. M. Atkinson, p. 225.

zigzag mouldings, surmounted by grotesque heads of beasts. The east window is 5 feet 6 inches to the springing of the arch, which is semi-circular, deeply splayed on the inside, and having a roll-moulding on the outside. The walls are 2 feet 9 inches in thickness.

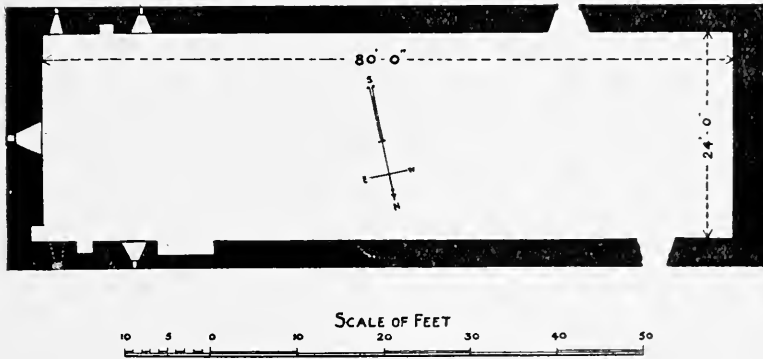
The monastic buildings comprise a church, which had a nave and chancel, with a two-light window in the latter. North of the church there was a small cloister-garth, around which, on the remaining three sides, the conventual buildings were grouped, all of small dimensions, as the community seems to have been a very small one. The buildings are of a rude character; and, with the exception of the east window, no architectural features are presented. An eminent architectural writer, M. H. Bloxam ("Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture"), says that from the rudeness of the work it might have been the original structure founded by St. Finan in the sixth century, thus constituting the earliest monastic remains he had seen. This, however, is not likely, as the arrangement of buildings around a cloister-garth did not come in until a much later period, when the monks lived in community, sharing the same rooms. In St. Finan's time they would probably have had separate cells, grouped around a little church, and in strict monastic order. A little to the north are the remains of a block of buildings which seem to have been the kitchen of the establishment, and west of the church, but detached from it, though in the same axis as the nave, there is a range of residential buildings, those nearest the church indicative of ecclesiastical occupation, but the portions further west are modern, and were probably those used by the tenants of the island when it was inhabited early last century, and when the land was under cultivation.

Here was compiled the ancient ms. known as "The Annals of Inisfallen," considered only second in value to the "Annals of Tighernach," as historic records in the Irish language. It is said they were composed *circa* A.D. 1215, but it is believed they were commenced about two centuries earlier. A genuine copy of this ms. is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It is described as containing fifty-seven leaves, quarto size, on vellum. Its first six pages treat of Abraham and the patriarchs; the next division is entitled, "Hic incipit Regnum Græcorum"; and another, "Hic incipit sexta ætas mundi." On the fortieth leaf two lines occur in Ogam character; the later part is written in a more recent hand, so that it appears as if the original ended A.D. 1130, and the remainder was added by different abbots of Inisfallen. The ms. was written in Irish, mixed with Latin. The text, down to the Norman invasion only, was published in 1814 by Dr. C. O'Connor in "Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres."

KNOCKANE CHURCH, COUNTY KERRY.

The ruined Church of Knockane is situated on the road from Killarney to Killorglin, about six miles from the former town. This little church is of a type common to many portions of Kerry. It measures 80 feet long by 24 feet in width internally, and has a narrow single-light window in the east gable, 10 inches in width and about 5 feet 10 inches in height, widely splayed internally. It is curiously divided about half-way in its height by a transom. The entrance doorway is in the south wall, 16 feet 6 inches from the west gable, and on the opposite side, in the north wall, there is a breach which may have been a doorway, but was probably a window. There is no other means of lighting

KNOCKANE CHURCH



GROUND-PLAN.

the west end of the nave; and in the east end of the church there are two narrow lights in the south wall, close to the east gable, one of which is 7 inches wide at the bottom, tapering to 6 inches at the springing of the curve of the head of the window, which is pointed and not semicircular. The window opening is 4 feet 8 inches in height, and is widely splayed to 3 feet wide at the bottom. The window in north side is 7 inches wide, narrowing to 5 inches; it is 4 feet 3 inches in height. The width and height are splayed internally 3 feet and 8 feet 6 inches, respectively. There are several small recesses in the walls, which are indicated on the accompanying plan. The gable walls are 3 feet 11 inches in thickness;

side walls, 3 feet 2 inches. The walls are so much covered with ivy externally, it is difficult to make a proper examination, especially of the east and west gables.

The parish of Knockane is very extensive: the river Laune, flowing from the lower lake of Killarney into the harbour of Castlemaine, forms its northern boundary. It extends to and comprises the extensive range of mountains known as "McGillycuddy's Reeks," and includes the Gap of Dunloe. The present parish church, which is built close to and parallel with the ruin, was erected in 1812.

EARTHEN FORT AT ARDRATH (pronounced ARDRAW).

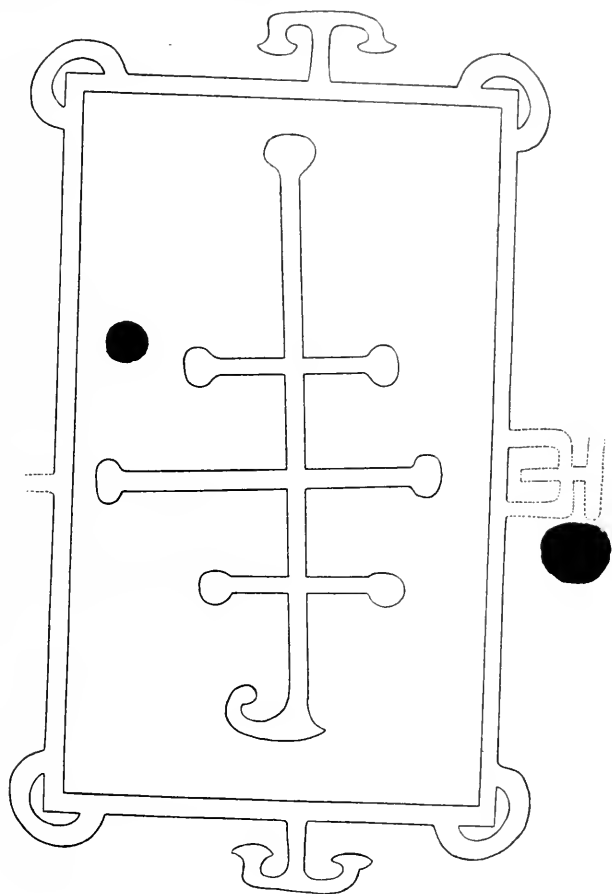
This fort, situated about a mile to the right of the main road going from Killarney to Killorglin, is remarkable as containing a souterrain, excavated in the clay, like a tunnel, and not lined with stone. It is noticed by Mr. John Cooke, M.A., M.R.I.A., in a paper read by him before the Royal Irish Academy (P. R. I. A., vol. xxvi. (c.), p. 3). The space within the enclosure is about 80 feet in diameter; the rampart, 20 feet wide, is surrounded by a trench, about 30 feet wide and 15 feet deep. The souterrain is now open from the surface, and the chamber is exposed, showing two passages branching off from it. At the time of our visit with Dr. Digby, the son of the owner pointed out the indication of where a shaft had been formed from the surface to the roof of the chamber below, and filled in again, through which the material excavated to form the chamber had been raised.

Souterrains formed by tunnelling are not of frequent occurrence. They are generally excavated open to the surface, and, when the stone side walls, passages, and roofs have been built, are covered over with earth. This is the first recorded instance of the discovery of a vertical shaft through which the excavated material had been raised to the surface. It is only in very firm earth, hard and compact, such as exists here, that this mode of construction could be carried out.

INCISED CROSS-SLAB NEAR KILLORGLIN.

This remarkable stone has no history, local or otherwise. It would appear to be of ecclesiastical origin, judging from the triple cross and the crozier-like termination of the upper portion of the vertical shaft. The black marks on drawing (see page 341) represent holes in the stone. The pattern and terminals at each side are indistinct, and cannot be clearly deciphered. The design measures 24 inches by 15 inches; it comes quite close to the edge of the stone on the right-hand side, and leaves a margin of a few inches on the left side. The drawing is from rubbings supplied

by Dr. Digby and Mr. Whitton ; it is reduced to one-sixth linear of the dimensions of the original design.



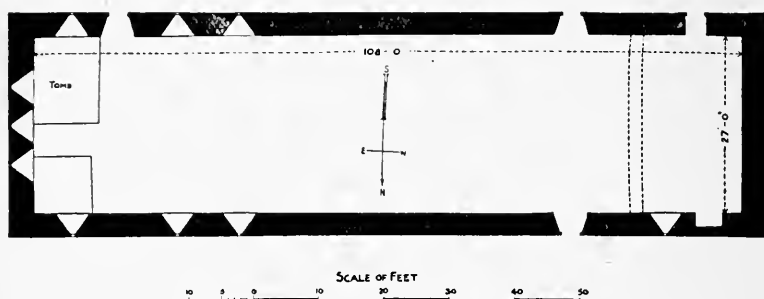
INSCRIBED CROSS-SLAB AT KILLORGLIN, COUNTY KERRY.
(From a Rubbing reduced to one-sixth linear.)

DROMAVALLY CHURCH, NEAR KILLORGLIN, COUNTY KERRY.

This is one of the largest of the Kerry pre-Reformation churches. It measures 108 feet in length by 27 feet in breadth. The accompanying ground-plan shows the position of ten window openings and the four doorways. These are somewhat remarkable as regards their position and grouping. In the first place, it will be observed that the windows are, with one exception, at the eastern part of the church, the body of the nave being left—if not in darkness—in something like twilight

gloom. The east gable contains what looks internally like a three-light window, the openings separated by piers splayed to $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; while outside the lights are separated by piers 6 feet in width, which gives the appearance of three windows. These lights are only 6 inches wide; but the growth of ivy was so great as to render it difficult to ascertain whether the jambs were inclined or vertical. The only window-head not covered with ivy disclosed the semicircular form cut out of a single stone. The nine windows of the chancel are all of the same dimensions. There are three single lights spaced as shown in the plan in the south wall of chancel, and three in the north wall exactly opposite; the east window being formed by the grouping together of three window-lights, as already described. In the south wall, in a position near the east window, is a door which formed an entrance for the clergy. In the bolt-holes or openings, formed in the jambs for the purpose of securing this door

DROMAVALLY CHURCH



GROUND-PLAN.

when closed, we found a portion of the timber bolt still in position. Near the west end of the nave of the church there are two doorways facing each other, one in the north and another in the south wall, where shown on plan. There is still another, and an adjoining window recess in the north wall, close to the west gable; and this, with other indications, would show that it gave access to a separate apartment cut off from the body of the church by a wall or screen, where the dotted lines are marked on the ground-plan, and this was, no doubt, at one time used as a priest's chamber; and probably this portion had a second story over it. If the ivy were removed, it would facilitate a closer examination of this most interesting church. It is greatly to be regretted that the ivy has been allowed to grow unchecked so as to work such havoc with the masonry. Some hideous tombs have been placed in the chancel, one next the south wall, completely covering over the position where the piscina stood, and which is not now visible. The chancel was, no doubt, separated from the

nave by a rood screen of timber, of the position of which no trace at present exists. The narrow windows before described, only 6 inches wide, had no trace of having been glazed, or even of having had wooden shutters. The narrowness was requisite to prevent forcible entry by means of the windows, and they were few in number, and these only in the chancel, just sufficient to give light to properly conduct the religious ceremonies, the nave not being lighted, except to the extent afforded by the doors when open. All of this would indicate that the building had been erected in troublesome times, when even the churches were liable to be raided.

POULNARATHA EARTHEN FORT NEAR MILLTOWN, COUNTY KERRY.

This rath has also been noticed by Mr. Cooke. It contains a souterrain, partially unroofed, and extending under the surrounding rampart. The rath scales 132 feet from the ordnance map across the enclosure. It is surrounded by a trench averaging 10 feet deep, having inner and outer ramparts, which are much broken. The peculiarity of this fort is its proximity to a pit or hollow (which gives the name to the rath) in the ground against which the rath-enclosure abuts, giving the earthwork the appearance of having been cut into, and rendering it a matter of speculation as to whether the fort was built on the edge of the cliff formed by the pit, or whether the fort was cut into by the formation of the pit. There was not much to be gained by the fort-builders in selecting the edge of the cliff, which, though a protection as far as it goes, does not cover more than one-sixth part of the circumference of the rath. The outer rampart is 690 feet in circumference, and, if continued, would embrace the whole of the space occupied by the pit. On the whole, the question may be left an open one, on which each will form his own opinion. The pit is about 30 feet deep, and seems to be a natural cleft in the rock.

ARDFERT CATHEDRAL, COUNTY KERRY.

This structure is well illustrated and described by Mr. Arthur Hill, B.E., F.R.I.B.A., at pp. 291-5 of vol. xvi. of the *Journal*, 1883-4. The remains now existing comprise a nave and choir, 137 feet long by 25 feet wide. They were separated by a rood screen which stood 44 feet 10 inches from the eastern end of the chancel. The nave had an aisle on the south side, separated from it by an arcade of three arches. It joined a large southern transept of later date, which occupied a position midway in the length of the structure. The principal feature of the choir is the beautiful arcade of nine lancet-windows in the southern wall, and the fine three-light window in the east gable. The sacristy and other conventual buildings occupied the space north of the church. An interesting feature of the western end is the doorway, an illustration of

which Mr. Hill gives. It will be observed that it is not in the centre of the gable, and evidently belonged to a much earlier structure of the Romanesque period, the cathedral having been erected in the thirteenth century on the site of an earlier foundation. The western doorway is of two orders, and is 5 feet 10 inches wide, the arch-stones of which, and the arcade of two arches on each side, having a chevron ornament; the beautiful east window and the nine lancets are in some respects like that of the Franciscan Friary in the demesne adjoining, belonging to Mr. Lindsey Talbot-Crosbie, D.L., of Ardfert Abbey.

There are two other ruins close to the cathedral, viz., the Irish Romanesque church called Teampul-na-hoe, and Teampul-na-griffin. The former church measures 32 feet long by 22 feet wide internally, and has a semicircular-headed door in the west gable, with an ornamental hood-moulding. There is a beautiful little window in the south wall with moulded jambs, surrounded by a narrow band, filled in with geometrical patterns in squares separated from each other by a row of small pellets. This ornamented band is carried round the semicircular head of the splay, the divisions of the pattern on the arch-stones being worked to suit the radius of the arch. The quoins of the building are formed with a small shaft and cap, carrying a moulded projecting string along the side walls to mark the roof-line. The date is probably the eleventh century.

Teampul-na-griffin is the latest in point of date, and belongs to the fifteenth century. The church measures 48 feet by 22 feet internally, and does not possess features of much interest.

The cathedral was dedicated to St. Brendan, who died 17th May, A.D. 577.

ARDFERT FRANCISCAN FRIARY.

This ruin is situated in Mr. Talbot-Crosbie's demesne at Ardfert. It is described and illustrated in vol. xxv., 1895, of the *Journal* of the Society, at pp. 30 and 329. Its foundation is ascribed to Thomas Fitzmaurice, first lord of Kerry, A.D. 1253, erected probably on the site of an ancient monastery of St. Brendan. The existing remains comprise the site of the nave, which had a south aisle and transept, and a choir lighted by nine lancet-windows like the cathedral at Ardfert; but the east window is different, as it has five lights, whereas the cathedral has three. The cloister and cloister garth were at the north side of the church; a portion of the cloister arcade still remains in the east and south sides of the garth. The sacristy north of the choir has disappeared, but the door leading into it remains. There is a stone staircase leading to the dormitory, which was situated over the long narrow range east of the cloister. There is a tower at the west end of the nave which seems to be of fourteenth- or fifteenth-century work, and is therefore much later than the original foundation. The length of the church from the

tower to east gable is 132 feet; the width of nave and chancel, 24 feet 3 inches. For an interesting historical account of the Friary, see the paper by Miss Hickson in the volume of the *Journal* above noted.

RATASS CHURCH, NEAR TRALEE, COUNTY KERRY.

This interesting little church consists of nave and chancel; the former measures 36 feet in length by 25 feet in width. There are square pilasters at each of the four angles. The principal feature is the western doorway, which is square-headed, with sloping jamb; width at bottom, 2 feet 10½ inches, and at top, 2 feet 7½ inches; height, 6 feet 6 inches. The whole of the space within the walls is taken up with vaults and graves, with weeds and tangled vegetation in profusion. The ancient doorway, described and illustrated by Petrie, has recently been built up, and in it a headstone has been inserted, which should be removed.

Petrie¹ describes the church as built in a style of masonry perfectly Cyclopean, the stones of the doorway in most instances extending through the entire thickness of the walls. The stone, he observes, is of Old Red Sandstone brought from a great distance, although there were fine quarries of limestone on the spot.

The original name of Ratass was *Rath Muighe deiscirt*, or the rath or fort of the southern plain, and was probably of contemporaneous origin with Rattoo, which was erected by Bishop Lughach, one of the earliest propagators of Christianity in Kerry.

LIOSAVIGEEN STONE CIRCLE, NEAR KILLARNEY.²

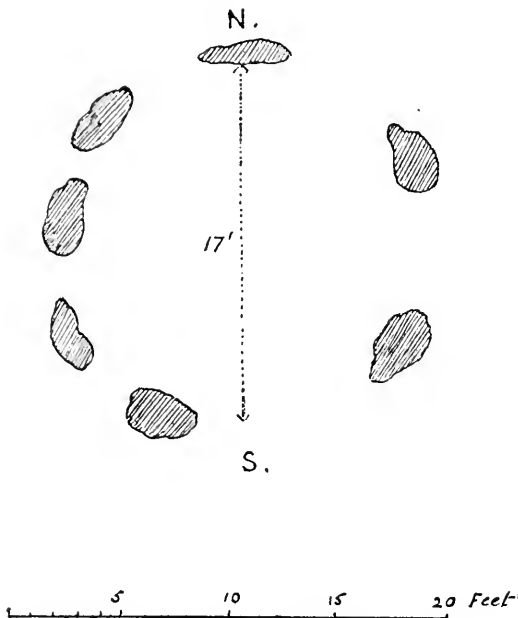
In the townland of Liosavigeen (Ordnance Survey, 67, County Kerry), about three miles from Killarney, is a rath enclosing a stone circle, locally known as the "Seven Sisters." They lie in the farm of a man named John Moynihan, less than a quarter of a mile from the main road, to the left, after crossing Woodford Bridge, out from Killarney. The height of the stones varies from 3 feet to 3 feet 9 inches, and the average breadth is about 3 feet. The stones enclose a circle of 17 feet in diameter, and the rath is 78 feet in diameter. The rampart is low and much broken, and is nowhere more than 3 feet high. The surface of the enclosure is perfectly level, particularly within the stone circle; there is no sign of any chamber or any stone immediately below the surface.

Forty-five feet nearly due south from the top of the rampart are two fine standing-stones, sentinel-like, with a striking resemblance to the "Gates of Glory," near Ventry. They are 7 feet apart, and the largest is 7½ feet high, 6 feet 3 inches broad, and 19 feet in circumference. The

¹ *Trans. R.I.A.*, vol. xx., p. 169.

² Contributed by Mr. John Cooke, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

other is 6 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, 4 feet 9 inches broad, and 12 feet 4 inches in circumference.



PLAN OF LIOSAVIGEEN STONE CIRCLE.

I am indebted to Mr. John Hilliard (*Fellow*) for calling my attention to these remains,¹ and for kindly visiting them with me for investigation.

¹ This stone circle has been described and illustrated by Mr. G. M. Atkinson in vol. xvi. of the *Journal* (1883-84), p. 306.



LIOSAVIGEEN STONE CIRCLE (LISSYVIGEEN), NEAR KILLARNEY.

MAP OF MAC CARTHY MÓR COUNTRY.



In above map, small piece east of L. Currane, and north of word "Maegillicuddy," has been shaded as 3, instead of as 5. Also, small piece nearly surrounded by "Donnell Finn," below word "Tralee," has been shaded as 5, instead of as 1.

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OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND
FOR THE YEAR 1906.

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART IV., VOL. XXXVI.

Papers.

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(WITH A MAP.)

BY W. F. BUTLER, M.A., F.R.U.I., MEMBER,
PROFESSOR, QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK.

[Read JUNE 18, 1906.]

PART I.

[To avoid constant repetitions, the authorities consulted are here given. The greater part of this paper is based on the Survey of Desmond, with the accompanying maps, in vol. dexxy of the Carew MSS., preserved in the Lambeth Library.

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2 A

Historical and Archæological Society for 1898, 1899, and 1900. The editor, the late Father Jarlath Prendergast, added copious notes to this valuable work.

The same Society's *Journal* for 1906, p. 53, contains a valuable report on the Mac Carthy territories in 1597, from the pen of Nicholas, son of Sir Valentine Browne. It has been published by Mr. James Buckley, under the title, "Munster in A.D. 1597."

Finally, I may refer to articles of my own in the same *Journal* (1896, p. 360, and 1897, pp. 121, 233), on "The Divisions of South Munster under the Tudors," in which are to be found references for many of the statements in this article.

My special thanks are due to Mr. Kershaw, the Librarian of Lambeth Palace, who gave me every facility for consulting the Carew MSS. preserved in the library there.

The description of the rights of the Earl of Clancarty given in "Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy Mór," page 31, is there attributed to Sir Warham St. Leger. The editor of the "Calendar of State Papers" considers it was drawn up by Sir William Herbert.]

As Killarney may be looked on as the centre—if not geographically, yet at least politically—of the lands which in the sixteenth century made up the lordship of Mac Carthy Mór, a short account of that lordship, its extent, its sub-divisions, its organisation, may not be without interest to the members of the Society now assembled in Kerry.

First, the name Mac Carthy Mór seems to call for some remark. The great family of Mac Carthy, most powerful of the clans called Eoganachts, the descendants of Eoghan Mór, ruled in the eleventh and twelfth centuries over the kingdom of Desmond, or South Munster, and their name is intimately associated with the architectural splendours of the Roek of Cashel.

When Henry II. arrived in Ireland, he found Dermot Mac Carthy ruling at Cork over the kingdom of South Munster. Dermot submitted to Henry, ceding to him the city of Cork and the adjacent cantred of the Ostmen, and became recognised as vassal king of the remainder of his dominions. But scarcely had this treaty been made when Henry granted the whole kingdom of Cork—extending, as the grant puts it, from Lismore to Brandon Head—to Robert Fitzstephen and Milo de Cogan.

With them King Dermot made a fresh treaty, ceding to them seven cantreds near Cork, and being recognised by them as ruler over the remaining twenty-four cantreds which made up his kingdom. But this treaty was no better observed than the other. The Anglo-Norman invaders pressed in on every side; and Dermot was slain in an ambush in the year 1185 by Theobald Walter, ancestor of the house of Ormond.

Dermot was succeeded in the remains of his kingdom by his son Donal Mór, called "na Curra," from the Carragh river, on whose banks he had been fostered, and whose inaccessible valleys gave a secure refuge from the invader. It is from this Donal Mór, according to one account, that the name MacCarthy Mór comes.

Donal Mór and his successors maintained themselves against the invaders, sheltered by the mountains which, from the shores of Lough Leane, seem to present an insuperable obstacle towards the south. On the slopes of Mangerton, the battle-field of Tooreen Cormac preserves the memory of one of the encounters between the mail-clad Norman cavalry and the lighter-armed Celt.

At last, after nearly a hundred years of conflict, the decisive victory of Callan, in 1261, secured the Mac Carthys in the possession of a large part of their former dominions. The great Norman house of the Geraldines was for a time utterly crushed. Dunloe and half a dozen other castles, built to bridle the native Irish, were captured; and, as an old chronicler forcibly puts it, for twelve years "The Carties played the divill in Desmond."

The Irish of South Kerry and West Cork secured their freedom. They descended from their mountain strongholds, and pushed out into the plains, extending their conquests on the east to the walls of Cork and to Mallow, and on the north as far as the river Maime.

We know little of the history of the two following centuries. But some kind of agreement was come to between the Mac Carthys and the Earls of Desmond, who had succeeded to the rights of De Cogan and Fitzstephen. The natives were left in full occupation of somewhat more than half of Cork and Kerry, and in return they promised to aid the Earls in war, also to pay them a tribute of one hundred beeves from the barony of Carbery and the sum of £214 11s. 2d. yearly from the rest of their lands.¹ One would like to know how the Earls' rent-collectors fared among the mountains of Iveragh and Glanerought.²

At last, in 1552, when the power of the Tudor monarchs was making itself felt in Ireland, the reigning MacCarthy Mór, Donal, son of Donal, submitted to the Crown, renounced his Irish title, and, after some years, was offered and accepted an English earldom.

The character of this Donal, last independent ruler of Desmond, first and last Earl of Clancarty of the main line of the descendants of King

¹ "Calendar of State Papers," 1581, p. 368, for Desmond. References to the "Carbery Beeves" are numerous: see especially Sir R. Cox's "Regnum Corcagiense"; and an article by Mr. Berry on the "English Settlement at Mallow under the Jephson Family," in *Journal of the Cork Hist. and Arch. Society*, 1906, p. 1.

² The later boundary-line between the lands of the Earls of Desmond and those of the Mac Carthys, in many cases, follows no natural feature, and must have been settled by treaty. This is specially noticeable near Killorglin, and in the district between the mouth of the Laune and that of the Caragh river. Only by a treaty, too,

Dermot who fell in 1185, is somewhat perplexing. He was a drunkard, a profligate, and a spendthrift; but he was also a religious poet of no small merit; he had the sagacity to see that the best policy for the native chiefs to pursue was to accept the supremacy of the English Crown; and he had the strength of mind to hold fast to his loyalty through all the turmoil of rebellion which disturbed Elizabeth's reign. He witnessed the utter overthrow of the great house of Desmond, so long the deadly foe of his own—an overthrow to which his efforts largely contributed; and he raised the fortunes of his race to a higher point than they had ever reached since the coming of the Norman.¹

He died in 1596, leaving by his wife (a daughter of the fifteenth Earl of Desmond) only one surviving child, a daughter, Ellen, married to Florence Mac Carthy, tanist to the second great Mac Carthy chief, Mac Carthy Reagh of Carbery. At once the question arose, what was to become of his dominions?

We need not go into the claims put forward to the lordship by various members of the Mac Carthy clan, nor into the difficulties which confronted the Government, for they are given at length in the "Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy Mór." As a step towards settlement, a Government Commission was appointed to make a survey of all the lands,² lordships, and revenues belonging to the dignity of Mac Carthy Mór; and it is this survey which forms the groundwork of the present paper.

The report of the surveyors (1597) is preserved among the Carew MSS. in the Library of Lambeth Palace.³ Of its value, as well as of that of the maps which accompany it, it is almost impossible to speak too highly. From it we learn the names of all the Irish clans in South Kerry in the sixteenth century, as well as their geographical distribution. It also shows us, with a clearness found nowhere else, the internal organisation of a great Celtic chieftainship; and so displays to us, as working in the sixteenth century, that tribal system which writers like Mr. Seebohm, Mr. Skene, and Professor Rhys have had to try and explain the

can we explain the two remarkable projections of Mac Carthy territory north of the River Maine, near Castlemaine.

We learn, too, from James I.'s grant to O'Sullivan Bere, that the tribute of £214 11s. 2d. was carefully apportioned, certain definite portions of land being liable to a definite amount.—"Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I.," p. 205.

¹ Nicholas Browne says:—"At this time these Irish septa are of greater force and strength than they were these 300 years." (Munster in 1597. From a State Paper in the British Museum, published by Mr. James Buckley in the *Journal of the Cork Hist. and Arch. Society*, 1906, p. 53.)

² The idea of this Commission was suggested by Nicholas Browne in his report on Munster, already cited. The date of this report is 1597. The date of the decision of the Lord Lieutenant and Council *re* the Earl's lands is March 16th, 1598 ("Life and Letters of F. Mac Carthy Mór," p. 182). Hence the survey was made no doubt between these dates.

³ In vol. 625. This same volume contains much information with regard to King James's confiscations in Leitrim, King's County, &c. None of this volume has been calendared, as far as I know. One would like to know the reason.

existence of, by Welsh evidences, of a much earlier period and a more confusing character.

Yet, strange to say, this survey has not been published; nor is it, as far as I can find, in any way alluded to in the Calendar of the Carew MSS. published by Messrs. Brewer and Bullen, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. There is not in these Calendars the smallest allusion to the maps; yet these are, both from their execution and contents, of the very highest value. They are surprisingly accurate—for the period—especially when we remember the dangers and difficulties in the way of making a survey of such an inaccessible region. They are brilliantly coloured, and in perfect preservation, the names written on them being perfectly legible, and the ink almost as fresh as on the day they were written. Besides one general map of all Kerry, they consist of maps of each of the baronies of Magunihy, Dunkerron, Iveragh, Glanerought, and of the island of Valentia. From them, and from the text of the survey, I have been able to construct the map which accompanies this paper,¹ of the Lordship of Mac Carthy Mór, with its various sub-divisions, as they existed in the sixteenth century.

Coming now to the actual report of the Commissioners, it falls under three heads. There is a list of all the lands held by the late Earl at the time of his death—those, namely, which he possessed as private property, and those the use of which he enjoyed for his life, to maintain the dignity of his office—the demesne lands attached to the title of Mac Carthy Mór. These lands amounted to some sixty-five ploughlands, each estimated at 120 acres of profitable land, and with them went the three great castles—Ballycarbery, on the shores of Valentia harbour; Castle Lough, on a small island opposite the modern Lake Hotel, Killarney; and his chief house, “The Palace,” north of the river Laune, not far from Dunloe. Whoever could get possession of these was certain of securing the dignity of Mac Carthy Mór.²

Much more curious is the general list of all Mac Carthy's rights as lord of all Desmond. There are ten separate headings, all worth giving, as showing what were those “Irish cuttings and spendings” so often denounced by Tudor statesmen. I have, as a rule, only given the substance of what is under each heading, modernizing the spelling.

“A note of such kinds of rents and duties as the lords and freeholders in Desmond did customarily use to pay to the Earls of Clancarthy.”

¹ I have also been greatly helped by Vallancey's maps of the Down Survey, and by the entries in the Books of Survey and Distribution. I explain in a note at the end how I have constructed the map which accompanies this article.

² According to N. Browne, “the chief rents and sarvices (wch are Mc Carthy's greatest living) were always due” to those manors, *i.e.* Castle Lough, Pallis or Palace, and Ballycarbery.—(Letter of December 4th, 1594; “Life and Letters of F. Mac Carthy Mór,” p. 123.)

- I. GAREMSLOEG.—“ A rising, upon a warning given, of all the able men of the country, every man to be furnished with sufficient weapons and three days victuals, and for every default to be fined a (ehoyce cow?).”
- II. SORREN.—This is defined as a “ night’s meat upon any such lands as the Earl passed through with his forces and companies, and is an uncertain charge, and, therefore, could not be valued.”
- III. SORRENMORE.—A certain charge of meat, which, if the Earl would not come in person to spend it, there was a certain quantity of quirrens of butter and sroans of oatmeal paid yearly therefor, and every parcel of land was charged with its own portion, time out of mind.
- There is a note to this that a quirren of butter equals a pottle or four pounds, and a sroan equals $1\frac{1}{2}$ gallons of oaten flour, “ and because that in the payment of the sorren, the quirrens and the sroans are of like number, they value quirren and sroan at vjd., though in times past a quirren was valued at fourpence, and a sroan at a white groat.”
- IV. CUDDY is a meal’s meat or refectation certainly known, and is to be paid at the freeholder’s house, if the Earl liked, or else to be sent to the Earl’s house in certain proportions of flesh, *aqua vita*, ale, honey, flour, or else, in lieu thereof at freeholder’s choice, *iiijl. viijs. viijd.* (£4 8s. 8d.).
- V. DOWGOLLO, a rent for dog’s meat and huntsmen among the mountains, and for horse-meat and dog’s meat in the lowlands. It means black-rent, and all freeholders cry out against it as imposed by extortion and strong hand.
- VI. GALLOGOLOH.—This was a certain company of foot charged on his country when the Earl would make war.
- VII. KEARNTY.—This was a company of light footmen charged as No. VI.
- VIII. ROUT was a cess for horse-meat for the Earl’s horses, or those of his wife, charged on the barony of Magunihy.
- IX. MUSTEROON.—A charge of workmen put in upon the Earl’s own lands, both for wages and victuals for any work or building.
- X. CANEBEG.—This was a small spending that his wife had on certain quarters; and it was known certainly what each quarter was charged with.

We are at once struck with the similarity between these rights of the chief and those of the Welsh princes given by Mr. Seebohm in his “ Tribal System in Wales.” There we find that the free tribesmen should follow the prince to war, and were liable to a fine if they did not do so;

that they should support him¹ and his household with hounds, falcons, and their attendants four times a year; maintain his horses and their attendants for a fixed period during the year; supply oats for his war-horse; support his law officers and their horses for a fixed period. And a certain definite portion of land was assessed with a certain amount of these charges. And, besides, the tribesmen were bound to pay once a year under the name of *Gwestva*, a food-rent, originally consisting of certain definite amounts of mead (or ale or beer if there was no honey for the mead), flour, oats, and flesh. This *Gwestva* had, by the early fourteenth century, been commuted to a money-tax. The *Gwestva* had been so calculated that each taxable unit of land should supply food and drink for so many nights' "entertainment." Mr. Seebohm suggests three. This corresponds very closely to the Irish Cuddy. The money payments had been so arranged that, in the fourteenth century, a definite area of land was liable for one pound of silver, called the *tunc* pound, as well as 24 pence of "supper silver" for the prince's attendants.

Besides this, the Welsh prince had a similar food-rent twice a year from the non-tribesmen; and these had to construct the prince's buildings, furnish pack-horses for his hostings, give his wife meat and drink, and support his hounds, falcons, and horses, with their attendants, "all of them once every year."

Finally, there is the detailed return, which is probably the most important part of the whole survey. The facts in it were obtained by the Commissioners in the way usual in Elizabethan times, namely, by the sworn informations of juries of the principal persons of the district which formed the subject of inquiry. In this we find what each clan had to pay to the overlord, and particulars as to how the amount was apportioned on the lands in possession of the clan. For it is to be noted that while the amounts due from each clan are put under a special heading, as if there were some collective responsibility on the clan for the total amount, yet there was a minute system of apportionment of this total on the lands of each clan, some lands being exempt from all charges, the remainder being liable, some to one charge, some to another, in varying degrees. Possibly even there were lands liable to every one of the charges under the ten separate headings given above.

In every case the tax, as we may call it, was laid on the land, not on the individual occupier.² The latter might be shifted about, or have

¹ "The Tribal System in Wales," pp. 154-171, and Appendix, pp. 120-122. In North Wales the free tribesmen "were free from having horses or dogs quartered on them except during the great progress of the household in winter." (Seebohm, p. 157.)

² Mr. Seebohm says of Wales:—"In the meantime the cases of *Prees* and *Tebriht* are sufficient to show that the unit of food-rent commuted into the *tunc* pound was payable from a geographical area or district, and not charged upon particular *welcs*, or even groups of *welcs*. In a word, the tribute of the chieftain was thus territorial, and not personal. The *welcs* of free tribesmen could be shifted about from one *villata* to another; and the number of *welcs* could increase or diminish without altering the payments of a particular area, or the total of the chieftain's food-rents" (p. 168).

larger or smaller areas of land allotted to him by the operation of gavel-kind; population might increase or decrease, land might pass from one clan to another; but the amount due by any particular townland never varied. Since this was the case, it was necessary for the purposes of the survey to mention all the sub-divisions of the clan-lands from each of which payment was due; and, as the names of these sub-divisions are grouped under the head of the clan in possession, it is easy to fix the localities occupied by each clan, even without the aid of the maps. But the maps often contain names not given in the return; for, as I have said, there were certain lands free of all dues, and so not recorded in the survey. The maps thus form a valuable supplement to the written survey.

We come now to the actual extent of the dominions of Mac Carthy Mór. If we suppose a traveller to set out from Cork by rail, he sees at Blarney the most easterly fortress of the Mac Carthys. Just beyond Mounse Abbey he sees to the left the little river Clydagh, which divided the lands of the O'Callaghans, subjects of Mac Carthy Mór, from the territories held by the Norman Roches and Geraldines. At Mallow he leaves the land obedient since the days of Henry II. to English rule, and proceeds up the valley of the Blackwater, through the territory of Duhallow, ruled by an offshoot of the Mac Carthys, who had taken the surname of Mac Donough. At Killarney, and at Farranfore, he is still in Celtic territory. But at Castlemaine he comes once more to English land. Here the Earls of Desmond had a castle commanding a passage over the Maine, and giving access to Killorglin, an outpost against the Celt, entrusted in the Middle Ages, as was often the case, to the warlike Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.¹

Proceeding south-westward from Killorglin, the old coach road to Cahirciveen marks for a time the boundary between the Englishry and the Irishry. But soon road and railway again enter Mac Carthy's lands, and he proceeds under the shadow of frowning mountain bulwarks, until at Cahirciveen he sees rising in the distance the still imposing ruin of that chieftain's most western fortress—Ballycarbery. Thence, if our traveller pursues his route along the windings of that loveliest of coasts, his way still lies through the lands which owed allegiance to the head of the Clan Carthy. At Bantry he quits his dominions, but is still in Mac Carthy land—the territory of Carbery, ruled by Mac Carthy Reagh, an offshoot of the main house, who had freed himself from all dependence on the parent stock. Through his lands he proceeds along the banks of

“Pleasant Bandon crowned with many a wood,”

until at Inishannon he crosses the river for the last time, and comes once more into Anglo-Norman territory.

¹ The lands of the Abbey of Killaha, along with those of Killorglin, and some portions belonging to the Knight of Kerry, made up that portion of the barony of Trughanaemy which lies between the Maine and Laune, and south of the latter river. The Abbey of Killaha, founded by Normans, paid Mac Carthy Mór “£4 a year, or thereabouts,” according to Sir Warham St. Leger.

The district which, in imagination, has been journeyed round is about 2,700 square miles in extent; it is nearly half the size of the modern Kingdom of Saxony, and almost four times as great as the Duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.¹ From this, however, we must deduct the 620 square miles ruled by Mac Carthy Reagh, as lying outside the dominion of Mac Carthy Mór. And of the Cork portion of the remainder, the territory of Muskerry, occupying the watershed of the Lee from Ballincollig westwards, and Duhallow, occupying the watershed of the Upper Blackwater, stood in a relationship to Mac Carthy Mór different from that of the rest of his dominions. Each formed a separate lordship under a branch of the Mac Carthy house, having under it various subject clans; in each of these the rights of Mac Carthy Mór as overlord were but small. In Muskerry, besides the right of calling out all the fighting men to serve him in war time, he had only the finding, *i.e.*, the right of quartering on the country thirty galloglasses—heavy-armed foot-soldiers, as well as “the finding of him for a certain time,” *i.e.* the right of being fed and lodged at the expense of the country, and, in addition, the castle and lands of Mashanaglas, to give him a hold on the country.

In Duhallow, in addition to “rising out” the “finding” of twenty-seven galloglasses, and certain lands, he had only “sorren” four times a year. The other duties payable by the subject clans went to the actual subordinate lord.

In addition, as early as 1588, the Lords of Muskerry claimed to have freed themselves from all dependence on the main stock by submitting to the Crown, and getting a grant of their lands. The survey, therefore, only gives a passing reference to these territories.

Bere and Bantry, too, are only touched upon in the survey. The reason is that, already in 1587, the Government had been called on to decide between the claims of two competitors for the dignity of O’Sullivan Bere. On this occasion some sort of survey of these districts had been made, as well as a map—this latter, unfortunately, being lost, as far as I know. Also, among the mss. calendared in the Carew Calendars under the date 1565, there is an acknowledgment from O’Sullivan Bere of all his obligations to Mac Carthy Mór. These details were probably considered sufficient to do away with the necessity of a fresh survey.

The territory fully dealt with then consisted of the three baronies of Magunihy, Dunkerron, and Iveragh, and the half barony of Glanerought—roughly speaking, Kerry south of the Maine. To this district the name of Desmond was applied. By a curious anomaly, Desmond thus meant the lands *not* ruled by the Earls of Desmond.²

¹ Saxony, 5,836 square miles. Oldenburg, 2,500. Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, 763.

² Desmond and Kerry are said to have been first joined into one county by Sir John Perrot (Nicholas Browne’s Report, *Journal, Cork Hist. and Arch. Society*, 1906, p. 61). But their final union, and the allotment of Bere and Bantry to County Cork, was made in 1606.—“Cal. State Papers.”

The modern baronies of Iveragh, Dunkerron, and Magunihy do not entirely correspond to the sixteenth-century baronies, as I explain farther on.

From the term 'half barony' applied to Glanerought, Bere, and Bantry, it appears that a barony meant a definite amount of tax-paying land. A barony was subdivided into quarters, and each quarter normally contained three ploughlands.¹ A ploughland was the amount of land which would afford employment to one plough, with a full team of oxen or horses, and was normally valued at 120 acres of arable land, along, probably, with a certain amount of rough pasture. This, at least, was the case in Cork and Kerry, though we gather from the State Papers that a ploughland differed in area in other parts of Ireland. We know, too, from the "Books of Survey and Distribution," that in Kerry the ploughland varied in extent with the goodness or badness of the soil. Thus, in Dunkerron the ploughland of Dromrosky had 571 acres, and that of Dernairy 502,² and in Bantry the three ploughlands of Glenariffe contained 3,796 acres.³

Three great clans, Mac Carthys, O'Sullivans, and O'Donoghues, held the greater part of this territory in the sixteenth century. Of these, two certainly were intruders who had established themselves by force in Kerry after the English invasion in 1169. The original home of the O'Sullivans was in Tipperary, stretching from Clonmel to the great fortress mound which overlooks the Suir at Knockgraffon. The Mac Carthys, before the coming of the Anglo-Normans, were, as we have seen, the royal family of South Munster. As such they possessed certain demesnes attached to the kingship, and scattered over all the territories subject to them. They would seem, too, to have had a small district close to Cashel as their private estate; but, otherwise, we can hardly look on them as a clan with a definite clan territory. As a matter of fact, Carthach, from whom the Mac Carthys take their name, was the great-grandfather of Dermot, who ruled South Munster in the days of the English invasion—so his male descendants cannot have been numerous at that date.

¹ A 'quarter' was so called because four 'quarters' made a 'ballibetagh,' and thirty of these latter made a 'tricha-ced,' or 'cantred.' Cantred would then seem to be equivalent to barony. The older division, *tuath*, is often equated with cantred; but from Mr. Knox's paper on "The Occupation of Connaught by the Anglo-Normans," published in this *Journal* in 1902, p. 137, it would appear that *tuath* was smaller than cantred. From a report by Sir F. Shaen on Donegal, with Irish original, given in the "Calendar of State Papers," 1607, p. 342, it would appear that the Donegal *tuaths* were very numerous, and of variable size. The document says that a *tuath* is about the fourth part of a barony. We learn from our survey that there were many quarters which contained four or even more ploughlands. From the "Calendar of Patent Rolls, James I.," pp. 282, 285, we learn that in the territory of Clan Auliffe, in Duhallow, there were "great quarters containing 9 ploughlands, or 24 'men's portions.'" The names of the unit of area differed in Connaught and Ulster from those in use in Leinster and Munster; but the unit was 120 acres or some sub-division of it. Vol. 625 of Carew MSS. has also some notes on land measures from which we learn that O'Dempsey's country was divided into ploughlands, each of 320 acres; Ely O'Carroll of 200; Fercal of only 50 acres. The lands of O'Melaghlin and Mac Geogheghan were divided into 'cartrous,' each of 60 acres.

² Books of Survey and Distribution, County Kerry.

³ Down Survey, County Cork.

The third clan, that of the O'Donoghues, like the two others belonging to the great group of tribes called Eoghanacht, was certainly fixed in Kerry, round Killarney, before the coming of Strongbow and his followers. How long before is a question on which opinions differ, and is of little importance as regards our present subject.

What we do know for certain is that, while the Norman invaders were pressing from the east up the courses of the Suir, Blackwater, and Lee, the O'Briens and their kindred clans of North Munster fell on their fellow-countrymen of South Munster, and, as we are told, drove the whole race of Eoghan to take refuge among the woods and fastnesses along the upper waters of the Lee and Bandon rivers. The O'Sullivans, flying before the Normans, first sought refuge in the modern barony of Carbery. Then, taking the Mac Carthys as their leaders, instead of attacking one or the other of the invaders, they passed on into the mountains of South-West Cork and Kerry, fell on the native clans there, and deprived them of all their territories. Curious details as to the division between the Mac Carthys and the O'Sullivans of the lands thus forcibly seized on are given by the anonymous author of a "History of Kerry," published in 1898 and 1899, in the *Journal* of the Cork Archaeological Society.¹

The former inhabitants of the district between Bantry and Dingle Bays were utterly crushed by the new comers. The chief families who held this region in the twelfth century are not once mentioned in the sixteenth-century survey. Yet such is the persistency of the Celtic race, that to name these clans who disappear from history for four hundred years is to name some of the best-known names in modern Kerry. The chief of all, indeed, the O'Sheas, were utterly broken.² They did not own a single acre in Kerry when the list of landowners was drawn up by order of the Cromwellian Government in or about 1653. Yet the name is still numerous in the barony of Iveragh, and tradition links it with the Castle of Ballycarbery and the strand of Rossbeigh. Of the other clans, the O'Falvys, though broken as a clan, yet appear as landowners round Cahirciveen, and in the wild district beyond Ballinskelligs, in the seventeenth century. One branch of the name has retained position and property down to our own day, and is now represented by the Morrogh-Bernards of Faha. The O'Moriartys are still numerous in Kerry, though in the sixteenth century they were no longer in possession of their old home along the Laune, but held extensive lands as vassals of

¹ The author of this history—the "Anonymous History" as we may call it for convenience' sake—appears to have been a lay brother of the Franciscan community of Muckross, who wrote shortly after 1750.

² For the distribution of these clans prior to the Anglo-Norman invasion, see O'Heerin's "Topographical Poems," with the notes, published for the Irish Archaeological Society.

the Earls of Desmond. The fourth of these clans, the O'Connells, appears in the lists of Cromwellian forfeitures as proprietors of a large part of Iveragh; and of their position at present it is hardly necessary to speak.

The survey deals, then, mainly with the O'Donoghues, the O'Sullivans, and the Mac Carthys.

The first of these was divided into two branches: O'Donoghue Mór, lords of Lough Leane, whose name tradition associates with so many points around the lakes, and O'Donoghue of the Glens. The chieftain of the former resided at Ross Castle; and his lands comprised the greater part of the parish of Killarney, with a large portion of Aghadoe. The shore of the lower lake from the mouth of the Flesk to a point beyond Lakeview was his; so were the mountains on the opposite side, the greater part of the slopes of Mangerton, and the valleys round the upper lake.

O'Donoghue Mór was one of the few chiefs of native Irish origin who sided with the last Earl of Desmond in his rebellion. He perished during the course of the war; and the lands of his clan were confiscated. They were given to Sir Valentine Browne, one of the undertakers, so called because they "undertook" to plant English settlers instead of the natives on the forfeited lands. But Mac Carthy Mór, who, as I have said, had sided with the English against his hereditary foes, the Desmonds, laid claim to the lands of the O'Donoghues on the ground that they were only his tenants at will, and that he was the real owner of the fee-simple of the lands. This claim was, from the Irish point of view, manifestly false; but the Earl produced a sufficient number of witnesses who swore that it was true; and as Mac Carthy's services had been great, the Crown allowed his claim, and ordered Browne to give up the lands. Though the Earl was a sound politician, he was but a poor man of business, and for the sum of £121 13s. 3d. he mortgaged to Sir Valentine the territory of Onaght (*i.e.* Eoghanacht O'Donoghue), late the lands of O'Donoghue Mór, Browne to hold the lands and receive all the profits from them until the sum lent should be repaid. The history of the disputes which followed between the descendants of Sir Valentine and the Earl's son-in-law, Florence, and his son Donal, is related at great length and in a very confused manner in the "Life and Letters of Florence Mac Carthy Mór." The author of this work does not in his five hundred pages get to the end of the dispute, which lasted for nearly sixty years; but we know that, in spite of more than one decision given against the Brownes, and more than one Royal order to them to accept the repayment of the loan, and restore the lands to the Mac Carthys, the Brownes kept possession, and have held these lands to the present day.

According to the survey, O'Donoghue Mór's lands contained eleven and a half quarters, making forty-five ploughlands. They paid yearly

a cuddy, valued at £4 8s. 8*d.*, and two "white groats,"¹ Dowgollo valued at £13 10s., forty sheaves of oats per ploughland out of forty-five ploughlands, valued at £4 10s. yearly, and £2 a year in money; in all, £24 8s. 8*d.*, and two "white groats." From this and similar entries, we learn that twenty sheaves of oats were valued at one shilling. It is to be noted that neither the money payment nor the sheaves of oats are mentioned under any of the ten headings of rents and duties with which the survey opens.

The second branch, O'Donoghue of the Glens, held the wild glen of the Clydagh, behind Headfort Station, and the whole parish of Killaha. We learn from a report on Mac Carthy Mór sent in by Sir Warham St. Leger in 1588, that O'Donoghue of the Glens paid his overlord £2 6s. 4*d.*, and that Mac Carthy Mór had no other right or duty in his country. The lords of the glens have preserved their lands to our own day, although the books of Survey and Distribution show that they were confiscated by Cromwell, and give a list of Englishmen to whom they were set out by the Act of Settlement. But the new grantees had evidently no wish to try conclusions among the wilds of Glen Flesk with the rightful proprietors. The survey estimates this territory at five quarters, each of four ploughlands. It paid yearly 26s. 8*d.* sterling, and four barrels of beer or ale valued at 13s. 4*d.*; forty shillings in all. The survey here, as in other places, differs slightly from Sir W. St. Leger's account of Mac Carthy Mór's revenues. No explanation is given as to why this clan was so slightly assessed.

Much more extensive were the possessions of the O'Sullivans. The greater part of Bere and Bantry, one half of Glanerought, all the old Dunkerron, besides a considerable tract of Iveragh, fell to their share in the division of the conquests which they had made in conjunction with the Mac Carthys.

Almost from its first coming into Kerry, the clan divided into two great branches—O'Sullivan Mór and O'Sullivan Bere. The latter took the lands south of the Kenmare River, in Bere, Bantry, and Glanerought. We do not know whether this junior branch of the clan was in any sort of dependence on the senior branch, O'Sullivan Mór; but from the Down Survey it appears that this latter chief had retained for himself the island of Whiddy, opposite Bantry, possibly to give himself some sort of hold on the lands assigned to O'Sullivan Bere.²

The O'Sullivans Bere played a great part in the troubled times of Elizabeth's reign. We need not enter here into the history of their exploits. But two documents have been preserved among the State

¹ A "white groat." From the figures given in the survey we learn that nine white groats made a shilling: *i.e.* the groat = $1\frac{1}{3}$ of a penny.

² Yet the grant to Sir Owen O'Sullivan Bere ("Calendar Patent Rolls," ix James I.) grants him "Whydy" nine ploughlands.

Papers which are of the highest importance as illustrating—one, the relations between O'Sullivan Bere and his paramount chief Mac Carthy Mór, the other as giving details, drawn up by an Irish chief, of his rights over his own clansmen, and the division of land among the various members of the clan.

The first of these documents is given in the Calendar of the Carew MSS. under the date 1565, the year in which Mac Carthy Mór was made an Earl. It may have been thought that a new acknowledgment by his subject chiefs of his rights over them was rendered necessary by the change of his status. This convention lays down the following points:— (1) Sir Owen O'Sullivan is to be one of the marshals to the Earl, and is to serve him "with his whole power." (2) He is to "find continually" five galloglasses or five kerne out of every arable quarter, or in default 6s. 8d., or a beef per man. The men are to be a guard for the Earl. (3) The Earl is to have 2s. 6d. for every ship that comes to his harbours "at the hands of such as bring the said ships." (4) He is to sell all wares to the Earl, which the latter may require, at the same price as he himself paid for them. (5) He is to furnish two days' and two nights' "entertainment" at Dunboy for the Earl and his train. Also to give "convenient meat and drink" to the Earl whenever the latter comes into the country; also to send to Pallis "horse-meat" for the Earl's horses for the whole year. (6) He is to "find" for the whole year in Bantry and Dunboy the "hunt" and hunts of the Earl with greyhounds, hounds, and spaniels.¹

Many of the above items will be recognised as occurring in the general list of Mac Carthy Mór's rights quoted above.

The second document is one of a series sent in to the Government by the famous Donnell O'Sullivan Bere, with a view of persuading the authorities that he, and not the actual ruling chief Sir Owen, was the lawful chief of Bere and Bantry. Among the papers sent in on this occasion was a map of these baronies, which, if forthcoming, would be of the highest interest. It would appear, however, to be lost.

From this document it appears that fifteen quarters, or forty-five ploughlands, were set apart for the ruling sept of the O'Sullivans Bere. Half of these—namely, twenty-two and a half ploughlands—formed the demesne of the chief, and were always held by the actual reigning chief, along with the castles of Dunboy, Bantry, and Carriganass.² Of the

¹ Sir W. St. Leger (quoted in "Life and Letters of F. Mac Carthy Mór") says O'Sullivan Bere's country of 160 ploughlands had to "find" fifty galloglasses, and furnished in "spendings and refecons" to the value of £40 a year. This seems far under what the payments given in the above document would amount to, for it provides for 175 galloglasses, or £58 6s. 8d. a year in lieu of them. Bere and Bantry had at least 35 quarters, as we see from the next document, yet our survey assesses all Bere and Bantry at only £7 16s. 0d. yearly, besides uncertain sorrens.

² Carriganassig had been built by Sir Owen's father. The lord had also, in addition to the 22½ ploughlands first mentioned, 4 quarters, or 12 ploughlands, lying around Foyd, or Bantry.

rest, the tanist had six ploughlands and the castle of Ardea. The next in importance of the family to him—in this case it was Donnell himself, son of Sir Owen's elder brother and predecessor—had six ploughlands. The remaining ten and a half ploughlands were divided up among the other near relatives of the chief; and as the numbers of these increased or diminished, so the amount of land allotted to each varied, but the chief's proportion never did. Here we see gavelkind working within the limits of the sept.

Besides these fifteen quarters, there were twenty more—sixty ploughlands in all—held by other septs of O'Sullivan's, *i.e.*, junior branches of the parent house. Each sept had a definite area of land, which was, no doubt, divided among the members of the sept, just like the forty-five ploughlands held by the chief and his near kinsmen. Six such septs are named, *viz.*, the issue of Fineen Duff, of Lawrence, of Dwling (*sic*), of the son of Mac Bwoy, of the son of Donnell, of the son of Teig. All these were to pay O'Sullivan Bere duties.¹

His fixed rent from the country was forty pounds a year, which sum was thus small on account of the poverty of the land. The whole wealth of the country came from the sea; and as the profits from this varied, the lord agreed with the owners of ships and boats "according as the fishing do continue all the season of the year, or fail, as sometimes it doth fail within one month."

All of this forty pounds went to the wife of the chief "towards her idle expenses."

O'Sullivan himself had little need of money, for the septs of O'Sullivan's were to keep his galloglasses and kern, and pay all his expenses if he travelled to Cork, or to sessions, or to war. They were also to pay his debts—this may explain the tendency to get into debt characteristic of the later Irish landlord—build his houses, feed him, and help him to marry his daughter.

When we consider that, over and above all this, the clansmen of these septs had to maintain their own immediate sub-chief (MacFineen Duff, for example), and pay Mac Carthy Mór's dues on the country, as well as their share of the tribute levied by the Earls of Desmond, we cannot but wonder how they had anything at all left for themselves.²

These 117 ploughlands held by the O'Sullivan's did not make up the whole of the lands subject to O'Sullivan Bere. There were at least two

¹ The text runs—"Paying his rents to the lord, which is but little worth nowadays"; . . . "And everyone of them hath his share thereof, paying his rent to the lord for the time being, . . . which, in old times, was the cessing of his men of war—as galloglasses, kerns, horsemen, and such like—besides to pay all his charges whensoever he would come out of his country to any town or city, to sessions, term, service of the prince, and such like," &c.

² Thus the septs of O'Donegan and O'Linchigh, after providing for their own chiefs, had each to pay £4 13s. 3d. yearly to O'Sullivan Bere, forty shillings to Mac Carthy Mór, and, no doubt, something to the Earl of Desmond.

minor clans under him, namely O'Linchigh or O'Linche, who held Eyeries, and a small district round it, and O'Donegan of Ballydonegan.

Much more extensive was the lordship of O'Sullivan Mór. It extended along the shore of Kenmare Bay from Derrynane Abbey to Kenmare. The Laune from Dunloe to a point near Killorglin formed its northern frontier. It extended across the wild mountains at the head of Waterville Lake into the Inny valley, and reached Dingle Bay at Glenbeigh and the mouth of the Caragh River. The frowning coast-line from Bolus Head near the Skellig Rocks to the southern entrance to Valentia Harbour also owned the sway of O'Sullivan Mór, as did the southern shore of that harbour as far as Cahirciveen.

This great clan, from an early period, threw off two lesser offshoots. The second chief after the settlement in Kerry gave one of his sons, Giollamochuda, an extensive district, estimated by the author of the "History of Kerry," quoted above, as one-third of his territory.¹ From this Giollamochuda come the well-known family of the Mac Gillycuddy of the Reeks. According to the same author, the name Mac Gillycuddy was at first borne only by the chiefs of this clan and their immediate relatives, the lesser clansmen calling themselves O'Sullivan. But in his day, he says, they mostly called themselves Mac Gillycuddy, except those who went abroad.

He also states that the lord of the Reeks was bound to furnish O'Sullivan Mór with 700 fighting men. For his other dues and services, if any, he refers to O'Sullivan's records. The fate of these last, as related by Mrs. Morgan John O'Connell, in her work "The Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade," on the authority of Sir Ross O'Connell, of Lakeview, is worth mentioning here. Sir Ross says:—"The last O'Sullivan Mór died at Tomies in 1762. He left an illegitimate son, whose grandson is a fisherman at Killarney. This grandson told me that when a boy, some thirty years ago, he went to see his grandfather lying dead at Tomies. He saw in the room of the dead man a great pile of old papers, maybe three feet high, mostly written on skins in Latin and Irish, 'and, faith, I was in dread they might fall into the hands of the Mahonys, or some other new people in the country, and they might get more of the O'Sullivan estates, so I burned them all myself.'"²

What would not an antiquary give for such documents, and in what other country outside Ireland would such an incident have been possible?

The survey gives the following details as to the payments due to Mac Carthy Mór from this clan. The castle and four ploughlands of

¹ According to Sir W. St. Leger, Mac Gillycuddy had forty-six ploughlands. Mac Carthy Mór had there the giving of the rod, rising out, the finding of thirty galloglasses, and to the value of £20 in yearly spending. Our survey gives £27 3s. 4d. as the total of the payments due from this clan.

² "The Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade," vol. i., p. 53.

Bodenesmeen paid yearly four beeves, valued at 13*s.* 4*d.* each. The lands of Slught Mac Rury, *alias* "Twoghelanihie, being 12½ ploughlands paid yearly for Dowgollo, eighteen quirrens of butter and eighteen sproans of oatmeal a plough, which amounted to 225 quirrens and 225 sproans, valued at £5 12*s.* 6*d.*"

Also, the sheaves of oats out of a ploughland, valued at 37*s.* 6*d.* (*i.e.* 60 sheaves per ploughland apparently).

Also for cuddy or refection eight quirrens of butter and eight sproans of oatmeal per ploughland, which amounted to 100 quirrens and 100 sproans, valued at 50*s.* sterling.

Also, in money eight pence and two white groats per ploughland, making 11*s.* and one groat, and from Coultro over and above 11*s.* and one groat.

Furthermore, the quarter of "Carreogerran," in Glanerought, paid yearly eighteen beeves, value £12; and the lands along the Kenmare river from Derrynane to Sneem paid Dowgollo and Cauebeg, amounting to 27*s.* 8*d.* and one groat, besides an uncertain sorren. In all, then, Mac Gilycuddy paid £27 3*s.* 4*d.* yearly. We know that he also paid chief rent to the Knight of Kerry, and, very probably, to the Earl of Desmond, and to O'Sullivan Mór as well.

The lands of the Mac Gilycuddys were in three detached portions. The first ran from the Laune up to the summit of the Reeks, to which these chiefs have given their name. The Laune was its northern boundary; on the east it extended to near Duuloe, on the west to where the stream called the Cottoner's river joins the Laune, close to Killorglin. The second district, called Bordonine, lay along the Kenmare river from Sneem harbour to Caherdaniel, close to Derrynane. Inland it was bounded by the mountains which separate Dunkerron from Iveragh.

Finally, there was a small district in the parish of Kilmaire (the modern Kenmare) on both sides of the river Roughty, and on the edge of the parish of Kilgarvan. It was called Cahirogiarane, and included the modern townlands of Caher to the north, and Letter to the south of the Roughty.

The lord of the Reeks sided with the last Earl of Desmond in his rebellion, and fell in battle. The curious manner in which the chiefs of this family, in spite of repeated confiscations, have preserved portion of their lands to the present day, is told at length in Brady's volume, "The Mac Gilycuddy Papers."

The second offshoot from the O'Sullivans took the name Mac Crohin, or Mac Crehan.¹ They had a castle at Letter, near Cahirciveen,

¹ Both forms of the name are still found. The author of the "Anonymous History" seems to consider the Mac Crehans as a branch of the Mac Carthys, but a Patent of James I. speaks of "Mac Crehan, *alias* O'Sullivan." It is quoted in "Kerry Records," volume for 1874, p. 41. Nicholas Browne, in his treatise on Munster, puts them as the third branch of the O'Sullivans, after O'Sullivan Mór and O'Sullivan Bere.

and their lands ran along the south shore of Valentia Harbour from Cahirciveen to Reencarragh Point. This clan also possessed a small district in Magunihy, on the north bank of the little river Gweestin. This was the only portion of O'Sullivan territory north of the Laune, and one would wish to know how they acquired it. The Mac Crehans, long sunk into obscurity in their own land, are now a great and flourishing family in Spain, where so many others of the old Kerry aristocracy sought and found a refuge in bygone days.

The greater part of the O'Sullivan territory remained directly subject to O'Sullivan Mór. The principal residence of this chief was the castle of Dunkerron near Kenmare. The castle of Dunloe was also his, and it guarded almost the only pass which gave access from North Kerry to his country.

Another branch of the O'Sullivan clan resided at the castle of Cappanacushy. They were often called Mac Crah, as being descendants of a chief called Mac Crah. They were, it appears, the senior branch of the O'Sullivan race, but had been deprived of the chieftainship through the workings of the law of Tanistry. The younger brother of Mac Crah had succeeded him as chief, and had managed to secure the succession to his own sons, excluding his nephews, who had the best right to the chieftainship. The Sliocht Mac Crah had to content themselves with an estate of twenty ploughlands, and the reversionary right to the chieftainship, if the ruling house should become extinct.

The anonymous author gives copious details of some seven other branches or septs of the O'Sullivans Mór.¹ In his day they were widely scattered on the Continent, many of them being priests, distinguished for their learning. Again and again he refers to the books of the clan in O'Sullivan Mór's possession, and speaks as if either O'Sullivan himself, or some friend of his, intended to publish a history of the family.² All traces of these books have completely perished, as I have said. No less complete has been the destruction of the O'Sullivan family. Though still the most numerous family in Kerry, and the third in numbers in all Ireland, yet, of all the branches mentioned in the above-quoted work, with the exception of the Mac Gillycuddy of the Reeks, not one representative could be found a few years ago owning an acre in Kerry, nor can the descendants of any of these branches be traced to the present day.

As the O'Sullivans treated the O'Sheas and O'Falveys, so did the

¹ The nine branches he gives are :—(1) Mac Gillicuddy ; (2) O'Sullivan, of Cumurhagh, or Mac Muirihirtig, who had 21 ploughlands ; (3) O'Sullivan, of Glenbeigh, with 16 ploughlands ; (4) O'Sullivan, of Caneah and Glanarcane, with 15½ ploughlands ; (5) O'Sullivan, of Culemagort ; (6) O'Sullivan, of Cappanacuss, with 20 ploughlands ; (7) O'Sullivan, of Capiganine ; (8) O'Sullivan, of Fermoyle and Ballyearna, with 8 ploughlands ; (9) O'Sullivan, of Ballyviégillaneulan.

² *I.e.*, he says, "I shall refer that to Mr. Connor, author of the intended work" (*Cork Archaeological Journal*, 1899, p. 230).

Cromwellians treat them. Yet in this case, too, the Celtic race persists. The land is now passing back into the hands of those whose forefathers lost it two hundred and fifty years or even seven hundred years ago.

The survey gives pretty full lists of O'Sullivan Mór's payments to the Earl.

Thus the lands and castle of Dunloe paid yearly a sorren of 120 quirrens of butter and 120 sroans of oatmeal, valued at £3.

The five quarters of Dunloe paid yearly 72 quirrens and 72 sroans the quarter, which amounted to 360 of each, valued at £9; also 67 sheaves of oats out of every ploughland, and four ploughlands to the quarter amounted to 268 sheaves the quarter, so that five quarters pay 1340 sheaves of oats, valued at £3 7s.; also out of every quarter in money 3s. 4d. and one white groat, equals 17s. 8d. and one groat (this does not seem correct). Total value, £13 4s. 8d. and one groat.

The quarter of Coolmagort paid yearly a cuddy or refection, or in lieu thereof four marks, half-face money, which amounted to £4 8s. 8d. and two white groats.

The two quarters of Sliocht Mac Crah "paye yearlie for Dowgollo viiis. and for Canebeg iiis. and one white groat, which amounted to xis., one white groat."

The lands of Dunkerron, Gortewollin, Cappaghro, and Cappaghneecush paid yearly for Dowgollo 14s., for Canebeg 6s. 4d. and one groat, besides an uncertain sorren which cannot be valued.

From Lackin and Dromcuinch, one quarter, the Earl had 5s. 4d. and two groats; from Glencare, two quarters, 8s.; from Glanvehe (Glanbeigh), 19s. 4d. and two groats.

O'Sullivan of Ballyviégilleneulan paid from two quarters, 4s. a quarter for Dowgollo, and 4d. a quarter and two groats for Canebeg; total, 9s. 8d. and one groat. Finally, from other O'Sullivan lands in Iveragh, Mac Carthy Mór received £7 14s. The total from O'Sullivan Mór's country is given as £32 1s. and one groat.¹

¹ Sir W. St. Leger allots 200 ploughlands to O'Sullivan Mór, and says that Mac Carthy Mór had there the "finding" of 50 galloglasses, and £20 in "yearlie spending."

(To be continued.)

THE CASTLE OF RAYMOND LE GROS AT FODREDUNOLAN.

BY GODDARD H. ORPEN, M.A.

[Read OCTOBER 2, 1906.]

THE site of the Castle of "Fodredunolan" has not, so far as I know, been identified, and yet its position can, I think, very closely, if not with complete exactitude, be determined. The name represents the Irish *Fothart Uí Nuallain*¹ (*anglicè*, Forth O'Nolan), a name now preserved in that of the barony of Forth, county Carlow; but the Irish district was, as will be seen, more extensive than the present barony. The district was granted to Raymond le Gros by Strongbow in 1174, on the occasion of Raymond's marriage with Basilia, Strongbow's sister;² and in the summer of 1181 a *castrum* was erected here for Raymond.³ In the Register of the Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin, there are a number of charters granted by Raymond and Basilia jointly, and after Raymond's death by Basilia alone, and by her together with her second husband Geoffrey Fitz Robert, Seneschal of Leinster, concerning tithes, benefices, and lands in Fodredunolan; and from an examination of these charters, with the help of the Ordnance Survey Map, and a visit to the places indicated, I am satisfied that Raymond's *castrum* or *castellum* was situated at the mote of Castlemore near Tullow.

To take the charters first, in what appears to be their chronological order:

No. cxxxi., Raymond and Basilia grant to "the church of St. Mary and St. David of their castle of the *theud* (Ir. *tuath*) of Radeillan," the tithes of their lordship of Fothered, "and one carucate of land, viz. by these boundaries marked: from the great rock (*magna petra*) which is on the east side of the cemetery along the road on the north as far as the pit (*fovea*) which the said Raymond perambulated, and from that pit to a thorn hedge (*spina*), and from the hedge along a ditch to the boundaries of the monks, and along the boundaries of the monks to the river Slaney, and from the boundaries of the monks in a southerly direction, so that the aforesaid carucate of land may be completed. . . . Reserving, nevertheless, the site of a mill and of a fishery in the said carucate of land, in that

¹ "Book of Rights," p. 210, note j.

² *Fothard li donat li cuntur
A mariage od sa sorur.*

Song of Dermot, ll. 3064-5.

³ *Erectum est igitur apud Fotheret Onolan primo castrum Reimundo et aliud fratri ejusdem Grifino.*—*Gir. Camb. R. S.*, vol. v., p. 355.

part where it slopes down to the Slaney, if there should be a site for a mill or a fishery there."

This deed is witnessed by Griffin Fitzwilliam, Raymond's brother, and by Robert, Jordan, and William *de Cat*, which I take for "de Cantitune," sons of Raymond's sister Mabilla, who married Nicholas de Cantitune.

The name Radeillan, elsewhere in the charters spelt Radsilan, Rathsilan, &c., probably stands for the Irish *Rath Soileáin*, or *Rath Saileáin*, meaning the "Rath of the willow wood."¹ The name is now lost. Indeed, as we shall see, the church came soon to be called the church of Villa Castri, a name still virtually surviving in that of Castlemore townland. The church has disappeared, but the graveyard mentioned can still be seen in the acute angle formed by the junction of the road coming from Ballon with the road leading from Tullow to Carlow. The graveyard is called Leamaneh, and is about 200 yards east of Castlemore Mote. The word "Leamaneh" is found in several places in Ireland,² and represents the Irish *Léim an eich*, i.e., Horse Leap. When I visited the place a couple of years ago, I said to my son, who was with me, that if we could find a great rock on the eastern side of the graveyard, we might be sure we were in the right place. It was with no small satisfaction that, in exact accordance with the description in the charter, we found a great rock (or rather the remains of one) on the east side of the graveyard, just outside the wall which forms the hypotenuse of the acute-angled triangle, close to the road on the north.³ The rock, which is of granite, has now been mostly quarried away, but the quarry-hole is there, about 80 feet long by 25 feet wide, and enough of the rock remains *in situ* to show that it once cropped up well above the surface of the land.

From this rock the boundary of the carucate followed the road on the north to the *fovea* "which Raymond perambulated," or surveyed and marked out. I have provisionally translated the word *fovea* by 'pit'; but I hope by-and-by to show that it was the *fosse* which surrounds the mote of Castlemore. If the word will bear this meaning, the position would suit exactly. The present boundary of the townland of Cannons-quarter, which, as we shall see, was the carucate described, follows the road from Leamaneh, and the road forms a tangent to the trench of the mote on the north.

Leaving out the 'hedge' and 'ditch,' which may or may not be identifiable, the boundary next joins "the boundaries of the monks to

¹ See Joyce, "Irish Names of Places," vol. ii., p. 357, where he mentions Sylau, Tooreennasillane, Cloonsellan, and Lough Sillan, among other anglicised forms. Perhaps a trace of the name may be found in Inquis. Gul. and Mar. No. 1 (Carlow), when Francis Eustace, who fought on James's side, 1689-90, was found seised, *inter alia*, "of the Vill and lands of Castlemore and *Rath*, in the barony of Rathvilly."

² FM., a^o. 567, note d, and p. 2101, note l. O'Donovan mentions this graveyard in his Ord. Survey Letters.

³ See map, p. 373.

the river Slaney." Who the monks mentioned were, and the approximate situation of their boundaries, may safely be inferred from Charter cxxxv. This is a Deed Poll from David, abbot of the abbey of de Valle Salutis or Baltinglass, founded in 1151, by Dermot M'Murrough. It is dated 1209, and is to the following effect: Whereas the Canons of St. Thomas's, Dublin, in a suit against us concerning certain tithes of our land near our grange of Fotheret, have renounced the same for a period of forty years from Michaelmas, 1209, we renounce any prescription which might run against the said canons as regards the said tithes during the same period.

Now the *grangia nostra de Fotheret* of this deed is doubtless at present represented by the parish of Grangeford, which adjoins that of Fennagh (in which Castlemore is situated) on the north-west. Grangeford is also frequently written 'Grangefort' or 'Grangeforth,' and I take the element 'ford,' 'fort,' or 'forth' to represent the Irish *Fothart* (pronounced 'Fóhärth' and elsewhere corrupted into Forth and Fort). Grangeford is now in the barony of Carlow, and that part of Fennagh in which Castlemore is situated is in the barony of Rathvilly; but it is quite clear from these charters alone that the ancient territory of *Fothart Ui Nuallain* extended on the north beyond the boundaries of the present barony of Forth. One instance must suffice. Charter cxxxii. is a grant by Mabilla de Cantitune (who was a sister of Raymond le Gros) of "Strupho in tenemento de Fothered," which the editor rightly identifies with Straboe, a parish and townland in the barony of Rathvilly, altogether north of both Fennagh and Grangeford. It is called 'Strobe in Fothard' in the Ecclesiastical Taxation, 1302-6.

In the northern portion of the parish of Fennagh, between the graveyard of Leamaneh and the Slaney, is the townland called Cannonsquarter. It is spelt with two *ns*, and I think I was told on the spot something about Cromwell planting his cannons there; but there can be little doubt that this townland, which contains 199a. 2r. 10p. statute measure, should be written 'Canonsquarter,' and retains in the name a memorial of the gift of Raymond and Basilia to the Canons of St. Thomas (to be mentioned immediately) more than seven centuries ago. It is, in fact, the carucate originally granted, as we have seen, to the church of Rathsilan. The deed granting it to that church evidently defines only its south-western and north-western boundaries, the latter of which may be taken to be approximately the boundary between Cannonsquarter and the parish of Grangeford. Even the mill-site reserved may well be the place on the river in the townland, marked 'Corn Mill' on the map, for few sites are more permanent, until recently at any rate, than the sites of Mills.¹

The next charter in point of date to No. cxxxi. is No. cxxx.

¹ The mill of the castle of Fothered was a considerable source of income to Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. It was farmed at £9 6s. 8d. (*Journal*, R.S.A.I. 1892, p. 58).

One of the witnesses was "Reimundus de Cantintuna," a nephew of Raymond le Gros.¹ He was killed in Ossory *circa* 1185,² which gives us an outside limit for the date of this charter. Raymond and Basilia grant to the church of St. Thomas, of Dublin, and to the canons there serving God, in the first place, their bodies to be buried in the said church, and next, as regards the right of advowson, the church of "Radsilan in Fodredumolan, together with one carucate of land which was assigned to the said church, and all the ecclesiastical benefices of their lordship, both of Englishmen and of Irishmen, in the land of Fodred, that is to say, of Inchechronewal, and of the land of William Noreis, and of all the land which had belonged to Baldewin de Carreu on the Slaney, and of all Fenewac,³ and of all Osaghened, and of all the land of Uscandles, and of the land of Conebar, and of the land of Vuremacele, and of Drum Costentin, in tithes," &c. And also a rent of 6 solidi from Inchechronewal, and a rent of 2 talents or 4 solidi from the land which William le Noreis held between the Castle of Radsilan and the Castle of Tulach.

This last sentence shows that the Castle of Rathsilan was not far from the Castle of Tullow.

It is unnecessary for present purposes to try to identify all these hard names; but it will be useful and may assist future inquiries to note a few results that I have attained. 'Inchechronewal' probably represents the Irish *Inis an Crainn ubhaill*, 'the island of the Apple-tree,' and is, I think, now the townland of Inchisland or Motalusha ('the mote of the quicken tree,' *luis*), which adjoins Castlemore on the west, and lies between the Burren and the Aghalona rivers.

'Finewac,' elsewhere 'Finewach,' represents the Irish *Findmhagh*, 'the fair plain.'⁴ This name has now yielded Fennagh, a parish divided into four parts, two of which are in the barony of Idrone East, one in the barony of Forth, and one in the barony of Rathvilly—the last-named part containing the townland of Castlemore. In the accounts of the estates of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, near the end of the thirteenth century,⁵ the name appears as Finfagh, another way of representing the aspirated *m*.

'Osaghened' was probably the district about Kellistown, said to be a corruption of Cill Osnadaigh, where more than one important battle was fought.⁶ The Fotharta of Carlow was sometimes called Fotharta Osnadhaigh, and sometimes Fortharta Fea, from the plain Magh Fea, in which Cill Osnadhaigh is situated. Between the *s* and the *n* of the

¹ See Charter No. cxxxiii. He held lands in Leix from Meiler Fitz Henry, and in Odrone from his maternal uncle, Raymond le Gros.

² "Expug. Hib.," p. 386.

³ Printed in the text Sinewac, but see *Corrigenda*.

⁴ *Findmag in Fotharta* is mentioned in the notes to the "Calendar of Oengus," p. ix.

⁵ *Journal*, R.S.A.I., 1892, p. 59.

⁶ FM. 489, note *n*, and 1167. The true form of the name appears to have been

Irish word an obscure vowel would be sounded, which may help to explain the spelling in the charters.

Furemacelle, perhaps, stands for *urrigh* ('sub-king'), *Mac Ceallaigh*, or rather *Caolaidhe*. The name may survive in Ballykealey, which is the name of three townlands in the barony of Forth—one in Fennagh, near Ballon; one in Kellistown, and one in Ballyellin. So Urgan, in the barony of Carlow, is printed 'Urrighlin' in the Carlow Inquisitions, and, probably, stands for Urrigh ua Fhloinn, or O'Lyn. Ballykealey, near Ballon, is the site of the great prehistoric cemetery described in our *Journal* for 1852-3, which I am inclined to identify with Aenach Ailbhe, "where the Lagenians were wont to bury."¹

The two next charters are after the death of Raymond, and as they are witnessed by John, bishop of Leighlin, they may be dated *circa* 1199-1201. No. cxviii. is by Basilia alone.² She grants to the Church of St. Thomas, Dublin, her body, to be buried in the said church, and in her life to serve as a sister, and continues as in cxxx. No. cxxix.: Geoffrey FitzRobert and Basilia, his wife, grant the Church of St. Mary and of St. David the Confessor, of Fotherahonolan, to the canons of St. Thomas of Dublin, with all its appurtenances, together with the land which Raymond gave to the said church [*i.e.* the carucate before mentioned, now Cannonsquarter], and with the land with which they endowed the said church on the day of its dedication—that is to say, Hinche Crunewal, where are 140 acres, which they purchased from William Danmartin; that is to say, they retain Hinche Crunewal in their hands during their lives, until God should change their minds for the better, paying rent for the said lands 4 lb. of wax annually.

It would appear from this charter that the Church of St. Mary and St. David at Rathsilan was not dedicated until after Raymond's death, the exact date of which is unknown. No. cxxvii. is witnessed *inter alios* by Herlewin, bishop of Leighlin, and must be dated after 1201, when Herlewin was consecrated, and before 1217, when he died. By it Basilia grants to the Church of St. Thomas the land which had belonged to William Danmartin called Incheernewal, as it was given in endowment of the Church of St. Mary and St. David in the presence of John (Comyn), archbishop of Dublin, when he dedicated it.

This charter is later than No. cxxviii., but no mention is made either in it or in the next of Basilia's second husband, Geoffrey Fitz Robert, who seems to have been dead.³ Basilia's mind had evidently "been

Ceun Losnado: AU. 489. There was a round tower here; see *Anthologia Hibernica*, vol. iv., p. 105. The name appears as "Kenlis in Fother" in Register Mon. B. M. de Kenlis in Ossoria, quoted in *Journal*, R. S. A. I., 1893, p. 185, and as "Kells in Fothered" C. D. I., vol. iii., p. 294. As Kenlis (Headfort) both in Meath and Ossory has yielded Kells, we may suspect a similar evolution here.

¹ *Journal*, R. S. A. I., 1906, p. 25.

² This charter was confirmed by John, bishop of Leighlin, evidently at the same time and place, as it is witnessed by the same persons.

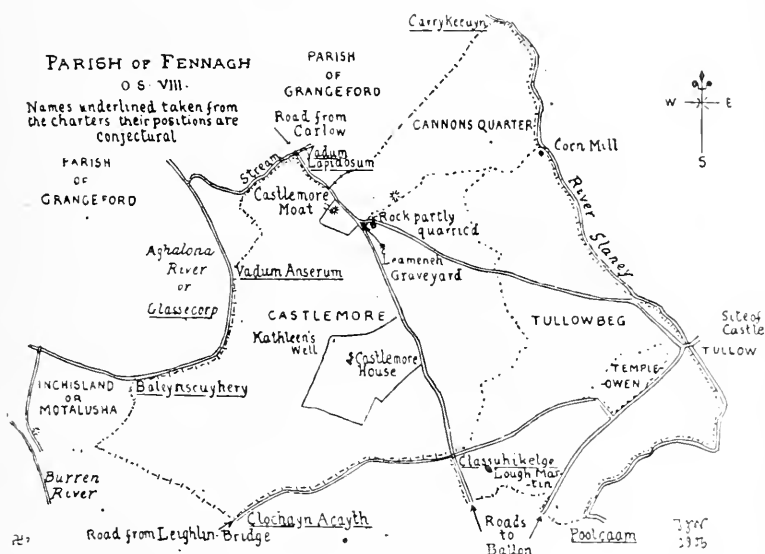
³ Geoffrey Fitz Robert was alive in 1202, as he witnessed a deed along with

changed for the better," and by this charter she gave up Incheernewald without reserving a life-interest.

No. exxxvi. : Basilia grants to the Church of St. Thomas, as in previous grants, adding the benefices of Clunroff, Glindewal, Rosanaran, and Drumsche.

This charter is witnessed by John (Comyn), archbishop of Dublin, so it must be dated before 1212. It is re-copied by a different hand in No. ceceviij., and some of the names are spelled differently.

No. exxxvii. : Confirmatory Charter by William Mareschal, junior (1219-1231), after Basilia's death. The manor had before this probably reverted to the chief lord.



No. exxxviii. : Grant by S., Abbot of St. Thomas,¹ of seven lots, each containing a burgage and twelve acres of land, to seven persons (named) "at Fothered, in the carucate of land which Thomas (*sic*) holds close to the vill of Fothered, between the river Slaney and the said vill," at rents of 5 silver solidi, with power to sell or mortgage, subject to a right of pre-emption.

The page on which this charter is written is headed *terra de villa Castri*, &c. ; and this is important as indubitably connecting the name *Villa Castri* (now Castlemore) with the carucate granted to the Church of St. Thomas, and with the castellum of Rathsilan. The charter itself

H[ugh Rufus], bishop of Ossory (1202-1218.) He is often called by modern writers an illegitimate son of Robert Fitz Stephen; but I am not aware that there is any evidence for this. He is not mentioned by Gerald de Barri.

¹ Perhaps Simon, Abbot of St. Thomas, Dublin, 1200-1228.

shows how the canons of St. Thomas dealt with their property here, and fully corroborates the position we have assigned to the carucate, and further indicates by implication the position of the castle. This is even more plain from the document No. cccli. This is headed by the Editor, "Boundaries at Foorthynolan," and may be translated as follows:— "These are the metes and bounds of the parish of the parochial church of Villa Castri in Foorthynolan. It extends in the first place from the *Vadum lapidosum* (stony-ford) southwards¹ by a stream of water or a low wall to the *Vadum anserum* (ford of the geese), and thence further to the south by a watercourse commonly called Glassecorp (the stream of the corpses) to the *Vadum mulsi* (mulse-ford), and thence by the same watercourse to Baleynscuyhery, and thence by a wall to Clochayn Acayth, near Roseaath, and thence by the road leading to Thulachfelme (*Tulach Uí Fedhlimidh*, now Tullow) to Classuhikolge, and thence again southwards to the valley of Crosbride, having on the east the water of Lochmartan to Droyhcundre, and thence to the well (or pool, *puteum*), called Poolcaam above [or on, *super*] the river Slaney, and thence by the course of the river Slaney to Thulach (Tullow), and thence close by the same river to Carrykccuyn, and thence on the northern side by a stream to Capsesalach, and thence by a ditch again to the aforesaid *Vadum lapidosum*."

It is plain that the parochial church of Villa Castri is the church of Rathsilan of the Charters; and though it would require more-minute local knowledge than I possess to follow exactly all the boundaries mentioned, I discovered enough in my brief visit to the place to satisfy myself that in all probability the boundaries follow pretty closely the boundaries of that portion of the parish of Fennagh which lies near Tullow. Thus, Roseaath is now Roseat, a townland in the parish of Ardristan, adjoining the parish of Fennagh, and coming up to Castlemore cross-roads, which must be the place on the road to Tullow called Classuhikelge. Here the present parish boundary turns again to the south, as in the document; and when I asked was there any pond or lake about there, I was told there was a small pond close by, in a hollow to the east, called "Lough Martin." It is marked on the map, though not there named. This is really an extraordinary instance of the persistence of a quite unimportant place-name.² Then, according to the document, the boundary joins the Slaney near a well called Poolcaam. This would seem to be near the place called Ellen Grove, and might, perhaps, be identified.

[I leave the foregoing passage as I first wrote it; but I have since paid a second visit to Castlemore (14th July, 1906), and on inquiring at

¹ The Editor here prints *in austro*, but *in austrum* must be intended.

² In the charters we find mention of Stephen and William de Danmartin; the latter at one time possessed Inchecronewal. Lough Martin may possibly preserve the name.

Ellen Grove, I was informed by the proprietor that there was a pool on the Slaney, called Poolcaum, "where the salmon lie," exactly where the present boundary between the parishes of Fennagh and Ardristan joins the river—in other words, exactly in the place where I had expected to find it. I then inspected the pool, and found it was caused, or at any rate increased, by an old weir a little below the spot. The river makes a sharp curve here, and the word Poolcaam may mean 'the winding pool' (*cam*), but it is pronounced Poolcaum, which is, I believe, the regular Munster, but not the usual Leinster, pronunciation. This is another interesting example of the persistence of unimportant local names.]

Thence the boundary followed the Slaney to Tullow, as at present, and further north by the river to Carrykeeuyn. I made no attempt at discovering this place, but I should look for a rock near the northern point of the present parish. Thus, on the southern and the eastern sides the boundaries of Villa Castri appear to coincide with the boundaries of the parish of Fennagh, and it is natural to conjecture that the same is true as regards the remaining side, which faces north-west. With this conjecture the fords mentioned seem to agree. Thus the *Vadum lapidosum* may have been the name of the ford where the road to Carlow crosses the little stream which joins the Aghalona river. At this point there is now a small bridge. The granite here crops up to the surface, and many boulders are to be seen lying about. The place might appropriately be named *Ath na gclocha* (*Vadum lapidosum*, or Stonyford), but I could not trace the name. The Aghalona river must have been known as Glassecorp, and the other two fords mentioned probably crossed it. *Clochayn Acayth juxta Roseaath* would be where the present boundary joins the road leading from Leighlinbridge to Tullow. This place has the townland of Roscat (*sic*) to the south. It is low and very marshy, and I take the name Clochayn Acayth to represent *Clochán á Catha*, 'the stepping-stones of the battle.' This name and Roseaath, 'battle-wood,'¹ and Glassecorp, 'stream of the corpses,' all seem to point to some great battle. Indeed, the district indicated is barely two miles from the church of Kellistown, identified by O'Donovan with Cill Osnadhaigh, a place which has given its name to more than one great historic battle: one in A.D. 489, which, I think, marks the beginning of the supremacy of North Leinster over Ui Ceinnsealaigh—a supremacy which lasted for over six centuries; and another in 1167, between Tighernan O'Rourke and Dermot Mac Murrough, a couple of years before FitzStephen came to the assistance of the latter.

The great interest of this minute identification of the carucate of land granted to the Canons of St. Thomas, and of the parish of the parochial

¹ Dr. Joyce indeed, relying I think, on the present spelling of the name, gives Roscat, 'the wood of the cats'; but we should rather expect *Ros-na-geat* or Rosgat, and in any case the spelling in the Charter seems to point to *Cath*, 'a battle.'

church of Foorthynolan, is that it seems to point to the further identification of the site of Raymond's Castle, called the *Castrum apud Fotheret Onolan* by Gerald de Barri, and the *Castellum de Radsilan* by the charters, with Castlemore mote.

The name Rathsilan itself points to a Celtic rath, perhaps to one surrounding the church. The church of Rathsilan must have been close to its graveyard, which we have identified beyond the possibility of doubt with that now marked Leamaneh,¹ which lies about 200 yards distance from the mote. This church, to which the carucate of land now called Cannonsquarter was assigned on its first foundation, was built (or, more probably, rebuilt on an earlier church-site) by Raymond le Gros, and was endowed on the day of its dedication, apparently after Raymond's death, with Inchechronewal (now Inchisland, or Motalusha), and was given by Raymond and Basilia to the Canons of St. Thomas, along with the aforesaid carucate and all the ecclesiastical benefices of the neighbouring lands. Raymond and Basilia call it "the Church of St. Mary and St. David of our castle of the *theud* of Rathsilan." We might, therefore, reasonably infer that the castle was quite close to the church, and the mote is the only existing earthwork in the neighbourhood. The parish of this church is evidently that afterwards called the parish of Villa Castri, now the (detached) parish of Fennagh, of which the townland of Castlemore forms the greater part, and virtually preserves the name. The compilation of the Register is assigned by the editor to the latter part of the thirteenth century. Therefore, the castle from which the townland derived its name was clearly in existence long before the Eustaces lived here and built a castle²—perhaps near the present Castlemore House—and was at first known as the Castle of Rathsilan, and afterwards as the Castle of Fothered.

But we can, I think, go farther, and positively identify the castle-site with the mote of Castlemore. To substantiate this assertion, we must first fix the meaning of the word *fovea* in the first charter above quoted. This word *fovea* is etymologically connected with the root *fod*, found in *fodio*, 'I dig,' *fossa*, *fossatum*, &c. In classical Latin it is used for "a deep pit dug in the ground to catch wild beasts in"; but in mediæval Latin it seems to have been technically used to denote the ditch, or the earthworks generally, which surrounded the mediæval castle. Migne's "Lexicon Infirmæ Latinitatis" gives *fossa* as one of the equivalents of *fovea*. Gerald de Barri uses the word when describing

¹ The name Leamaneh (*Leim an eih*, or Horseleap) probably is properly applied to the *magna petra* adjoining the graveyard, from the top of which we may suppose some real or imaginary leap on horseback was made.

² Their property in this district seems to have originated with the suppression of the Cistercian Monastery of Valle Salutis or Baltinglas, when most of its possessions, with the title of Viscount Baltinglas, were granted to Thomas Eustace, baron of Kilcullen. "Chart. of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin," vol. ii., p. 221. As we have seen, Grangeford belonged to this house from the twelfth century.

a fortress or fastness, which Dermot, aided by Fitz Stephen, made somewhere in a woody district, near the mountains, and not far from Ferns. Here he is described as plashing the woods, and "breaking up the surface of the ground by digging deep pits and ditches" (*puteis altis foreisque profundis campos exasperans*).¹ A still more conclusive instance of the technical use of the word as denoting the defensive earthworks of a castellum may be found in an inspeximus and confirmation (dated the 6th June, 1290) of a charter by Henry II. to the burgesses of Maudon, by which (*inter alia*) he granted them quittance "*de operationibus castellorum et forearum*."² Evidently these were feudal burdens that usually fell on the burgesses of the burgh that grew up around the mediæval castellum. It seems to me, then, quite certain that "the *fovea* which the said Raymond perambulated" refers to the defensive ditch of his castellum, which Raymond publicly indicated as the boundary between his demesne and the carucate given to the church. If the Ordnance Survey 6-inch map of the townlands of Castlemore and Cannonsquarter be examined, it will be seen that the south-west boundary of Cannonsquarter starts from the *magna petra* to the east of Leamanah graveyard, and following the road to the north (between Tullow and Carlow, which here surely follows the ancient track?), leads in about 200 yards straight to the edge of the ditch of Castlemore mote, just as the boundary of the carucate, starting from the same rock, and following the road on the north of the graveyard, leads to the *fovea*. It has never been my good fortune to "identify the parcels" in a deed upwards of 700 years old more precisely.

From other charters in the Register we can infer that Raymond granted some of his lands at Forth O'Nolan to his sister, Mabilla, wife of Nicholas de Cantitune, and to his nephews, Raymond and Robert de Cantitune. Charter cxxxii. is a grant by Mabilla to the Canons of St. Thomas of the ecclesiastical rights of *Strupho in tenemento de Fothered*, now represented by Straboe, a parish in the barony of Rathvilly. Raymond de Cantitune dealt similarly with the ecclesiastical benefices and a carucate of land of one knight's fee which he held of his uncle Raymond (le Gros) in Odrone (cxxxiii.); and Robert de Cantitune confirms a gift by Gilbert Longus of the church of 'Barrach' (now Barragh, a parish in the barony of Forth), and half a carucate of land (cxxi., cxxii.). By an important inquisition, dated May 6, 1290, it was found that Raymond le Gros enfeoffed Griffin Fitzwilliam, his brother, of Fynnore and Kells in Fothered for the service of two knights and suit of his court at the castle of Fothered. The inquisition then goes on to tell how after Griffin's death, Gilbert, his son and heir, succeeded, and left a daughter, Clarice, half a year old at her father's death; how Gilbert's

¹ "Expug. Hib.," p. 237. I give Mr. F. P. Barnard's translation.

² "Cal. Charter Rolls," vol. ii. (1259-1300).

brothers, Matthew and Raymond, entered the lands and held them adversely to Clarice; and how Clarice eventually recovered them at the price of giving up two-thirds to William de Dene and Richard de la Rochelle, the representatives of the justiciary, John Fitz Geoffrey.¹ Clarice married John, son of Dermot Mac Gillamochoilmog, also known by the more euphonious name of John de Lascelles, and had by him a son named John FitzJohn. This John gave up his remaining third of the lands to William de Dene, who was afterwards amongst those killed at the Battle of Callan in 1261.

Of these lands Kells is, no doubt, now represented by Kellistown. Fynmore is probably the place called 'Finnur' in the Earl of Norfolk's accounts for the year 1283. "Kenlis in Fotheret, with its chapels, the chapel of Fenouer and town of Mothel in (the diocese of) Leighlin," were granted by Matthew Fitz Griffin to the monastery of Kells in Ossory.² Mothel is now, perhaps, Moyle, the name of two townlands in Kellistown,³ and Fenouer was probably not far off. The name was possibly changed to Gilbertstown, which adjoins Kellistown, and may have got its name from Gilbert Fitz Griffin, Clarice's father. The charters also mention the land of Baldwin de Carreu on the Slaney, and that of William le Noreis between the castles of Rathsilan and Tullow, both evidently tenants of Raymond le Gros.

Separated by the Slaney from Raymond's lands at Fotheret were lands of Theobald Walter, brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom possibly the castle of Tullow belonged. Some of his tenants were also benefactors of the Abbey of St. Thomas, viz.: William de Bure, who held two knights' fees about 'Arthdoin in Ofelemetht,'⁴ now represented by the parish of Ardoyne, south of Tullowphelim, and Roger of Leicester, who held lands about Rathmore, a parish in the barony of Rathvilly, and at 'Kilmacatin,' now probably Kilmacart, near Hacketstown in the same barony.⁵

Raymond's lordship of Fotheret appears to have reverted on his death (subject to Basilia's interest as his widow) to Strongbow's representative. Certainly when next mentioned we find it in the hands of the Mareschals.⁶ In the partition of Leinster, soon after the deaths of Walter and Anselm Mareschal in 1245, Fotheret, valued at £53 5s. 2d., was included in the share of Matilda Mareschal;⁷ and in 1249 the manor of Fotheret was

¹ C. D. I., vol. iii., p. 294; cf. vol. ii., No. 458; and *Journal*, R. S. A. I., 1893, pp. 184-6.

² *Journal*, R. S. A. I., 1893, p. 185.

³ Ir. *maethail*, 'soft or spongy land': Joyce, *Names*, vol. i., p. 465. Moyle appears 'Mihil' in the old map of Udrona, circa 1570, and 'Moyhill' in the Stuart Inquisitions. The 'Moy,' if pronounced as the French *moi*, is not far removed from the sound in the first syllable of the Irish word, on which the stress is laid. It is the French origin of the spelling which, I think, accounts for the common transformation of Ir. *Magh* into *Moy*.

⁴ Register, St. Thomas, cxix.

⁵ *Ibid.*, cxxv., cxxvi.

⁶ A further proof, if such is needed, that Raymond left no issue.

⁷ "Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin," vol. ii., p. 403. C. D. I., vol. ii., No. 933.

assigned as (part) dower to Margaret, Countess of Lincoln, widow of Walter Mareschal.¹ Matilda Mareschal married Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. Her second son, Hugh Bigod, was father of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, the accounts of whose Irish estates are extant. That for the year 1283 has been edited by Mr. James Mills,² and contains allusions to the castle and to the burgh of Fothered. "The site of the town," says Mr. Mills, "is uncertain." The foregoing identifications will, I trust, help to locate it. It must have been near the castle. The charter No. cxxxviii., already referred to, shows where seven of the burgages were in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Next to the town of Carlow it was the principal burgh of the district. There were in it "eighty burgesses, paying a rent of 1s. each, and 29 cottages paying together 13s. 11d. and 14 geese; a smith's workshop paid 4 horse-shoes." That this town should have entirely disappeared need not surprise us, as the whole district was in the possession of the Irish during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There were 110 burgages at Carrick-on-Slaney in the time of Aylmer de Valence; and these have all long since disappeared with the castle.

Castlemore mote is described by O'Donovan as "planted on the sides with fir-trees, level on the top, of an oval form, from east to west 90 links, from north to south 66 links. Near the east side stands a stone 5½ feet in height, 1½ broad, 1 foot thick, with a cross cut on the east side of the stone of about an inch in depth, nearly the whole length of the stone. [This stone was] taken from the adjoining field in which it originally stood—near the castle, of which there are now no remains—and put up in its present place by one of Major Eustace's relations about seventy years ago."³ I may add that the mote is about 30 feet high, and has a large fosse round it; but I detected no sign of an outer rampart. The cross on the stone described by O'Donovan is cut in relief. In shape it is a plain Latin cross with a smaller transverse bar (a *suppeditaneum*?) near the other end. I was under the impression when I saw it that it was intended to lie flat over a tomb. It may have originally come from the church of Rathsilan. A modern fence forms a tangent to the fosse of the mote on the north-west, and just beyond this is a nearly square, slightly raised platform with signs of a ditch on all sides and indications of masonry. I estimated the side of the square at about 180 feet. O'Donovan says that "about five chains north of Castlemore moat is the site of an old castle which belonged to the Eustace family. None of it remains. This castle must have given name to the townland."

I do not think that the platform I have described is the site to which

¹ C. D. I., vol. i., No. 2989.

² *Journal*, R. S. A. I., 1892, p. 50. I have had no opportunity of examining the rest of these accounts, to see if they throw any light on the situation of the Earl of Norfolk's castle.

³ Ord. Survey Letters, Carlow. Fennagh Parish (detached), townland of Castlemore. (MS., R. I. A.)

O'Donovan refers. It is more nearly west than north of the mote, and it comes up quite close to the fosse. At any rate the district was called Villa Castri centuries before it was connected with the Eustaces, and the natural inference from the foregoing is, I think, that the raised platform dates from the time of Raymond le Gros, and formed the bawn or bailey of his castle. About 400 yards a little north of east of Castlemore mote is a low mound of earth and granite stones, about 10 feet high and 75 yards in circumference, without any sign of fosse or rampart. I was told that cut stones had been taken out of it, and I saw some large granite blocks roughly hammer-dressed. I think this must be the castle-site to which O'Donovan alludes; but whether he had any authority for ascribing it to the Eustaces I do not know. As a conjecture, I should think it more probable that this was the site of the castle of the Bigods, erected in the latter half of the twelfth century for their manor of Fotheret, when Raymond's mote-and-bailey castle was obsolete.

In a paper recently contributed to the English Historical Review on "Mote and Bretesche Building in Ireland,"¹ I endeavoured to show that the name 'Brittas,' which constitutes or forms part of thirty-seven townlands in Ireland, represents the old French *bretesche*, and that these townlands probably got their name from the bretesches or wooden castles erected by early Anglo-Norman settlers within their original bounds. Also that the name 'mote' or 'moat,' which enters into the names of at least forty-eight townlands, was derived from the old French *motte*, and was at first only applied to such mounds as were either erected or (if previously erected) utilized by these settlers in connexion with their bretesches. For the full statement of my position and for the evidence on which it is based, I must refer my readers to the above-mentioned paper. I refer to it here because, in coming to the conclusion that Castlemore mote was the site of Raymond's Castle of Fotheret, I have of course been not uninfluenced by the evidence tending to show that the 'mote-and-bailey' type of castle was that generally adopted by the first Anglo-Norman invaders of Ireland.² With reference to Raymond le Gros in particular it should be noted that at Glascarrig, which, together with 'Fothord' and 'Odrone,' was given to him by Strongbow,³

¹ *English Hist. Review*, July, 1906.

² My position with regard to this theory, originally stated by Mr. Round and Mrs. Armitage mainly in reference to the Normans in England, is, perhaps, reconcilable with Mr. Westropp's contention that many of the high motes of Ireland were erected in pre-Norman times. If a Norman settler found an existing mound, whether sepulchral or otherwise, in a suitable position, he would shape it to his requirements rather than erect a new one. It would then for the first time acquire the name 'mote.' I hope, however, to treat the general question soon.

See *English Hist. Review*, vol. xix., p. 209, &c.; *Journal*, R.S.A.I., 1904, p. 313, and 1905, p. 402.

³

*E Glaskarrig ensemment
Sur la mer vers le orient.*

Song of Dermot, ll. 3068-9.

Raymond appears to have granted lands here to one of his Cantitune (Canteton, Condon) nephews (*Journal*, R. S. A. I., 1905, p. 166).

there is a fortified mote with an irregular enclosure following the shape of the level ground at its base. This mote is situated on a cliff close to the sea a little north of the site of the Priory. The cliff here juts out a little and is more precipitous than the neighbouring coast-line, owing to a remarkable green-coloured rock, which appears at this spot, and, no doubt, was the 'green rock' from which the name Glascarraig, *de viridi rupe*, was derived.

It is worth noting, too, that in the townland of Kellistown, close to the road leading from Tullow to Leighlin Bridge, there is a small mote. Raymond, as we have seen, granted Kenlis in Fothered to his brother Griffin, who may have had a bretesche here. Indeed the passage already quoted from Gerald de Barri¹ naturally reads as if the castle built for Griffin in 1181 was near Raymond's castle. But perhaps this is not necessarily so. Griffin FitzWilliam was probably the first grantee of Knocktopher in Kilkenny,² where there is an important mote 40 feet high. "There are no remains of the castle," says Lewis, "but the mount and the fosse are still entire." This may have been the site of the *castrum* built for Griffin.

While on the subject of motes as possible sites of early Norman fortresses in this district, I may mention that there is a mote, called Motabower, in the parish of Straboe, where, as we have seen, Mabilla de Cantitune, Raymond's sister, had lands; another, called Motalusha, in the townland of that name, which I have supposed to be the Inche-cronewal of the charters, land of William Danmartin. I did not visit either of these motes. There is also a mote in the townland of Castlegrace, parish of Ballon. This is a nearly round, very steep, flat-topped mote, 26 paces by 22 on the summit. It is on the crest of an undulation of ground. Neither fosse nor annexe is traceable. I could not hear of any other castle-site which could have given name to the townland. It is called 'Castlegrace mote.'

The initial falsity of the numerous pedigrees traced to Raymond le Gros, including that of the Grace family of Tullaroan and Courtstown, may, I think, be taken as established;³ and the probable descent of the family of le Gras, *Grassus*, or Grace, from a younger branch of the house of Blois has been shown by Mr. Langrishe.⁴ At any rate it is pretty plain that William le Gras, a friend and perhaps kinsman of William Mareschal the elder, is the first representative of the name that we can trace in Ireland; and this Castlegrace may indicate one of the numerous possessions of the family. While agreeing, however, with the writers referred to, that Raymond died without issue, I cannot endorse the statement that his nephew, William de Carew, or anybody

¹ *Supra*, p. 368, note.

² See Mr. Burtchaell's paper (*Journal*, R. S. A. I., 1893, p. 184).

³ See Miss Hickson's paper (*Journal*, R. S. A. I., 1896, p. 227).

⁴ *Journal*, R. S. A. I., 1900, p. 319.

else, *inherited* his lands. If I recollect my legal history aright, a gift at this time to a man and his heirs could not descend to his collateral relations, but in default of lineal heirs would revert to the grantor; and in the case of Fotheret O'Nolan, with which we are immediately concerned, we have, as already remarked, clear indications that the manor and seignorial rights reverted to the heir of the original grantor, *i.e.* to Isabella, daughter of Strongbow.

The main conclusion reached by this paper, as the result of an examination of contemporary documents and a personal inspection of the district, is, that Raymond's castle of Fodredunolan was situated at Castlemore mote, and was of the mote-and-bailey type. The bearing of this on the general theory recently put forward by Mrs. Armitage as to the nature of the first Anglo-Norman fortresses is obvious; but no one can be more aware than myself that much more remains to be done before that theory, as regards Ireland at least, can be considered firmly established. Many other districts must be examined from the point of view of both history and archæology with at least equal care and with (it is to be hoped) greater competence and fuller opportunity.¹

¹ Since this paper was written, Mrs. Armitage has published two most able and illuminating articles on the subject of "the Norman Origin of Irish Mottes" in *The Antiquary* for August and September, 1906.

STONE AXE FACTORIES NEAR CUSHENDALL.

BY W. J. KNOWLES, M.R.I.A., FELLOW.

[Read JULY 4, 1905.]

A PAPER on this subject was read before the British Association when it met in Belfast, in September, 1902, and a fair representation of the objects was then exhibited. The paper was published in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland," vol. xxxiii., p. 360. Further investigation since then has increased our knowledge of the subject, which is my excuse for bringing it before this society. Previously the manufacture of flint objects received most attention from archaeologists. Many sites where the manufacture of scrapers, arrowheads, and similar objects was carried on, were well known; and we were acquainted with all the tools and material used in their manufacture; but, though we had a good idea of the way in which the black axes were made and finished, no site of manufacture in the North of Ireland, as far as I know, had been thoroughly investigated. Such a site was known to exist in Rathlin Island; but I was never able to find anyone who had done more than bring away one or two select specimens. There was another site at Clough, near Ballymena, which I was engaged in investigating a few years ago, and I was able to locate the site and procure many of the hammerstones, broken axes, failures, flakes, and other objects; but the place had been brought into cultivation for a considerable period, and therefore the whole process of manufacture could not be seen, as it had often been observed in the flint sites among the sandhills, where all the objects were in place just as they had been left by the people who made them.

It was my investigation of the site near Clough which led to the discovery of the sites near Cushendall; for a dealer, seeing me buy the black flakes from Clough, soon brought me some from a farm in Tamnaharry in Glen Ballyemon. He was in the habit of lodging with the owner of this farm; but thinking I only wanted flakes, he therefore only brought me such. They were sufficient indication to me that I would find something else, and I therefore lost no time in visiting Tamnaharry. The place where the flakes were found was a field which had been brought into cultivation for the first time; and an inspection showed at once that it had been the site of an axe factory, as axes, both whole, broken, and partially made, hammerstones, flakes—some of which were worked into scrapers—were turned up by the tillage

operations. I made repeated visits, and each time required the aid of the farmer's cart to convey my collection of manufactured objects to the railway station. I now extended my survey over the whole valley, and found several other sites, some of which had been under cultivation for a considerable time, but the objects all remained, except in the case of large specimens which had been removed with other large stones to the ditches at the sides of the field, or, as some of the farmers told me, put 'into drains. In a short time the farmers and their sons knew the kind of objects which I wanted, and as they came on them in the course of their field labour collected them for me, so that every time I visited the place I obtained large quantities, and the cart to convey them to the station was a constant requirement.

I did not make a confidant at first of any neighbouring archæologist; but my constant going and returning, accompanied in the evening by heavy packages, soon drew attention and caused inquiry among local antiquaries, and raised suspicion in their minds that I was doing something that ought to be inquired into. They eventually became acquainted with the sites, but not till after I had successfully explored them.

My wife was a very faithful companion in all my journeys; and, after we had explored the valley, we went outside the area of cultivated ground, and one day in walking up the side of Tievebulliagh, a peak 1340 feet high and very noticeable from Cushendall, we came on sites near the top, from which the covering of peat had been removed by frost and rain, and here we saw everything as it was left by the manufacturers. In Tamnaharry, though the objects were all there, they had to be turned over by the plough and harrow in order that we might find them. We did not see them as they originally lay on the ground; but here on Tievebulliagh everything was visible and in its original position. An object-lesson in the process of axe-manufacture was there displayed before our eyes—the hammerstones, halved, and quartered hammerstones that had been used again, axes, partially-made axes, broken axes, failures, worked flakes, and thousands of ordinary flakes were all lying in the positions where they had been dropped thousands of years ago by the Stone-Age folk. The east side of Tievebulliagh, which is almost perpendicular, shows many remains of a very extensive working, as there is a large talus at the foot of that steep side full of the remains of manufacture. The country people call it the quarry, and go occasionally with picks and turn it over in the hope of finding implements. Tievebulliagh would seem to have been the great centre of the industry which spread down into the valley. If the sward is cut near the foot of the mountain, we frequently come on places where axe-making had been carried on; but digging is prohibited by the owner on account of the injury it would do to the grazing land. Flint objects were occasionally found, chiefly scrapers or an occasional arrowhead, and one or two axes and pick-like objects; but articles of that material were scarce as compared with those of dark metamorphic rock.

The principal rock used by the manufacturers was a very close-grained bluish-black metamorphic rock, the conchoidal fracture of which was as well marked as it is in flint. This rock is not found *in situ*, but appears through the valley as boulders, and shows striæ on the surface.¹ The various sites of manufacture were, I believe, determined by the places in which these boulders were dropped, as the people appear to me to have sat down round these stones, and manufactured them into axes, rather than carry the heavy boulders to any particular place. There are other rocks of a coarser grain which have been used in making axes. Such coarse rocks do not chip well and freely, and axes made of them are thicker than those which are made of the finer kind of rock. The way such coarse-grained rocks were reduced to shape appears to have been by pounding or hammering them all over, so as to reduce the projecting portions to powder, and when thus brought nearly to the desired shape they were finished by grinding. I read a paper on *Stone Axes* before this Society in 1893 (vol. xxiii., p. 140), and in classifying them I had one kind which I called "stout ovate." I could not at the time account for the stoutness nor for the better finish which as a rule they presented; but now I know that they were all made of coarse-grained stone which did not yield well to chipping, but which could be shaped by hammering the surface. Possibly this rock may be only a variety of the finer kind, as I have observed specimens of the fine rock graduating into that which has large crystals, and consequently coarser in grain. I show one of these hammered axes in fig. 3 (p. 388). It had been nearly completed when an unlucky blow severed it. It was discovered by my wife. One day on top of Tievebulliagh she brought me a stone, saying, "Here is a hammerstone." I looked at it and told her it was part of an axe, and said playfully, "Go and find the other half," though I did not expect her to find it; but shortly afterwards she returned with the other portion. Halves that match are very rare, which I account for by the people making the longer portions of the broken axes into short or swage axes. Swage axes are frequently manufactured directly from the rock, as we find them with the butt often showing the original weathered surface. This kind of axe is abundant and must have been hafted with a withe handle. It was no doubt placed with its edge on the part to be cut and struck on the butt by a hammer or mallet. I show an example from Tievebulliagh in fig. 4 (p. 388). The butt in this specimen shows the natural weathered surface of the rock.

The sites do not show any signs of kitchen-middens like those

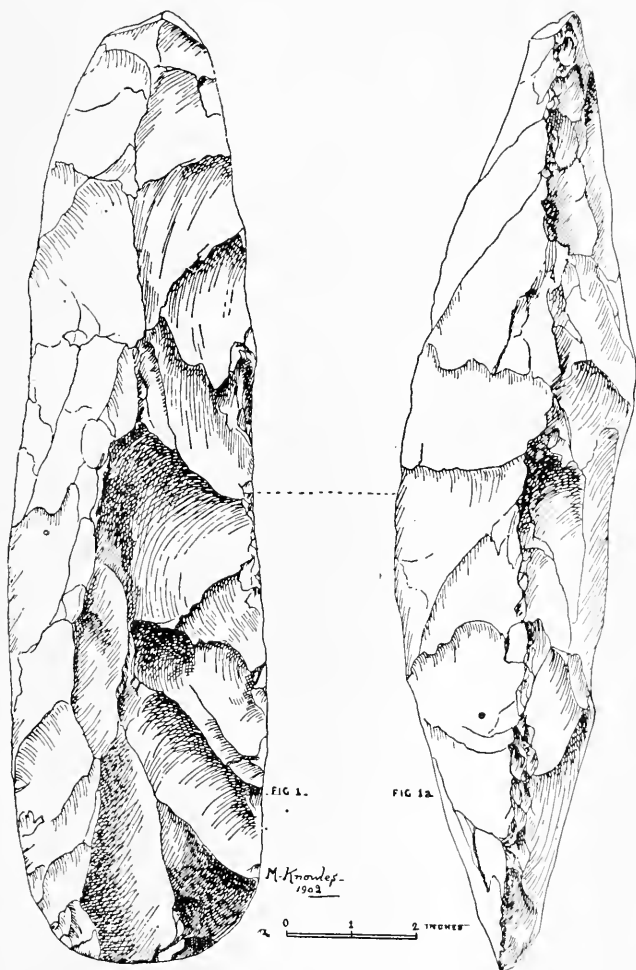
¹ Professor Cole kindly examined a specimen of this close-grained rock for me. He takes it to be "an altered fine-grained diorite (an aphanite) which has been penetrated late in its history by a vast number of minute chalcidonic veinules. The amphibole or pyroxene is now represented by iron oxide only, and the infiltrated chalcedony gives the flinty character in which the ancients delighted."

which we find in the sandhills associated with the manufacture of flint implements, and therefore we cannot speak with the same confidence of the kind of food which the people used. Possibly they did not dwell regularly round the places where we find signs of manufacture. Many of the sites are now completely exhausted. An antiquary, meeting me in Ballymena recently, in referring to the site in Tamnaharry—the first one I mentioned—said, pointing to the roadway, “You might as well look for antiquities in that street as in McCurry’s field now.” At the meeting of the British Association in Belfast in 1902, I estimated that I had obtained 800 axes, but many more have been collected since from the different sites; and now that nearly all has been collected, and the most valuable and instructive objects have come into my own possession, I can give a better summary of the find than I was able to do in 1902. The quantity has been nearly trebled since then. I have recently numbered all the objects and classified them under the following heads.

AXES UNGROUND.

I have 1812 whole axes in the unground condition—that is, chipped only; also 273 broken specimens. The broken axes are about equally divided between butt and edge ends, yet no two parts match. These bring the total of the chipped axes up to 2085. The axes are of various sizes; the largest is $14\frac{3}{4}$ inches long and weighs $8\frac{3}{4}$ lb., and is I believe the most massive axe in the British Islands. Mr. Worthington Smith, in his well-known book, *Man, the Primeval Savage*, says (p. 10) that the most massive human-made stone implement of which he has any record is now in the Government Central Museum at Madras. It is made of quartzite, measures $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and weighs 6 lb. 4 ounces; but my Irish specimen weighs $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. more than the Madras implement. Yet this is not the heaviest stone axe I have come across, as I have one from Fly River, New Guinea, 17 inches long, weighing over 13 lb. My Irish specimen just described was found by a man in Cloughs, a short distance from Tievebulliagh, when sinking the floor of a byre. It had been used as a wedge for a cow’s stake. It is shown front and side view in fig. 1, 1a. The second largest axe from these sites is 14 inches long, and weighs 7 lb. This specimen and one slightly smaller were found together in the townland of Knockans, near the foot of Lurigidan, sticking with their edges in the ground, “just,” the finder remarked, “as if they had dropped from the sky.” I imagine the proper explanation is that the original finder had stuck them in the ground, intending to return for them at another time, but had failed to do so. A third axe measures $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $4\frac{3}{4}$ broad, and weighs 5 lb. 14 ounces. This specimen was also found in the floor of a byre that was being sunk to a lower depth. Some of the large axes were found under peat, and two were turned out of the wall of an old house that was being demolished. One was found

in a drain that was being cleared out, which would go to confirm the story told by the farmers that they had often put the large axes in drains. A specimen finely chipped and very thin was found on the top of Tievebullagh. It is made of the finer kind of rock. The axes

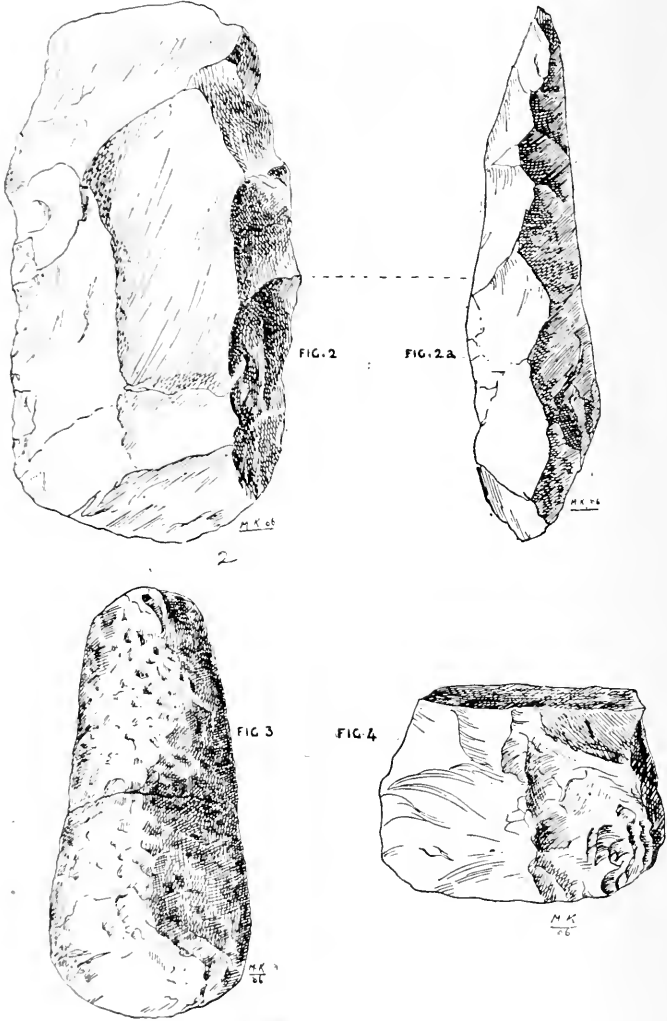


LARGE AXE, GLEN BALLYEMON, COUNTY ANTRIM.

mentioned are of the ovate kind, but there are many other varieties, as squared sides, expanding edges, swages, kitchen-midden axes, etc. Some large flakes are made into axe-like implements. The average axe is about 1 lb. in weight, but many are smaller and only weigh a few ounces.

BLOCKED-OUT AXES.

In addition to the axes enumerated there are a great many pieces of rock only partially worked. Some might look on these as failures; but in almost all cases, the rock appears to be good and workable, and there



RUDE AXES, GLEN BALLYEMON, COUNTY ANTRIM.

is no apparent reason why these pieces could not be further worked and made into good and serviceable axes. I look on them as axes in the process of manufacture, and have, therefore, selected from a larger

number 175 specimens, which are numbered 2086 to 2262 inclusive. I have one specimen which is just a natural boulder with striæ all over the surface. It has, however, two natural edges, one at each end, and there is a small portion dressed by the usual kind of chipping on one of its sides. Only for this, and being found with other manufactured objects, no one would take any notice of it. But I think it may have been used as a kind of tomahawk. A withe handle round the centre, leaving the two natural edges exposed, would make a better weapon than many of the Australian tomahawks. I show a specimen in figs. 2, 2*a*, which has been a large spall knocked off a larger block, and the first series of flakes have just been taken by alternate blows from either side. This, I believe, shows the first steps in making an axe; but it could not have been called a failure, as the rock of which it is composed is of the best kind, and shows itself workable. This specimen was, no doubt, intended to receive further chipping before grinding and polishing. It was, undoubtedly, an axe in the process of manufacture. Other specimens are often blocked out by a very irregular kind of chipping, and some are even left in a very unsymmetrical shape, often with the edges very thick, depending, as can be seen by examples among the axes partly ground, on all defects being set right by grinding.

PICKS.

There is next a series having heavy butts, with points at the opposite ends, some of which resemble palæolithic implements; some are rather cylindrical, or, perhaps, triangular in the body; others, again, more slender, and sometimes pointed at both ends. All are more or less allied, but the latter finer kind are those more usually called picks.

OVATE AND OVAL IMPLEMENTS.

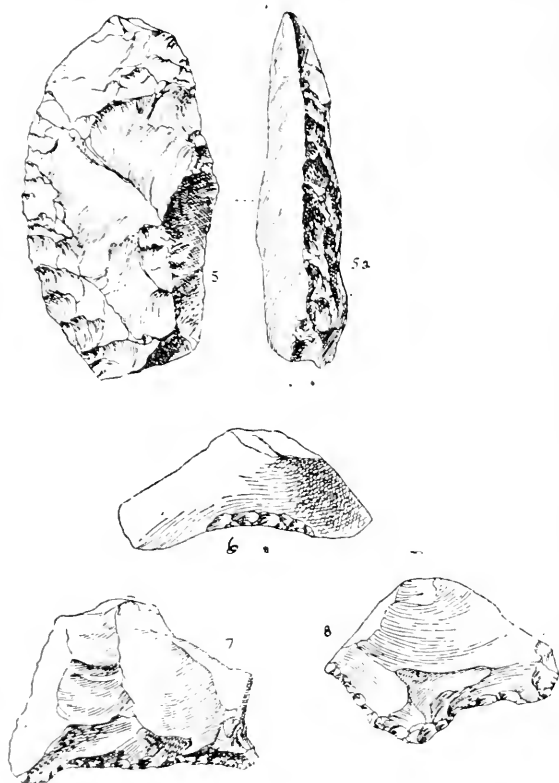
Nos. 2347 to 2372 inclusive show a series of implements rather oval in shape, with blunt ends. Some are very large and broad, the largest being $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and 5 inches broad. These are very like in shape and mode of manufacture to some palæolithic implements.

CHOPPERS AND SKINNERS.

With No. 2373 begins a small series in the nature of knives, choppers, or skinners, having heavy butts or backs, and sharp edges. They often show a considerable amount of dressing. These also show a resemblance to some palæolithic implements. One of these is shown front and side view in figs. 5, 5*a*. Along with these might be placed a dozen small implements numbered 2390 to 2401, which have a likeness to some small palæolithic implements from the North-West of France. We might also place under this head, so as not to have too many sub-divisions, some almost circular implements. Similar objects are found among palæolithic implements. Thus, in this early neolithic factory, we find many forms surviving from a former age.

HAMMERSTONES.

The majority of the hammerstones were made out of waste pieces of black rock. These show all shades of wear, from the hammerstone which has only struck a few blows to that which is almost as round as a ball. I have enumerated 184. They are of various sizes, from 1 inch to 3 or $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. Besides the black-stone hammerstones, there are many of quartzite, &c., some of which are split and quartered, and then



FIGS. 5, 5a.—CHOPPER, GLEN BALLYEMON, COUNTY ANTRIM.

FIGS. 6, 7, 8.—FLAKES OF BLACK ROCK, WITH DRESSING ON EDGES,
GLEN BALLYEMON, COUNTY ANTRIM.

used again. I have one large quartzite hammerstone, brought from the talus at foot of the eastern face of Tievebulliagh, which weighs $7\frac{3}{4}$ lb. From its glistening sides I should suppose that it was used in some sort of a sling of leather or hide, and swung round the shoulders when trying to dislodge large spalls or flakes from boulders for the purpose of making them into axes. The small hammerstones would be useful in the dressing of the smallest axes and chisels.

DRESSED FLAKES.

There are 217 dressed flakes, some of which are pointed, longish flakes, which may have been used as points of spears or as knives. Others are end-scrapers like those made of flint, while many are broad-edged or side-scrapers. I show, in figs. 6, 7, and 8, three flakes which will give a good idea of the shape of flakes generally, besides showing how they are frequently dressed on the edges.

ORDINARY FLAKES.

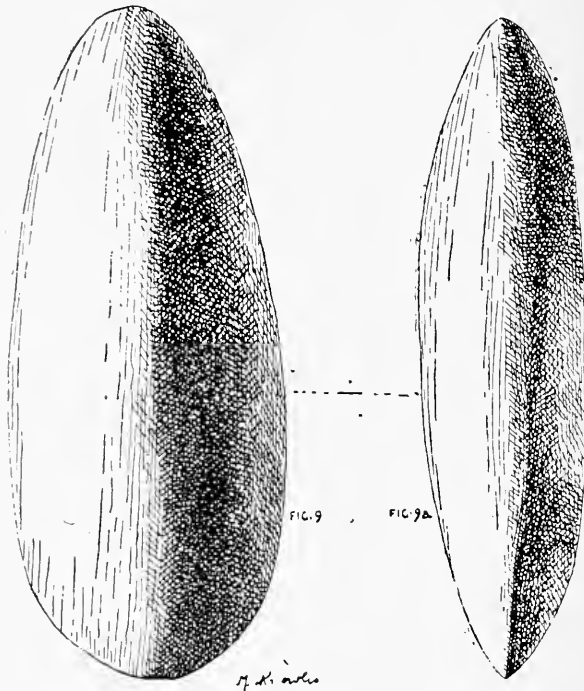
Ordinary flakes are in such quantities that, except for evidence of workmanship, we put little value on them. They differ from flint-flakes in that they are the waste product, the nucleus from which they are struck being the object desired; while in flint the flake is the article sought after, and the core or nucleus is the waste piece. Although there is no evidence, as far as I can see, of the ancient people trying to procure flakes of the black stone for the sake of flakes alone, yet some fairly good long flakes have been found. I have one good specimen $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. I do not know of any Irish flint-flakes having reached this length. As a rule, the flakes are broad and often winged, but, though waste material, they were mostly suitable for making into cutting implements and scrapers, and many show signs of partial use as knives or scraping tools. They have the same forms as those struck off in making palæolithic implements; hence the worked flakes of Tievebulliagh factory are like the "raclairs" and "pointes" of the Moustier period in France and elsewhere. Some of the flakes or spalls showing good bulbs of percussion, weigh several pounds; and as the rock is a tough one, it shows that great force must have been employed to dislodge such large flakes. Some large blocks of stone from which repeated spalls have been dislodged can still be seen in the valley, and on my first visits I saw on Tievebulliagh several large blocks firmly embedded in boulder-clay, the projecting portions of which the ancient people had chipped. I should have been glad that these could have remained *in situ* as instructive examples; but explorers who came after me thought it better to dig them up. I find the number of ordinary flakes that I have brought away from time to time exceed 1000. They are all instructive examples.

GROUND AXES.

In addition to the purely chipped axes, I have 240 specimens that are partly ground and polished, making the total number of stone axes in my own possession from the sites in Glen Ballyemon and Tievebulliagh over 2500. Some of the ground specimens are very rough, and show that the axe, before grinding was commenced, was very rudely blocked out. Yet we can see from some of the specimens how grinding makes the defects to disappear. Previously collectors were so accustomed to

get only nicely chipped-out and well-formed axes, that it was hard for them to realise that some of the rudely blocked-out specimens could be intended for axes at all.

The degrees of finish are widely different. Some have a good edge, and entirely unfinished stem or body, while others are finely finished. I got one fine, large axe which has been polished all over, till not a trace of chipping is visible. It was made of the coarse rock, and had been hammered into shape before being ground. It is $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, 5 inches broad, and weighs 6 lb. $13\frac{1}{2}$ ounces. One side retains the polish, but



POLISHED AXE, GLEN BALLYEMON, COUNTY ANTRIM.

the other is pitted from weathering. See fig. 9, 9a. We see the grinding in all stages: in some cases only begun; in others the axe shows a good many facets; and in others the grinding seems complete, though the axe is still not very shapely. On the whole, we see by this collection a view of the manufacture of axes which was missed when we depended on ragmen and pedlars bringing us only selected specimens.

No grinding-stones have been found such as are met with along the valley of the Bann; but the old red sandstone is found *in situ* in the lower part of the valley, and probably the axes were ground on any piece

of exposed rock. Some well-marked grinding-stone may some day be turned up showing grooves of grinding. I have turned the attention of the farmers to the matter; but as yet no special grinding-stones for axes have been observed by them.

GENERAL REMARKS.

The total number of worked objects amounts to 3137, and I have over 1000 flakes which have not yet been numbered. These bring up the number of objects collected from the various sites to well over 4000. When we consider that many persons living in the neighbourhood had antiquarian tastes, and that two antiquaries lived for years in the district, it is surprising that this great find was not sooner discovered. One would have thought that the geological surveyors would have detected it; but there is no mention of it in the memoir on the district. Some antiquaries have expressed to me their astonishment that they themselves had never observed any signs of the ancient manufacture that had existed in the valley. The industry extends into some of the neighbouring valleys, but on a less extensive scale. Occasional small finds occur along the mountains as far as Ballycastle, thus connecting the Tievebulliagh industry with Rathlin. Inland, too, as far as Ballymena and the Bann Valley, characteristic rough axes and sometimes small sites are found.

The kind of rock used in the manufacture of axes in inland sites seems to be very similar to that employed in Tievebulliagh and Glen Ballyemon—that is, metamorphic rock of some kind. One would expect that basalt would have been largely employed in axe-manufacture; but judging from outward inspection of the axes in my possession, there are very few that I would even place in a doubtful list as being possibly basalt. In the Tievebulliagh find I obtained one or two axes of quartzite, and one of quartz crystal.

The number of axes bearing traces of grinding is small compared with that of axes merely chipped. And even those ground specimens are of a very poor quality. Yet that some were highly finished is evident from the large specimen figured as No. 9, 9*a*, and from several broken examples. It is, therefore, probable that the best axes when finished were traded to different parts of the country.

Regarding the age of these stone objects, I would judge from their position below the peat that they were early neolithic.

The figures are all shown one-third linear size.

A FEW WORDS ABOUT FORGERIES.

After the sites were nearly exhausted of axes, the number of searchers increased greatly. The kindly, good-natured people, who had at first refused any remuneration for anything they found, were now tempted with good prices if they could produce specimens; but as these could not

be supplied in the numbers required, at first some cunning boys in the district, and later, men of mature age, tried their skill at shaping stones into axes. It was not hard to do, for if the newly-made axes were rude, were not the old ones rude also? If dipped into soft clay, they looked as if they were old ones just dug up. This was exactly the way that very extensive forging began. The first spurious articles offered were not detected; so more were produced, and as the work proceeded makers became more skilful, and when a collector came round there was, perhaps, nothing in the house when he called as he went up towards the mountain, but he was, perhaps, invited to call on his way back. Then some axes would be produced, with the remark, "Here are a few that we have just lately dug out of a drain." They were, no doubt, all forgeries covered with the characteristic red clay of the district.

A dealer came to me once with a few large specimens. I said I must have them washed before I could judge them. He took them away indignantly, and I did not expect to see him again, but he returned later in the day, saying he had washed them, but I observed he had given them a coat of some sort of varnish which showed plainly that he was doubtful of their genuineness himself, as good specimens had no need to be treated in that way. I told him they were forgeries, and refused to buy them. Then he left me in an angry mood, but returned later the same evening and said: "Now, you said they were forgeries, but I took them to Mr. ——, and he bought three of them" (the three biggest forgeries) "for 30s., and said they were the best he had yet seen." I took the earliest opportunity of informing the purchaser that he had been taken in. At first he was inclined to argue that they were genuine, as he did not like the idea of being considered wanting in discernment. Eventually he saw they were forgeries, and went to the dealer and threatened him with prosecution for selling him articles as genuine which had been refused by another antiquary as forgeries. The man boasted of the kind of defence he would make. "His eye was his merchant." "How was he to know forgeries from genuine articles if a skilled antiquary did not know?" "He bought them for genuine and so did Mr. ——." He found, however, that the evidence which could be produced would be against him, and then he changed the nature of his defence. "Mr. —— knew very well they must have been forgeries, as he did not give the price of genuine articles for them." If genuine, he would have asked twice or three times the price he got.

I stopped collecting at once, and a few others did the same. Eventually all the other collectors dropped off, and the trade in forgeries, as well as their manufacture, came to an end. It is necessary, however, to warn future collectors that many of the spurious articles are weathering in the valley, and in the hands of dealers who were themselves taken in. These will, no doubt, be offered for sale when the scare about forgeries quiets down.

A GERMAN VIEW OF IRELAND, 1720.

BY R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.

[Read NOVEMBER 27, 1906.]

THE following singular document is a translation of one chapter of a vellum-covered book of 936 pages, measuring 6 by 3½ inches, a copy of which I became possessed of some time ago. It is a collection of the wonders of the different countries of Europe; and there is no special reason to believe that it is a joke, as one or two of the statements made might lead the incautious reader to suspect. The full title is "Vermehrter Curieuser | Antiquarius, | Das ist : | Allerhand auserlesene | Geographische und Historische | Merkwürdigkeiten, | So in denen | Europäischen Ländern zu finden ; | Aus | Berühmter Männer Reisen zusammen | getragen und mit einem zweyfachen Register Ver- | -sehen, nunmehr zum fünfften mahl aufgeleget, und | mit neuen Sachen und anmerkungen durch- | -gehends vermehret und verbessert, von | P. L. Berckenmeyern. | Hamburg | Bey Benjamin (*sic*) Schillers seel. Wittve und Johann | Christoph Kissner, 1720."

The seventh chapter, occupying pp. 212-220, is that here translated. Herr Berckenmeyern does not tell us his authorities; but some of the statements will be familiar to readers of Giraldus. Whether that imaginative writer was directly laid under contribution or not, it is interesting to see what assertions about Ireland could be put forward in 1720, and apparently accepted without serious question—at least there must have been a considerable public for this work, seeing that the copy in my hands is of the fifth edition.

On the whole, Ireland was represented as, in many respects, such a desirable place of residence that it is, perhaps, fortunate that "foreigners are generally attacked by dysentery," which may have warned off most of Herr Berckenmeyern's readers from coming in their thousands to profit by the phenomenal pastures, the hair-dyeing springs, and the islands of immortality!

Wonders were dear to the simple heart of Herr Berckenmeyern. I turn over his pages and pick out these at random:—

In England "Menneh-Denni (!) is the highest mountain, and is always covered with cloud. If a man throws from the top his hat, cloak, or staff, the wind will bring it back, only allowing metal objects to fall."

In Germany "a mile and a half from Aurach (Württemberg) is a spring full of sulphur and alum, yet good and wholesome to drink. . . . If a leper should bathe in this spring, the water loses its colour until he goes away."

In Macedonia "there is a pair of brooks whose waters unite, but do not mix, and flow side by side: the one water is good to drink; the other is a deadly poison."

This may or may not be the case. The Irish reader can best judge after reading the chapter on his own country, which is as follows:—

Ireland (Latin, *Hibernia*) is called the land of *Iberis* or *Iris*. *Hibernia* comes from the word *Hiar*, which denotes *evening*, because it lies, from England, to the west. *Hybernia* comes from *hybernus*, and means *winterland*, because it is contrasted with England, and because it has a long winter and a short summer.

I.—OF LEINSTER.

1. DUBLIN (Latin, *Dublinum*) is the chief city of the entire kingdom, and one of the most populous cities in Europe: a fine business city, magnificently built, strong, protected by a castle, and adorned with fifteen churches. It is inhabited by English, and in it live the Viceroy and the whole of the nobility. There is also an Archbishop; and a University founded by Queen Elizabeth, which is the only one in the whole land. Of some towns in Ireland there is a proverb—"Wexfort is in embryo, Dublin is, and Dredach [Drogheda] will be."

2. The province MEDIA [Meath] in Leinster is regarded as the granary for the whole land.

II.—OF MOUNSTER.

1. CORCK (Latin, *Corcaria*), a very strong city, and a splendid harbour. In this town it is noteworthy that the citizens never marry their daughters to outsiders, but keep them in the city, and in their own circle of acquaintance.

In the year 1621, in October, an immense flock of starlings collected near the city of Corek, and their contention and quarrelling lasted for four to five days, after which they separated in two straight regiments, one towards east, the other towards west. At last both camps rose one Saturday morning about nine o'clock, almost in a moment, in the air, and fell on one another with so dreadful a rustling and tumult that the citizens' hair stood on end. Not long after that, people saw (in the city as well as on the surrounding country and over the water) a great number of them falling down. This fight of feathers lasted till evening, when each of the armies retired to its own camp. The meaning of this miraculous fight appeared in the year 1622, the 31st May, when a dreadful storm set the city on fire, first on the east, then on the west side, and reduced it to a miserable heap of ashes.

2. In the province of MOUNSTER are three remarkable islands—

On (1) no woman, and no animal of the female sex, can remain alive—a fact tested daily by strangers arriving at this place, with dogs, cats, &c., and found to be true.

On (2) no human being can die, whence it is called *Insula Vitae*, or *Angelorum*, the Island of the Living. For, although people become ill there, they do not die so long as they stay on the island.

No. (3) has the special peculiarity that all birds flying there lose their power of flight in such a manner that they fall from the air on to the ground; so that every year a large number of birds are taken thus on this island.

Here also is a spring from which it is quite impossible to draw, nor can its water be disturbed in the slightest degree: when that happens, there follows a tremendous rain, which floods the whole country.

III.—OF CONNAUGHT.

CONNAUGHT (Latin, *Connacia*) has, among all the provinces, the best land for crops and grazing in the whole kingdom. Here is a spring whose water turns hair grey; on the other hand, there is a well close by whose water turns grey hair brown and black.

Here, too, is a spring on the top of a high mountain, which daily fluctuates exactly with the ebb and flow of the sea.

IV.—OF ULSTER.

1. LONDONDERRY (Latin, *Londino-Deria*), a handsome strong city on an island, where none but Protestants live.

In the year 1639, King James II., in his flight, made almost the whole of Ireland submissive to him; and in order to secure himself there and defend himself against William and his party, he proceeded with his army before Londonderry. Single-handed it defended itself so desperately, that James was forced to retreat. For, in order that there should be no treachery among the officers, WALCKER, a preacher and schoolmaster, a man of learning, took the command.

2. ARMAH (Latin, *Armacha*), a fine town, has the chief Archbishop, who is Primate in Ireland: it has also a seat and vote in the Parliament of Ireland. Near this town is a lake, called NIACH, whose water and bottom has this unusual peculiarity, that if one sticks a pole into the bottom, through the water, that part of the pole which touches the ground after a few months is turned to iron; that part which is in the water turns to stone; and the rest, out of the water, remains wood.

3. In this province there is, in a lake, a little island called *INSULA DAMNATORUM*, on account of the large number of ghosts which there show themselves. There a hole is to be seen from which lamentations and sighs can always be heard; it is called Saint Patrick's Purgatory. The Irish make the following statement about it:—When Saint Patrick wished to convert the Irish, he prayed God that he might let them hear the lamentations of those who are in Purgatory, in order that they might thereby be induced to believe: from that hour onwards a perpetual lamentation and sighing has been heard out of this abyss. They believe that through this hole one can make one's way to Purgatory, and even to Hell.

Of the Nature of the Land.

Ireland is a country without vermin, as it is untroubled by snakes, adders, toads, spiders, &c.—indeed, this island is free even from frogs, so that if such creatures be brought to it from other places, they die immediately. This some ascribe to Joseph of Arimathæa, others to Saint Patrick: who, having with righteous zeal, by supernatural power, collected all the venomous creatures (which till then existed in Ireland in great numbers) into one place, chased them together to the mountain *Algæum*, near to the sea—which after that time was called the Mountain of Saint Patrick—and from there forced them into the sea.

Ireland has wood that does not rot, which makes it very useful for building. The Palace in London, and the *Rathaus* at the Hague, are made of Irish timber. It is never bored by worms, and abroad no spider ever hangs on it.

The air in Ireland is very wholesome, for most of the people die only at an advanced age. They never make use of a doctor in sickness.

Foreigners in Ireland are generally attacked by dysentery.

Cattle in Ireland remain in the field the whole year. The pasture is so exuberant that two hours in the whole day are enough for the shepherds to satisfy their flocks on the fields and pastures. It is said that, on account of the unnatural richness of the pasture, the cattle will eat themselves to death unless they are restrained.

Cows in Ireland give no milk unless their calves, or a figure resembling them, stand near them. All animals in Ireland are smaller than elsewhere, except the dogs.

Along the sea-coast a species of goose is found called *Macreuses*. These grow out of wood rotted in the sea. They at first appear only as little worms in the wood, and as time goes on assume the shape of a bird; then feathers grow on them, and at last they become the size of a goose.

In Ireland is a lake called *ERNUS*, about eight miles long and four miles broad, which was at first only a well or cattle-spring; but it happened that on account of the scandalous life of the shepherds living around, it flooded the whole neighbourhood and became this lake. So much is this so, that in clear weather the tops of certain towers can be seen under the water. Moreover, it is surrounded with wood, and so full of fish that the fishermen often break their nets with the multitude of fishes.

Of the Inhabitants.

The old Irish ate their deceased parents after their death; in battle they sucked out the blood of their slaughtered enemies, and smeared their faces with it. When a son was born of one of their women, the mother gave her new-born child the first food on the point of her husband's sword, and wished for him that he should not die otherwise

than in battle. They made wolves, dogs, lions, etc., the godparents of their children.

It is generally considered that the modern Irish are neither thoroughly good nor quite absolutely bad: but that when they are bad, it is impossible to be worse; and when godly, it is impossible to be better.¹

The Irish never marry outside of their cities. They become divorced, however, for quite trivial causes, whereupon the man seeks another wife, and the woman takes another husband.

The doctors follow one another by succession (father to son): in Ireland they find but little profit, because most of the Irish become very old and know but few diseases, generally dying of old age. Doctors, moreover, are but rarely called in by the sick.

When an Irishman is mortally wounded, even then he will run about, so dear is his life to him. They do not consider anyone as altogether dead unless his head be cut clean off.

When anyone is dead, mourning women are hired, who announce the death with howls and shrieks in the neighbouring villages; accompany the corpse, filling the air with great cries of sorrow: finally, they kiss and embrace the dead, and do not allow him to be buried except with a good deal of difficulty.

The Patron of Ireland is Saint Patrick,
The Patroness of Ireland is Saint Brigitta.

¹ A remark which irresistibly recalls the familiar couplet:—

“When she was good, she was very, very good;
And when she was bad, she was horrid!”

A CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS A CATALOGUE OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY ENGRAVINGS OF DUBLIN.

BY E. MACDOWEL COSGRAVE, M.D., F.R.C.P.

[Read NOVEMBER 27, 1906.]

PART I.

ON former occasions¹ I had the privilege of laying before the Society a "Contribution towards a Catalogue of Engravings of Dublin up to the end of the Eighteenth Century." To that period there was a gradual upward progression, culminating, in the last decade, in the appearance of Malton's twenty-five plates—by far the finest series of Dublin engravings that has appeared.

In carrying on the Catalogue through the nineteenth century, my task is neither as easy nor as straightforward; there is a smaller proportion of published plates, the increased output of printed matter led to an increase of book illustrations, and no longer were engraved and etched metal plates the only medium; but the century saw the rise and perfection of wood-engraving, of lithography, and of the still more mechanical half-tone photo blocks.

In dealing with the Engravings of Dublin which appeared in the nineteenth century, it is necessary to consider briefly the causes which led up to the very limited output of the first few years, and then why and how this lethargy passed away.

One cause of the small attention devoted to art was undoubtedly the disturbed condition of political affairs; but a more important cause was that the era of extravagance in Dublin had come to its inevitable close; private patrons had no cash and little credit, and the erection of public buildings had stopped, so that even the incentive of new subjects was absent.

There were, however, two forces at work—one centripetal, the other centrifugal—which led to the reappearance of large engravings. The first of these forces was that tourists were becoming more numerous, and the inevitable "book" recording their experiences and reflections often contained some views, and so called the attention of local writers to the possibilities of local illustration. The second force followed as a consequence; to meet the wants of the tourists illustrated guide-books came into being; at first their illustrations were few and poor, but they improved in number and quality, until in 1821 they reach a height never

¹ *Journal*, vol. xxxv., 1905, pp. 95, 363.

since surpassed. All this stimulated artists to execute larger and more important works.

The publication of Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh's *History of Dublin* (1818)—a ponderous work, mentally and physically, and one handicapped, when half in print and half unwritten, by the death of its two original authors—shows to what a low level art had fallen. Its illustrations are nearly all unacknowledged copies of Malton's views of twenty years before, no attempt being made to bring them up to date; the only new views being of such buildings as the General Post Office and St. George's Church, which had not been built in Malton's day. Either the plates were ignorantly printed, or a great many copies were taken from them; for whilst the impressions are strong and bright in a series of proofs in my possession, in many copies they are flat and dull.

The unwieldy form and badly digested contents of Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh, led to the appearance of smaller and more accurate books which combined the double function of "guides" and "histories," and these fortunately found illustrators as well as authors qualified and anxious to do justice to their subject.

The best of these smaller works is Wright's *Historical Guide to Ancient and Modern Dublin*, and it is illustrated by those charming copper etchings after drawings by George Petrie, which represent the high-water-mark of guide-book illustrations. The early proofs, printed on Japanese paper, of which I possess a set, are exquisite, the detail is so fine, and yet the balance of the subject is never lost. The same plates were used well into the "thirties," when they were so worn that only the heavier lines would print. Petrie's original drawings for these plates are in the Royal Irish Academy.

Petrie was a prolific worker, and also illustrated *Cromwell's Tour* (1821) and *Dublin Delineated* (1831).

Some of the large coloured views are cut down so that their date is lost; others are undated; but the largest number belong to the wave of increased interest in the city, of which 1820 was about the crest. This revived interest led also to the publication of copies of older works, generally without any acknowledgment of date or source, a slight shifting of the figures being the only attempt to hide the plagiarism. The invention of lithography, and the consequent cheapness of copying existing views, led to an immediate increase of this practice.

Later on wood-cuts took the place of etchings, their advantage being that they could be printed with the text, and not necessarily as separate plates. The coarse, badly executed and badly printed wood-cuts that took the place of beautiful etchings, show a terrible retrogression; but the advantage of ease of printing was too great to be abandoned, and wood-cuts rapidly improved. A change took place later in the century, when the superior cheapness and accuracy of photo-blocks led

to their introduction; at first they were poorly executed and badly printed, and showed a sad falling off from the excellent wood-cuts they replaced; but they, too, improved until they reached their present high standard.

Whether the three-colour process-blocks will do in colour what process-blocks have done in black and white is one of the problems which the twentieth century will answer.

Certain epochs led to an increased output of views:—George IV.'s visit in 1821, the invention of railways, and the Exhibition of 1853, may be cited as examples.

In the following list I have omitted all process-blocks and most magazine illustrations. The large number of undated pictures I have grouped as far as possible according to subject, artist, or publisher, as seemed the most convenient for reference when chronological order was impossible.

The list is, of course, very imperfect; but it may help a little when the time comes for a more perfect catalogue to be compiled.

1801. "*Lighthouse at the entrance of Dublin Harbour*" (4½ inches high; 7 inches wide).—"G. Holmes, delt.; J. Walker, sec. Published May 1st, 1801, by J. Walker, Paternoster-row, London."

1802. "*Ruins of Ormond Bridge*.—Crofton, del." Copied into Walker's Magazine, January, 1803.

1803. "*Installation Dinner*" (24 inches high; 32 inches wide).—"At the Installation of the most Illustrious Order of St. Patrick in St. Patrick's Hall within the Castle of Dublin, March 17th, 1783. Painted by the late J. K. Sherwin, Historical Engraver to His Majesty and to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and partly engraved by him and finished by others since his decease; Published 17th March, 1803, by Robert Wilkinson, No. 58, Cornhill, London. Printed by W. Bishop, Dean Strt., Fetter Lane." This shows St. Patrick's Hall on the occasion of the Installation Banquet; the knights, who are represented as rising to drink the King's health, are all portraits.

1806. *Dean Kirwan Preaching* (23½ inches high; 26½ inches wide). This fine mezzotint has the following inscription:—"Painted by Hugh Hamilton. Engraved by Will^m Ward, Engraver to his R. H. the Duke of York. To his Excellency Philip Earl of Hardwicke, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, Lord Lieutenant General & General Governor of Ireland. The distinguished friend of the Country over which he presides & the zealous patron of all its Charitable Institutions. This Plate is most respectfully inscribed by the Governors and Guardians of the Female Orphan House. Published Jan^y 1st, 1806 by W^m Allen Dublin, and Colnaghi & Co Cockspur Street, London."

My copy has this additional inscription engraved on a pasted-on slip—“The Governors and Guardians of the Female Orphan House, Dublin, intended by this print to express to the Rev^d Walter Blake Kirwan, Dean of Killala, their most grateful sense of the benefits derived from his unexampled labours as a Preacher for public charities of the City of Dublin in general, and to the Institution over which they preside in particular. What was meant to be a mark of sincere respect to the living they now publish as a just tribute to the memory of the dead.” There are several points of interest about this picture.

The inside of the church is represented as having a circular colonnade, behind which the congregation sit in tiers. In the centre of the open space is a circular pulpit, on the steps of which are eight children. The “Round Church” of St. Andrew naturally suggests itself, but its interior was quite unlike the picture; and the annual sermon for the orphans was never preached there. As a matter of fact, such a church as that depicted existed only in the mind of the painter, who had an objection to entering a church, and so had to rely on his imagination for an interior.

The children on the pulpit steps are said to be portraits of the La Touche family.

The picture formerly hung in the Female Orphan House for which it was painted, as is shown by the following receipt:—“Received from the Governors of the Female Orphan House the sum of One hundred and Eighty Guineas in full for Painting an Historical Portrait of the Rev. Dean Kirwan &c. &c., Dublin, 3^d November 1800. £204 15s. Hugh Hamilton.” Apparently it was lent to the Royal Dublin Society, and hung in Leinster House. The Registrar, Royal Dublin Society, sent it to the Exhibition of 1853. Subsequently it passed into the hands of the Kirwan family, but how or when is not known. It is a pity that it is not in the National Portrait Gallery.

1806. *Four Courts and Liffey* (from Merchants' Quay).—“Dublin. Published June 4, 1806, by R. Phillips, No. 6 New Bridge St., Black-fryars. Drawn by J. Carr, Esq^r. Engraved by T. Medland, Engraver to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales” (10½ inches high; 18 inches wide).

This yellow aquatint is the frontispiece to “The Stranger in Ireland,” by Sir John Carr, London, 1806, and contains the earliest representation of an outside car that I have seen. A burlesque of this view, entitled, “*The Knight leaving Ireland 'with regret,'*” appeared as frontispiece to “My Pocket Book” in 1808. This measures 7 inches high; 12 inches wide.

An exact copy of Sir John Carr's picture, the engraved surface measuring 6½ inches high; 9 inches wide, and named “*Dublin,*” was published in 1820 by Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, Paternoster-row.

“*The Custom House*” (8½ inches high; 10½ inches wide). This, also, from a drawing by Carr, appears in “The Stranger in Ireland.”

Circa 1808. Dublin from the Park (19 inches high; 26 inches wide). This coloured print bears the following inscription:—"City of Dublin. The Capital of Ireland and the second city in the British Dominion. It is situated in Latitude $53^{\circ} 20'$, about 270 miles N.-W. of London. Dublin is well circumstanced for trade, and founded about 600 years. This view is taken from the Phœnix Park near the Magazine, which is seen to the left, in middle ground Sarah's Bridge, to the right on rising ground the Old mens Hospital, and in the distance the Four courts, St. Patrick's and Werburgh's steeples, &c." This engraving can be distinguished from the many other views taken from the same part of the Park by the curiously-drawn car on the road in the left centre (fig. 1).

This engraving is one of a set which includes Dargle, Powerscourt Waterfall, Meeting of the Waters, Leixlip, Oldcourt. I have seen a full set which had hung in the same house since they were published; on the back of one was pasted a copper etching representing three cupids, one of whom is sketching on an upright stone "Vecchio from Italy, English and Italian Map and Print Warehouse, 26, Westmoreland St., Dublin." Later on, this publisher gave his name as *Del Vecchio*.

1809. "*Dublin from Phœnix Park*" (8 inches high; $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide).—"Engraved by George Cooke. London: Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, & Orme. Paternoster Row. March 1st, 1809."

1811. *Nelson's Pillar* (6 inches high; $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide).—This is the frontispiece to "Nelson's Pillar. A description of the Pillar with list of the Subscribers. Dublin, 1811." (Collection of late Rev. W. Reynell.) A view of "*His Grace the Duke of Richmond laying the first stone of Nelson's Pillar*," measuring $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high; $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, apparently a magazine illustration, was given to me by the late Rev W. Reynell. The date of the laying of the stone was the 15th February, 1808.

1811. "*Moira House, Dublin*. Drawn and Etched by W. Brocas, Junr., 1811" (4 inches high; $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide). *Moira House* also appeared in the Hibernian Magazine in 1811.

An undated engraving by Brocas, Junr., is—

"*Late Fire on North Wall*." Brocas, Junr. Hibernian Magazine.

1811(?). Two octagonal aquatints by J. Ford may be referred to 1811, as it was in that year that Powerscourt House was taken for the Stamp Office, and that the "Grand Canal Hotel and Portobello Harbour" appeared in the "Picture of Dublin"; otherwise they would be difficult to date, as engravings by Ford appeared during a long period.

Powerscourt House (Octagonal, $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches high; $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide).—"View of the New Stamp Office, Dublin. J. Ford, del' et aqua^d." (Collection of W. G. Strickland.)

[To face page 401.]

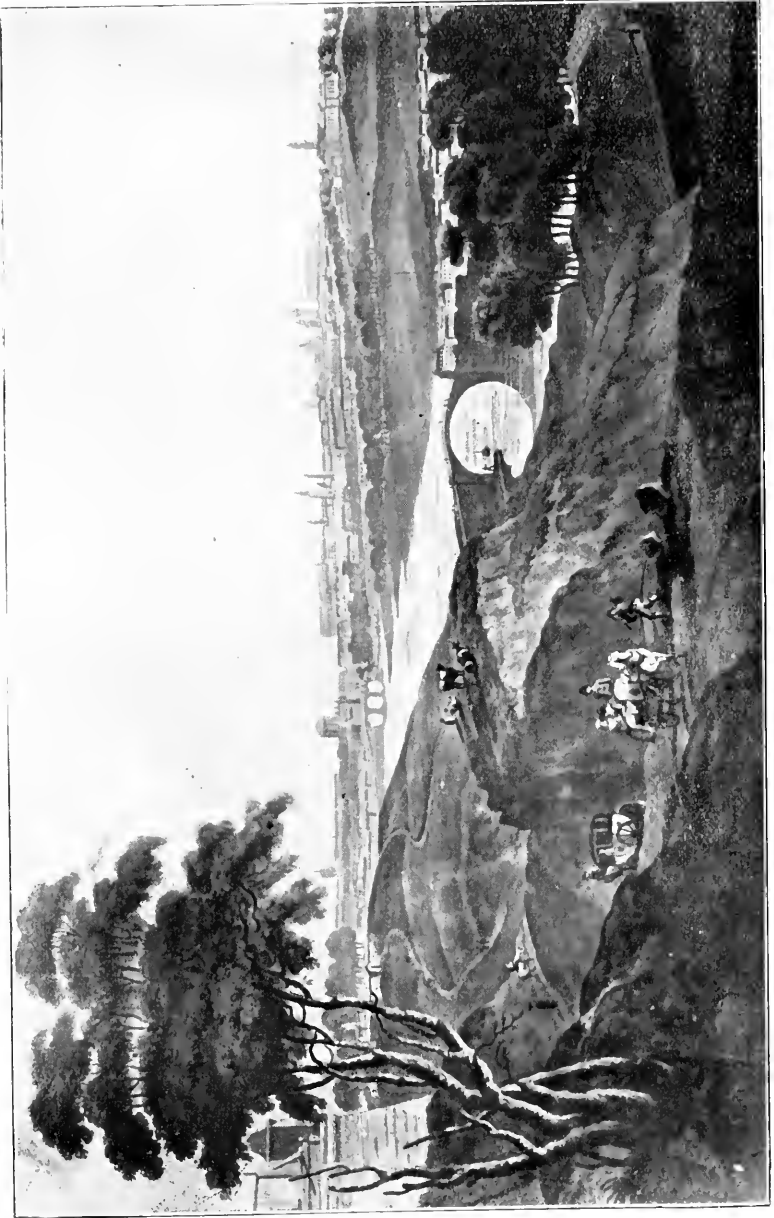


FIG. 1.—DUBLIN, FROM THE PHOENIX PARK, NEAR THE MAGAZINE.

Grand Canal Hotel (Octagonal, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches high; $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide).—
“View of the Grand Canal Hotel, &c., Portobello, Dublin. J. Ford,
del^t & aqua^d.” (Own Collection.) (Fig. 2.)

An undated engraving by Ford is—

“*View of Royal Infirmary from Salute Battery.*”—“J. Ford, Sc.”
(Joly Collection.)

1811. The first of a long series of “PICTURE OF DUBLIN” guide-books appeared in 1811. It contains only four views; but the preface promises more in subsequent editions. The views measure about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high; $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide, and are etched after roughly done drawings. They are:—

“*National Bank.*” (Bank of Ireland.)

“*The Custom House.*”

“*Nelson’s Pillar.*”

“*The Grand Canal Hotel & Portobello Harbour.*”



FIG. 2.—GRAND CANAL HOTEL, DUBLIN.

The fourth edition of the *Picture of Dublin* (Gregory’s), which is undated, may be ascribed to 1818, as the *General Post Office* (1818) is spoken of as “this new edifice,” and the *Metal Bridge* (1816) is spoken of as “lately erected.” This edition contains nine pictures, of which the following are additional to the four appearing in the first edition, which they resemble in roughness of execution:—

“*General Post Office.*”

“*The Four Courts and Richmond Bridge.*”

“*St. George’s Church*” (6 inches high ; 4 inches wide).

“*The New Iron Bridge, or Wellington Bridge.*”

“*Foster Aqueduct & Royal Canal House.*”

1813. In 1813 two illustrations of the buildings in which the Irish Records were kept appeared in “Public Records of Ireland”; they are:—

Record Tower (18 inches high ; 11 inches wide).—“Plate XIX Public Records of Ireland. South view of the Record Tower of the Castle of Dublin. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 14th July, 1813. Drawn by W. Flavelle. James Basire Sculp^t. Luke Hansard & Sons Printers. 337.”

Four Courts (14 inches high ; 24½ inches wide).—“Dublin. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 14th July 1813. James Basire Sculp^t. Luke Hansard & Sons Printer. 337.”

1816. “*View of Dublin Bay*” (8 inches high ; 10 inches wide).—“London, Published by Henry Colburn, Conduit Street, 1816.”

1816. “*View of the City of Dublin from Foster Aqueduct, looking Southward*” (6¼ inches high ; 9 inches wide).—“W. M. Craig, del, J. Dixon Sculp. Published by Nuttall Fisher and Co. Liverpool, Feb^r 1816.”

1816. To 1816 may probably be referred two of the largest and finest coloured engravings of Dublin. I have seen only one copy of each ; the first is undated, and the second has its lettering cut off.

“*A South View of the River Liffey, taken from the Coal Quay or Fruit Market*” (pl. mk. 25 inches high ; 34 inches wide).—“Roberts del, J. Black, Sculp^t.” This fine coloured view is taken from above Whitworth Bridge, looking down the river. (Joly Collection, National Library.)

College Green and Westmoreland Street from Grafton Street (Eng. surf. 25 inches high ; 34 inches wide). This fine coloured engraving is taken from opposite the Provost’s House: the streets are full of people, and the shadows show the sun low in the east. Evidently the buildings were sketched in the early morning, the figures, etc., being subsequently worked in. (Own Collection.)

Two engravings have the same point of view ; the first has the same peculiarity of lighting, and only a slight variation of the figures:—

1816. *College Green and Westmoreland Street from Grafton Street* (8 inches high ; 10 inches wide).—“Dublin. London: Published by Thomas Kelly, Paternoster Row, Nov. 16, 1816.” (Fig. 3.)

“*Dublin*” (Eng. surf. 1½ inches high ; 2½ inches wide).

1816. "*Monstrosities in Merrion Square*," 1816. McCleary, Nassau Street.—This is a skit on the fashions of the day, somewhat similar to "*Taste à la mode*," 1790, which showed the Rotunda and Gardens. (L. R. Strangways' Collection.) The Rotunda and Gardens are also shown in an undated etching, entitled: "*The City in an Uproar, or an attempt to lay the ghost lately seen in the Rotunda Gardens*" (6 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches high; 8 inches wide).—This was given to me by the late Rev. W. Reynell, and is apparently a magazine illustration.

Another undated fashion skit is "*Crinoline in Phoenix Park*. McCleary."—Lithograph. (Joly Collection.)

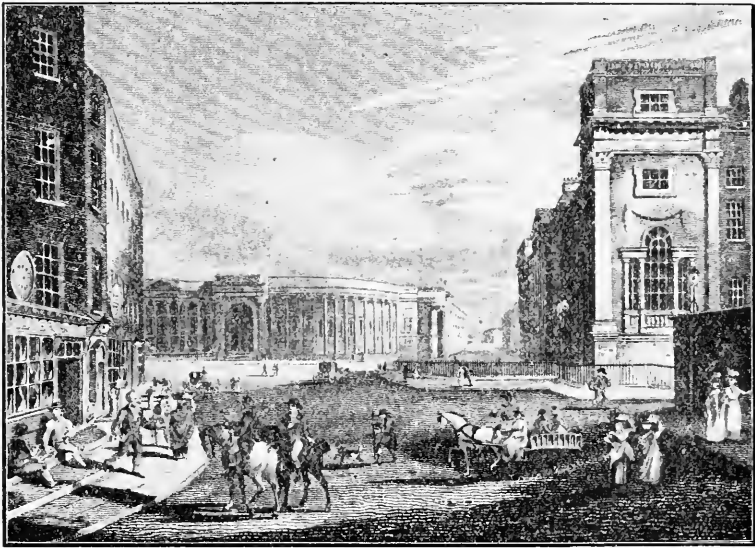


FIG. 3.—COLLEGE GREEN AND WESTMORELAND STREET, FROM GRAFTON STREET.

1816. "*The Elevation of the Chapel now erecting in Marlborough Street*" (8 inches high; 10 inches wide).—A description of the building and an appeal for funds occupy the margins of the plate. In the description the three statues over the portico are named "*Faith, Hope, and Charity*." The design, as carried out, has the figures of The Virgin and Child, St. Patrick, and St. Laurence O'Toole; but most guide-book writers have copied the description, and have not noticed the alteration in the statues!

"*Perpendicular Elevation of Marlborough Street Chapel*."—Brocas, Sc. Morrisson, lith. (Joly Collection.)

1817. *Dublin from Marino* (13 inches high; 36 inches wide).—“A View of part of the Bay and City of Dublin taken from Marino. Dedicated by permission to the Right Hon. the Countess of Charlemont. London Pub^d Sep^t 15th 1817 by Colnagi & Co, Cockspur Street, and to be had at Mr. Del Vecchio's Westmoreland Street, Dublin. J. T. Rowbottham Pinx^t. Daniel Havell Sculp^t.”

There is a companion picture lettered “A View of the New Pier and Lighthouse at Howth head, Dublin, taken from Ireland's Eye Sep^r 15 1817.”

Both of these fine aquatints are in the collection of L. R. Strangways, M.R.I.A.

1817. To the year 1817 probably belong the fine series of large coloured engravings drawn by T. S. Roberts (who drew one at least of the large coloured prints of 1816). Only one of the series, however, is dated.

“*Dublin. Taken near the Custom House*” (20 inches high; 27 inches wide).—“T. S. Roberts del^t. Engraved by R. Havell & Sons, 3 Chapel Street, Tottenham Court Road, London. Published 1817 by Messrs Boydell & Co for the Author T. S. Roberts.”

“*College Green Dublin*” (20 inches high; 27 inches wide).—“Dedicated by permission to the Governors and Directors of the National Bank. T. S. Roberts del^t. Engraved by R. Havell & Sons.”

“*Castle Dublin*” (20 inches high; 27 inches wide).—“In the centre is seen the New Castle Chapel, on the right the Treasury; to the left the entrance to the Ordnance Office, and avenue leading to Great Ship St. T. S. Roberts del^t. Engraved by R. Havell & Sons.” There is also a dedication to the Earl of Whitworth, L.L.

“*Dublin. Taken near the Four Courts*” (20 inches high; 27 inches wide).—“To the left is principally seen the Four Courts, in front Richmond, Whitworth, Essex, the Metal and Carlisle Bridges; in distance St Andrew's, St Nicholas, St Patrick's, Christ Church, Werburgh's and St Michan's Parish Churches, the Catholic Chapel, Dome of the Custom House, Bay of Dublin, Linen Hall, &c. T. S. Roberts, del. London, Published by Alex^r Smith, Fleet St. for the Author T. S. Roberts.”

There is another picture of exactly similar size which probably dates from the following year, and was possibly from a sketch by Roberts; like those above, it has a lengthy, descriptive title.

1818(?). “*New Post Office Sackville Street Dublin*” (20 inches high; 27 inches wide).—“This print represents that magnificent edifice the new Post Office, the first stone laid by His Excellency Earl Whitworth, then Lord Lieutenant, in the year 1814, and was opened for business on

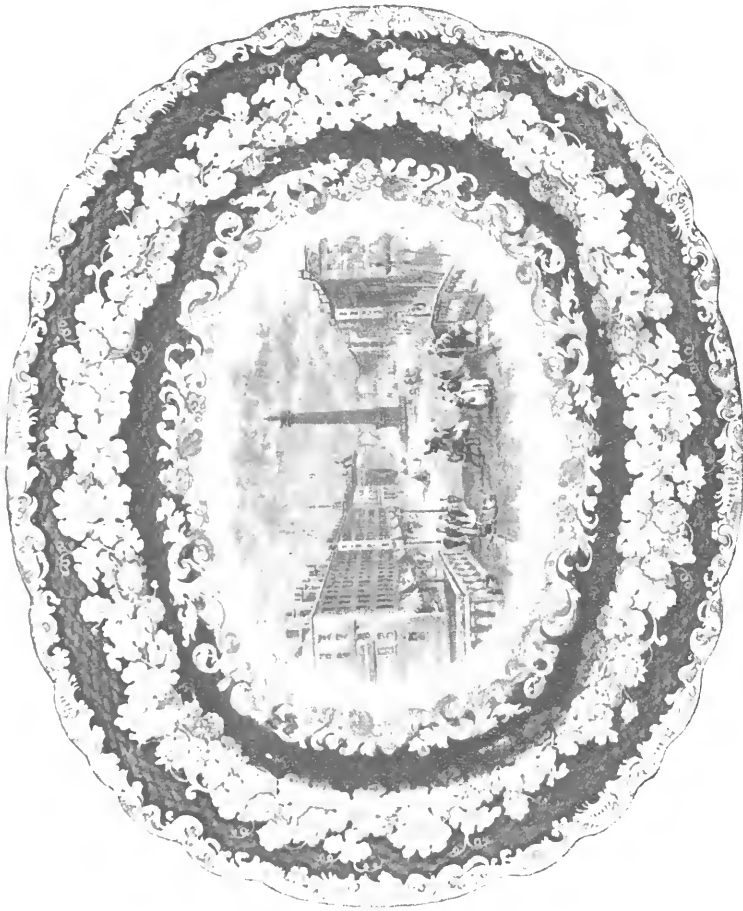


FIG. 4.—SACKVILLE STREET, DUBLIN
(Wedgwood Dish.)

the 5th day of January 1818, it embraces a view of Nelson's Pillar, Sackville Street, the Rotunda, Cavendish Row and a distant view of St George's Church, &c. &c. Engraved by R. Havell & Son 3 Chapel St^r Tottenham Court R^d. Dublin, Published by Del Vecchio 26 Westmoreland Street."

There is also a dedication to the Postmaster-General in Ireland.

A somewhat similar but larger view appeared in 1825.

1818. *Post Office* (17 inches high; 23 inches wide).—This fine etching shows the present General Post Office as just completed, the workmen preparing the road-way in front for traffic; it bears the following inscription:—"To the Right Honourable and Honourable the Post Masters General of Ireland, This view of the Post Office in Sackville Street Dublin, is with due respect Inscribed by their Lordships most obedient Servant Francis Johnston, Architect. Engraved by Rob^t Havell & Son."

Many other views of the new Post Office appeared: I have a coloured one:—

"*View of the Post Office Sackville Street Dublin*" (6½ inches high; 8 inches wide).

I have seen a somewhat similar coloured one of slightly larger size.

"*View of Sackville Street and Nelson's Pillar*" (4¾ inches high; 8 inches wide).—A roughly done etching, the point of view being in front of the Pillar, looking up the Street. St. George's spire is reduced to severe classical components. An advertisement, of which the first word seems to be *Politos*, and the last is *London*, projects at the corner of Henry-street.

"*Post Office*. F. Johnston del. Ch. Corley, G.P.O. Sc."—A copy printed on paper, and another on satin, are in the Joly Collection.

"*Sackville St. Dublin*" (10½ inches high; 8 inches wide).—"J. Brandald, M. & M. Handlart." This view of Sackville Street is taken from Carlisle Bridge. (L. R. Strangways' Collection.)

Views looking up Sackville Street, and including Carlisle Bridge, have often been engraved. I have a dish (fig. 4) which has a spirited view printed from a copper-plate; the dish measures 17 by 21 inches, and the view 7 by 11 inches. The mark on the back is a globe with a ship sailing round it, and the words "Hibernia. J. Wedgwood." (Fig. 5, p. 410.)

The view on this dish, although differently vignettted, is otherwise almost exactly similar to "*Sackville Street, Dublin*" (7½ inches high; 4¾ inches wide).—This vignette appeared in "*Ireland: its Scenery, Character, &c.*," by Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall, which describes the authors' experiences in five visits paid to this country subsequent to 1825.

"*Sackville Street. Taken from the Office of Arms*" (9 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches high; 15 inches wide).—H. Madden, delin. Printed 4 Abbey St." This lithograph is taken from the window of the "Ballast Office," Westmoreland-street. (Joly Collection.)

"*View of the General Post Office & Nelson's Pillar, Sackville St, Dublin*" (8 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches high; 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide).—"Drawn on Stone by L. Southwell. Wm. Allen." This view ingeniously advertises Allen's clothing store, by introducing a man with a board bearing "Allen. 28."

"*Sackville Street Dublin*" (11 inches high; 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide).—"M. Angelo Hayes del. W. Simpson lith. Day & Sons Lith^{rs}. to The Queen, London." A man holds a board with "Summer Goods, . . . M^oSwiney Delaney & Co."

"*Sackville Street Dublin*" (10 inches high; 14 inches wide).—"Published by Stark Brothers, Lower Sackville St. Dublin."

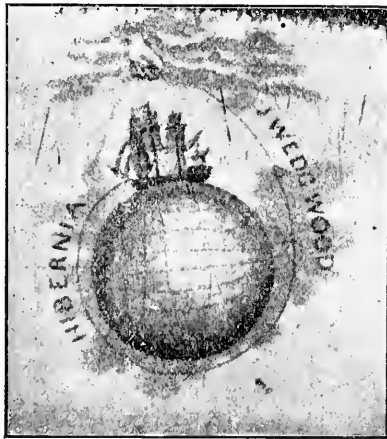


FIG. 5.—MARK ON BACK OF WEDGWOOD DISH (fig. 4).

1818. "*South View of the Stove Tenter House, in the Earl of Meath's Liberty, Dublin*" (5 inches high; 8 inches wide).—"Founded at the sole expense of Mr. Thomas Pleasants, A.D. 1814." *Gent. Mag.*, Feb. 1818.

1818-1829. *BROCAS VIEWS*.—The most interesting series of coloured views is that drawn and engraved by S. F. and H. Brocas, who give as vivid a picture of the Dublin of the first quarter of the nineteenth century as Malton gave of the Dublin of the last quarter of the

eighteenth century. Like many other enterprises in Ireland, this series was planned on a grand scale to embrace the whole of Ireland; possibly the usual cause—lack of support—curtailed the enterprise. We in Dublin may congratulate ourselves that the portion of the scheme relating to our city was accomplished, as it has given us a dozen admirable views, brimful of life and interest.

The first of these views is dated 1818, and the last 1829; but it was in 1820 that an effort was made to issue them as a regular series. A brown paper large folio cover, of which I have a copy, bears the following wording:—

“Topography of Ireland, commencing with Select Views in the City of Dublin, of the most remarkable Public Buildings, &c. From Original Drawings by S. Brocas, Expressly taken for the work. To be published in numbers, each to contain Two Engravings accompanied by a letter-press description.

“The two views given in this first number are interesting scenes taken from near Carlisle Bridge.

“The publisher, at a vast expense, has had drawings accurately executed of a considerable number of views, which he intends publishing with the utmost expedition, and hopes to meet with that encouragement which their merit may deserve. Among the prospects already taken, several plates of which are engraving, and in considerable forwardness, are—*The National Bank, Trinity College, Custom House, Castle Chapel, Lying-in Hospital, Royal Exchange, College Green, Four Courts, General Post Office*, and two distant prospects of Dublin from the most advantageous and picturesque situations.”

Several other paragraphs dealing with the beauties of Dublin follow, and the cover ends with—

“Dublin. Published July 1st, 1820, by J. Le Petit, Printseller, 20 Capel Street, and Bell and Wright, Duke Street, Bloomsbury, London. Entered at Stationers Hall.”

The two views given with the first part were—*Westmoreland St., D'Olier St., &c., from Carlisle Bridge*, and *Corn Exchange, River Anna Liffey, &c., from Burgh Quay*. The letterpress of the former is chiefly in praise of the establishments of Kinahan and Smyth, and Lundy Foot. The description of the second reminds us of the interesting fact that a duty of 2s. 6d. on every entry in the Custom-House first covered the expenses of the Royal Exchange, was then used for the Commercial Buildings, and finally built the Corn Exchange.

The “distant prospects” do not seem to have materialised, the dozen views being made up by the addition of *The Castle Gate and Royal Exchange*.

The following are the twelve plates published:—The plate mark measures 10½ inches high; 16½ inches wide. They are arranged as far

as possible in the order of issue, which in the undated ones is judged from the various addresses of the Publisher.

“*View of the Four Courts, looking down the River Liffey, Dublin.*
S. F. Brocas, del^t.; H. Brocas, sculp^t. Published April 7th,
1818, by J. Le Petit, Capel St., Dublin.”

“*View of the Corn Exchange, Burgh Quay, and Custom House, Dublin.*”

“*View from Carlisle Bridge, Dublin.*”

Each of the above has the following inscription:—“S. F. Brocas, del^t.
H. Brocas, sculp^t. Published July 1st, 1820, by J. Le Petit for his Book
of Views of Ireland at 20 Capel St., Dublin, and by Wright and Bell,
Duke St., Bloomsbury, London. Enter^d at Stationers Hall.”

“*View of the Post Office and Nelson’s Pillar, Sackville Street, Dublin.*” (20, Capel Street.)

“*View of the Lying-in Hospital and Rutland Square, Dublin.*”

“*View of the Castle Gate and Royal Exchange, Dublin.*”

“*View of the Royal Exchange, Dame Street, Dublin.*” (15, Henry Street.)

“*View of the Bank of Ireland, College Green.*” (Anglesea Street, 1828.)

“*College Green, Dublin.*” (24, Grafton Street, 1828.)

“*View of the Custom House, from the River Liffey, Dublin.*” (24, Grafton Street, 1828.)

“*View of the Castle Chapel, Dublin.*” (24, Grafton Street, 1828.)

“*View of Trinity College from Westmoreland Street.* (24, Grafton Street, 1829.)

A copy of the above view of the *Post Office and Nelson’s Pillar* was subsequently published by M’Cleary, Nassau Street; it only differs from Brocas’s in the direction of the wind. In Brocas’s the fine old Union Jack vane, with the perforated 1818, shows a west wind; in M’Cleary’s copy the wind is from the east. (Joly collection.)

M’Cleary also published an undated coloured view of the Castle:—

“*Great Courtyard, Dublin Castle*” (10½ inches high; 16 inches wide).
“Dublin, published by M’Cleary, 39, Nassau Street.” (Joly collection.)

Here mention may be made of an undated series of twelve views which were published by W^m Allen, 32, Dame Street, Dublin. They measure about 6¾ inches high; 10½ inches wide, and are copied from views by Malton, Fisher, Wheatley, and Brocas. They bear either “Published by W^m Allen, 32 Dame Street,” or “Sold by W^m Allen,

32 Dame Street." One, in L. R. Strangways' Collection, is printed on paper bearing the dated water-mark "1813."

1. "Twelve Views in the City of Dublin. *View of the Parliament House, College Green, Dublin.*" (This is from Malton's *View with the Pigs.*)
2. "*Blue Coat Hospital.*"
3. "*Lighthouse and Bay of Dublin.*"
4. "*Provost's House, Dublin.*"
5. "*Law Courts, Dublin.*"
6. "*View of the Royal Exchange, Dublin.*"
7. "*A View of College Green, Dublin, with the Yeomen firing, on the 4th of November.*"
8. "*Lying-in Hospital, Dublin.*"
9. "*Royal Infirmary, Phœnix Park, Dublin.*"
10. "*Essex Bridge, Dublin.*"
11. "*The Castle Gate, Dublin.*"
12. "*View of the City of Dublin.*"

1821. I have a pair of coloured aquatints with English and French inscriptions; they are numbered 1 and 4, so probably others of the series appeared.

"*View of Dublin from Phœnix Park. Vue de Dublin du Parc de Phœnix*" (11 inches high; $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide). "Engraved by R. Havill & Son No. 3 Chapple St, Tottenham Court Road. Pub^d by Messrs Colnaghi & Co, London, & by Messrs Allen & Son, Dublin. No 1."

"*View of Trinity College and part of the Bank, Dublin. Vue du Trinity College et de la Banque, Dublin*" (10 inches high; 14 inches wide). "Engraved by Robert Havill & Son. Published July 1, 1821, by Messrs Colnaghi & Co., London, and Messrs Allen & Son, Dublin. No. 4" (fig. 6, p. 414).

The same point of view is chosen in the three following undated views:—

"*Trinity College and East Portico of the Bank of Ireland*" ($11\frac{3}{4}$ inches high; $16\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide). "Drawn on stone by S. Brocas. Allen, Dame Street." (Joly Collection.)

"*Trinity College, Dublin*" (9 inches high; $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide). "Engraved by J. Gellatly, Edin'." (Own Collection.)

"*Trinity College, Dublin*" (4 inches high; $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide). "Engraved by S. Lacy. Published by J. Mason, 14 City Road & 66 Paternoster Row." (Own Collection.)

Petrie also did this view for Wright's Dublin (1821).

Here may be conveniently mentioned some books which contain views of Dublin.

Mason's S. Patrick's. In 1818 W. M. Mason, who had projected an ambitious "Hibernia," had the following plates prepared for his first modicum, which appeared in 1820 as a History of St. Patrick's Cathedral. I have a series of proof impressions on large paper.

1818. "*South-east View of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin*" (9 inches high; 11 inches wide). "Drawn by P. Byrne. Engraved by W. Smith. Dublin, Published July 1st, 1818. For Mason's Hibernia. Proof."

"*View of the Choir of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin*" (11 inches high; 11 inches wide). "Drawn by P. Byrne. Engraved by W. Radelyffe, Dublin. Published July 1st, 1818. For Mason's Hibernia. Proof."

There is also a portrait of Dean Swift which shows, through a window, the west front of the Cathedral before the spire was added to Minot's tower. There are also views of some of the principal monuments.



FIG. 6.—TRINITY COLLEGE AND PART OF BANK OF IRELAND, DUBLIN.

TAYLOR'S HISTORY OF DUBLIN UNIVERSITY.—W. B. Taylor, who projected a large illustrated History of Dublin University, promising thirty coloured plates (but who only published a small, unillustrated one), drew and issued nine coloured plates for the projected History—two are upright, and represent a Fellow and a Fellow-Commoner; the other seven are horizontal, and measure about 11 inches high; 14 inches wide. They are—

1819–20. "*Front of Trinity College, Dublin.*" Drawn and Etch'd by W. B. Taylor. Engraved by Bluck, London. Published by Bluck, London. Published Augst 6th, 1819, by W. B. Taylor.

“*The Grand Square, T. C. D., at the Quarterly Examination.*” Taylor—Bluck, 1819.

“*View of the Dining Hall, &c., from the Provost’s Gardens.*” Taylor—R. Havill.

“*Museum of T. C. D.*” (This is the old Museum in the Regent Hall over the front porch.)

“*S.-W. View of the Library, Trin. Coll. Dublin.*” Taylor—Havill, 1820.

“*The College Park, Trin. Coll. Dublin, 1820.*” Taylor—Havill.

“*N.-E. View of the College Observatory, 1820.*”

1818. WARBURTON, WHITELAW, AND WALSH’S HISTORY OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN.—This History was published in London in 1818. It contains twenty-two plates (including Howth Harbour and Maynooth), which are mostly unacknowledged copies of Malton’s views (1791–9) in no way brought up to date. In a large paper copy in my possession the proof plates are not distributed through the letterpress, as in the ordinary copies, but are gathered together at the ends of the volumes. The plate marks measure 9 inches high; 11½ inches wide.

The following is the list of the plates. They all have the imprint, “Published August 21st, 1817, by T. Cadell & W. Davies, Strand London,” except the map of the Bay, which was published on August 28th:—

1. “*Cathedral of Saint Patrick from the North.*”
2. “*Cathedral of Saint Patrick from the South.*”
3. “*Saint George’s Church.*”
4. “*Custom House.*”
5. “*View of Dublin from the Phoenix Park.*”
6. “*A Map of the Bay.*” (This shows, in its lower corners, “*Martello Tower,*” “*Lighthouse at the end of South Wall.*”)
7. “*Castle of Dublin.*”
8. “*Cathedral of Saint Patrick from the West.*”
9. “*Royal Exchange.*”
10. “*Courts of Law.*”
11. “*Bank of Ireland.*”
12. “*The Tholsel.*”
13. “*Trinity College.*”
14. “*Provost’s House.*”
15. “*Dining Hall, Foundling Hospital.*”
16. “*Lying-in Hospital.*”
17. “*Sir Patrick Dun’s Hospital.*”
18. “*New Post Office.* W. Brocas, del^t.; I. Martyn, sculp^t.”

19. "*Metropolitan Roman Catholic Chapel*. Brocas, sculp^t."
 20. "*Royal Charter School, Clontarf*."
 21. "*The New Harbour of Howth*. E. Walsh, fecit; M. S. Barenger, sculp."
 22. "*Maynooth College*."

Of the above, "*Trinity College*" may be instanced as an exact copy of Malton's view; in "*Provost's House*" the buildings are in fac-simile, and the same figures are introduced differently placed; "*Bank of Ireland*" has been altered by the addition of statues over the portico; but the large windows which were built up when the Bank altered the premises are still there, as in Malton's view.

The very imperfections of the text and illustrations of Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh stimulated other writers to do better; and in 1821 Wright and McGregor published compact and accurate hand-books to Dublin. The former was fortunate in securing George Petrie as illustrator; and his careful text, and Petrie's admirable etchings, render this still one of the most valuable works on Dublin.

Petrie had previously (1819) made drawings for Cromwell's Excursions, and afterwards did drawings which appeared in both "*Dublin Delineated*" and "*Ireland Illustrated*" (1830-1), as well as drawings for Brewer and others. The size of Petrie's pictures in the three principal series is about:—

	Pl. mk.	Eng. surf.
<i>Cromwell's Excursion</i> , . . .	4 by 6,	2½ by 3½.
<i>Wright's Guide</i> , . . .	3½ ,, 6,	2¾ ,, 4½.
<i>Dublin Delineated</i> , . . .	9½ ,, 5½.	6 ,, 3¾.

1819. "EXCURSIONS THROUGH IRELAND."—By Thomas Cromwell, illustrated with six hundred engravings. London, N.D.

Of this ambitious project, only seventy-five views materialised.

"*Barrack and Queen's Bridges, Dublin*."—Geo. Petrie. T. Barber. July 1, 1819.

"*The Four Courts, Dublin*."—Geo. Petrie. T. Barber. July 1, 1819.

"*Carlisle Bridge & The Custom House, Dublin*."—Geo. Petrie. T. Barber. Oct. 1, 1819.

"*Earl Strongbow's Monument, Christ's Cathedral*," Dublin. Geo. Petrie. E. Roberts. Oct. 1, 1819.

"*West View of Christ's Cathedral, Dublin*."—Geo. Petrie. T. Barber. Sept. 2, 1819.

"*The Bank of Ireland*."—Geo. Petrie. W. Deeble. June 1, 1820.
 When the parts were bound, a title-page was added with—

"*Ancient Doorway, Christ's Cathedral, Dublin*."—J. Greig. T. Higham. Feb. 1, 1820.

1821. "AN HISTORICAL GUIDE TO ANCIENT AND MODERN DUBLIN."—Illustrated by Engravings after drawings by George Petrie. By Rev. G. N. Wright, M.A. London: 1821. Large Paper Edition. Proof plates on Indian Paper. (Own Collection.)

All the plates bear the words:—"Published by Baldwin Cradock & Joy. London August 1821. Printed by R. Fenner."

1. "*View of Dublin from the North.*" (Taken from Oxmantown.)
2. "*The Castle.* Engraved by T. Higham."
3. "*The Castle Chapel and Record Tower.*"
4. "*Trinity Colledge.* Engraved by T. Barber." From Westmoreland-street.
5. "*The Bank.*"
6. "*St. Patrick's Cathedral.* Engraved by T. Higham."

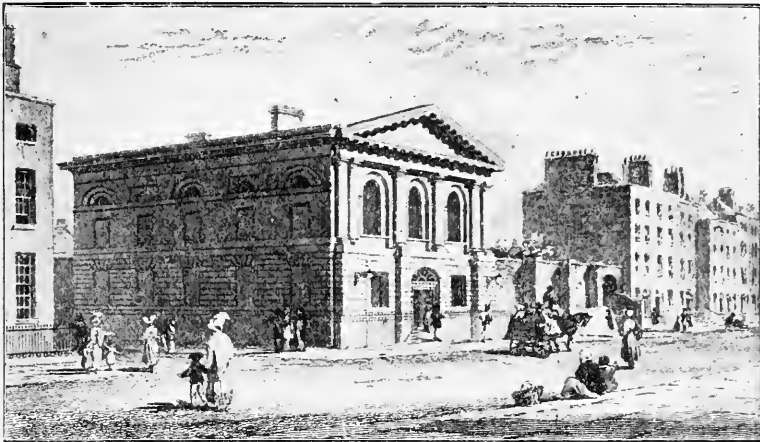


FIG. 7.—COLLEGE OF SURGEONS, DUBLIN.

7. "*Christ Church Cathedral.* Eng^r T. Ransom." (From the N.-W.)
8. "*St. George's Church.* Eng^r T. Barber."
9. "*The Metropolitan Catholic Chapel.* Eng^r by T. Ransom."
10. "*Sackville Street, Post Office, and Nelson's Column.* Eng. T. Barber."
11. "*The New Theatre Royal.* Eng^r T. Barber."
12. "*The Law Courts.*"
13. "*The King's Inns and Royal Canal Harbour.*"
14. "*The Custom House.* Eng. T. Barber."
15. "*The Royal Exchange.*"
16. "*The College of Surgeons.*" Showing the original façade. I have a proof before letters, the plate-mark measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches high; $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide (fig. 7).
17. "*The Rotunda & Lying-in Hospital.*"

In the second edition, 1826, the Metropolitan Catholic Chapel and the College of Surgeons are omitted. In Curry's "Pictures of Dublin," 1835, the same plates nearly worn out were still being used, but they are redated 1835.

An undated engraving, which forms an interesting companion to Wright's, from the N.-W., is:—

"*Christ Church.* Drawn by E. Grattan, Eng^d. by J. Greig." It is taken from the S.-W., and includes St. Michael's Church and the entrance to the Old Four Courts. (L. R. Strangways' Collection) (fig. 8).

1821. In the same year appeared "NEW PICTURE OF DUBLIN," by John James McGregor. It contains three full-page and fifty-two small pictures, four on a page. It is worth mentioning these to show the

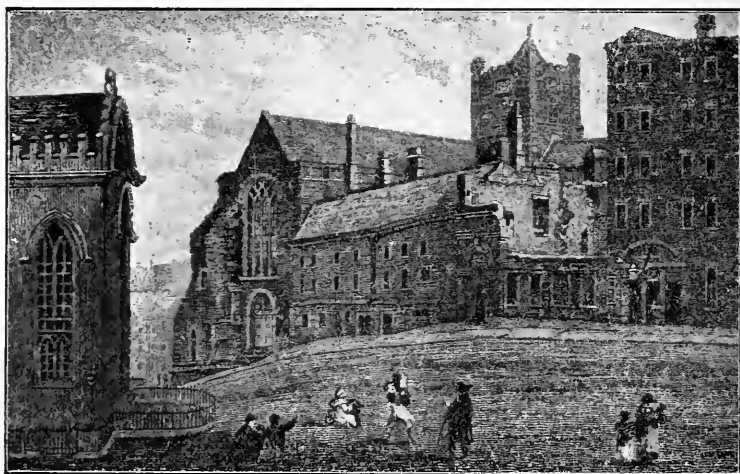


FIG. 8.—CHRIST CHURCH, DUBLIN, FROM SOUTH-WEST.

possibilities of illustration that the Dublin of that day afforded. The full-page illustrations measure about 4 inches high; $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. They are:—

"*View of Dublin from the Phoenix Park.* Eng^r by W. H. Lizars, Edin."

"*Front View of the Feinaighian Institution, Luxemburg.* R. H. Sweetman, del^d.; Martyn, sculp^t, Dublin." (Aldborough House.)

"*Back View of the Feinaighian Institution, Luxemburg.* R. H. Sweetman, del^d.; Martyn, sculp^t, Dublin."

The engraved surface of the small views averages 1 inch high ; 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide. They are :—

“ *Part of the North Side of Dublin Castle.*” “ *Garden Front of Dublin Castle.*” “ *Marine School.*” “ *Provost’s House, Trinity College.*”

“ *North Side of the Royal Exchange.*” “ *Section of the Exchange from East and West.*” “ *Custom House.*” “ *Newgate.*”

“ *Cathedral of Christ Church.*” “ *Stevens’ Hospital.*” “ *Lying-in Hospital.*” “ *East Front of the Blue Coat Hospital.*”

“ *Marquis of Waterford’s House.*” “ *St. Patrick’s Cathedral.*” “ *Front of St. Catherine’s Church.*” “ *Front of St. Thomas’s Church.*”

“ *St. George’s Church.*” “ *St. Werburgh’s Church in 1808.*” “ *Prior’s Monument in Christ Church.*” “ *Nelson’s Pillar.*”

“ *The New Harbour of Howth.*” “ *Royal Charter School Clontarf Road.*” “ *Metropolitan Roman Catholic Church.*” “ *Sir Patrick Dun’s Hospital.*”

“ *Maynooth College.*” “ *Dining Hall, Foundling Hospital.*” “ *The Tholsel as it stood in 1806.*” “ *Queen’s Bridge.*”

“ *Parliament House in 1800.*” “ *House of Commons in 1800.*” “ *Four Courts.*” “ *Post Office.*”

“ *East Side of the Principal Square in Trinity College.*” “ *Trinity College.*” “ *Theatre in Trinity College.*” “ *National Bank.*”

“ *Stamp Office.*” “ *Royal Dublin Society House.*” “ *Earl of Charlemont’s House.*” “ *Statue of King William III. in College Green.*”

“ *Barrack and Queen’s Bridge.*” “ *Grand Canal Hotel & Portobello Harbour.*” “ *Foster Aqueduct & Royal Canal House.*” “ *Sarah Bridge.*”

“ *Presbyterian Church, Strand Street.*” “ *Morrison’s Hotel, Dawson Street.*” “ *Home’s Grand Promenade, Dublin.*” “ *Home’s Royal Arcade, Dublin.*”

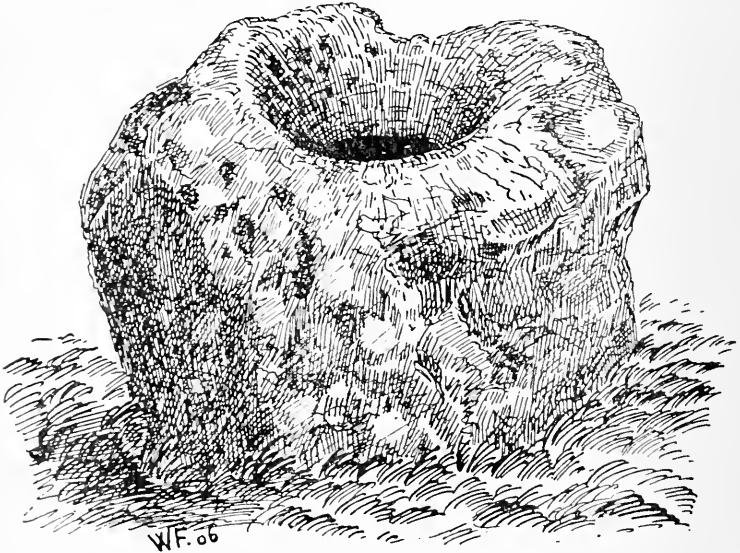
“ *The New Iron Bridge or Wellington Bridge.*” “ *Essex Bridge.*” “ *Earl of Kildare’s Monument in Christ Church Cathedral.*” “ *Monument of 3rd Lord Bowes in Christ Church Cathedral.*”

An engraving, by Martyn, is probably of this date.—“ *West View of St. George’s, Dublin*” (7 inches high ; 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide). “ *Dublin Monthly Museum, J. Martyn, sculp^t.*” (L. R. Strangways’ Collection.) I have a copy in which “ *Dublin Monthly Museum*” is omitted.

(To be continued.)

Miscellanea.

Bullaun.—The lands of Joristown, near Killucan, County Westmeath, are rich in ancient raths, and there is a pre-historic, pagan air about the place: one spot especially gives one this idea; it is an eminence in a group of eskers which at some remote period was modified by flattening the top and enclosing it by a circular earthwork. The place is studded over with very ancient thorn-trees, and in the centre of the enclosure a rough boulder is set up, upon the upper surface of which there is a fine example of the “bullaun,” one of those bowl-shaped depressions so widely dispersed over this country, and which have always been such a puzzle to antiquaries.



BULLAUN, JORISTOWN, COUNTY WESTMEATH.

I have no doubt that the bullauns were originally formed by glacial action, when a nodule of flint, or some other hard stone, resting upon the surface of the rock, or caught in some depression therein, was ground with a circular motion by the tremendous weight of a superincumbent glacier, until it became embedded in the rock. The shape and depth of the bullaun would, of course, depend upon the form and size of the nodule, and upon the duration of the glacial grinding process. I was led to form this opinion some years ago when visiting the famous

“glacier garden” at Lucerne, where, in a deep depression in the bed of the quondam glacier, *there are several bullauns with the original nodules which formed them resting in situ.* The puzzle, however, is as to the use to which the bullauns were put by our prehistoric, pagan predecessors in Ireland. But, perhaps, we have to give up our belief in their prehistoric origin altogether, and be taught that bullauns were of Norman manufacture! I, for one, will as readily be convinced of this as that our ancient mottes (“mottes”) date only from the twelfth century. W. F. FALKNER, *Hon. Sec. South Westmeath.*

Earthworks, Rathnarrow, County Westmeath.—The ancient earthworks illustrated here (fig. 1) are situated in the townland of Rathnarrow, parish of Killucan, county Westmeath. They are in close

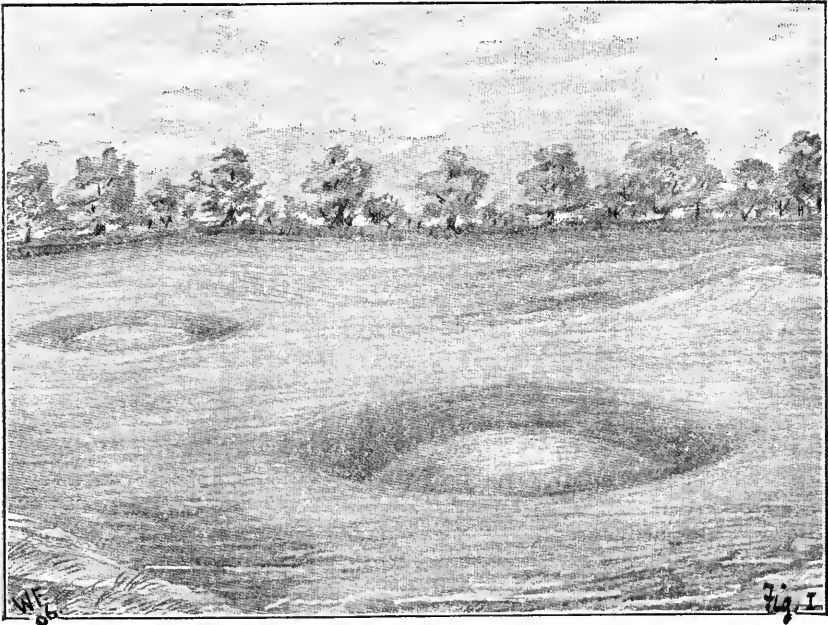


FIG. 1.—EARTHWORKS, RATHNARROW, COUNTY WESTMEATH.

proximity to many raths and other ancient remains. As I have never seen anything exactly like them, I should be glad to know if any members of the R.S.A.I. can furnish us with descriptions of similar examples, and inform us of their probable origin and use.

The depressions arrest attention at once by their symmetrical appearance, being perfectly circular in form, about 50 feet in diameter, of section, as in fig. 2, the top of the round mound in the centre being level with the flat surface of the field.



2

FIG. 2.—SECTION OF EARTHWORKS, RATHNARROW.

There is no trace of any enclosing or protecting mound, and the depressions are not quite the same in size, that in the foreground being of larger diameter and deeper than the other.—W. F. FALKNER, *Icon. Sec. South Westmeath*.

Robert Goodwin, of Derry.—At the Middle Temple on 5th August, 1612, Robert, second son of Robert Goodwin, of London, gentleman, deceased, was admitted specially, “because of the transmigration of the said Robert to Ireland on account of the plantation there by the citizens of London” (“Middle Temple Records,” ii., 552). In a Warwickshire Visitation (1682) pedigree, Robert Goodwin, sometime of the Middle Temple, is said to have been “Town Clerk of London-Derry, and Secretary to the Councill of the North in Ireland.” The first mention of a Goodwin in the Irish State Papers at the Record Office is on 14th July, 1634, when Robert Goodwin, Esq., occurs as one of the members of Parliament for Londonderry (vol. for 1633-47, p. 65). On 22nd January, 1647, Mr. Ralph King was appointed Collector of Customs for Derry “in room of Mr. Goodwin lately deceased; if he is not yet dead, King shall succeed when he is” (*ibid*, p. 598). Can anyone say when Robert Goodwin, of Derry, died, and whether he had any sons? A Robert Goodwin was a Parliamentary Commissioner in Ireland, 1647-60 (Irish State Papers, vol. for 1647-60, p. 589, and onward). The Warwickshire Visitation pedigree makes Robert Goodwin the father of William Goodwin, of Epwell, Oxon. (*obit circa ann.* 1638, *æt. circa* 75); John Goodwin, Minister of Rollwright; and Richard Goodwin, of Shenington. This is certainly an error. William Goodwin (baptized, 3rd February, 1564-5; buried, 2nd September, 1637) and his brothers John and Richard were sons of Thomas Goodwin, of Alkerton, Oxon., who mentions them all in his will, dated 13th January, proved P.C.C.

(2 Sainberbe), 27th January, 33 Eliz., and leaves to his son William his "manor and lordship of Epwell."—G. O. BELLEWES.

Inscriptions of Iniscaltra, Lough Derg.—Mr. Macalister suggests (*antea*, p. 305) that the stone with the inscription "oī do chunn" may have been the carved stone stolen from this island cemetery. I am happy to say that the monument is safely preserved at Adare Manor, County Limerick. It is figured in "The Memorials of Adare," p. 164, with the remark: "The following drawing of an inscribed stone, now in the museum at Adare, is subjoined here as containing the name of Quin. It was brought some years ago from Iniscealtra or Holy Island in Lough Derg. . . The inscription in English is 'A prayer for Conn,' and Dr. Petrie considers the date to be of the ninth or tenth century." The stone was brought to Adare apparently under the belief (entirely unfounded) that it commemorated the eponymous ancestor of the O'Quins.—T. J. WESTROPP.

Ballynahinch Castle, County Tipperary.—This castle stands on property which is likely to be sold to the tenants very shortly, and I

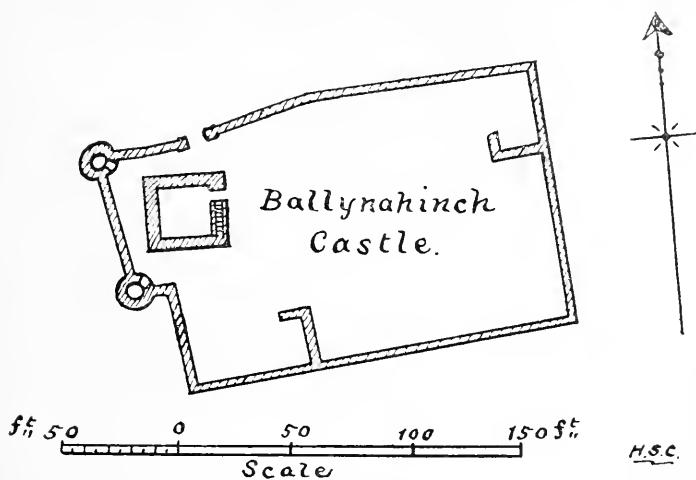


FIG. 1.—PLAN.

give the following particulars in case it may be possible to do anything towards its preservation whenever the sale is carried out.

The castle is situated close to the north-west bank of the River Suir, near Cashel, County Tipperary, in the townland of Ballynahinch and parish of Ballygriffin; it is marked on the Ordnance Map No. 60 of the county.

The buildings consist of an almost square tower or keep, somewhat under 46 feet in length and 40 in breadth; and a bawn or court surrounding it in a roughly rectangular form, about 200 feet from east to west, and 120 feet from north to south. Fig. 1 is a general plan of the castle.

Two small circular, loopholed towers defend the north-west corner of the court, close to which the keep is placed; but there are no traces of any towers at the other angles, which, being more distant from the keep, apparently need them more. Fig. 2 is a photograph taken from the north-west, showing the keep and the wall, with its towers and archway.

The entrance is in the north wall, nearly opposite to the north-east angle of the keep, and the doorway of the latter is in the east side near the same angle. The outer quoins and arch stones of this doorway are thrown down, and most of them are lying about, including the two large stones which together formed the pointed arch, and in which may be seen grooves to form an opening for a gun-barrel at the apex. Above the doorway is a very perfect sheela-na-gig, which I judge to be from 18 inches to 2 feet in height. Fig. 3 is a photograph taken from the centre of the courtyard, which includes the entrance gateway and the doorway of the keep.

The stairs run up in the thickness of the wall to the left of the doorway, and the roof over them is formed of flags laid across; it communicates with a passage in which is a "murdering hole" over the door. A machicoulis on the battlement also protects the latter.

There is a strong arched stone floor over the second story, and above this a large hall, with wide, plain fireplace, and smaller apartments overhead. The north wall rises above the roof, and contains an additional flight of stairs leading to the top, which formed a look-out station.

The whole building is in good preservation, and a small expenditure on the doorway and battlements would enable it to defy the weather for a long period.—HENRY S. CRAWFORD.

The Arms of the O'Rourkes: a Reply (*antea*, p. 318).—I may point out that though my paper on the above subject was rather long, the first three pages only were taken up with the "arms" and the metal slab on which they appear; the remaining pages being devoted to a description of the furnace and foundry in county Leitrim that



FIG. 2.—BALLYNAHINCH CASTLE, COUNTY TIPPERARY, FROM NORTH-WEST.



FIG. 3.—BALLYNAHINCH CASTLE, COUNTY TIPPERARY, SHOWING SHEELA-NA-GIG.

turned it out, &c. The full title was "The Arms of the O'Rourke; a metal casting from County Leitrim seventeenth-century foundries." The designation is not perfectly satisfactory, but I submit that it fairly well foreshadows the entire contents. To quote as the title a piece of it, "The Arms of the O'Rourke"—stopping short there, and then complain that the title disguises the contents, is scarcely defensible.

In Mr. Burtchaell's estimation, however, the head and front of my offending appears to be that of having dignified the old heraldic device of the O'Rourke with the appellation of "arms." Such devices on monumental slabs are in Ireland popularly called arms; and the casting described, when referred to in English, has for two centuries and more been so termed. Proof of this popular use of the word may be adduced from any article in the *Journal* dealing *ex professo* or incidentally with heraldry.

In the paper I did not attempt to describe the modern arms of the family. The "arms" I had purposed dealing with were defined with fair precision by the second part of its title, which I venture to think is clearly enough synonymous with the first. In passing, I described correctly, though not in the technical language of heraldry, other armorial bearings of this ancient Celtic house.

I fully agree with the opinion advanced by my friend, Canon French, in his paper on "The Arms of Ireland and Celtic Tribal Heraldry" (*Journal*, vol. xxxv., p. 234) that Celtic heraldry was of a much simpler type than Norman. I also readily subscribe to his statement that the definition of heraldry, as quoted by him, and adopted by my critic, more properly applies to Norman than to Celtic heraldry. I have no wish to quarrel with this definition, but want to bring out the fact that it is a definition of Norman or English, not of Irish, heraldry. Even in England the Heralds' College was not established till 1483. The O'Rourke then looked as little for their right to bear coat armour to that college or to any Ulster King as they depended on England for their titles to their ancient possessions in this county of Leitrim.

They were then, undoubtedly, distinguished by armorial insignia, if any chieftain family in Ireland were; and I submit that a case has been made out that these insignia were such as I tried to describe. It is much more probable that the four charges referred to in the simple stanza I quoted (p. 124) constitute the main features of a heraldic composition, known popularly and scientifically as "arms" (whatever the corresponding *Gaehelic* term may be) than that they are a "badge," either personal or tribal. The metal slab composition as a badge would be something of a monstrosity. It is not an essential feature of arms—old arms especially—that the right to emblazon them on an escutcheon should spring from a college of heralds.

Mr. Burtchaell talks of the "coronets" of kings-of-arms. Surely the term should be "crowns."

POSTSCRIPT.

May I be permitted to say something as to the authorised arms of the O'Rourkes? That I am in a position to do so, is due to the courtesy of Sir Arthur Vicars, Ulster King-of-Arms, who very kindly searched the records.

Sir Bryan O'Rorke¹ was knighted at Dublin "the 28 of Maye 1579." His arms are—Or, two lions passant, sa.

His son S^r Teage Ourourke² was knighted "ye 17 of Aprill 1604."

Arms—Quarterly 1st and 4th or, two lions pass. sa. 2nd and 3rd arg., two boars pass. gu.

Crest—A gauntlet holding a short sword ppr.

These two records are given in the "Register of Knights," Dublin, vol. i. In the Molyneux collection, also preserved in the Office of Arms, Dublin, there is given "O'Royrke of Corgary Co. Leitrim" of about 1600. The arms are the same as "S^r Teage's."

If these registered coats-of-arms be compared with those already touched upon as being found in books, it will be seen they are substantially identical.

The charges are the same, two lions passant, 'langued.' But their tincture appears to be different. In the first instance they are 'sable' (black). In the second, judging by the ordinary laws, they would be 'gules' (red). As to the shields, Sir Bryan's is 'or' (gold). The others are in all cases I have had an opportunity of observing 'speckled.' Now by the latter-day symbolization of heraldry, this would mean they, too, are 'or' (gold). But, according to Boutell,³ the present conventions were not generally adopted till "the beginning of the last century," *i.e.*, I take it, till the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁴ Whether the escutcheon dates further back, and, if so, what was the reading of that symbol—whether gold, silver, or even not impossibly some other metal (we hear of iron crowns)—I have no means at hand for determining with certainty. The interpretation I shall leave over to those of larger opportunities, and more interested in heraldry than I happen or wish to be. Whatever it can be shown to be, it is at all events perfectly safe to continue to describe it in the vernacular as "speckled." Possibly, indeed, the escutcheons were intended as

¹ This Sir Bryan was the famous Brian-na-Murtha or Brian-of-the-Ramparts, who was hanged in London in 1591. Sydney says of the latter that he was "the proudest man that he ever dealt with in Ireland." "No one of his tribe excelled him in bounty, in hospitality, in giving rewards for panegyric poems, in sumptuousness, in comeliness, in firmness, in maintaining the field of battle."

² This "S^r Teage" died in 1605, and was interred in Creevelea Abbey. The Four Masters say of him "he was a man not expected to die in his bed, but by the spear or sword."

³ *English Heraldry* (London, 1905).

⁴ His first edition appeared in 1867, and it is not stated that it has been since revised.

reproductions of "Sir Bryan's" or "S^re Teage's." If so, the puzzle is solved without more ado.

In the latter's armorial insignia, his father's arms are quartered with another's ('simple' quartering); and the shield is further embellished by a crest. The crest is without a crown, but the hand is gauntleted. There is no motto to any of them. In the American work I referred to, and in that alone of those I have observed, the O'Rourke motto is set down as "Θυϊόεαϛ." Its English equivalent is "We are Victors."

In none of those escutcheons is there found any allusion to the devices of the traditional O'Rourke Coat of Arms, so locally celebrated in indifferent verse, "the lion rampant and the spotted cat." The less distinctive insignia, "the hand and dagger," seem to be there in all but one of them. Some family arms were much more thoughtfully made out,¹ contriving to throw back the origin of the houses centuries further than the first distinguished individuals duly privileged to display them.

Now one's first thought is, what a pity that the O'Rourkes knighted in the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries had not something similar done for them by the heraldic powers that then were, to link them with what historians describe as a glorious past. But one's maturer thought is, that it is much more appropriate they should not. Those knighted O'Rourkes, all of them, turned their backs on the traditions of their family for a thousand years; and they are better severed, as far as can be, from their house.—
JOSEPH MEEHAN.

Heraldry.—I should like to make it perfectly clear that my purpose in writing the note on "The Arms of the O'Rourkes" in the *Journal* (*antea*, p. 318) was to prevent members of the Society from falling into the errors they must inevitably become involved in through being unacquainted with the language, laws, and history of heraldry, which cannot be mastered by a casual perusal of handbooks. This I have every reason to know, having made a study of heraldry all my life, and having been in constant communication on the subject for over a quarter of a century with Sir Arthur Vicars, now Ulster King-of-Arms, and intimately associated with him in this office ever since his appointment, fourteen years ago, as the supreme and ultimate authority in this country on such matters. The aim of the Society is to secure and maintain the

¹ The College of Arms in England, the Lyon Office in Scotland, and the Ulster King of Arms in Ireland, have the sole right of making grants of arms in these three countries, respectively. They are the fountain-heads of authority in all matters armorial; and have, in all cases, the direct sanction of the Crown. The irregularity, however, still exists, as far as I know unrestrained, of escutcheons without any such authorization.

greatest possible accuracy upon every subject dealt with in the *Journal*. My sole desire is to aid in ensuring that accuracy. Let me add that my note was written with the entire approval of Ulster King-of-Arms.—G. D. BURCHAELL, Office of Arms, Dublin.

The Hewetsons or Hewsons in Ireland.—I think it well to seek a place in our *Journal* for a work which, though already out of print and issued only to subscribers, and consequently unsuitable for review in the usual way, is of public interest and may be consulted in our principal libraries, copies having been presented to them.

An elaborate history and pedigree of the descendants of John Hewetson, of York, who were settled in Ireland before the middle of the sixteenth century, entitled "Memoirs of the House of Hewetson or Hewson of Ireland," by John Hewetson, was published by Mitchell & Hughes, London, in 1901. There were five principal branches described. At first they settled in the counties of Kildare and Kilkenny. During the Commonwealth a branch of the former, having acquired possessions in the county Limerick, seated itself at Castle Hewson near Askeaton, and in its turn gave off the Kerry branch, and one which subsequently settled in the county Kilkenny, about eight miles from Waterford.

Over 100 pages of the Memoirs are devoted to tracing the ramifications of the various branches; and two folding sheet pedigrees supply a convenient key to the whole. Though the family is styled as "of Ireland," they seem to have become very cosmopolitan, for members of it seem to have settled in most parts of the world.

Memoirs are supplied of four of the most notable members of the family. Of these Michael Hewetson, Archdeacon of Armagh till 1700, seems to have made his mark in history. He was the friend of Bishop Wilson, noticed in the Life of the latter, published in 1863 by the Rev. John Keble, Vicar of Hursley, who was misled as to the time of Hewetson's death by a wrongly read tombstone inscription. The Archdeacon warmly interested himself in the establishment of the Anglican Church in America, in connexion with Dr. Braye. His mezzotint portrait, which is extremely rare, is one of the finest of its kind. The only copies known are two in the British Museum. He seems to have moved to the diocese of Raphoe; and he died intestate at Ballyshannon about 1724.

A brief notice is given of Dr. Patrick Hewetson of Betaghstown, Clane, county Kildare, who died in 1783, leaving that place and land in Cavan to endow a charity school now at Clane.

Then follow memoirs of two clergymen of the family who seem to have had varied experiences—one chiefly in the south of Ireland in rebellion times, and the other in the West Indies. Five Royal Descents devolved on members of this family, elaborate details of which are given.

“The Parsonage at Suirvale” fills a chapter, and has some sensational items worthy of a novel.

The book contains also notices of families in Ireland which intermarried with the Hewetsons, or Hewsons: a list being given at p. 216. Amongst these are Aleock of Wilton, Ball of Glasdrummond, county Armagh; Bland of Kerry, Brown from Scotland, C. K. Bushe, Floods, Freeman, Greer, Purcell, Rose, Tighe, Trench, Vigors, Wandesford, Whitney; Lords Barrymore, Inchiquin, Lisle, Massy, and Clarina, Emly, de Montalt, and Mountgarret; F.-M. Lord Roberts, and Archbishop Loftus; the “Great” Duke of Wellington, and the Emperor Napoleon, and F.-M. Lord Wolseley. There is also a brief account of the Cromwellian Colonel, John Hewson, though he was not connected with the family of which the book treats. The following notice treats of him more fully. It was furnished by Mr. John Hewetson, the author of the book, for publication in the *Journal*.—J. R. GARTIN.

Colonel John Hewson, the Cromwellian.—There exists in Ireland, and has done, I believe, for at least 200 years, an impression that the ancient family of Hewetson or Hewson, of distinction in Church and State, which first settled itself in the county of Dublin, from Yorkshire, numbered among its ancestors Colonel John Hewson the Cromwellian.

Now, in order to dispel this illusion, I, the author of “Memoirs of the House of Hewetson or Hewson in Ireland,” in the compilation of that work, collected, after much patient research, certain information concerning the Colonel (which I thought to be the only connected account extant), and which might itself correct the erroneous idea above mentioned. The following is a summary:—

Colonel John Hewson (also styled Huson in State documents and by the historian), afterwards Lord Hewson, a Cromwellian, was of the family of “Huson,” already seated at Tenterden in the county of Kent, in the year 1600, whose Arms he bore. Though his traducers and enemies scurrilously described him as “being of mean parentage, and brought up to the trade of a shoemaker, which he exchanged for that of a soldier in the Parliament’s army, where his stubborn courage and malicious zeal against the Royal Family promoted him by degrees to the commission of a Colonel,” yet he was of a good family, as will appear later on. He was one of those who sat in judgment upon King Charles I. (executed 30th January, 1649), consented to his death, and signed the warrant for the same. His signature, “J. Hewson,” stands out conspicuously among the others, in a clear, neat, but somewhat tremulous hand, as exhibited by a facsimile of the death-warrant of the King in the British Museum. The letters are elongated, and the second one of the surname has the form of the short Greek ε. The style of his handwriting, and the fact of his bearing arms (hereafter described), point

to his having been an educated person, and of some family pretensions.

On January 8, 1647, a warrant by the Parliamentary Commissioners, dated at Belfast, authorized "*Col. John Hewetson* [*sic*] to take possession of the Manor or Lordship of Newcastle in County Down, belonging to Sir Connor Magennis, now in actual rebellion, to be held *in custodiam* for the parliament of England. He is to pay four pounds a year and the usual county cess."

Another warrant, dated at Belfast the 19th of January in the same year, authorized "*Lieut.-Colonel John Hewetson* [*sic*] to take possession of the lands of Lough Melland, county Down, belonging to Patrick McArton, now in actual rebellion. He is to hold them *in custodiam*, and pay two pounds a year rent for them."

He, on 17th May, 1649, in company with Fairfax, who was attended by his principal officers, visited the New Oxford, which was growing up upon the ruins of that old one which had received its mould from Laud. Two days afterwards the new Puritan University gave to the successful soldiers the highest honours it could bestow. Fairfax and Cromwell donned the scarlet gowns of Doctors of Civil Law; whilst Hewson, Harrison, Okey, and other martial figures were decked in the soberer costumes which designate a Master of Arts. The new authorities were right in what they did. The maintenance of that religion which they loved depended on the strong arms and buoyant hearts of those who had shown themselves capable of enforcing discipline.

Cromwell began his campaign in Ireland on the 1st of August, 1649, and on the 16th September following, before commencing his march to Dublin, appointed Colonel Hewson Governor of that city; and Michael Jones, who had previously held that post, was now (as had been arranged before the army left England) to serve as Lieutenant-General, whilst the lower office of Major-General was given to Ireton.

On the 29th April, 1651, in the second year of his governorship of the City of Dublin (his wife being the widow of a Mr. Turner),¹ his coat armour was recorded in the office of the Ulster King-of-Arms, Dublin. It was identical with that borne by the family of Huson, already seated at Tenterden (Kent) in the year 1600, and also with the arms of the Rev. William Hewson, D.D., born 1782, died 1845, after having been Vicar of Swansea for thirty-two years.²

Colonel John Hewson, however, discarded the Tenterden family crest, viz., "a ram's head erased argent, horned or," and adopted one emblematic of his political creed, as below. His coat-of-arms is blazoned in Ulster's office as—"Quarterly, gules and ermine, an eagle displayed,

¹ A brother of his, named Edward, was then living at Shrewsbury, waiting for a command. He obtained a company in the Colonel's regiment, and, at the Restoration, was discharged, after seventeen years' service as a commissioned officer.

² His sister, Hannah, died at Dublin, 30th September, 1835, aged fifty-two years.

or; in the dexter chief quarter a lion passant, argent. *Crest*.—A demi-man armed, wearing the iron hat of the period; over the left shoulder a sash, gules; in the dexter hand a sword proper coubée, pommel and hilt or; in the sinister hand an olive branch. *Motto* under the arms—“For God’s honour and love.” *Motto* running along the edge of the sword from the hilt upwards—“Through this.”

In January, 1652, his first wife died in Dublin, and was buried in Christchurch Cathedral on the 15th of the same month, with “heraldic honours,” and the event is recorded in a “funeral entry” by the Ulster King-of-Arms.

In July, 1653, he was promoted to a seat in the Council of State. He was also a sure member in every Parliament before the Restoration, and was called to the “Upper House” by Oliver, who created him one of his lords, 5th December, 1657.

On the 8th June, 1654, “Colonel J. Hewson and his Lady [his second wife], and many more men of quality and their families sailed in the ‘Truelove’ from Liverpool for Dublin”; and Parliament afterwards made a grant to him of the expenses incurred by taking up his residence in that city.

On the 18th of July following, a grant of Luttrellstown, a most beautiful place in the county of Dublin, was made to him for his arrears of pay.¹ He was High Sheriff for this county in 1653, and represented it in Cromwell’s Parliament of 1654. On the 28th October, 1656, an order in council was made that “Colonel John Hewson be allowed a chaplain for his Regiment of Foot.”

In 1659, he adhered to the Committee of Safety at Wallingford House (close to Whitehall Palace), the residence of Lieutenant-General Charles Fleetwood; by its order he marched into the city to overawe the tumultuous apprentices, &c., who were rising for a Restoration, and, when he found all the efforts of his party to prevent it were vain, he saved himself by a timely flight into Holland. Being attainted in 1660, his estates were, on the 25th February of that year, granted to Broderick, Viscount Middleton.

Concerning his flight, the State Papers of 1660–61 give the following curious despatch:—“20 Dec. 1660. Amsterdam. The game so long hunted after is at last lighted on. There are in the town Harry Cromwell, Sir John Bagster, Hewson the cobbler, and one or two such considerable rogues. Sir William Davison has applied to the Burgomasters for the Scout to help to seize them. All was prepared for their seizure last Saturday, when the Scout sent word that the Burgomasters had ordered him to give no assistance. Sir William on this posted off to the Hague to solicit the State’s order to put the design in execution, and his return is hourly expected. Hoped to have presented them at the King’s feet.

¹The lands granted to the Hewetson “’49 Officers” were mostly in the Golden Valley.

They are well armed, and seven or eight always in call of one another. A terrible storm has cast away fifty ships, and blown down five hundred houses the very night the Burgomasters refused so just a demand."

Colonel Hewson was somewhat stout, and a very good commander. He had but one eye (the right), which fact did not escape the notice and ridicule of his enemies. His behaviour in the army soon raised him to the rank of a colonel; he was a very extraordinary person, and Cromwell had so good an opinion of him as to entrust him, as above stated, with the government of the City of Dublin, whence he was called to be a Member of Barebones' Parliament, in which, and in the other Parliament of which he was a member, he was a frequent speaker.

As a reformer of religion, he is credited with having caused all the bears of the City of London to be killed, so as to stamp out the practice of bear-baiting. He, together with Major Axtell, is reported to have been conspicuous among the leaders of the army, who, when they chanced to enter parish churches, ejected the regular ministers from the pulpits, and held forth themselves instead.

From an original painting of Colonel Hewson, M. Vander Gucht produced an engraving in octavo, representing him in a buff coat and Puritan collar, without his helmet, his left hand resting on his hip, and the right upon a baton; forehead high, and proportionately broad; his only eye large and intelligent; his face fairly well elongated, terminating in a small, well-made chin; the nose indicative of gentility; mouth small; moustache very slight; without beard or whiskers, but having long flowing hair; the fingers are those of a well-bred person, and the *tout-ensemble* is a simple, effective refutation of the statements of his traducers derogatory to his origin.

A comparison of this portrait with those of Cromwell and Ireton shows how greatly superior he was in appearance to either, both the latter possessing heavy features.

His engraved portrait is in the British Museum, and a copy of it in the possession of the author of the Hewetson Memoirs.

From Pepys' Diary and other sources we find it definitely stated that he died at Amsterdam in 1662.

I have not been able to ascertain with certainty whether the colonel had issue by either of his wives.

NOTE.—It may be well to add that the family of *Huson*, of Springfield, Wexford, of Scottish origin, bear for arms—Argent, a heart gu. on a chief engr. az. a fleur-de-lis of the first. *Crest*—A harp az. stringed or.

Notes on the Arbutus at Killarney.—Mr. and Mrs. Hall, in their work on Ireland, its scenery, &c., 1841, say:—"The tourist, on approaching the lakes of Killarney, is at once struck by the peculiarity and the variety of the foliage in the woods that clothe the hills by which on all sides they are surrounded. The effect produced is novel, striking, and beautiful, and is caused chiefly by the abundant mixture of the tree-shrub (*Arbutus Unedo*) with the forest trees. The arbutus grows in rich profusion in nearly all parts of Ireland, but nowhere is it found of so large a size, or in such rich luxuriance, as at Killarney. . . . Mingled with other trees it is exceedingly beautiful; its bright green leaves happily mixing with the light, or dark, drapery of its neighbours, the elm and the ash, or the holly and yew, with which it is almost invariably intermixed. . . . It appears to the greatest advantage in October, when it is covered with a profusion of flowers in drooping clusters, and scarlet berries of the last year; and when its gay green is strongly contrasted with the brown and yellow tints which autumn has given to its neighbours."

The commissioners appointed to make a survey of the Desmond forfeitures, in 1584, were particularly struck with the beauty of the arbutus berry, and state that the arbutus-tree then grew on Loghleane and other islands.

The following is a translation of their survey of the possessions of Rory O'Donoghue, viz. :—

"Rory Donogho, otherwise called O'Donoghmo moore, a rebel, and of high treason attainted, as well at the time of his entry into rebellion as at the time of his attainder, was seised in his demesne as of fee of the manor and site of the castle of Rosidonough, and the district of Onaugh O'Donoghmo moore, in the country of Desmond in said county of Kirry, together with demesne lands, towns, lands and tenements, and other hereditaments, with their appurtenances. This castle is very strongly built, *de novo*, and is surrounded on three sides with the great water called 'a lough.' There is adjacent to it its island of Rosse, otherwise Rosidonough, which is large, and in itself contains two quarters of land. And in the said district there are a church and a town called Kyllarny. Many small islands belong to the said manor, some of which are void and render nothing but sand. Some of the said islands are known by the names of Loghleane, Ennesfallen, Mockeruss, and the remainder by other names which are not known. And on the lands and islands aforesaid there grow divers woods and underwoods of divers ages, some of which, growing in the district of Onaugh, are called Kyllonaughte, and contain by estimation three miles in length and one in breadth. A great part of these woods consists of oak-trees, great and small; but there are other woods and underwoods in the island of Loghleane and elsewhere in the islands, where grow certain trees called *Crankany*, which bear fruit every month throughout

the entire year. This fruit is sweet, the size of a small damson, and of little value except for its beautiful appearance.

“And there also grow there many yew-trees, otherwise ‘ewe-trees,’ good for making bows as is said; but the remaining woods are oak, of which many are good for timber.

“And so the aforesaid district of Onaugh O’Donogho moore, together with the aforesaid islands, woods, and underwoods, containing six miles in length, amounts by estimation to fifty carucates of arable land, meadow, pasture, moor, and bog, which at the rate of 2*l.* per carucate are worth 100*l.*

“And he was seized of divers fishings for salmon and other river fish worth yearly 4*l.* And so the aforesaid commissioners value all the premises by the year, in lawful money of England, payable by equal portions at the said feasts of Easter and Michaelmas, at 104*l.*”

This Survey may be melancholy reading from the light which it throws on the state of Munster after the Desmond rebellion, but it is a practically unexplored mine of information concerning local family and social history, topography, and physical features; and often, as in this case, it illustrates the Irish language.

Through ignorance of the botanical name, or otherwise, the commissioners call these trees *Crankany*, which is a very good phonetic representation of *crann caíène*, the Irish for arbutus-trees. The name was evidently supplied by the local inhabitants, who appear to have then pronounced *caíène*, *arbutus*, as a disyllable, and something like *cah-na*.

When Dr. Joyce was writing his “Irish Names of Places,” it was locally pronounced *cahna*, with the middle syllable very short, and the berries were called *cain*-apples by the English-speaking people.

Whether the arbutus was brought to Ireland from the continent by monks, or is indigenous, it is difficult to say; in any case, it has been here from a very early period, for we have a native name for it, and there is a provision concerning it in the Brehon laws.

In the romantic tale of “Diarmaid and Grainne” there is an incident connecting the arbutus with Killarney, which I am unwilling to omit, even at the risk of unduly extending these notes.

The warrior poet, Oisín, relates the romantic circumstances leading up to a great goaling match at Killarney between the Fenians and Tuatha De Danann, and then says:—“We, the Fenians of Erin, and they, were for the space of three days and three nights playing the goal from Garbh-abha na bh-Fiann, which is called Leamhan, to Crom-ghleann na bh-Fiann, which is called Gleann Fleisce now; and neither [party] of us won a goal. Now [the whole of] the Tuatha De Danann were all that time without our knowledge on either side of Loch Lein, and they understood that if we, the Fenians, were united, [all] the men of Erin could not win the goal of us. And the counsel which the Tuatha De Danann took

was to depart back again, and not to play [out] that goal with us. The provision that the Tuatha De Danann had brought with them from Tir Tairngire was this—crimson nuts, and *arbutus* apples, and fragrant berries, and as they passed through the cantred of Ui Fhiachrach by the Muaidh, one of the berries fell from them, and a quicken-tree grew out of that berry." . . .

Notwithstanding their vegetarian diet, the Tuatha De Danann on this occasion felt themselves unable to cope with the festive Milesians. They would have brought no *arbutus* apples with them if they knew that any then existed at Killarney, for the observant Commissioners of Queen Elizabeth say the berries grow on the *arbutus*-tree every month in the year. Hence, if credence is to be given to the story of the noble Oisín, may we not believe that some of the berries, then brought from the Land of Promise by the Tuatha De Danann, fell from them on the shores of the lakes, and became *arbutus* trees?—M. J. M'ENERY.

“**The Fethard Everards.**”—The Rev. John Everard, P.P., writes to correct some of the statements in Dr. Laffan's paper, *antea*, p. 143.

1. In connexion with the notice of Sir Redmond Everard (p. 144), he thinks it right to point out that Sir Redmond was, during the reign of Queen Anne, a Member of Parliament, a prominent supporter of the Jacobite cause, and a D.C.L. of Oxford. On the accession of George I. his loyalty to James drove him from his home, and his services to him whom he acknowledged as his king earned for him from that prince a peerage as Viscount Everard. It seems more just to assume that the debts incurred in such an exile arose from the share he took in the support of his party abroad rather than in personal extravagance, as Dr. Laffan seems to imply. Moreover, legal proceedings, records of which have been found, state the amount of the debts at a much lower figure than that named by Dr. Laffan.

2. Dr. Laffan's account of the poorhouse, founded in the reign of James I. by John Everard (not Sir John), is inconsistent with the Latin inscription placed on the almshouses themselves in 1646.

3. Archbishop Everard was not selected “on the nomination of Dr. James Butler” (p. 150), who was dead many years before, but was elected by the Propaganda, in 1814, coadjutor and successor to Dr. Bray. Though Dr. Bray lived until 1820, Dr. Everard administered the duties of the Archbishop for over six years.

An Archæological Society for the County Roscommon.—The following note has been forwarded:—It is proposed to form an Archæological Society for the county Roscommon similar to that which has been so successfully founded in county Galway and several other

counties throughout Ireland. The county Roscommon possesses many monuments of great antiquarian and historical interest, and many objects of artistic excellence have been from time to time discovered in it. From the earliest times it was the scene of stirring events, and numerous remains still exist of pre-Christian and Christian times, which are well deserving of further explanation and description. If successfully founded, meetings would be held at stated times, and places of interest visited and examined; besides, if funds permitted, a Journal would be published containing papers of interest which would have been submitted to the Society.

Swandlingbar.—See note, *antea*, pp. 126, 127. Dean Swift, “On Barbarous Denominations in Ireland, 1728,” writes:—“There is likewise a famous town where the worst iron in the kingdom is made, and it is called SWANDLINGBAR, the original of which name I shall explain, lest the antiquaries of future ages might be at a loss to derive it.

“It was a most witty conceit of four gentlemen who ruined themselves with this iron project:—SW stands for SWIFT, AND for SANDERS, LING for DARLING, and BAR for BARRY.

“Methinks I see the four loggerheads sitting in consult, like SMECTYMNUS, each gravely contributing a part of his own name to make up one for their place in the ironwork, and could wish they had been hanged as well as undone for their wit.”

See also pp. 48 and 49 of Henry’s “Upper Lough Erne in 1739,” edited by Sir Charles King, Bart., in 1892.—ERSKINE E. WEST.

Old Lead Pipe at Mount Merrion.—Captain Nevile R. Wilkinson, Mount Merrion, Blackrock, writes as follows:—“Excavations have lately been made at Mount Merrion, and a rather remarkable subterranean passage has been opened up, in which is an old 6-inch lead pipe leading from what the old maps show as a large reservoir of very curious construction. I am anxious to know what the object of this large pipe was; it seems too large to have been used merely for the supply of the old house. The arched masonry which surrounds it is also somewhat of a puzzle. If any of your members care to investigate the matter, in my absence, Mr. Crawford, the gardener here, will show them all that is to be seen.”

Notices of Books.

NOTE.—The books marked thus (*) are by Members of the Society.

**A Great Archbishop of Dublin: William King, D.D., 1650–1729.* His Autobiography, Family, and a selection from his Correspondence. Edited by Sir Charles Simeon King, Bart. (Longmans, Green, & Co.)

THE announcement of a book on Archbishop King, by Sir Charles Simeon King, will give pleasure to all genuine students of Irish history. William King was the greatest Irishman of his day—with the possible exception of Swift—and we could count beforehand on his receiving sympathetic treatment at the hands of the present representative of his family. The main parts of Sir Charles King's work are a translation of King's Autobiography—now for the first time made easily accessible in English—and a selection of letters from his pen or addressed to him by his friends. These are things which most admirers of the Archbishop have long desired to possess.

Let it be at once confessed, however, that we have experienced some disappointment on reading this book. An English version of the Autobiography is certainly most welcome; but we are surprised to observe that the translator is apparently unaware that the original Latin was printed as long ago as 1898 in the *English Historical Review*. Instead of this published text, he has used as the basis of his translation a copy of a copy of the autograph. And not seldom he has been led astray by it. Thus, on p. 6, we have "Desauterius" for Despauterius, the latinized name of the well-known Dutch grammarian Van Pauteren; on p. 13 the erroneous date 1703 is emended into 1673, which happens to be the reading of the ms.; on p. 39 several words are passed over as illegible which duly appear in the printed text, and the word "suseitavere" is either misread or mistranslated—the meaning of an entire paragraph being thereby obscured; and on p. 40 a similar catastrophe has taken place. On p. 32 doubt is expressed whether a certain fire was accidental; the doubt is only possible because the word "forte" has dropped out of the text. On p. 42 we learn that an anonymous French writer criticised King's *De Origine Mali* in a treatise called "Tentamen . . ." Had the correct text—"Tentamina Theodicii sive Essay de Theodicio"—lain before Sir Charles King, he could scarcely have failed to re-translate it into "Essais de Theodicée," and to perceive that the Anonymous, who wrote "modestly and carefully, but without force," was no less a person than

the philosopher Leibnitz. On pp. 4, 5 "proficiebam" of the correct text is represented by "progress was made," "arithmeticam discere incipiebam" by "some arithmetic began to be taught," "id enim si fecissem et" by "for that I might have done without cost but," "extractio radieis quadraticae" by "extraction of the fourth root," and, more remarkable still, "nescio quo casu naetus librum arithmeticum . . . eiusque proprio Marte regulas . . . didici" by "by what chance I know not—from his own arithmetic book . . . obtained from his wife—I learnt the rules"! It is much to be regretted that Sir Charles King's faulty text was not corrected from the *English Historical Review*.

Turning next to the selection from King's Correspondence, we are again obliged to make some adverse criticisms. In the first place, nearly half the letters in this volume have been already published. Some have appeared in the Second Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, others in the Correspondence of Dean Swift, and a large number of the most important of them in Mant's History of the Irish Church. And we cannot but note that Sir Charles King scarcely makes sufficient acknowledgment of his debt to Mant. For many of the letters which are described as from "T.C.D. transcribed correspondence" are obviously reproduced, not from the Trinity College manuscripts, but from Mant's History. An example is a letter on p. 166, which stands exactly as it is in Mant (ii. 280), though that writer omitted two portions of the text and the date. The letter is dated in the ms. "Mountmerriion, Sept. 16th, 1714." Another example is instructive. On p. 245, a portion of a letter is copied from Mant ii. 403. A note is added in illustration thereof which consists of three extracts from other letters. Exactly the same extracts are given, in the same order, and with the same purpose, in Mant ii. 401, 405, 406; yet Mant's name is not mentioned. But instances need not be multiplied. We shall only say that if it was found necessary to reprint letters already given by Mant, the use made of his work should have been fully acknowledged, and the text should have been verified in the mss. But it would have been easy and advantageous to avoid reprinting published letters. Thus, in the same volume which contains the letter referred to above (T.C.D. MS. N. 1. 8, p. 60), is another, also written 16th September, 1714, which covers much the same ground, and in addition gives us a most interesting description of the lamentable state of Dublin in 1714, which ought to have secured it a place in this work.

Sir Charles King seems to have made no attempt thoroughly to examine the extant collections of King's Correspondence. His most important addition to our knowledge of it is the selection which he has given from Mrs. Lyons' collection. But in this collection, valuable though it is, letters addressed to King are much more numerous than letters from him. And so in the book before us we have only one short letter belonging to the period before 1697, *i.e.* up to the forty-seventh

year of King's life. But it is certain that letters of this period would have been recovered if a search had been made through the original letters acquired by Trinity College in 1893, and the Dopping correspondence in the Public Library at Armagh; and these and other collections in the same libraries, unknown to Mant, would have yielded valuable material for later years.

We have felt it to be our duty to make the foregoing remarks, but we trust no one will draw from them the inference that Sir Charles King has not done good service by the publication of his book. We wish more space could be found for illustrating the value of the material which he has gathered—much of it not before printed. Apart from letters of Addison, Swift, Berkeley, the two Southwells, and others, for the bringing together of which we owe much gratitude to the editor, we find a great deal that is both new and important. All Irish antiquaries will read with interest Sir Patrick Dun's account of the fire in Dublin Castle in 1684 (p. 62). A good many will also note Archbishop Francis Marsh's letters from England in July and August, 1690 (pp. 71, 73), which prove that the statement made by Dr. Stokes (*Worthies*, p. 96), and repeated by Dr. Lawlor in this *Journal* (vol. xxx., p. 129), that Marsh returned to Ireland immediately after the Boyne, is baseless. Baseless also, as Sir Charles King points out (p. 248), is the tradition that Dr. Elie Bouhèreau made the excellent Catalogue of Marsh's Library still in use. Sir Charles infers from a letter of Archbishop King that the credit of that work belongs to Robert Dougatt, the Archbishop's nephew; and the correctness of the inference is established, as we learn from Dr. White, Marsh's Librarian, by an examination of the records of the Library. We may be forgiven for quoting here the reason, as given by Archbishop King (p. 195), for John Stearne's promotion to the episcopate, and Swift's appointment to succeed him at St. Patrick's: "Dr. Stearne . . . was removed from the Deanry of St. Patrick's . . . to Dromore in the late Time, but was told this was not for any merit in him, but to make room for Dr. Swift. He [Swift?] demurr'd upon it, but his friends and I thought a Dean could do less mischief than a Bishop." But more to be valued than such things as these is the light which is thrown by Sir Charles King's book on the character of the Archbishop.

His hitherto published letters deal so much with public affairs that we find it hard with their aid to get at the man himself. Now we can think of him (to mention a detail) as one who had supplies of tobacco sent to him while he was enjoying a holiday in the country (page 59); and it is pleasant to call up the picture of the future Williamite bishop and the future Jacobite Lord High Chancellor of England smoking together, the latter, at any rate, deriving much happiness from his pipe and from his friend's company (page 61). Now also we know something of the Archbishop's dealings with "so

incorrigible a varlet" as "that wicked youth," his nephew and namesake, William King (pp. 149, 252), and with his brother-in-law, Charles Irvine (pp. 120, 202, 232, 238, &c.); and we can read his excellent and sympathetic letters to his ward, Mally King, to her intended husband, and to her mother (pp. 154-160). And by these things a fresh and estimable feature of his character is displayed. His shrewdness, too, in business matters and his active benevolence receive happy illustration from his letters on the South Sea Bubble (p. 224 *sqq.*). On the other hand, in view of his vigorous protests against touting for ecclesiastical preferment, it comes as something of a shock when we learn that a considerable amount of wire-pulling was necessary to secure for him the Bishopric of Derry (p. 75).

But our space is exhausted. We conclude with one further remark. Sir Charles King's book brings out more vividly than ever the contrast—of which all who know anything about Archbishop King are aware—between his incessant and enormous labours and his continual ill-health and physical suffering. The contrast remained throughout his career; and in the end it became tragic. On the 5th of May, 1729, already in his last illness, he began the annual visitation of his Diocese. On the 8th of May he was dead. Sickness and work went together till the last.

* *The Diocese of Limerick, Ancient and Medieval.* By Rev. John Begley, c.c., St. Munchin's. With a Preface by the Most Rev. E. T. O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick. (Browne & Nolan, Limited, Dublin.)

WHILE Father Begley's book is of intense local interest and value, it will be extremely useful to the student of the general history of the Irish people. The author has made an exhaustive study of his subject, and closely followed the methods adopted in the treatment of English history by Green and Gardiner. Not only has he consulted a long array of the books most likely to give him sound information, but he has made extensive use of extremely valuable manuscripts in Rome, the Public Record Office of Ireland, the Royal Irish Academy, and private hands. Limerick diocese and county are singularly fortunate in the number and value of the records which illustrate their history, and the author has turned them to very good account.

The original Celtic inhabitants, the introduction of Christianity, the Celtic Church, the Norse colony, the Celtic revival, the Norman invasion and settlement, the constitution and organization of the Church during the Norman period, and the partial Celtic revival are all fully described.

The reader cannot fail to be struck by the fundamental parallels in the history of the Celts and Anglo-Saxons.

Much consideration has been given to the topography of the diocese. There is an excellent map giving the modern parishes: on this map the ancient tuaths are carefully laid down, and nearly every ancient church is identified and located. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this. The author has been the first to give a map of these hitherto practically unknown tuaths, which will be of the greatest use in making the history of the diocese clear and definite.

The original Celtic inhabitants are first dealt with: there is a very clear account of the principal septs, the tuaths inhabited by each, their social life, manners, customs, and political organization. An extremely good idea of Celtic communities can be gathered from this section.

The arrival of St. Patrick, his progress through the diocese, and the introduction of Christianity are graphically told. The great Celtic monastic establishments, with sketches of the lives of their saintly founders, are well described. The general structural plan of the monasteries, the organization of the communities, and their peculiarities are described; and we get an excellent account of the Celtic monks and Church.

The Norsemen next appear on the scene. Pirates, merchants, colonists; their raids, alliances, intermarriages, and settlements in the diocese must always be a subject of interest. Although conquered, they left their mark on the history of Limerick.

Like Dublin and Waterford, Limerick was founded by Norsemen, and remained in their hands after the break-up of their power. Furthermore, at the beginning of the twelfth century a bishopric was founded there in connexion with the See of Canterbury, like the bishoprics of Dublin and Waterford, and like them curtailing the scope of the great Celtic bishopric of which, originally, it formed a part. Limerick diocese may be regarded as then carved out of Inis Cathaigh. In a few years after, its boundaries were definitely laid down by the Synod of Rathbresail; and, within less than a century, the See of Inis Cathaigh had ceased to exist.

The introduction of the great regular orders and the Norman invasion are next described.

The raids, wars, alliances, and settlements of the Normans must always be deeply interesting. Celt and Saxon shared a similar fate. Both were conquered and harshly treated; but the Norman conquest in Ireland was by no means as thorough as in England. In Limerick it may be said that the Norman noble supplanted the Irish chief; English law was administered in the courts; the judicature and executive were modelled on the English plan; the tribal system, if not altogether abolished, was greatly curtailed; and the tribe land with its dun became the Norman manor with its castle.

The settlement of the early Norman colonists is well described, and there is a full account of the great lords and warriors who were the

principal actors. The early extents, published almost *in extenso*, give the clearest view of the nature of the Limerick manors and the various social grades.

The native clergy were similarly over-shadowed: the Norman clergy assumed an undue preponderance; there were many foundations of the regular orders; Celtic peculiarities disappeared; and the Irish Church both in constitution and organization rapidly assumed that wonderful uniformity which characterised the Roman Catholic Church.

The author was fortunate in having ample material for this portion of his work, and we have an excellent account, not only of the mediæval monastic foundations, but of every movement of importance in the Church, from the early Celtic period to the Reformation.

It is outside the scope of this notice to go into minute details of the history of the diocese during the reigns of the Plantagenets and the Houses of York and Lancaster. Suffice it to say, that the author has fully dealt with the civil and ecclesiastical history of Limerick city and diocese during the period.

The abasement of the Celts and Celtic system, the growth of the Norman colony, the maintenance of order and administration of the law, the rise of walled towns, trade, commerce, intestine disorders, wars, and the manners and customs of the people, are well described.

There is a great quantity of personal and family history; and there have been few persons, lay or ecclesiastic, of note in the diocese, who have not received suitable notice.

Regarding this period, the reader will be surprised at the weak resistance to the Norman settlement, which received little opposition in the county of Limerick. The explanation is simple. There was then no unity or cohesion in Munster. The O'Briens possessed the strength of North Munster, and the M'Carthy's that of South Munster; and there was constant rivalry between them. No correspondingly powerful family or permanent coalition existed in central Munster; and accordingly it was constantly harried by both the O'Briens and M'Carthy's, and its strength absorbed by one or the other. Consequently there was no effective party or coalition in county Limerick to face the invasion; and the Celtic septs seem to have settled quietly under Norman lords. A few ephemeral raids were made by the O'Briens and M'Carthy's, but they had no permanent effect.

A matter still more surprising is the extraordinary adoption of the Celtic language, habits, and customs by the Normans. Their settlement in Limerick county was firmly established at the end of the reign of Edward I.: twenty years after the English power in Ireland was practically broken. The Scotch wars and the invasion of the Bruces reduced it to the last extremity. If the Celts of Limerick did not, as elsewhere, recover the independence and lands they had lost, the result was almost the same. The explanation of this is that the Southern

Geraldines to all intents became Irish chiefs, treated the Celtic inhabitants well, and were exceedingly beloved by them.

Maurice, son of Thomas, whose family had then acquired almost princely power, was created Earl of Desmond, with palatinate jurisdiction, in 1329. He and his successors quickly adopted Irish laws, manners, and customs, and practically discarded those of England.

Owing to the circumstances of English politics, the Irish Government remained hopelessly weak for many a year. Far from Dublin, with an almost impassable country between, the Earl of Desmond had as free a hand in Munster as the Burkes had in Connaught. Each successive Earl was intensely Celtic in sympathy, and presented the extraordinary spectacle of a great English lord ruling his immense estates as a Celtic chief, and causing a strong Celtic revival throughout most of the province of Munster.

Many of the records are given by the author *in extenso*.

The illustrations are extremely good. We have the map already referred to, a map of the city in the time of Queen Elizabeth, a view of Limerick castle, and many views of ruined churches and monasteries. The architecture of the churches is well described.

The author has given a very reliable History of his diocese; and it has so many phases in common with the history of a great part of Ireland, that the reader, when he has finished the book, will find he has learned much of the general history of the Irish people. It would be difficult to overestimate its merits; and if any inaccuracy or typographical errors have escaped the author's notice, it would be false criticism to say they detract from its great value.

The History closes at a period when Henry VIII. adopted the policy of trying to win Ireland to English laws, customs, and manners, by ennobling her chiefs, Celtic or Anglo-Norman, and enriching them with the possessions of the dissolved monasteries. It is to be hoped that the author, in his next volume, will disclose the sequel to this policy. We will not anticipate his story. We hope he will give us a History as reliable and valuable as the present one; and we congratulate our Society on the fact that one of its members has produced such an excellent work.

**The Origin and Early History of the Family of Poë or Poe.* With full pedigrees of the Irish branch of the family, and a discussion of the true ancestry of Edgar Allan Poe, the American poet. By Sir Edmund Thomas Bewley, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.A.I. (Dublin: Ponsobly & Gibbs, University Press, 1906.)

THE book under notice proves that while Sir Edmund Bewley holds high rank as a skilled lawyer and learned judge, he may also claim to be an accomplished genealogist. His "Bewleys of Cumberland" and

“The Family of Mulock” give evidence of painstaking research and accuracy in detail; but the History of the Poe family shows powers and qualities that may well be the admiration of the entire College of Heralds. Sir Edmund Bewley’s training taught him the value and method of sifting evidence; and this story of the Poe family may be commended as a model which all compilers of pedigrees and family history might copy with advantage.

At the start, a theory as to the Poe family having come from the Palatinate of the Rhine is shown to be without foundation, though, by a coincidence, there is settled in the United States a family of the name from Germany. The Irish Poes are descended from Anthony Poe, of Papplewick in Nottinghamshire, yeoman, who made his will about 1605.

The chapter on William Poe, who settled in the County Tyrone, and married Frances Sedborough, affords striking proof of the facilities for historical research offered by the Public Record Office, and is of very great interest and importance as giving a vivid picture of settlement life under the Plantation of Ulster. Sir Edmund, in his preface, states that, on taking the work in hand, he knew nothing about Poe save that he was a Cromwellian officer. Poe had been settled in Ireland long ere Cromwell’s time, and his life-story is fully unfolded in this fascinating chapter, as taken from Inquisitions, Patent Rolls, Fiants, Chancery and Equity Exchequer proceedings in England and Ireland, English and Irish Wills, Fines, &c. “Many may feel surprised that so much private family history could be gathered from the Public Records,” is a remark of the author.

For a very large section of the public, however, the ramifications of the Poe family will have little interest as compared with the solution of the problem regarding the ancestry of Edgar Allan Poe, which forms the subject of Chapter VIII. He is stated by American writers to have belonged to the old Norman family of Le Poer, “who passed from Italy into the North of France,” &c. “A few branches still in Ireland bore the old Italian name of De la Poë.” In R. H. Stoddard’s edition of Poe’s works, he writes that the family “which was called De La Poe must have been very old, if it be true, as we are assured it was, that the name antedated the River Po”! Colonel Joyce, in the *Life of Edgar Allan Poe* (1901), declares that John Poe, *father of Lady Blessington*, was great-grandfather of the poet. Now Marguerite Power, Lady Blessington, was daughter of Edmund Power, and was born near Clonmel, County Tipperary, in 1789, about thirty-three years after John Poe’s death. The poet’s great-great-grandfather, David Poe, was settled at Dring, County Cavan, in the early part of the eighteenth century; and it seems most highly probable that he was a descendant of one of the Poes who settled in Ireland in connexion with the Plantation of Ulster. That a number of Northern Powells were entered in registers, &c., under the former name is clear from numerous instances cited by Sir Edmund

Bewley; and there is distinct evidence that a member of the family of the Armagh Powells migrated to Cavan, and to the very locality in which David Poe, of Dring, is found.

By a series of facts most ingeniously pieced together, the conclusion is irresistibly arrived at that the name Pœ is a contraction or corruption of that of the Welsh family of Powell; the forms Powell, Poel, Pole, Poe are found used in parish registers and various documents as being denominations of members of the same family.

The book is sure to attract much attention; and in America especially, where Edgar Allan Poe's poetical works are so widely read, the facts as to his ancestry, now for the first time disclosed, will be read with deep interest.

A Genealogical History of the Savage Family in Ulster: Being a revision and enlargement of certain chapters of "The Savages of the Ards." Compiled by Members of the Family from Historical Documents and Family Papers, and edited by G. F. S.-A. (London: printed at the Chiswick Press, 1906.)

A MELANCHOLY interest attaches to this work, as the editor, Professor Savage-Armstrong, died on the eve of its publication. It is a revised and much enlarged edition of his former work entitled, "The Savages of the Ards." Every available source of information appears to have been consulted, and an enormous amount of materials collected and arranged. For such a work the editor was peculiarly qualified, as he held the chair of History in Queen's College, Cork. Although, in the first instance, the history of a family is of interest only to the members of the family and those connected with them, this work has really a much wider scope, being in fact a history of the Norman colony which, under John de Courcy, conquered a portion of Ulster at the close of the twelfth century, and, through varying fortunes, continued to maintain their position there in spite of all the efforts of the Irish to dislodge them. In 1353, as the annalists tells us, Sir Robert Savage, having primed his men with "a mighty draught of *acqua vitæ*, wine, or old ale," inflicted a great defeat upon the Irish, and slew 3000 of them. Exception might be taken to the statement that Sir Henry Savage, who was summoned to Parliament in 1374, and subsequently, was thus created a Baron by Writ of Summons. The summonses to Parliament of the magnates of Ireland do not appear to have been considered as creating peerages, as was the case in England, and there was no right to a summons to Parliament recognized thereby. No other member of the Savage family was ever summoned, or made any claim to be summoned. The description

of "Lord" Savage, given to the head of the family in the time of the Tudor Sovereigns, was the usual designation of the chiefs of the English families which, in course of time, had adopted the Irish customs and laws. As the English power declined more and more during the Wars of the Roses, the Savages became entirely independent, like the Burkes in Connaught, and the Geraldines in Munster. The editor has most ingeniously attempted to reconcile the Irish pedigree of the Savages with the ascertained facts of their history. The discrepancies are, doubtless, due to the adoption of the Irish custom of Tanistry. "Fortunately," he says, "the custom did not prevail in the Savage family; but its occasional adoption has been a cause of uncertainty with regard to the direct genealogical succession in one or two instances." The various branches of the family have been traced to the parent stem with more or less success—a most difficult task when we bear in mind that, even at the present day, probably more than half the population of the Ards bear the name of Savage.

Many side-lights are thrown on the history of the counties of Down and Antrim down to the last century. In 1812 the head of the family was obliged, on inheriting an estate through his grandmother, to assume the name of Nugent instead of that borne by his ancestors for eight centuries, which led a local humourist to exclaim, "I had rather be an old Savage than a New Gent!" Even for a mere family history, an index cannot fail to be of assistance in consulting such a work. Having regard to the large amount of historical information, both political and social, this book contains, the absence of an index is a great defect.

Proceedings.

A GENERAL MEETING of the 58th Yearly Session of the Society was held in the SOCIETY'S ROOMS, 6, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, on Tuesday, the 2nd of October, 1906, at 8.30 o'clock, p.m. :

JOHN RIBTON GARSTIN, ESQ., D.L., M.R.I.A., in the Chair.

The following Fellows and Members attended the Meeting and Excursion :—

Mrs. Allen ; E. C. R. Armstrong ; H. F. Berry ; Robert Bestick ; Dr. H. T. Bewley ; Mrs. S. Bewley ; Lieut.-Colonel Biddulph ; J. Brenan ; J. P. Bruncker ; Prof. W. F. Butler ; Mrs. Byrne ; John Carolan ; John Cooke ; H. A. Cosgrave ; J. P. Dalton ; Sir J. F. Dillon ; Rev. W. Falkiner ; Edwin Fayle ; Rev. Canon Fisher ; Lord Walter Fitz Gerald ; Miss M. J. Fottrell ; Miss Gibson ; George Godden ; Joseph Gough ; Mrs. E. L. Gonld ; P. J. Griffith ; F. Guilbride ; W. A. Henderson ; Capt. B. J. Jones ; Miss Kenny ; M. R. Kiernan ; R. C. Laughlin ; Rev. J. B. Leslie ; E. M. Lloyd ; Rev. F. J. Lucas ; Thomas Mason ; Edward Martyn ; Gerald Mayne ; Rev. R. M. Miller ; Colonel J. K. Millner ; James Mills ; J. H. Moore ; Rev. D. Mullan ; M. L. Murphy ; Rev. S. R. M'Gee ; J. P. M'Knight ; James H. T. Nixon ; Goddard H. Orpen ; P. J. O'Reilly ; Thomas Paterson ; J. J. Perceval ; Miss A. Peter ; George Peyton ; G. W. Place ; Miss E. M. Pim ; Miss Ida Pim ; G. N. Count Plunkett ; Hugh Pollock ; Miss Powell ; Rev. A. D. Purefoy ; Rev. R. B. Rankin ; Andrew Robinson ; A. Roycroft ; D. Carolan Rushe ; J. A. Scott ; Mrs. Shackleton ; G. Shackleton ; Mrs. E. Sheridan ; Mrs. Augustus Smith ; Mrs. E. W. Smyth ; H. J. Stokes ; W. C. Stubbs ; G. T. B. Vanston ; Miss E. G. Warren ; J. F. Weldrick ; R. Blair White ; J. White.

The Minutes of last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Fellows and Members were elected :—

AS FELLOWS.

Carlyon-Britton, Philip William Poole, F.S.A., D.L. (Glos.) ; J.P. (Middlesex), 14, Oakwood Court, Kensington, London, W. : proposed by George D. Burtchaell, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.
Gibson, Rev. John, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.L., F.R.G.S., Rector of Ebchester, Newcastle-on-Tyne : proposed by C. F. Forshaw, D.C.L., LL.D., *Fellow*.
Laffan, Thomas, M.D., Cashel (*Member*, 1890) : proposed by Count Plunkett, F.S.A., *Vice-President*.

AS MEMBERS.

Armstrong, Edmund Clarence Richard, Maudena, Eglinton-road, Donnybrook : proposed by John Ribton Garstin, D.L., *Fellow*.
Chute, J. H. C., A.M.I.C.E., Castle Coote, Roscommon : proposed by Rev. William Falkiner, M.A., *Member*.

- D'Arcy, the Right Rev. Charles Frederick, D.D., Lord Bishop of Clogher, Bishops-court, Clones: proposed by J. R. Garstin, *Fellow*.
- De Lisle, Arnold, F.R.HIST. S., Netherton, Dudley, Worcestershire: proposed by Robert Cochrane, LL.D., I.S.O., *Fellow*.
- De Ros, Lady, Old Court, Strangford, Co. Down: proposed by the Hon. Kathleen Ward, *Member*.
- Fitz Gerald, Rev. James K., P.P., St. Brendan's, Ardfer, Co. Kerry: proposed by Robert Cochrane, LL.D., I.S.O., *Fellow*.
- Hall-Dare, Robert Westley, D.L., Newtownbarry House, Newtownbarry: proposed by Francis Guilbride, J.P., *Member*.
- Horgan, Rev. Michael A., P.P., Sneem, Co. Kerry: proposed by Rev. James Carmody, P.P., *Member*.
- Mac Sweeney, William, M.D., Park-place, Killarney: proposed by Frank M. Feely, D.I., R.I.C., *Member*.
- Mitchell, Thomas, M.A., Walcot, Birr: proposed by Rev. S. Hemphill, D.D., *Member*.
- Tuthill, Phineas B., Lieut.-Col. R.A.M.C., Summersdale, Chichester: proposed by G. D. Burtchaell, M.A., *Fellow*.

The following Paper was read, and referred to the Council for publication:—

“The Castle of Raymond le Gros at Fodredunolan,” by Goddard H. Orpen, M.A., *Member*. (See p. 368.)

Mr. P. J. O'Reilly, *Fellow*, gave an exhibition of lantern slides, illustrating the places of interest in Trim and the neighbourhood, to be visited by the Society on the following day.

EXCURSION.

WEDNESDAY, *October 3rd, 1906.*

On arrival at Trim, St. Patrick's Church was first visited. The tower, which is the oldest structure remaining here, is kept in repair. A stone bearing the coat-of-arms of Richard, Duke of York, Lord-Lieutenant under Henry VI., is inserted in the wall. This stone is a wedge-shaped fragment of a larger slab, which was rudely inserted in the wall at a later period than the erection of the tower. Set in the floor of the porch beneath the tower is preserved the tombstone of John Warde, Rector, who died 1508. Built into the wall of this porch is a stone on which elaborate foliated trefoil ornament is placed beneath a crucifixion, with half-length effigies of the Blessed Virgin and St. John, the Omega symbol being placed with trefoils and a *fleur-de-lis* flanked by angels above the Saviour's head, and the upper portion of the stone bearing the heads and busts of a man and woman, all in relief, but without inscription. Into the wall of the vestry is built a tombstone to Walter Martin and Jeneta Delapatrik, 1590.

At the east end of the church are the ruins of the old chancel, with a three-light window. Into the wall are built a stone bearing a panel containing a beautiful design reminiscent of the Irish "trumpet-pattern," and, on a second panel, beneath a canopy, the effigy of a bishop bearing a cross and mitre. There are also the tombstone of a rector described as Archilevita; a small armorial stone bearing three pikes in pale, surmounted by a coronet on which were seven *fleur-de-lis*, and a little leaf on which a wheel-cross is incised, built into the walls of this ruined chancel, beneath which lie the tombstones of Walter Thombe, 1458; John Gregg, Dean of Lismore, 1629; and Sir Thomas Ash and his wife, about the same date.

In the church is a small piscina, the base of which is semi-octagonal, which is built against the wall, and is ornamented with shields bearing the arms of Butler, England, and Mortimer, showing remains of colouring; and tablets to the Rev. Dillon Ashe, 1716, and to Dean Butler. Some tiles from Newtown-Trim are preserved in the vestry. A silver chalice and paten, the gift of Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath, 1696, are in use.

Leaving the church, Talbot Castle, the residence of A. V. Montgomery, Esq., was next visited, by his kind permission; its apartments, the charming pictures of Trim Castle and the river seen from its windows, and the fine vaultings of its lower chambers, proved most interesting. Adjoining is the tower of the old Abbey of St. Mary of Trim, known as the "Yellow Steeple." The tower was partly blown up by Cromwell's forces.

From Talbot Castle a path, which leads for a short mile across the fields to Newtown-Trim, from the sheep-gate in the old town wall, was taken. At Newtown the ruins of a large church, 135 feet long by 30 feet wide, with walls 40 feet high and $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, which was intended to be the cathedral for Meath, and the remains of the monastic buildings attached thereto, were visited. The church and monastery were dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, and were founded by Simon de Rochfort, Bishop of Meath, 1206, who held a synod here in 1216, and was buried here in 1224. A stone with the effigy of a bishop, wanting the head, is built into the west gable of the adjoining church of Newtown-Clonbun, and may possibly have been his effigy. The southern wall of the church contains a recess divided into two compartments by a column bearing two round arches, twin sockets to receive bars being sunk in both jambs and column at the spring of the arches.

At the east end of the church is a remnant of the opening of an inserted window, 10 feet wide and 27 feet high; and, beside this, to the south, the moulding of one side of an earlier, and narrower, window, probably one of three lancet windows that may have originally pierced this wall.

The ruined church of Newtown-Clonbun beyond the cathedral was next visited. This contains an altar-tomb to Sir Lucas Dillon of Moymet

Castle, near Trim, on the covering-slab of which are fine effigies of the knight and his lady, Jane Bathe, of Athearne Castle, County Meath, and Drumcondra Castle, County Dublin, who died some time before 1581. The sides of the monument are occupied by shields bearing the arms of the Bathes, Barnwalls, and other families with whom the Dillons intermarried; and on a panel on its western end Sir Lucas, his wife, and six of their seven sons, are represented in the attitude of prayer. This, the Broune slab, and other monuments were inspected with the greatest interest by the party.

On the south side of the river, just across the bridge, the ruins of St. John's Priory, at one time the residence of the Ashe family, were visited, and its towers and three-light windows were examined. Returning to Trim, lunch was served in the Courthouse, and afterwards the ruins of King John's Castle were visited, and its gate-house, towers, donjon, walls, and barbican inspected.

The party, which numbered seventy persons, returned from Trim by the 3.40 train after a very pleasant day, the programme for which had been prepared by Mr. J. H. Moore, M.A., M.A.I., *Hon. Local Secretary for Meath*; and the various places were described by Mr. P. J. O'Reilly, whose lecture the previous evening on the antiquities of Trim had been greatly appreciated, and added much to the intelligent enjoyment of the excursion.

AN Evening Meeting of the 58th Yearly Session of the Society was held in the Society's Rooms, 6, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, on Tuesday, the 27th of November, 1906, at 8 o'clock, WILLIAM COTTER STUBBS, Esq., M.A., *Vice-President*, in the Chair.

The first of the following papers was read and discussed, and the two latter were taken as read, and all were referred to the Council for publication:—

"A Contribution towards a Catalogue of Nineteenth-century Engravings of Dublin, Part I." (illustrated by lantern slides), by Dr. E. Mac Dowel Cosgrave. (See p. 400.)

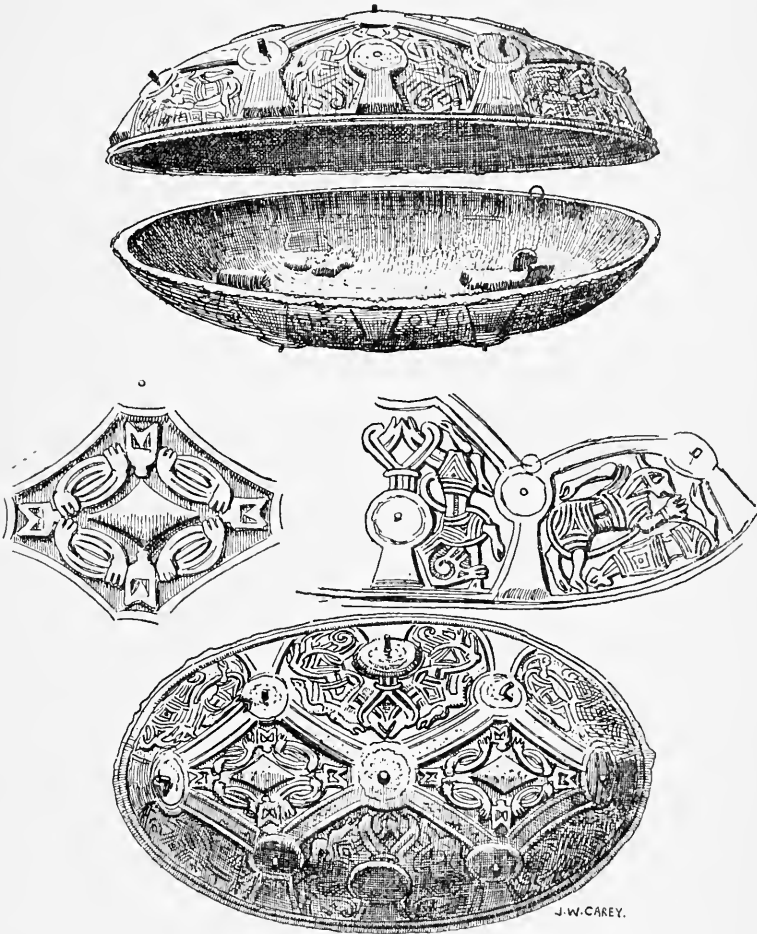
"Some further Notes on the Castles of North Limerick" (illustrated by lantern slides), by T. J. Westropp, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

"A German View of Ireland, 1720," by R. A. S. Macalister, F.S.A. (See p. 395.)

EXHIBITS.

The Hon. Secretary, Dr. Cochrane, I.S.O., F.S.A., exhibited two Viking brooches, which, with a bowl, had been found in a hillock on a portion of the raised beach at Ballyholme, between Bangor and Groomsport, county Down. These objects were found in the autumn of 1903 in a raised beach adjoining the sea. The ground was being excavated for building purposes, and about 9 feet deep was cleared off the crown of the hill, which

consisted of sand for a depth of 12 feet on the top, with gravel underneath. A small rivulet, which has formed a deep ravine, divides the hill from the adjoining ground, and the sea is in front. There was a perpendicular cutting in the sand about 9 feet in depth, when the diggers came on a place where the earth was quite black and V-shaped. The black



TORTOISE BROOCHES FOUND IN COUNTY DOWN ($\frac{2}{3}$), WITH ENLARGEMENT, SHOWING PATTERN OF ORNAMENT.

earth was sharply defined from the dark-red sand; the blackness commenced about 2 feet from the surface, and continued for 6 feet down, narrowing as it went down wedge-shape. The two brooches (see illustration) were found at the bottom of the cutting, the hollow sides

face to face. The pins of the brooches were inside when found, but one of the finders displaced them with the point of his knife.

The vessel of bronze like a bowl had a piece of fine chain attached, and a great quantity of what looked like hair inside, but experts have pronounced it to be wool. The workmen pulled the bronze into strips. There were some bones also found with it, and a large piece of thin linen like fine canvas.

It is recorded that in the year 824¹ a raid was made by a band of Northern Vikings on Bangor Abbey, half a mile distant, and many of the monks and others were murdered. A Viking was probably buried at this spot, which overlooks the north channel and coast of Cantyre opposite. The bowl when found was in its proper shape, and a chain was attached to it. The centre of the bottom is apparent on one of the pieces, and the whole might be reconstructed on a block, as the rim had survived.

The finding of these objects is described by Mr. S. F. Milligan in a note in "Miscellanea," pp. 205-6, *antea*, and they remain in his possession. They were exhibited at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, London, in February of this year, when Mr. Reginald Smith read the following notes on the discovery at Ballyholme.

He referred at length to all the early types of this class of ornament, and the peculiar characteristics of the brooches of the seventh and eighth centuries, specimens of which he described, and then continued as follows²:—

"In the chronological scheme here adopted, the type found at Ballyholme comes next in order, and is assigned to the early part of the ninth century, in exact accordance with the historical evidence. At this stage the scheme of decoration includes diamond or rhomboidal panels, the dividing lines being often emphasized by silver wire which joined the studs (of which the rivets only remain) placed at the angles. The animal ornament also undergoes a change, but, like the panels, is singularly uniform on examples of this class, which is represented in the British Museum by brooches from Phoenix Park, Dublin; Lom and Lake Vaage (prov. Christian); Namdalen (N. Trondhjem); and Bergen, Norway; and another without locality.

"By the middle of the century another style of decoration was in vogue, the ground being cut away, and the animal pattern left in open-work. Examples from the Island of Gothland and Ullensaken, Norway, may be seen at Bloomsbury. The tenth century is marked by a considerable development, the open-work dome being studded with pierced projections at various points corresponding to the earlier riveted studs,

¹ O'Donovan, in his translation of the "Annals of the Four Masters," says (i. 434): "The plundering of Beannochoir, *i.e.* of Bangor, in the county of Down. This is given in the 'Annals of Ulster' at the year 823, and in the 'Annals of Clonmacnoise' at 821; but the true year is 824."

² Proc. S. A. I., 2nd Ser., vol. xxi, p. 72.

and fitted over a plain, gilt, bronze dome, which served to throw up the design. This double shell is characteristic of the century,¹ during which the design deteriorated, the earlier pattern being well represented by a pair found with a sword in a grave at Santon, Norfolk, and another pair, with a spear and comb, from Vestnäs, Romsdal, Norway (British Museum). The first half of the eleventh century saw a further degeneration of the ornament, the original animals being represented by groups of parallel lines; and the single shell again came into use. Examples of this final stage are rare, and not hitherto found in our islands. . . .

“Comparatively few ‘tortoise’ brooches of any description are published from Ireland, but reference may be made to a pair now at Dublin.² They were found between Three-mile Water and Arklow, county Wicklow, with a silver chain, and should belong to the early part of the tenth century, having a double shell, with bosses and open-work design; traces were found of thin, thimble-shaped capsules of silver that originally covered the bosses, and bore impressed patterns. These, and eight others found at Island Bridge, Dublin, in 1866, are now in the museum at Dublin.

“The view that the Ballyholme brooches are about a century earlier is further confirmed by their association with the bronze bowl, now in fragments, but belonging to a well-known type. From what remains of the rim, a diameter of about $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches can be deduced; but comparison with several complete examples justifies an addition of about half an inch to this computation. It consists of bronze beaten out very thin with considerable skill, the rim being turned out horizontally above a hollow moulding, which in some Norwegian specimens was filled with an iron ring. Though only one rivet-hole in the side can be definitely located, there were, doubtless, three escutcheons of bronze, either of heater form,³ or of bird-like outline (as suggested in the restoration). These plates served to attach chains for suspension, rings being passed through the hook which sprang from the head of the plate, and met the horizontal lip of the bowl. Chains were found with the Ballyholme bowl, but have not survived their handling by the workmen, and their pattern is therefore problematical. These bowls were evidently made to be seen from below on occasion, for one of their characteristics is an indentation at the bottom, not only to afford a firm base-rim, but to contain an ornamental disc, which is often enamelled, and itself shows that these bowls were not placed over the fire. A second plate, inside the bottom, is sometimes found in the same position as the ‘print’ of a

¹ The majority in Scandinavia are of this date.

² *Journal*, R. S. A. I., vol. xxxii. (1902), p. 71.

³ Like one from Hawnby, N. R. Yorks, in British Museum: cf. Rygh, “Norske Oldsager,” fig. 726 (Skomrak, near Christiania).

mazer-bowl, also enamelled, or otherwise ornamented; but the rivet still remaining (in one of three rivet-holes) on the Ballyholme specimen is so short, that the disc or discs attached to the bottom must have been very thin. A specimen found at York retains both discs;¹ and one, elaborately enamelled, was found in N. Bergenhus, Norway.² Bowls of this peculiar pattern are quite common in Norway, being found for the most part between Lindesnäs and Romsdal, on the west coast; whereas the type is barely represented in Sweden or Denmark.³

“In 1891, Dr. Undset assigned them to the ninth century, though some might date from the latter part of the eighth. They are often found with scales and weights; and an interesting indication of date is afforded by the discovery, in Christiansand, of two weights bearing coins of Eanred of Northumbria (807-841).⁴ More than once Irish metal-work has been found in association; so that the general opinion⁵ that the bowls came originally from our islands is fully justified. No convincing explanation of their use has yet been given, but they may well have served the same purpose as the Kentish bowls with open-work foot-rims, which are somewhat earlier in date.

“Tortoise brooches were worn in pairs by both sexes, being often found with the rims together, and the bowls are not known to have been confined to one sex or the other; so that there is little to decide the question at Ballyholme, though the absence of weapons suggests a female burial. Both brooches and bowls are generally associated with cremated burials; and all that can be said with certainty is that this grave by the seashore contained the remains of a Norwegian, more probably a member of a raiding band than a settler in Ireland, and had remained undisturbed for eleven centuries.”

¹ “Reliquary,” 1906, p. 61.

² Rygh, “Norske Oldsager,” fig. 727.

³ Ingvald Undset, “Archiv für Anthropologie,” vol. xx., p. 8.

⁴ “Aarsberetning fra Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesterkers Bevaring,” 1876, p. 127.

⁵ “Mém. Soc. Ant. Nord.,” 1890-5, p. 37.

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¹ Compiled by Mr. T. J. Westropp.

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