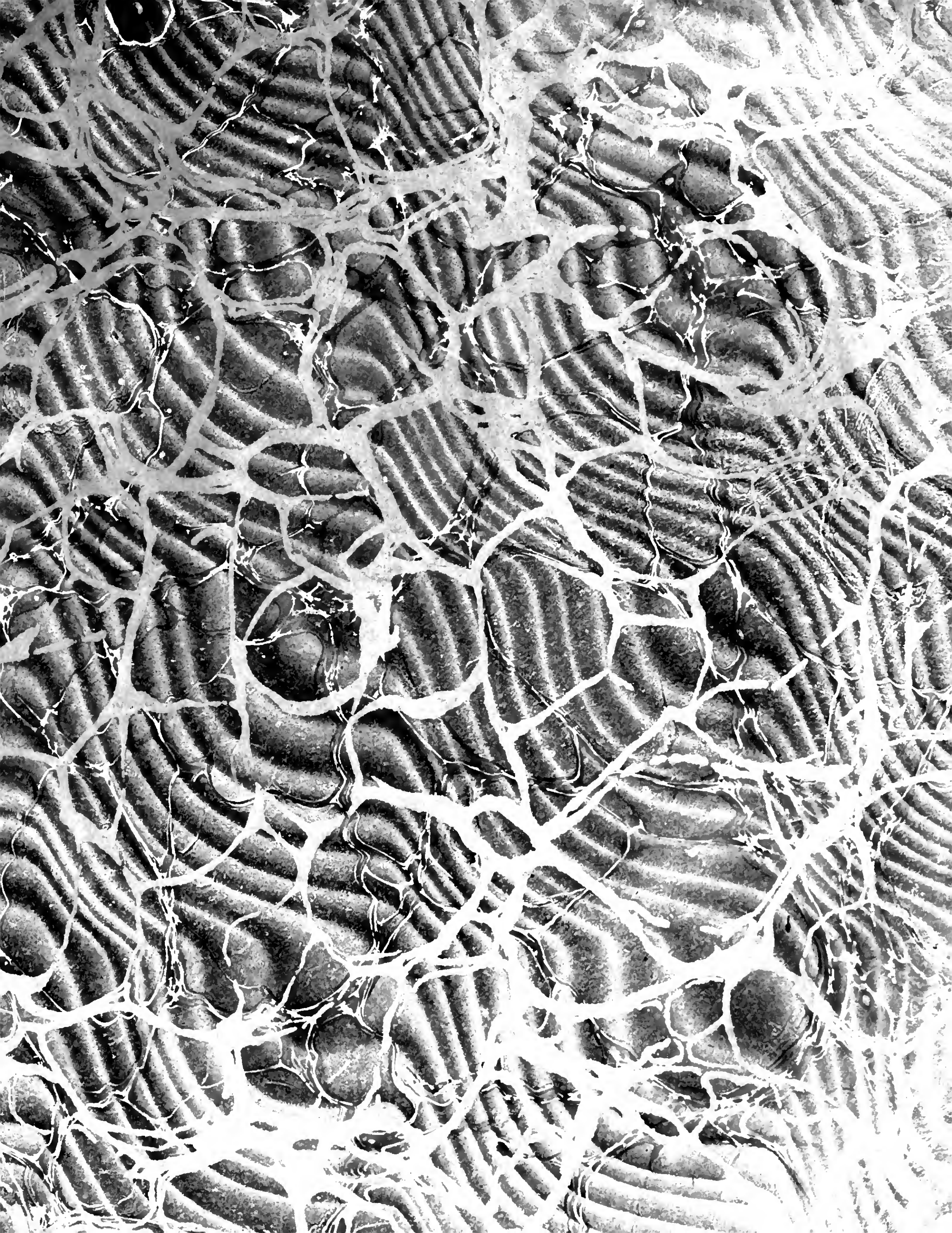

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All communications for the Journal are to be addressed to the Editor, Robert MacAdam, Esq., 18, College-Square East, Belfast.

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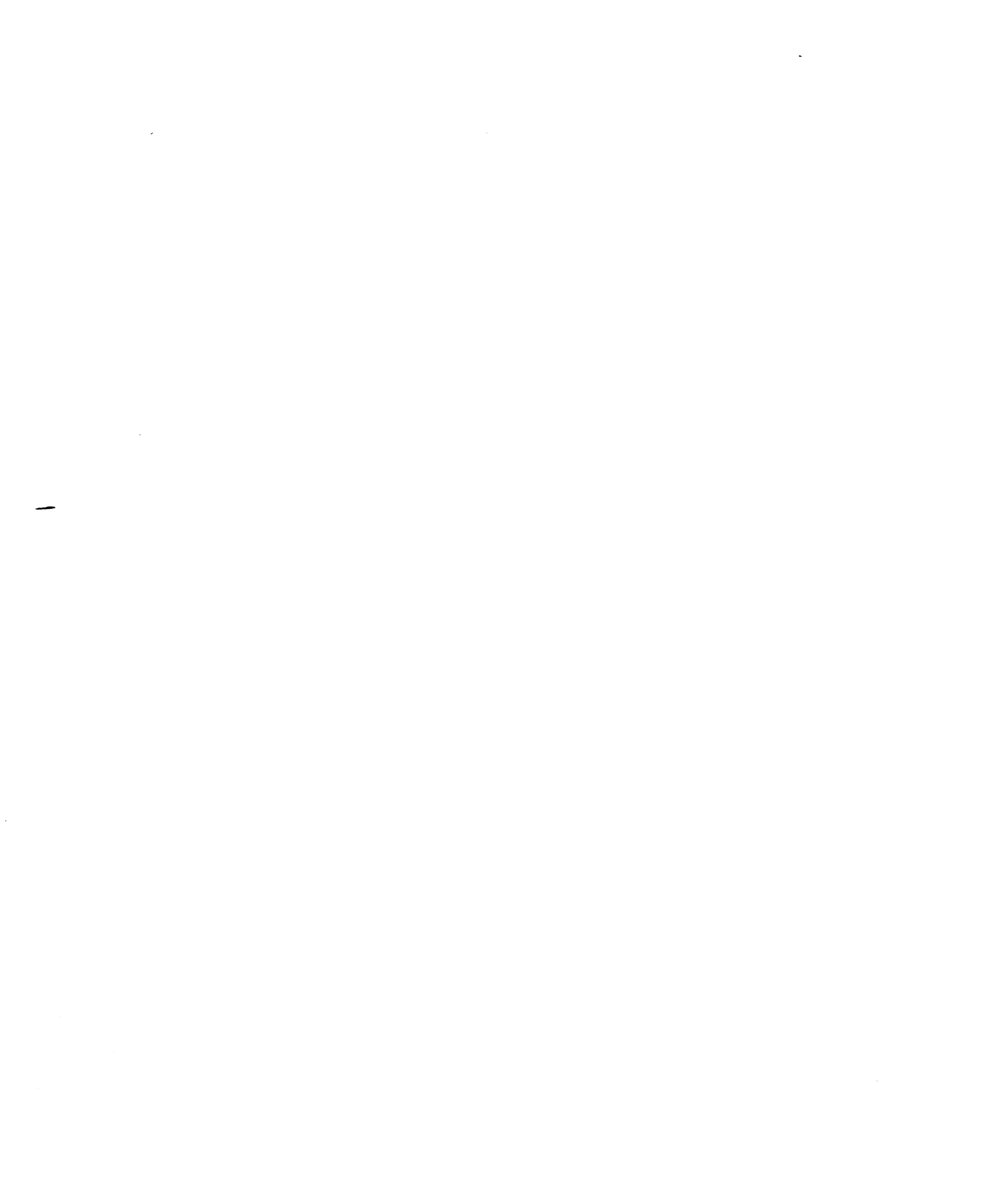


SAINT COLUMBA.

Columba, or as he is usually called, Columb-kille, is the most famous of all the native saints of Ireland, and many have written accounts of his life; but of his professed biographies there is not one that is good; nor have we the means of writing one that will be satisfactory to the modern reader. The ancient documents from which the facts of his history must be drawn[a] are barren in such details as would now interest the feelings of men; yet abundantly copious in frigid, frivolous, and incredible narratives: calculated to disgust and repel, instead of attracting, readers. It is no small proof of Columba's excellence, that his character, after passing through the hands of such writers as the authors of these documents were, comes forth in many respects most amiable and admirable. With all their narrowness of view, and all their multiplied offences against literary taste, they were unable altogether to obscure the great services which their hero performed to religion and humanity. It may be that, in attempting a sketch of his life, we doom him to suffer once again through the deficiencies of his biographer; but we shall at least avoid the prolixity with which some of his former historians are chargeable: and, thanks to the labours of Dr. Reeves,[b] we are far

[a] The chief of these documents are, (1) A short Life of Columba by Cummeneus Albus, Abbot of Hy, who died Feb. 24, A.D 669. It has been printed by Colgan, Mabillon, and Pinkerton. (2.) The *Vita Sancti Columbæ*, by Adamnanus, who was also Abbot of Hy, and died Sept. 23rd, A.D. 704. It has often been printed; (as by Canisius, by Messingham, by Colgan, by the Bollandists, by Basnage, and by Pinkerton;) but never before with such accuracy, beauty, and completeness of illustration as by Dr. Reeves, in the edition which will be more particularly described hereafter. (3.) Various short notices in Bede and other ecclesiastical writers; in the Lives of other Saints; in the Irish Annals; in Martyrologies, Obituaries, Breviaries, and Calendars; also in certain Irish and Latin hymns, and similar writings. (4) A number of minor and more recent Lives of the Saint both in Latin and Irish, chiefly extracted from the foregoing. (5.) A life written by Magnus O'Donnell the chief of Tyrconnell, in the year 1520; embodying most of the particulars mentioned in the preceding documents, together with others, the source of which is now unknown. It exists in MS., but portions of it were translated into Latin and printed by Colgan. Many of its statements well deserve the epithets of "stuff," "trash," &c, freely applied to them by the learned Dr. Lanigan in his *Ecclesiastical History*. The principal modern writers on the Life of Columba are Ussher, Ware, Dr. Smith of Campbelltown, and Lanigan: to whom must now be added Dr. Reeves:—"*nec pluribus impar.*"

[b] See the *Life of St. Columba, Founder of Hy; written by Adamnan, ninth Abbot of that Monastery:—the Text printed from a MS. of the Eighth Century, with the various readings of six other MSS. preserved in different parts of Europe. To which are added copious Notes and Dissertations, illustrative of the early History of the Columbian Institutions in Ireland and Scotland. By* WILLIAM REEVES, D.D., M.R.I.A., Curate of Kirkinriola in the diocese of Connor.—Dublin, printed for the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society. 1857. 4to. pp. 497.—The very best edition of the most important work on the history of Columba and of the Irish church in the sixth century; and among the best, if it be not indeed the very best of all the editions of any similar work ever published. It is scarcely possible to speak too highly of the zeal, learning, and sound judgment displayed in the preparation of this work. It contains the text of Adamnanus, from a copy almost contemporary with the author; and it gives the various readings of every other accessible copy, of most of which the editor has made or procured collations expressly for the use of this edition. The text is illustrated by Notes containing all the information that

better furnished than any of the moderns who have preceded us, with the needful historical aids. That learned, able, and judicious writer, has saved future inquirers respecting the life and character of Columba the trouble of instituting much long and difficult research. He has thrown himself into his subject with a zeal a-kin to that of Columb-kille himself, though directed to a different object; prosecuted it with a loving perseverance; and has, in consequence, drawn together almost, if not absolutely everything, that the ravages of time have spared, which can throw light on the life and labours of St. Columba. We need not say that we take from his rich pages almost all the facts embraced in the following outline :—for the opinions which we occasionally express, we are, of course, exclusively responsible.

The saints of Ireland are divided into three orders, or races.[c] The first includes St. Patrick, his contemporaries, and immediate successors: all of these were bishops, and several,—like the great Apostle of Erin himself,—were foreigners. The second *generation*,—if we may use the expression,—commenced about 110 years after the landing of St. Patrick: few of its members were bishops, many were presbyters: they employed many different masses or liturgical forms of religious worship, and observed various monastic rules, instead of the ancient rule of St. Patrick which had hitherto been universally followed. They excluded women from the monasteries in which the ministration of females had formerly been permitted. Like their predecessors, they practised an ecclesiastical tonsure different from that used upon the continent; and observed the festival of Easter on the fourteenth day of the paschal moon.[d] The third order of saints commenced about the beginning of

scholarship, industry, and devotion to a self-appointed task, have enabled the editor to disinter from the rubbish of ages, illustrating the places, persons, and events mentioned in his author. Copious Prolegomena afford all the details that can be desired respecting the history of the work and of the author; together with a Chronological Summary of St. Columba's Life; while the Additional Notes (or Appendix) at the end of the volume, largely and in a most interesting style discuss a great number of important questions, the treatment of which would have occupied too much space in the body of the work. It is illustrated with beautifully executed original maps of Ireland and of Hy, in the time of St. Columba; and with five fac-similes of ancient MSS, the value of which will be appreciated by every one who has been engaged in such pursuits. We congratulate Dr. Reeves on the successful accomplishment of his important undertaking; and we congratulate the Established Church of Ireland, which can afford to employ such a man in the obscure labours of the curacy of Kirkinriola.

c We here refer to a classified list of the Saints of the Irish church down to year 665, which has been published by Ussher: (*Primord*, p. 913 *seqq.*) divided into three orders. The first comprehends St. Patrick, his companions, and their successors, till about A.D. 542: these we are told included three hundred and fifty bishops, who were all either Romans, Franks, (the writer should have said *Gauls*,) Britons, or *Scots*, (that is Irish.) "They observed one and the same Rule," (or discipline,) "that introduced by St. Patrick; one Mass and one celebration," that is one uniform liturgy; "one tonsure, and one Easter, or paschal cycle. They did not reject the attendance or society of women; because, being founded upon the rock of Christ, they did not fear the wind of temptation." The next order continued till the close of the sixth century. It consisted of 300 saints, few of whom were bishops, the greater part having been presbyters: their other peculiarities are stated above, almost in the words of the writer of the Catalogue.

d So the author of the Catalogue affirms: but as this statement, if literally interpreted, would make the Irish absolutely *quartodecimans* (a charge from which they are expressly freed by Bede, though he strongly opposed their views and practice upon the Easter controversy,)—as Columbanus, who vigorously upheld the Irish rule for the observance of Easter, expressly repudiates, in his Epistles on this question, the practice of Quartodecimans,—and as no example has been brought forward of the celebration of Easter, by any Irish church or community, on any other day of the week than Sunday,—I presume that either the writer was altogether mistaken, or that his meaning was, that the Irish saints computed the paschal Sundays, (i.e. the Sundays on which Easter might fall,) to be those which happened *from the 14th to the 20th day of the moon*. This was contrary to the early Roman practice, which forbad Easter to be celebrated sooner than the 16th of the moon: and to the Alexandrian, (afterwards introduced,) which

the seventh century: "it consisted of holy presbyters with a few bishops, numbering in all a hundred, who dwelt in deserts and lived on water, herbs, and alms. They declined the possession of private property. They had diverse rules and Masses, and variety of tonsures; some having the *corona*, others wearing their hair. They differed also as to the paschal solemnity: for some of them celebrated the feast of the resurrection from the fourteenth day of the moon, others from the sixteenth." This third order, it may be observed, did not begin till after the death of the subject of our memoir. We can imagine the spirit in which ecclesiastical history would be written by men who looked upon these points as the most important in the lives of the great personages whose characters they undertook to describe!

Columba, the most illustrious saint of the secondary race, was born on the 7th of December, A.D. 521,[e] at a place called Gartan, not far from the centre of the modern Donegall. He was of noble, and even of royal lineage:[f] his father, Fedhlimidh, was great-grandson to Niall of the Nine Hostages, who was monarch of Ireland at the beginning of the fifth century; and his grandmother was daughter to Loarn, the founder of the Hiberno-Scottish or Dalriadic kingdom in North Britain, which has given to the ancient Caledonia its present name of Scotland.[g] Aethnea, the mother of Columba, was of the royal line of Leinster; a family which, in remoter times, had also given sovereigns to Ireland. This illustrious pedigree, connecting St. Columba with the most ancient and

fixed the celebration for the Sundays between the 15th and 21st. The difference led the Irish, in some years, to observe the Easter festival a month earlier, in others a month later, than the churches in Britain and on the continent. The controversies on this subject were long and vehement: but were finally settled about the beginning of the 8th century, when the Irish church consented to abandon its ancient usage and conform to that of Rome.

[e] It is stated in the life of St. Buite, the founder of Monasterboice, that on the very day of his death he prophetically announced the birth of an infant, who should, in the 30th year afterwards, come thither, disclose his (St. Buite's) sepulchre, and mark the limits of the cemetery: a prophecy which the author of the Life says applied to Columb-kille. The calendars place the death of St. Buite on the 7th of December, which is thus determined to be the day of Columba's birth; this we may accept as true, disregarding the legend. The year is not so easily settled, because the Annals vary in fixing the death of St. Buite: it may, however, be determined thus. Adamnanus says that Columba was in his forty-second year when he came to Hy: and that he arrived there in the second year after the battle of Cool-drevny: (*Praef 2da*, p. 9.) Now, that battle was fought in the year 561, according to Tighernach: consequently, the saint arrived at Hy in the year 563, and was born in the year 521. But, on all such questions, the reader who has access to Dr. Reeves's notes, will obtain full satisfaction: see on this point *Proleg.*, p. lxix: and *Note* a, p. 31.

[f] See the Pedigree, as given by Dr. Reeves, *Adamn.*, p. 8, n.—It runs thus, counting upwards: Columba was the son of Fedhlimidh, the son of Fergus Cennfada, the son of Conall Gulban, (ancestor of the Cinel Conaill,) who was the son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, monarch of Ireland from the year 379 till 405.—The above-named Fergus Cennfada, grandfather to St. Columba, was married to Erca daughter to Loarn, who was the son of Erc, and first king of the *Scottish* Dalriada. Again, Aethnea, the wife of Fedhlimidh and mother of Columba, was daughter of Dimma, who was ninth in descent from Cathaeir Mor, monarch of Ireland in A.D. 120. This last genealogy may, perhaps, be the dictate of hearsay and general belief; but the others come within the period of written memorials.

[g] The emigration of a colony of the Scots, (i.e., *Irish*,) from Dalriada (the northern part of the present county of Antrim) in the latter part of the fifth century, to a region to which they gave the same name, comprehending the Mull of Cantyre and the adjacent parts of Caledonia, (which was then occupied by the Picts and Britons;) the gradual extension of the Scoto-Irish dominion over the Highlands and Islands, by conquest and alliance, until the representatives of the invaders acquired the sovereignty of the whole of North Britain, about the ninth century, and soon after gave to it its present name of Scotland,—are facts now so well known, though once keenly disputed, that Innes, Sir Walter Scott, and other Scottish writers, though imbued with the strongest feelings of nationality, instead of contesting, admit, and solidly prove them. If any doubt remained, Dr Reeves, in his notes on Adamnan *passim*, has given it the *coup de grace*. From the leaders of this emigration, through Malcolm Can-more, her present majesty Queen Victoria is descended; she, therefore, may be reckoned among the kindred of St Columb a

powerful families both in Erin and Albin, must have co-operated with his personal qualities in giving to him that influence which he so long exercised over a race remarkable for their reverence for the blood and line of their native princes.

His birth is said to have been preceded by an omen of his future greatness. An angel appeared to Aethnea, in a dream, and presented her with a robe of extraordinary beauty; which she no sooner accepted, than he tore it from her and flung it to the winds. To her inquiry why he had done this, the angel replied that such a garment was too splendid and magnificent to be left with her; and, looking after it, as it floated upon the breeze, she observed it unfolding itself and expanding till it spread beyond plains, mountains, and forests; and heard a voice which said, "Lady, be not grieved, for thou shalt present thy husband with a son, so fair and lovely, that he will be reckoned among the prophets of God; and he is destined by the Most High to be the guide of souls innumerable to the heavenly land."[h]

The early years of Columba were spent under the tutelage of a venerable presbyter,[i] to whom, also, the legends inform us, a celestial intimation was given, expressing the interest of heaven in the child confided to his charge. Once, on returning to his dwelling-place, after celebrating Mass, he found his whole house illuminated with a bright light, proceeding from a ball of fire that hovered over the face of the sleeping child. Trembling and astonished, he threw himself on the ground, perceiving that the grace of the Holy Spirit was shed from heaven upon the object of his care.[k] Legends of this kind, at present, excite either a smile or a sigh in the majority of readers; but at the time when the early biographers of Columba composed their narratives, such incidents were the subjects most sought after, most valued, and most dwelt on. In fact, miracles of this kind form the staple of the ancient lives of Saint Columba;[l] and whatever information we obtain concerning his personal conduct and inward spirit is only let fall accidentally, while such prodigies are related circumstantially. The only other facts that are stated concerning the childhood of Columb-kille are that he was distinguished for an angelic sweetness and purity;[m] and that he applied himself dili-

[h] *Adamnanus*, L. iii. c. 1.—The incident is copied from *Cummeneus Albus*, c. 1. It is possible that Aethnea may have had such a dream; and that she and her husband may have been influenced by it in devoting Columba to the service of God. There are many parents now living who would not altogether disregard such an occurrence. On the other hand, it could very readily have been imagined or invented in after times; and bears a suspicious resemblance to many similar narratives in the lives of other saints.

[i] Called by Adamnan, Cruithnechanus; whose name, as Dr. Reeves conjectures, is probably preserved in Kilcronaghan, a parish in the diocese and county of Derry. (*Adamn.*, p 191, n.)

[k] *Adamn*, L iii., c. 2, p 191-2. The legend seems to have been formed by combining the story told by Livy, of the lambent flame which played around the head of the infant Servius Tullius, in the palace of the first Tarquin, and Tanaquil's interpretation of the omen, with the history of the descent of the Holy Spirit, on the day of Pentecost. (Acts, ii., 3, 4)

[l] Of these we may take that by Adamnan as a sample. He entitles his work, *Vita Sancti Columbæ;* "the Life of St. Columba;" and he divides it into three Books: of which the first treats of Prophetic Announcements by, or concerning Columba; the second of his Miraculous Powers; and the third, of Angelic Visions and Visitations. To this division he strictly adheres, totally regardless of the chronological order. In fact, if it had not been for the angelic visitations which accompanied his birth and death, the biographer, apparently, would have had no opportunity of mentioning that Columba was born or that he died. It is for this reason that the Vision of Aethnea, already alluded to, is introduced, not at the beginning of the Life, but in the last book, because it comes under the head of Angelic Visitations.

[m] *Adamnan*, 2nd. Pref., p. 9 "Who, from his very childhood, being devoted to Christian instruction and

gently to the studies which were prescribed for him. So it is said that, while yet very young, he was able to recite the psalms,—*responsively*, as it would appear,—with a certain bishop, to whom he had gone on a visit in company with his preceptor.[n]

When old enough to profit by instruction of a more advanced order, he was sent to the seminary founded and conducted by the celebrated St. Finnian,[o] at Magh-bile, now Movilla, in the present county of Down, near the head of Strangford Lough, and not many miles from Belfast. The nature of the training which he here received is described to us in four words—*sapientiam Sacræ Scripturæ addiscens,* "applying himself to the study of holy Scripture."[p] It was while he was enrolled as a student under Finnian, that Columba was admitted into holy orders; but as yet only to the rank of deacon. We are told that, on one occasion, by some accident, wine for the administration of the sacrament was not to be found: whereupon Columba, who had heard the officiating priests lamenting the mischance, took up a pitcher, and proceeded to the well, as if for the purpose of fetching the spring-water required in the service. Having filled his vessel, "he blessed it, invoking the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, who turned water into wine at Cana of Galilee;" upon which a similar miracle was wrought; and the saint, returning from the well, presented the pitcher with its contents to the ministrants, saying, "Here is wine which the Lord Jesus hath sent for the celebration of his own sacrament!" This, we are told, was Saint Columba's first miracle; the credit of which, however, he was too humble to take to himself; ascribing it to the holy bishop Finnian.[q]

We know neither the age of Columba when he was first placed under the direction of St. Finnian, nor the exact period of his departure from Movilla; but we find him while still a deacon, and therefore, probably, not long after he had quitted that school, studying divinity under the direction of an aged man named Gemmanus, in some part of Leinster.[r] Here, too, his supernatural gifts

the pursuit of knowledge, and preserving by the gift of God the purity of his body and the innocence of his soul, displayed, while yet on earth, his fitness for the heavenly life." Of course, this relates to the mature age as well as to the earlier years of St. Columba.

[n] This visit, and the occurrence to which it led, are related by O'Donnell only; (ap. Colg., *Tr. Th.*, p. 393:) the source is suspicious; but the incident by no means improbable. The Bishop's name is given as Brugacius.

[o] All the modern historians of St. Columba, without exception, agree that Finnian of Maghbile, or Movilla, was the head of the institution in which he was placed to receive his advanced education; but Adamnan twice calls the teacher *Findbarrus:* (p. 13, and p. 103:) yet in the same chapter in which the last example is found, he names him *Vinnianus*, and twice he calls him *Finnio*, i.e., Finnian: (p. 95.) But the two names, according to their etymology, signify nearly the same thing; Finnian denotes *White*, Findbarr, *White-headed;* and perhaps the saint may have borne both titles. But see the note by Dr. Reeves, p. 103.

[p] *Adamn.* 1, ii., c. 1. p. 103.

[q] *Adamnan, ubi supra.*—The story is a parody on our Blessed Saviour's First Miracle; (John, ii., 1-11.) To make the parallel complete, the change of water into wine is also made the *first* miracle of St. Columba: and Adamnan himself points out its identity with the first miracle of Christ.

[r] Lanigan considers the name *Gemmanus* to be a mistaken reading for *Germanus;* (*Eccl. His.*, p. 119, 120;) but Dr. Reeves has advanced solid reasons for believing that the text is correct: it is so read in the Reichenau MS. of the eighth century, and in several others. Dr. Reeves identifies Gemmanus, the instructor of St. Columba, with a person of that name who is mentioned in the life of St. Finnian of Clonard, and is there called a "Carminator," who wrote "a certain magnificent ode" (carmen quoddam magnificum,)—which a few lines farther down is called a "Hymn,"—by the recital of which a barren field was made fertile. (*Act., SS.*, p 395, *b.*) This person appears to have resided in the neighbourhood of Clonard: but the place is not named. It is possible that, before completing his studies, St. Columba would desire to improve himself under a competent instructor, in the composition and modulation of sacred lyrics: nor would this object of his studies be inconsistent with

were displayed. A young maiden, pursued by an assassin, sought refuge under the protection of the aged Gemmanus, who happened to be reading in the open air: he, in trepidation, called Columba to his aid, that by their united efforts they might repel the murderer; but the ruffian, undeterred by their sanctity, laid his victim dead at their feet with a thrust of his lance. Not with impunity, however. "How long," exclaimed Gemmanus, "will the Righteous Judge permit this outrage and our dishonour to remain unavenged?"—"The very moment," replied Columba, "that the soul of this murdered maiden ascends to heaven, the soul of that murderer sinks down to hell!" And, on the word, the slaughterer of the innocent fell dead to the earth before the eyes of the holy youth;—"even," (so the historian affirms) "as Ananias dropped down at the rebuke of St. Peter."[s] He is also said to have spent some time under the tuition of St. Finnian of Clonard, in Meath;[t] but it is possible that this statement arises from confounding together the two saints,—Finnian of Movilla, and Finnian of Clonard,—who were both celebrated as teachers of theology, and were also contemporaries. He is further reported to have studied under Mobhi at Glasnevin,[u] and Kieran at Clonmacnoise;[v] but the latter statement is impossible: for Clonmacnoise was not founded till two years after Columba himself had erected a similar institution;[w] and the former rests on slight authority.

It was while he was in Leinster that he was seized with a desire to engage in undertakings similar to those by which so many of his countrymen in that age had made or were then making themselves famous; namely, the erection of monasteries, which were also seminaries of learning, centres

the expression of Adamnanus, that while yet a youthful deacon he resided with Gemmanus,—"divinam addiscens sapientiam,"—"making further progress in divine science." (See *Adamn.* l. ii., c. 25, p. 137; and Dr Reeves's note.)

[s] "Et dicto citius, cum verbo, sicut Ananias coram Petro, sic et ille innocentium jugulator, coram oculis sancti juvenis, in eadem mortuus cecidit terrula." (*Adamn.* l. ii. c. 25, p. 138.) It would almost seem as if the biographer had wished to intimate the mythical character of the legend, by referring to a source from which it might have been, and probably was, copied

[t] Columba is numbered among the disciples of Finnian of Clonard, in the Life of that saint, and also in the Life of St. Kieran of Clonmacnoise, and in that of Columba of Tir-da-glas. (*Trias Thaum.*, p. 457.) With these authorities Dr. Reeves concurs. We do not attach to them any considerable weight, for there was a tendency, among the writers of the lives of eminent doctors, to enrol every distinguished person of the age, if possible, in the list of those whom they had instructed: and, in this case, an occasion was afforded for the legend, by the contemporaneous existence of two Finnians; the one at Movilla, where Columba undoubtedly was a student; the other at Clonard, of which place neither Cummeneus nor Adamnanus make any mention in connection with Columb-kille. It is worthy of note that the only incident in Adamnanus which Dr Reeves understands as applying to Finnian of Clonard is copied from Cummeneus; and is by him *expressly* attributed to Finnian of Movilla. Moreover, in relating it, Adamnan calls the person of whom he writes, "venerandum *episcopum* Finnionem;" a title which cannot apply to Finnian of Clonard, who never attained or accepted the episcopal dignity. The authorities are given fully and impartially by Dr. Reeves; *Adamn.*, p. 195, 196, *notes*.

[u] *O'Donnell apud Colgan*, (*Vita*, &c., l. i., c. 43.) The statement is irreconcileable with the established facts of Columba's history; for he was, as we have seen, ordained a deacon while yet at Movilla; and, allowing that he was admitted into that order at the early age of twenty-two, (the present canons prescribe *twenty-five*,) he could not have left the place sooner than the year 544: he then studied for some time under Gemmanus; but Mobhi died, according to the *Four Masters*, in A.D. 544: that is, correctly, in the year 545, the very year preceding that in which the monastery of Derry was founded: there was, consequently, no time for Columba to have pursued his studies either at Clonard or Glasnevin.

[v] "Smith," (*Life of Columba*, &c., p. 8.) "has a fable concerning Columba having also been under Kieran of Clon, that is, Clonmacnois. Where he got it I cannot tell."—*Lanigan*, *Eccl. His.*, ii., p. 221.

[w] "Clonmacnoise was founded in 548, by Ciaran mac an t-saoir: Filius artificis." *Dr. Reeves's Adamn.*, p. 24, note. Derry was founded by Columba, in A.D. 546.

of missionary exertion, and mother-churches to the districts in which they were situated. Nor let this desire appear to any Christian of the present day either irrational, fanatical, or visionary. The most determined foe to monasticism might find it difficult to point out an enterprise better calculated to be of real service to mankind, *in the age and state of society which then existed* in the British Isles.[x] The place which Columba chose for his first monastery was called Dairé Calgach, "the Oak-wood of Calgach;"[y] occupying the site of the present city of Londonderry. He obtained a grant of the ground from his kinsmen, the chieftains of the district:[z] and, having collected a sufficient number of associates and disciples, founded an institution, which, though for a long series of years its light was eclipsed by the superior lustre of his other monasteries, was yet the most permanent, and became, in time, the most distinguished of all his establishments.[a] It was erected in A.D. 546.[b] About seven years afterwards, (wihout relinquishing his authority over Dairé-Calgach,[c]) he founded a similar monastery at Dair-magh, now called Durrow, in the King's County.[d] It was better

[x] That the monastic system and monastic institutions did, in the middle ages, perform most important services to religion and humanity, has been admitted by Guizot, (*History of Modern Civilization*,) and other writers by no means favourable to conventualism as applied to the existing state of society. That they really served the important purposes enumerated in the text, no unprejudiced man, acquainted with history, will deny; while they were also asylums in which the victims of their own bad passions, or of the violence of other men, sought shelter; and in which former disturbers of the peace often found a sphere of innocent and useful labour. But the discussion of this subject would open up too wide a field to be traversed in a note.

[y] *Dairé-Calgach.*—The first part of this compound, it is universally agreed, signifies an oak or an oak wood; the second is a derivative, signifying "sharp as a thorn, or spike," hence a fierce warrior; and may have been the proper name of many other chieftains as well as of the Galgacus, whose exploits, as commander of the Caledonians, have been immortalised by Tacitus. It had, like many other forests in Ireland, a name, before the days of St. Columba; but probably very few inhabitants, till settlers were invited by the erection of his church and monastery. In the work of Adamnanus, the name is translated, *Roboretum Calgachi;* and it appears to have borne the name of Calgach till the middle of the tenth century, when it began to be called *Dairé-Choluim-cille*,—i.e., Derry of Columb-kille, from the saint to whom it owed its importance. Its modern title of Londonderry is owing to the property of the soil having been vested in the guilds or incorporated companies of the city of London, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. In conversation, and as the see of a Bishop, it is now called *Derry* simply.

[z] The early Irish life of Columba, and, copying from it, O'Donnell makes the land of Daire-Calgach a donation from "Aedh the son of Ainmire who was king of Erin at that time." (*Reeves's Adamn.*, p. 160, n.) But Aedh could not have been more than ten years old in the year 546; and, in the days of Tanistry, no child of that age could have power to alienate land in perpetuity, or indeed at all; and it is possible that the story arose from confounding Dairè Calgach with Dair-magh, the site of which was granted to St. Columba by another Aedh, the son of Brendan. (*Reeves's Adamn.*, p. 23. n) Much more cautious is the statement of the *Four Masters*, who say that the saint obtained the land "from his own tribe, i.e., the race of Conall Gulban, the son of Niall." (But see the argument advanced by the writer of the *History of Londonderry*, in the *Ordnance Memoir of Templemore*, p 18, who contends that in the sixth century the site did not belong to the Cinel-Conaill, but to the Cinel-Eoghain.) The *Four Masters* erroneously fix the date of this foundation at A.D. 535, the year of the birth of Aedh, son of Ainmire; at which time Columba was in the fourteenth year of his age; and far too young to be the founder of a monastery.

[a] This is manifest from the circumstance that the Abbot of the Great Monastery of Derry is often denominated in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and in other Irish Histories, *Comharba Choluim-cille*, "the successor of Columb-kille," and was allowed to exercise jurisdiction even over the monastery of Hy: (see *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 1164: *Four Mas.*, A.D 1203.)

[b] This is the date assigned in the Annals of Ulster, and adopted by Ussher, Ware, Lanigan, Reeves, and almost all other competent historians. The mistake of the Four Masters, who place it in the year 535, (i.e., 536) has been already noticed.

[c] Dr. Reeves says of the saint's emigration to Hy, or, Iona:—"St. Columba, when he departed, severed no ties, surrendered no jurisdiction: his congregations remained in their various settlements, still subject to his authority." (*Adamn. Prol.*, p lxxv.) With this statement the whole narrative is perfectly consistent: and the fact is important with reference to a question that will be hereafter considered.

[d] This name, which signifies either "the Oak of the Plain," or "the Plain of the Oak," is usually expressed by Adamnanus in Latin, "Roboretum Campi, Roboris Campus, Roboreti Campus, or Roboreus Campus;" though in one place he gives to it the native title, "monasterium quod Scotice dicitur Dair-magh." (*Adamn.*

known in foreign countries than any other of his conventual institutions in Ireland.[e] It appears to have been while he was engaged in the erection of this celebrated monastery that he was raised to the priestly order by Etchen, a bishop resident at Clonfad, in Westmeath: and here a mistake is said to have occurred, which, if it actually happened, shows a laxity in matters of canonical discipline that may to some appear surprising. It is stated that Columba was sent to Etchen with testimonials from several neighbouring ecclesiastics, recommending him as a candidate for *consecration as bishop.* The saint having arrived at Etchen's church, inquired for the bishop; and was told, "There he is, ploughing in the field." He soon accosted the prelate, who gave him a most friendly welcome; and, on being informed of the object of his visit, professed his readiness to comply: however, by mistake, he ordained Columba as a *presbyter*, instead of consecrating him as *bishop.* On discovering the error, Etchen was desirous of rectifying it by consecrating the saint next day; but Columba, looking on the matter as providential, declined the intended honour, and declared his intention to remain till the end of his life in the priesthood which had thus unexpectedly been conferred upon him.[f] There is but slight authority for the story; and perhaps it had no other foundation than the known fact of Columba having chosen to remain through life a presbyter, when his merits and his fame would have justified him in aspiring to the highest order in the church.

Of the manner in which he employed himself during the years of his life that were spent at Dairé-

p. 23) There were several other churches which bore the same name; among the rest, one in the modern county of Kilkenny, and another in Roscommon, from which this foundation is to be carefully distinguished. After Columba's removal to Hy, we find Lasrianus acting as superior of the monastery of Dair-magh: (*Adamn.* pp. 57, 58;) though even then the founder felt himself interested in its inmates, and in some measure responsible for their welfare. The precise year of this foundation is not known. Bede states that it was erected before the emigration of Columba to Hy. (*Hist. Eccl.*, l. iii, c. 4.) Tighernach states that the site was granted to the saint by Aedh the son of Brendan, king of Tebhtha; he became lord of that territory in the year 553: between that year, therefore, and A.D. 563, when the monastery of Hy was constructed, the erection at Dair-magh must be placed.

[e] Bede, in the passage already referred to, joins Dair-magh with Hy as the two principal establishments of Columba. His words are: "Fecerat, autem, priusquam Brittaniam veniret, monasterium nobile in Hibernia, quod a copia roborum Dearmach linguâ Scottorum, hoc est Campus Roborum, cognominatur." (*His. Ec.*, l. iii. c. 4.)

[f] This story is not told by either Cummeneus or Adamnanus; it is given in a scholium, by one Maguire, on the *Felire of Aengus the Culdee,* whence it has been copied by O'Donnell, (*Life of Columba*, l. i., c. 47, *ap. Colgan.*) and others. The violations of canonical rule, as now understood and practised, are manifest; *first,* in the desire to raise a deacon at once *per saltum* to the episcopal dignity; and *secondly*, in the expectation, which the friends of Columba and the saint himself had cherished, that Etchen would proceed without the aid or presence of two other prelates to consecrate a bishop: coupled with his willingness to do so on finding out that he had misconceived the nature of the application made to him. Of both practices, however, there are many examples in ecclesiastical history,—some of which, but by no means all, that might have been adduced,—are given by Dr. Reeves, (*Adamn. Additional Notes*, p. 349.) Some persons have regarded this anecdote as favouring the identity of the order of priest and bishop in the ancient Irish church; but it manifestly proves the very reverse. Dr. Lanigan endeavours to obviate the irregularities implied in this transaction by applying to his favourite hypothesis of *Chorepiscopi* or *Rural Bishops*: (*Eccl. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 128, &c.:) but that is a mere shift, and quite inconsistent with the spirit of the story: for, it was obviously intended, both by Columba and his commendants, that he should have been raised to *a high rank and dignity*, suitable to his merits, not to a very inferior and unimportant one; neither would there have been any exercise of voluntary humility in Columba's preferring to remain a presbyter, rather than be consecrated *Chorepiscopus*, if no higher dignity had been offered to his acceptance. It would have been easy for Dr. Lanigan to reject the narrative altogether; for which, indeed, the authority is very slight; but many similar narratives, respecting other eminent men, remained in his documents: and he seems to have thought it safest to dispose of them, once for all, by inventing an order of *rural bishops.*

Calgach and at Dair-magh, his biographers give us no account whatever. It is certain that he was, in after ages, revered by his countrymen as the founder of an immense number of churches and religious houses in various parts of Ireland. Dr. Reeves has compiled a list, gathered from every accessible quarter, of the establishments the foundation of which has been ascribed to him, or in which his memory was revered.[g] It is possible that some of the institutions enumerated in it were not actually erected by St. Columba, but merely dedicated to his honour: while, on the other hand,—when we consider the casual manner in which the facts collected by Dr. Reeves, and by his forerunner, Colgan, are mentioned in the original documents whence they have been extracted,—it is at least equally possible that a great many churches and convents may have been built by Columbkille, of the foundation of which we have no record. His countrymen believed that he had founded three hundred religious establishments in his native land:[h] and, although that number is, doubtless, greatly exaggerated, still the existence of such a tradition shows that he had spent much time and devoted a vast amount of energy to these pious works; and that he had carried them on with a success which eclipsed the lustre of all former achievements of the same kind in this island, excepting only those of St. Patrick. But the professed historians of Columb-kille have scarcely thought such enterprises worthy of even a passing notice. Adamnanus does not notice them at all: Cummeneus scarcely at all. The splendid and enduring monuments by which Columba stamped the impress of his mind, not merely on his contemporaries, but on his countrymen for many generations, they thought unworthy of a special record.[i] A few of them, but only a few, are briefly and obscurely alluded to in the narrative of some silly superstition or some legendary tale; and this is all the information that is left us, in several instances, upon points which are now the subject of legitimate and enlightened curiosity. We long to know the circumstances which disciplined the soul of Columba; the mental culture which he received; the friends, guides, and counsellors of his youth; the associates and partners of his toils in after years; the motives by which he was actuated; the trials and struggles, the

[g] See *Adamnan*; *Additional Note*, G. page 276, &c.—Among these institutions Dr. Reeves enumerates—Durrow, Derry, Kells, Tory, Drumcliff, Swords, Raphoe, Kilmore, Lambay, Moone, Clonmore, Kilmacrenan, Gartan, Glencolmkill (County Donegal), Templedouglas, Assylyn, Skreen (County Meath), Ballynascreen, Skreen (County Londonderry), Drumcolumb, Columbkille (Co. Longford) Emlaghfad, Glencolumbkille (County Clare), Kilcolumb, Knock, Termon-Maguirk, Cloghmore, Columbkille (Co. Kilkenny), Ardcolum, Armagh, Mornington, Desertegny, Clonmany, Desertoghill, Ballymagroarty (County Donegal), Ballymagrorty (near Derry), and Eskaheen,—in all thirty-seven. It is proper to add that Dr. Lanigan strongly doubts whether Kells was founded by Columba, or in his lifetime; and absolutely rejects his claim to be considered the erector of Swords, Raphoe, the Skreens, Drumcliff, Tory, Glencolmkille in Clare, and others; while, nevertheless, he admits that the loss of ancient records, and the absence of any proper history of the saint, have doubtless deprived us of the means of establishing Columba's title to several churches and monasteries of which he was truly the founder.

[h] Such is the number assigned to him in the old Irish Life. Adamnan calls him "a father and founder of monasteries;" and speaks of "his monasteries founded in the territories both of the Picts and the Scots of Britain."

[i] It may suffice to mention that the most copious of his *ancient* biographers—Adamnanus—does not *expressly* treat of the erection even of the church and monastery of Hy, of which the writer was himself abbot, and for the use of whose inmates the Life was originally composed! There are *allusions* to Columba as the founder of the place: but no account whatever of the event itself. Such being the case with respect to Hy, it would be vain to expect any more precise notice of the other establishments of St. Columba. Let the blame not be cast on his modern historians, if oftentimes they fail to do justice to his memory, or faithfully to chronicle his achievements: the fault lies with those who were connected with him by far closer ties, yet neglected to transmit the memory of his merits which would have perpetuated his fame.

fears and hopes, the encouragements and disappointments that he experienced; the opposition that he encountered, and the means by which he overcame it; the instruments that he employed in carrying out his plans; the success that attended his efforts; the failures against which he had to bear up; and the influence, moral and spiritual, which resulted from all these "experiences," both in his own spirit and the hearts and character of other men. But for such knowledge we sigh in vain. What would we not give for a volume of letters between Columba and Kieran, on the plans and operations of their daily life, at Dairmagh and Clonmacnoise! But such information is beyond our hopes. For the thoughts and feelings of the soul of Columba, we must dive, not into the pages of his biographers, but into the recesses of our own minds:—in other words, the knowledge of them is banished from the domains of historical testimony, and is to be sought for only in the regions of imagination. One thing, however, is plain, that Columba never could have reaped the splendid success which undoubtedly attended his efforts, had he not been a man of commanding powers, of undaunted zeal, of earnest self-consecration to his work, and of a character which inspired the respect and confidence of those among whom he lived. This by no means implies that he was altogether free from blemishes and defects. Some such are pretty clearly intimated by writers who yet were desirous of setting the fame of Columba in the brightest light. According to the ideas of the time, these blemishes, even though serious, were not deemed inconsistent with sanctity; but still he must have been a man eminent for piety and virtue, according to the notions of his age; else, he could never have attained the influence which he exercised over the chieftains, who granted him lands for the churches and monasteries which he founded,—over the devotees, who became their inmates, addicting themselves to a life of toil and self-denial, that they might share in his labours and partake of his reward,—the youth, who flocked to them from all quarters, to imbibe his instructions, —and the people generally, by whom it is evident that Columba was revered, during life and after death, as one of the holiest of men and a chief among the favourites of heaven.

After spending several years in the pursuit of his pious and benevolent enterprises in Ireland, St. Columba resolved to transfer the scene of his labours to another land: and this purpose he executed in the year 563; being then forty-two years of age. His motive in forming this resolution has been the subject of much discussion; and we cannot hope, in the compass of our short narrative, to free the question from all obscurity, although we do not think that the darkness is altogether impenetrable.

The *early* authorities, when they advert to the motives of Columb-kille for leaving his native land, ascribe to him none which are not in themselves virtuous and honourable, and at the same time perfectly consistent with his previous as well as subsequent history. Adamnan says that "he sailed from Ireland to Britain, desirous of going on pilgrimage *for the sake of Christ*."[k] The vene-

[k] De Scotia ad Britanniam, pro Christo peregrinari volens, enavigavit.—(*Præf. 2da.* p. 9.) "The phrase *pro Christo* does not refer to Columba's own salvation, which he might have worked out at home as well as any where else; but to the extension of the glory of Christ, and the advantage of souls." (*Dr. Lanigan, Eccl. Hist.* ii. 152.)

rable Bede expresses himself in similar terms: he says that Columba "came from Ireland to Britain *to preach the word of God to the provinces of the Northern Picts*."[l] In an ancient Life of Columba, found in a MS. at Brussels, (which is called the Salamanca MS.) the same motive is assigned:[m] and no other is alluded to in the Martyrology of Donegall, printed by Colgan; which, though recent, was undoubtedly founded upon ancient testimonies.[n] These statements seem very explicit. The reason attributed is sufficient: and it agrees perfectly both with the previous and the after life of St. Columba.

But there are more recent authorities which assert that Columba's reasons for withdrawing from Ireland were of a description far less honourable to himself; that, instead of a voluntary exile, for the spread of the Gospel, his removal was the result of a civil or ecclesiastical sentence, pronounced upon him for offences which he had committed in his native land; and that the founder of Hy, the apostle of the Picts, and the father of Christianity in many wide regions of North Britain, which till his day had been under the control of paganism, was, in fact, a banished if not an excommunicated man, undergoing sentence for his crimes! Of those who take this view of his history, some regard his exile as the fulfilment of an ecclesiastical sentence for scandals against religion;[o] some as an expiation, enjoined by a spiritual counsellor;[p] and others as a penance, self-imposed,[q] for such offences. Of the first hypothesis, it is enough to say that it is refuted by the whole tenor of his after-life. Had Columba been banished from Ireland by a sentence either of a civil or ecclesiastical tribunal, he would have gone forth with a brand upon his brow, and a stain upon his character, which would effectually have ruined his reputation and destroyed his influence, both among the Christians and the pagans of his time. How could a banished convict,—especially if banished by the authorities of the church,—have procured religious men as his companions, prepared to share his exile, and to submit to his authority as the ruler not only of a single convent,

[l] Venit de Hyberniâ Britanniam, prædicaturus verbum Dei provinciis septentrionalium Pictorum.—*Hist. Eccl.* l. iii. c. 4.

[m] Postquam vir sanctus ad ea, *quæ quondam mente proposuerat, implenda*, ad peregrinationis videlicet propositum et *ad convertendos ad fidem Pictos*, opportunum tempus adesse viderit, patriam suam reliquit, et ad insulam Jonam prospero navigavit cursu.—(*Codex Salm.* as cited by Dr. Reeves from *Colgan, Trias Thaum.* p. 326 a.)

[n] *Salutis animarum et propaganda fidei æstuans desiderio*, in Albionem profectus, ibi extruxit famosum illud Hyense et alia plurima monasteria et ecclesias.—*Martyrol. Dungalensis, ap. Colgan, Tr. Th.* p. 483.

[o] Post hæc in Synodo Sanctorum Hiberniae gravis querela contra Sanctum Columbam, tanquam authorem tam multi sanguinis effusi, instituta est. Unde *communi decreto* consuerunt ipsum debere tot animas, a gentilitate conversas, Christo lucrari, quot in isto praelio interierunt.—(*O'Donnell ap. Colgan, Acta Sanct.* p. 645.) It is needless to state that all, or almost all, the references to Colgan and citations from him in these notes, are copied from Dr. Reeves.

[p] Sanctus vero Columba visitavit S. Lasrianum, confessorem suum, post bellum de Culdremne, petens ab eo salubre consilium; quo scilicet modo post necem multorum occisorum, benevolentiam Dei ac remissionem peccatorum obtinere mereretur. Beatus igitur Lasrianus, divinarum scripturarum scrutator, imperavit ut tot animas a pœnis liberaret quot animarum causa perditionis extiterat: et hoc ei præcepit ut *perpetuo moraretur extra Hiberniam* in exilio. (*Vita Lasriani, ap. Colgan, Tr. Th.* p. 461, b.) Observe that here the sentence is stated to have been one of *perpetual* exile.

[q] "Columba himself, according to O'Donnell, declared his determination to become a voluntary exile; blaming himself for the disastrous consequences, not only of Culdremhne, but also of two other battles which had been caused by his means. He is represented as saying to his kinsmen, 'Mihi juxta quod ab Angelo præmonitus sum, ex Hibernia emigrandum est, et *dum vixero exulandum*, quod mei causa plurimi per vos extincti sunt,'" &c.—(*Dr. Reeves, Adamn.* p. 252.) Here, also, the penance is declared to involve banishment *for life*.

but of multitudinous institutions in the Highlands and Islands of Caledonia? How could he have established his influence over the Dalriadic colony which, maintaining, as it did, continued intercourse with Ireland, could not be ignorant of his circumstances and character? How could he have gained the influence which he undoubtedly acquired among the unbelieving Picts? This argument may appear perhaps too subtle to bear much weight; but there is another consideration which seems to us to establish the negative of this theory. If Columba's exile was the fulfilment of a sentence of any court, it must have been a perpetual exile. To send him abroad, and allow him to return when he pleased, would have answered no useful purpose. Indeed it is expressly stated that he was condemned to *perpetual* banishment from Ireland.[r] Now, Columba did *not* live in perpetual banishment. He returned, at least once—probably more than once—to his native land; he came back, to all appearance, without any license or reversal of his supposed sentence; he came back, not in secrecy and silence, but in a character of great dignity and authority, to attend a solemn convention of contending chieftains, in which he acted as mediator between them; and in which his counsels were heard with respect, and his decisions solicited, upon questions of the utmost importance, in which the interests and passions of powerful princes were vehemently enlisted.[s] This is not the course that would have been followed had Columba been an outlawed and a banished man: nor surely would Columba have been allowed to retain, as he confessedly did, his full power and authority over all his monasteries in Ireland, had his exile been a *penance,* (whether self-imposed, or prescribed by another,) on account of notorious transgressions against the laws of God and man.

The offence, for which this penalty is said to have been enjoined on Columba, is that of fomenting wars and occasioning bloodshed in his native country. Keating, who adopts the theory that expatriation was "a sentence" pronounced upon St. Columba by Saint Lasrian, (otherwise called Molaise,) thus explains the grounds of it:—"Now, this was the cause why Molaise sentenced Columcille to go into Alba," (i.e., Scotland;) "because it came of him to occasion three battles in Erin: viz., the battle of Cul-Dreimhne, the battle of Rathan, and the battle of Feadha:"—and he goes on to describe the cause and circumstances of each. We need not enter upon the consideration of the last two engagements here spoken of: because it is demonstrable that, *if fought at all*, they must have taken place *after* the settlement of Columba in Hy,[t] and could not possibly enter into the

[r] See the citations from the Life of St. Lasrian, (otherwise called St Molaise of Devenish,) and O'Donnell, in the last two notes.

[s] The allusion is to the Great Convention of Druimceatt, of which more hereafter.

[t] The battle of Rathain, or Cul-rathain, (now called Coleraine,) is said, in the Preface to a Hymn beginning *Altus Prosator*, (which is attributed to St. Columba,) to have been fought "*between him and St. Comgall*, contending for the church of Ros-torathair." However, other authorities represent the actual combatants as secular chieftains; the two saints having only blown the trumpets, as it were, on each side. But Fiachra, the leader on Comgall's side, did not become chief of his territory (Uladh) till the year 589, *twenty-six years after the departure of Columba from Ireland!* The Annals do not mention this battle at all.—The other action, that of Cul-feadha, is recorded by Tighernach as having been fought in the year 587, *twenty-four years* after that event. He attributes the success of the victor to the prayers of Columba. It is very probable that the conquerors in such encounters, and their posterity, would wish the idea to go abroad that they always fought under the protection of so powerful an intercessor. But are we on that account to impute to Columba the blame of hostilities which occurred while he was in another region, and occupied in quite a different description of enterprises?

grounds of the supposed sentence. The battle of Cul-Dreimhne, however, took place before the emigration of St. Columba, and may deserve a somewhat more detailed consideration.

It occurred, according to the annals, in the year 561.[u] The contending parties were, on the one side, Diarmait, son of Fergus Cerbhoil, King of Ireland, and on the other, Aedh, King of Connaught, and his confederates, chiefs of Tyrconnell and Tyrone. The latter were victorious. The causes of the war, as stated by Keating, (and also by the *Four Masters,*) were two-fold :—*first*, the slaughter of Curnan, son to the king of Connaught, who was killed by Diarmait while under the protection of Columb-kille. This is the cause assigned in the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre* of Ciaran,—a semi-bardic compilation, which is one of Keating's authorities. The other cause,—which he takes from the *Black Book of Molaga*, (a work of which Dr. Lanigan speaks very contemptuously,) is, that Diarmait had pronounced a false judgment in a case in which Columb-kille was a party. It is stated that the saint had borrowed a book from St. Finnian, and made a copy of it without the owner's knowledge. Finnian claimed the *son-book*, or transcript, as his property: and Diarmait, who had been chosen umpire, decided in his favour, on the principle that "to every book belonged its own *son-book*, as to every cow her own calf."[v] The authors who adopt these legends as history leave it to be inferred that Columba, feeling himself aggrieved by the conduct of Diarmait, stirred up the chiefs of the Cinel-Conaill and Cinel-Eoghain to war. Some of the annalists ascribe the victory which they obtained at Cul-Dreimhne, to the efficacy of his prayers; and it is plainly implied that the fact of his having prayed for the success of his friends, and prevailed, was one of those which influenced his judges in pronouncing sentence upon him. But this may be unhesitatingly thrown aside: for, whatever may have been the state of religion in the sixth century in Ireland, it is impossible to believe that any body of Christian ecclesiastics, or even of laymen, would condemn any man to a penance, *because it had pleased the Almighty to hear his prayers!* The other grounds of censure are not more probable. Diarmait had put to death the son of the King of Connaught, under circumstances which would appear to have involved something of treachery, as well as impiety, according to the ideas of the time: it would not require the instigation of St. Columba to induce the father to rush to arms to avenge his slaughtered son; nor would the saint's influence be needed to prevail on him to seek the assistance of the race of Niall in prosecuting the war. As to the story about the *son-book* it is simply ridiculous. The fathers of the Irish church were extremely anxious to multiply copies of the Scriptures and other sacred books; and, if such a transaction had taken place, Finnian, instead of censuring Columba, would have applauded his zeal. Besides, if any such circumstance happened at all, the owner of the book must have been Finnian of Movilla: for Finnian of Clonard died at the very least *nine years* before the battle of Cul-Dreimhne.[w] Now,

[u] The Four Masters erroneously place it at A.D. 555; the other annalists at 561. If the date affixed by the Four Masters be assumed as correct, the expulsion of Columb-kille must have been delayed till eight years after the commission of his crime.

[v] The whole of the passages referred to are given in full by Dr Reeves. *Adamn.* p. 248, &c.

[w] The Annals of Innisfallen fix the year 552 as that of the death of Finnian of Clonard: and their authority is preferred by Ussher, Ware, and Lanigan, to that of the

Finnian of Movilla was the early friend and instructor of Columba, and continued to maintain the most amicable relations with him till after the time fixed for this imaginary quarrel.[x] Add to this that the authorities in favour of all these stories are modern and of suspicious credit; and that they contradict each other as to the person by whom the sentence was pronounced; some making it to be the decision of an ecclesiastical tribunal; some the penance imposed by a confessor; others the self-pronounced sentence of the penitent himself;—and we shall, perhaps, see reason to agree with Dr. Lanigan, "that this is not history, but poetry: and that *there is scarcely a word of truth in it*, except that such a battle was fought."[y] We agree with this eminently learned writer, that it is probable enough "that Columba prayed for the protection of his kinsmen and their subjects against the fury of Diarmait;" and that this may have excited the displeasure of the monarch and his partisans. It is certain that, for some cause or other, Columba, previously to his departure from Ireland, (but at what exact time is uncertain,) had incurred the disapprobation of several influential persons; in so much that he was about to be excommunicated by a synod at Teilte, "for some venial and very excusable causes," as Adamnan assures us, "and not rightly, as appeared in the event." But St. Brendan of Birr, who was present at the meeting, having declared that he beheld "a pillar of fire going before the man of God, and holy angels accompanying him across the plain on his way to the synod," the persons assembled not only desisted from going on with the excommunication, but treated Columba with the utmost respect and veneration.[z] It is quite uncertain to what period in the life of St. Columba this narrative relates; but, if it has reference to the two years which followed the battle of Cul-Dreimhne, it puts an end at once to the story of a penance being prescribed to St. Columba in any form; "seeing that the synod acknowledged that he did not deserve any censure." On the whole, it seems to us as futile as it is unnecessary to inquire for other causes of Columba's removal to the Western Isles of Scotland than that which the earliest and best authorities ascribe to him; namely, a desire to spread Christianity among the inhabitants of that *then* pagan and benighted region. He had been eminently successful as a herald of the faith in his own land: he now determined to devote his life to the conversion and civilization of the heathen tribes who were settled within sight of his native hills.

To us it appears highly probable that the whole story of Columb-kille having been exiled on ac-

Four Masters, who state it to have happened A.D. 548: both dates are irreconcileable with the account of the battle of Cul-dreimhne, (which was fought in 561,) as having arisen out of a quarrel between Finnian of Clonard and Columba.

[x] Alio in tempore, vir sanctus venerandum episcopum Finnionem, suum videlicet magistrum, juvenis senem adiit: quem cum sanctus Finnio ad se appropinquantem vidisset, angelum Domini pariter ejus comitem itineris vidit: et ut nobis ab expertis traditur, quibusdam astantibus intimavit fratribus, inquiens, "Ecce nunc videatis sanctum advenientem Columbam, qui sui commeatus meruit habere socium angelum cœlicolam."—*[illegible] diebus*, Sanctus, cum duodecim commilitonibus discipulis, ad Britanniam transnavigavit.—*Adamn.* l. iii. c. 4, p. 195-6. It is of little consequence to the present argument whether the last sentence refers to the first voyage of Columba to Britain, or to some subsequent occasion of crossing the sea: in either case, it shows that the Finnian spoken of could not be the Finnian of Clonard, who was dead, at the very least, fifteen years before the emigration of Columb-kille. It also shows that up till that very time Columba and Finnian of Movilla were on terms of mutual friendship; and that Finnian professed for Columba the utmost veneration. The term "juvenis" seems to be applied to the saint, (who was now at least forty-two years of age,) merely by way of contrast to the venerable age of Finnian.

[y] *Eccles. Hist.* ii. 148.

[z] *Adamn.* l. iii. c. 3, p. 192-4.

count of the battle of Cul-dreimhne, is owing to the simple fact of Adamnan having mentioned that the arrival of the saint in Scotland and the erection of the monastery at Hy took place two years after that battle was fought.[a] This he has done manifestly for the purpose of fixing the date of the latter event, by referring it to another which was well known in Irish history, and duly recorded in the annals of the kingdom; but subsequent writers connected the two events together, as cause and effect. The story about the *son-book,* which is said to have led to the battle, is easily explained. There was, among the Cinel-Conaill,—the tribe to which Columba belonged,—a book, containing a copy of the Psalms, said to have been written by the hand of the saint; which, in after times, was enclosed in a curiously wrought silver shrine, and was held to be of such marvellous sanctity that, if carried three times from right to left round the warriors of the tribe, on the eve of an engagement, it ensured to them the victory over their enemies. Hence it was called the *Cathach;* which may be translated, *the Battle-book.*[b] But the more recent historians of Columba, who were already impressed with the notion that he was a stirrer up of feuds and dissensions, overlooking the real ground of this designation, explained it as given to the book on account of its having been the *cause of the battle* in which the saint had, as they supposed, borne a part. Thus we can not only show that the legend was positively untrue, but easily and naturally account for its origin.

Agreeably to the customs of the age, and to his own practice on previous occasions at home, he commenced his undertaking by founding a monastery; and the place which he chose for its site was the small and then uninhabited island of Hy, or I, afterwards called Iona, or, from his own name, I-Columb-kille. It is about three miles long by one or one-and-a-half in breadth; and lies at the distance of an English mile to the south-west of the island of Mull. It was in the bounds of the Pictish kingdom; yet not so far from the Scottish or Dalriadic territory as to prevent the occupants from receiving aid, in case of need, from their kinsmen and fellow Christians of that region. Columba was accompanied by twelve companions,—the normal retinue of a mediaeval missionary.[c] It is said that he obtained a grant of the island from the king of the Scottish colony:[d] a concession from

[a] *Adamn. Praef. 2da.* p. 9: also, l. i. c. 6, p. 31.

[b] "The book which St. Columba is said to have transcribed from St. Finnian's original, is the copy of the Psalms, which forms, with its silver case, the ancient reliquary called the Cathach, of which O'Donnell gives this curious account:—'Now the Cathach is the name of the book on account of which the battle was fought, and it is the chief relic of Columb-cille in the territory of the Cinel Conaill Gulban: it is covered with silver under gold; and it is not lawful to open it; and if it be sent thrice *right-wise* round the army of the Cinel Conaill when they are going to battle, they will return safe with victory; and it is on the breast of a comhorba or a cleric, who is to the best of his power free from mortal sin, that the Cathach should be, when brought round the army.'" The Cathach is still in existence, and in the possession of the O'Donnell family. "A drawing of the cover is given in Betham's 'Antiquarian Researches,' vol. i., p. 109; and a fac-simile of four lines of the enclosed MS., ib. p. 112. . . . The character and condition of the MS. are indicative of extreme old age, but it is questionable whether it is in the handwriting of the saint himself."—Dr. Reeves; *Adamn Add. Note*, B: p. 249, 250.

[c] *Adamn.* l. iii. c. 4: (already cited in note x *supra.)*—Dr. Reeves gives a long list of saints, who in their church-building and missionary undertakings set out with twelve companions. (*Adamn Add. Note* I. p. 229 &c.) He also gives the names of the twelve companions of Columba: (*Add, Note* A. p. 245,) with all the particulars of their history that it is now possible to ascertain.

[d] The Annals of Ulster and of Tighernach ascribe the donation of Hy to the generosity of Conall, king of the Dalriadic Scots in Caledonia: on the other hand Bede refers it to the liberality of King Brudeus and the Picts: (*His. Eccl.* l. iii. c. 4.) and territorial considerations lend strength to this statement. It is, however, deserving of note that he makes the grant *subsequent to the conversion*

Brudeus, the Pictish king, is also mentioned, but this could only have been made subsequently to the conversion of Brudeus to Christianity. He was at first quite unfriendly to the Gospel. When he heard that Columba was approaching his fortress, he ordered the gates to be closed; but, at the sign of the cross, made by the fingers of the saint, and a slight blow from his hand, they flew open: and the king then paid remarkable attention to the unbidden guest.[e] Soon afterwards he embraced the Christian faith. The *Magi* (so Adamnan calls the priests of the Pictish religion) tried all their arts to prevent the missionaries from preaching to the people. When other means failed, they endeavoured once to drown the voice of Columba by noise and shouting; but the saint, determined to frustrate their wiles, immediately commenced chanting the 45th Psalm; and, his voice rising into the air, was reverberated like thunder from the clouds, so that the king and people were struck with fright and consternation.[f] Manifold were the miracles which Columba is said to have wrought during the progress of his mission in Caledonia—in truth, they are *too many* for the occasion; there are few readers who would not have felt grateful to his biographers had they spared the recital of many which they have recorded. Among the rest we are told that "after prayer upon his bended knees, he brought back to life the son of a certain person of humble rank, after he had been dead, and his exequies celebrated; and restored him to his father and mother."[g]

In the prosecution of his mission, he appears to have visited almost every part of the dominions of the Northern Picts, comprehending the whole of modern Scotland to the North and North-West of the Grampians, and likewise the Western Isles. It is certain that he found this wide region heathen, and that he left it, at least nominally, Christian. He is said to have penetrated even to the Orkneys, and to have formed *cells* (as churches were then denominated) in that remote region. Many of these parts he visited oftener than once; and wherever he penetrated, he built churches, founded monasteries, and established religious teachers.[h] It is to be regretted that his enterprises in this spiritual warfare are only expressed to us in general terms, so that it is not possible to trace his progress chronologically, nor even to identify, in all cases, the scenes of his labours; but we know enough to be able to assert that no part of Pict-land was left unvisited by himself or his emissaries; and that in almost every place to which he came he left the traces of his presence in the churches which he erected, the religious institutions which he set on foot, and the conversion of whole tribes

of the Picts. "Quæ videlicet insula," (i.e. *Iona,*) "ad jus quidem Britanniæ pertinet, non magno ab ea freto discreta, sed donatione Pictorum qui illas Britanniæ plagas incolunt, jamdudum monachis Scottorum tradita, eo quod illas prædicantibus fidem Christi perceperint." (*His. Eccl.* l. iii. c 3.) Both accounts were probably true. The island was uninhabited: Columba and his comrades settled in it, under the protection of the neighbouring chieftain Conall; and, on the conversion of Brudeus, received a fresh title from the paramount lords of the soil.

[e] *Adamn* l. ii. c. 35. p. 151-2.

[f] *Adamn.* l. i c. 37: p. 73-4.

[g] *Adamn.* l. ii. c. 32. p. 145-6.—The account there given is prolix and circumstantial: though the story of Cumineus, on which that in Adamnan is founded, is very brief. "Post genuflexionem quoque et orationem surgens, in nomine Domini, mortuum cujusdam plebei filium suscitavit; et post celebratas exequias, patri et matri reddidit." (*Vita S. Col. c.* 22. *ap. Colgan.*) "The details in Adamnan are evidently told in imitation of Matt. ix 24, and the parallel passages." *Dr. Reeves, Adamn.* p. 146. n.)

[h] Dr. Reeves has collected the names of *thirty-two* places in the district of the Scots in Britain, and *twenty-one* in that of the Northern Picts, including some in the Orkneys, where the memory of Columbkille was specially revered.—*Adamn. Add. Note* II. pp. 289-298.

and multitudes to the Christian faith. His principal establishments, however, were those on the islands of Iona, of Tiree *(Terra Ethica*[i]*)* in its neighbourhood, and of Hinba, the locality of which is undetermined. He had also establishments in the island of Skye, and in many other places. But he did not confine his labours to the Picts. The Scots of Britain, who were his countrymen, and with whose royal family he was closely allied by birth, occupied a portion of his care.[k] He planted several monasteries among them; among the rest one near Loch-Awe, in Argyleshire, in which he placed one of his monks, named Cailten, as prior.[l] He visited also the territory of the Christian Britons in Strath-Clyde, and appears to have kept up some degree of intercourse even with the south-eastern parts of North-Britain that were occupied by the Anglo-Saxon pagans. At least we find, in the latter years of his life, some Anglo-Saxons at Hy;[m] and, it is highly probable, that these were converts whom he had made in his journeys into the districts in which they had settled. Over all his institutions, in Ireland as well as in North Britain, Columba exercised a fatherly oversight, often sending messengers to visit, inspect, and regulate those that were at considerable distances from him; going to them himself when necessary; and receiving letters and messengers from time to time, sent to inform him of the state of the communities, and especially to request his advice in all cases of difficulty. He was remarkable for his attention to strangers: receiving all persons, of whatever country or condition, who came to him, with kindness and a decent hospitality. It may be added that his monasteries were not only religious houses, but seats of learning; and that their inmates, when not engaged in their spiritual duties, employed themselves either in copying the Scriptures and other religious books, or in agriculture, and in the useful labours which were needful for their own support.[n] They appear even to have erected the churches, and other buildings which they occupied, with their own hands.

Great was the influence which Columba acquired in the scene of his labours in North Britain.

[i] The island of Tiree is situated to the North West of Iona, at the distance of about twenty miles; it is much the larger island of the two, being nearly eleven miles long, and varying in breadth from one to three miles; and though low and sandy is fertile; whence it seems to have derived its name: (*Tir-ith*, "the Land of barley.") It contained two monasteries in the time of Columb-kille, one at Arletrain, (*Adamn.* p. 66, in the Title to B. i. ch. 36:) founded by Findchanus, a presbyter, supposed to be an associate of St. Columba; the other in Magh-Lunge, (*Campus Lunge*,) over which Baithen presided, who was undoubtedly one of the companions of the saint: and who succeeded him as Abbot of Hy. To these ecclesiastical establishments many others were afterwards added: of which a full account has been given by Dr, Reeves, in the pages of this *Journal*, vol. ii. pp. 233-244.

[k] The territory of the Scots then nearly coincided with the modern county of Argyle.

[l] *Adamn.* l. i. c. 31. p. 60. We assume, with Dr. Reeves, that the *flumen Aba* of the text, is the river which forms Loch Awe. We should not have heard of it but for a prophetic message of Columba to Cailten, desiring him to come to Iona in all haste He did so, and was informed that he was to die within a week: which he did of course!

[m] Two of them are mentioned in Adamnan. One was Genereus, a baker: (l. iii. c. 10:) the other was called Pilu: (l. iii. c. 22.) It must be remembered that, at the times of which we are treating, the mission of Augustine to the Anglo-Saxons had not commenced; and that the Britons, according to Bede and Gildas, never had communicated the Gospel to that people; hence a strong probability that these men had been converted by Columba himself, or his emissaries.

[n] Dr. Reeves gives in his Appendix an Additional Note, N: (p. 334-339:) which is in fact a copious and most interesting Dissertation, entitled *Institutio Hyensis*, in which every part of the system, order, and discipline pursued at Hy, is accurately discussed. We are sorry that our limits prevent us from attempting an analysis of its contents: but they ought to be carefully studied by every person who wishes to understand the economy of an Irish monastery in the sixth century.

Of this we have an instance in the fact of his being selected to inaugurate Aidan, who, upon the death of Conall, was elected king of the Scottish or Irish colony in North Britain. The saint would have declined the honour;—indeed his own wishes were in favour of Eogenan, the brother of Aidan; but being repeatedly commanded, in nocturnal visions, to inaugurate the chieftain appointed by the tribe, he complied, and the consecration took place on the island of Hy.[o] The form of consecration was read out of "a glass book;" perhaps a parchment, framed and glazed, on which the formula was written. This is said to be the earliest recorded example of the inauguration of a king in Christian times; but, from the mention of *a book,* the usage would appear to be of a still more ancient date among the Irish or Scottish people.

Passing over many incidents which are either trivial, incredible, or of more than doubtful authority, we come to an event which makes a considerable figure in the life of St. Columba, and indeed in the history of the times,—the convention of Druim-ceatt, held in the year 575, as stated by Dr. Reeves, though other authorities place it sixteen years later. It is a striking example of the wretched manner of writing ecclesiastical history that prevailed in the seventh century, that, although Adamnan mentions the convention at Druim-ceatt and the presence of Columba at it, he does not give us the slightest information respecting the occasion of the meeting, the persons of whom it consisted, the form of their deliberations, or the decision at which they arrived! All that he says about it is contained in the recital of two prophecies which were then delivered, and a short chapter of six lines, entitled, "*Of the cures of diverse diseases which were effected at Dorsum Ceate,*" that is Druim-ceatt.[p] We are therefore compelled to have recourse to such authorities as the "semi-

[o] "At another time when the venerable Columba was on a visit in the island of Hinba, he one night saw in a trance an angel of the Lord sent to him, who held in his hand the Glass Book of the Inauguration of the Kings; which the venerable man, at the desire of the angel, took from his hand, and began to read. And when he refused to inaugurate Aidan as king, according to the forms contained in that book, because he liked his brother Eogenan better, the angel suddenly put forth his hand and struck the saint with a whip: the livid mark of which remained on his side all the days of his life: and he added, 'Know for certain that I have been sent to thee by God with the Glass Book, that thou mayest inaugurate Aidan as king, according to the words which thou hast read in it: and if thou refuse to comply with this second command, I will smite thee again.' So when this angel of the Lord had appeared on three successive nights, holding the same Glass Book in his hand, and had repeated the injunction respecting the inauguration of the king, the Saint, in obedience to the word of the Lord, crossed over into Hy, and there, as he had been commanded, inaugurated Aidan as king, who arrived about the same time. Whilst repeating the words of inauguration, he prophesied of things yet to come, concerning his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons: and putting his hand upon his head, whilst inaugurating, he blessed him."—*Adamn.* l. iii. c. 5. p. 197-8.

[p] The convention of Druimceatt is placed by the Annals of Ulster in A.D. 574: by the Annals of Clonmacnoise in 587: but Colgan, O'Flaherty, and Lanigan have assigned 590 as its date. The place where it was held is fixed by O'Donnell as in the region of Ciannachta Glen-geimhin, now the barony of Kenaght in the County of Londonderry; and is described as a pleasant mound, on the banks of the river Roe, not far from the point where it ceases to be affected by the tide. "The precise spot where the assembly was held, is the long mound in Roe Park, near Newtownlimavady, called the Mullagh, and sometimes Daisy Hill." (*Dr. Reeves, Adamn* p. 37. n.) Adamnan mentions the assembly as the occasion on which Columba delivered a prediction, that Domhnall, son of Aedh, the king of Ireland, should survive all his brothers, become a famous king, should never fall into the hands of his enemies, and should die in old age, in his own house, and on his own bed; which happened accordingly. (l. i. c. 10.) He made a somewhat similar prediction, at the same place, concerning Scanlan, son of Colman, who was then a prisoner in the hands of Aedh: which it is needless to repeat. (l. i. c. p. 38, 39.) The brief chapter alluded to in the text, is here translated entire. "*Concerning the cures of Diverse Diseases, which were effected at Drumceatt.* This man of exemplary life, (as it hath been handed down to us from those who had personal knowledge of the facts,) during the days on which he remained for a short time at Drumceatt on his journey to the convention of kings, healed the infir-

bardic" *Leabhar na h' Uidhre,* O'Donnell, and Keating, whose statements are not very clear, not very consistent, and not very trustworthy. It would, nevertheless, appear probable that the convention consisted of the monarch, the provincial sovereigns, and the heads of religious houses in Ireland; and that it was held for the purpose of deciding some points which were at issue between Aedh, king of Ireland, and Aidan, king of the Dalriadic settlement in North Britain. It would seem as if the king of Erin had claimed supremacy over the Scoto-Irish colony in Caledonia; on the same principle, perhaps, as that on which his predecessor, Diarmait, is said to have adjudged the possession of the "son-book" to St. Finnian,—that "to every cow belongs her own calf;"—while, on the contrary, Aidan, having now become a monarch in another country, not only maintained his right to be an independent sovereign, but asserted a claim to the dominion of the ancient Dalriadic province in the north of Ireland, of which he and his family were the hereditary chiefs.[q] The matter was referred to the decision of St. Columba. Perhaps the abbot of Hy in Scotland, and of Durrow (Dair-magh) and Derry in Erin, was unwilling to provoke the hostility of either party by an adverse decision. At all events, he referred the case to Colman the son of Comgellan, who awarded that the Scottish Dalriada should be an independent monarchy; that the Irish Dalriads should be bound to follow the kings of Erin in their wars and hostings, *but should pay tax and tribute to the king of Alba.*[r] If this decision was actually pronounced, *the latter part of it was never fulfilled.* It is further stated in a "semi-bardic composition," the *Abhra Choluim-cille,* contained in the *Leabhar na h' Uidhre,* that one object of the assemblage was to procure the banishment of the bards and "Antiquaries," who had scandalously abused their privileges; but that Columba prevailed on the monarchs to be content with limiting their number, curtailing their "poetic licenses," and restricting their emoluments.[s] Dr. Lanigan accepts this as history: we concur with Dr. Reeves in attaching to it but little weight. It seems very like a device of a bard, in later times, to shelter himself and his order under the mantle of Columb-kille and the royal robes of a whole congress of princes and kings.

Adamnan informs us that Columba remained but a short time at Druim-ceatt; and, though he gives few particulars, leads us to believe that he made no long stay in Ireland on this occasion.[t] It is highly probable that he took the opportunity of visiting the churches and monasteries which he had founded in his native land; remedying abuses, if such existed, and encouraging his communities to persevere in the good works which they had undertaken. It is to this period of his life

mities of various sick persons, by invoking the name of Christ. For, either by stretching forth his holy hand, or by the aspersion of water blessed by him, or by the touch of the hem of his garment, or by the blessing of something such as salt or bread, received from the saint and dipped in water, those who believed, received their perfect health." (L. ii. c 6. p. 113.) The idea of these miracles is borrowed from Acts iii., 6; v. 15; xix. 12, &c.

[q] For a full account of the political causes which are stated to have led to this celebrated convention, we refer to Dr. Reeves's Note *c*, on *Adamn.*, l. i. c. 49: p. 92, &c.

[r] See the authorities cited by Dr. Reeves, *ubi supra.*

[s] This account "is given in the prefaces to that semi-bardic composition, the *Amhra Choluim-cille;* and is to be found at full length in Keating's account of the convention at Druimceatt." (*Reeves, Adamn.* p. 80. *note*)

[t] "Once upon a time when the holy man after the congress of the kings at Druim-Ceatt was returning to the watery plains," &c. (L. i. c. 49. p. 92.) This would seem to imply, that he set out on his return to Hy soon after the congress was concluded:—though the length of his visit to his native land is not specified.

that we are disposed to refer his interview with Alithir of Clon-macnoise,[u] as well as those with Comgall of Bangor,[v] and Bishop Conall of Coleraine; which are placed at this date by the historian. The latter entertained Columba at a public banquet, having collected almost innumerable contributions for the purpose from the people of the country.[w] Of these interviews we have few particulars; but it would seem that the saint was everywhere received with the respect due to his distinguished character and services.

After his return to Hy, and exactly thirty years after his first arrival in that island,—an epoch which he had often prayed might be that of his departure from life,—he received an announcement from heaven in a vision, that his presence on earth was required *for four years longer*, at the end of which time he would be removed to the heavenly world.[x] He spent the interval in the same exer-

[u] Alithir was the fourth abbot of Clonmacnoise, having succeeded Mac Nessie, who died June 12th, 585: after which time the interview must have taken place, which is thus described by Adamnan. "Once upon a time, the blessed man, remaining by divine permission some months in the interior of Ireland, whilst regulating the monastery that in Irish is called Dair-Magh, was pleased to visit the brethren of St. Kieran's monastery of Clonmacnoise. As soon as his arrival was announced, all the monks assembling from the farms near the convent, together with those that were in it, following their abbot Alithir with all alacrity, went forth to meet St. Columba, beyond the rampart of the monastery, as if he had been an angel of the Lord; and bowing their faces to the ground at sight of him, he was kissed by them with all reverence. Singing psalms and hymns, they conducted him in honoured procession to their church; and constructing a canopy of wood for the saint as he walked, they caused it to be supported by four men, moving with equal steps, lest the aged Columba might be inconvenienced by the pressure of that multitude of brethren. At that very hour, a young domestic, contemptible in face and dress, and not much in favour with the superiors, came behind Columba as secretly as he could, that he might touch if it were but the hem of his garment, without his knowing or perceiving it. But this was not hidden from the saint; for the thing which, being done behind him, he could not see with the eyes of his body, he discovered by those of the spirit. Therefore stopping short of a sudden, and reaching his hand behind him, he catches the boy by the neck, and pulling him forward, places him before his face. . . . . He then says to the trembling lad, 'Put forth thy tongue!' . . . . and says, 'Though this boy be now so contemptible, let no one despise him: for from this hour . . . . he will greatly please you; and advancing each day in learning and knowledge, he will be a great man in your congregation,'" &c., &c.—This was St Ernan: who told the story to Segineus in the hearing of Failbe: by the latter it was communicated, along with some other wonderful facts, to Adamnan. (L. i. c. 3, pp. 23-25.) If this visit did not take place at or after the congress of Druim-ceatt, it implies a *second* voyage of Columba to Ireland, after his settlement in Hy; for Alithir did not become Abbot till long after the last-named epoch.

[v] "Once upon a time, when the holy man after the conference of the kings, Aedh, the son of Ainmire, and Aidan, the son of Gabran, at Druim-ceatt, was returning to the watery plains, he and the abbot Comgell" [of Bangor] "were seated one fine day not far from the fortress of Dun-Cethern," [now called the Giant's sconce, near Coleraine, in the County of Londonderry,] "and water was brought in a vessel of bronze, from a neighbouring spring, to wash the hands of the saints. When St Columba had received it, he says to the abbot Comgell who was sitting beside him, 'O Comgell, a day will come when this spring, from which this water has been brought to us, will no longer be no longer fit for man's use, . . . for it will be filled with human blood; for my kinsmen and friends, and yours, according to the flesh, the Hy-Niall and the Cruithnians,' [i.e., the Irish Picts of Dalaradia in the County of Down and the southern part of Antrim,] 'will wage battle in this neighbouring fortress of Dun-Cethern; and a certain man of my race will be slain in the aforesaid spring, with whose blood and that of others the well of the spring will be filled.' And this true prophecy was fulfilled after many years," &c., &c. (—*Adamn.* l. i. c. 49, p. 92 96.) This anecdote shows that Adamnan knew nothing of any quarrel between Comgell and Columba.

[w] This interview, like the former, Adamnan dates as happening immediately after the conference at Druim-ceatt. (L. i. c. 50: pp. 97-99.) It is mentioned to introduce the fact that St. Columba was enabled prophetically to know and describe the character of each contributor, and to impose upon him a suitable penance for his besetting sin, of whatsoever nature it was, by simply looking at the articles which he had furnished for the entertainment.

[x] Adamnan relates that once in the island of Hy, the holy face of Columba beamed with joy and rapture; then suddenly became overcast with sadness. Two persons, Lugneus Mocublai and Pilu a Saxon, who witnessed the change, inquired the cause; to whom, after exacting a promise of secrecy during his life-time, the saint explained:—"This day, thrice ten years are completed since my settlement in Britain: and often during that time have I devoutly asked of God that at the end of this thirtieth year he would release me from my pilgrimage and call me to the heavenly land. And the cause of my gladness was that I saw the angels sent from the throne

cises and occupations to which he had devoted his previous years. On the day which preceded his departure, he went forth to bless the barn of the monastery; and, seeing two heaps of grain, he expressed his joy, that in case of his being obliged to leave the brethren, they were likely to have sufficiency for another twelvemonth. His attendant (who was called Diermit) began to remonstrate with Columba for his frequent allusions to his decease, at that period of the year; to whom he communicated, under promise of secrecy till after his departure, that the approaching night was to be the last of his existence upon earth. "This day," he said, "is called in the sacred volumes, *the Sabbath,* which signifies 'rest' and truly it is a sabbath to me, because it is to me the last of this present toilsome life, and that on which I am to rest after all my troubles and labours; for in the middle of this venerable Sunday night which is approaching,[y] according to the testimonies of the Scriptures, I go the way of the Fathers. For now my Lord Jesus Christ deigns to invite me, to whom I shall depart as I have said, in the middle of this night, on his own invitation; for so it has been revealed to me by the Lord himself." As he returned towards the monastery he sat down to rest on a spot on which a cross was afterwards erected: (it was standing in the time of Adamnan:) while there, a white horse belonging to the monastery, to which Columba had doubtless been a kind and considerate master, approached him, thrust his head into the saint's bosom, and caressed him with unusual manifestations of affection. The attendant would have driven him away, but Columba would not permit the faithful creature to be prevented from indulging his feelings; and expressed his opinion that the Creator had by some means made it known to the dumb animal that it was soon to lose its aged owner. When the steed withdrew, the saint pronounced a blessing on the grateful and faithful creature.[z] Removing to a slight eminence which overhung his monastery, he stopped for a moment on its summit; and lifting up his hands, he blessed the convent, predicting that the place, though then small and poor, would be held in veneration not only by the kings and tribes of Ireland, but of foreign and barbarous nations; yea, by the saints of other churches. Returning to the monastery, he sat down in his private apartment, and occupied himself in transcribing a copy of the Psalms, in Latin; and having written the words—"*They that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing,*" (Psalm xxxiv. 10,) he said—"Here I must stop at the foot of the page; let Baithen write what follows."[a] The saint soon after attended evening service in the

on high to carry away my soul from the flesh. But behold, now, having made a sudden halt, they are standing on the rock beyond the frith, desirous to come nigh, to summon me from the body; but they are not permitted .... for the Lord, though he had granted my earnest prayer that I should pass from this world to him this very day, hath, this instant, changed his purpose, listening rather to the prayers of many churches on my account. To whom.........he hath granted that, though against my own will, four years more of continuance in the flesh are to be added to my life," &c. &c.—(*Adamn.* l iii. c 22, pp 227-8.)

[y] It is almost superfluous to point out that, in the designations of time which are here employed, the Jewish calculation is followed, according to which each day commenced and ended at sunset: the Sabbath embraces the period from sun-set on Friday till sun-set on Saturday: and the evening and night which succeeds Saturday is counted as part of the Lord's Day. "The practice of calling the Lord's Day the Sabbath commenced about a thousand years after this date." (*Dr. Reeves*, Adamn. p. 230, n.)

[z] We could not refrain from embodying this incident in our brief narrative, because it seems to intimate very expressively Columba's kindness of heart. "The righteous man regardeth the life of his beast."

[a] This MS. of the Psalms is no longer to be found. The "Cathach,' already described, was once supposed

church; whence he returned to his cell, and sat for the remainder of the night on his stone couch, delivering to Diermit some parting admonitions to the brethren; exhorting them to preserve mutual and unfeigned love and peace; promising them, if they adhered to his counsels, the help of God, the benefit of his own intercession, and not only an abundance of all things needful for the present life, but the reward of eternal blessedness prepared for the observers of the commandments of God. When his last hour drew nigh, the Saint became silent; but at the sound of the midnight bell he arose in haste, made his way to the church, at which he arrived sooner than any of the brethren, and threw himself on his knees in prayer, near the altar. Diermit, his attendant, who had followed him slowly, *afterwards* declared that he saw from a distance the whole interior of the church filled with a supernatural light, which, however, disappeared the moment he approached the gate, but not before it had been seen by some others of the monks, who were also standing at some distance. Diermit entering the church, exclaimed in a tone of sorrow, "Where art thou, my father?" And, before lights could be brought,—groping in the dark, he found the holy man sunk on the ground before the altar. He raised him up a little, and sitting beside him, placed his head on his own bosom. The monks entering with candles, and seeing their venerable father at the point of death, began to utter loud lamentations; but Columba, opening his eyes, looked around with an expression of the utmost happiness and joy; "doubtless," says Adamnan, "beholding the holy angels sent from heaven to meet him." With Diermit's help he raised his right hand, and by a gentle movement signified the blessing to his brethren which his lips were unable to pronounce; and instantly breathed his last.[b] His death took place on Sunday, the 9th of June, A.D. 597, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

We have left ourselves no room to discuss the character and the services of Columb-kille; and indeed the reader of the foregoing pages will be at no loss to perceive that we place a very high estimate on both. It is evident that he was a man of indefatigable perseverance in the discharge of the solemn duties to which he had consecrated his life; that he pursued them amidst difficulties, dangers, and anxieties, under which he never sunk for one moment; that he led a life of the utmost self-denial; and, having given himself up to what he regarded as the work and call of God, he fainted not, nor "was wearied in well-doing." It is evident that his efforts were most successful in the confirmation of the faith where it was already professed, and in its diffusion among heathens and idolaters. In Ireland he laboured among a nominally Christian people: but, although the whole kingdom had been won over to the profession of the Gospel through the labours of Saint Patrick and his companions, it is no impeachment of the zeal of those illustrious missionaries, nor any denial of their wonderful success, to believe, as we do, that in many parts of our native land Christianity was as yet professed without being heartily believed; and that many vestiges of hea-

to be the last MS. written by the hand of Columb-kille; but the whole is in one hand-writing, and the passage here spoken of does not close a page.

[b] These particulars of Columba's latter end are copied, and almost literally translated from Adamnan. (L. iii. c. 23. pp. 228-242.)

thenism both in matters of opinion and practice, still lingered among the people. The institutions founded by Columba must have tended greatly to banish these remains of pagan superstition. Wherever he planted a monastery, there was a missionary institute, whence Christian ministers went forth to instruct the ignorant, convince the doubting, confirm the wavering, and refute the gainsaying; and to help forward, by the strenuous inculcation of the precepts of religion, the practice of the virtues which Christianity enjoins. In these sacred asylums, many, wearied with the anxieties and the crimes of greatness, found refuge not merely from their outward enemies but from their own bad passions; and were induced to dedicate to the service of humanity those energies which had hitherto been devoted to war, violence, and ambition. In these seminaries alike of religion and literature, the young were instructed in the arts which civilize and refine the nature of man; books were read, studied, copied, and multiplied;[c] and provision was made for the supply of the spiritual wants of the coming generation. Even in Ireland, and among the Dalriadic Scots of North Britain, such labours must have had a most beneficial influence. Still more marked, however, was the benefit which Columba and his associates conferred on the heathen inhabitants of Caledonia, for whose good he abandoned his native country, and exposed himself to the disasters and dangers which could not fail to attend on missionary enterprise among such a people as the Picts then were. He must have gone forth each day to his spiritual labours among them "with his life in his hand;" and the success which attended his exertions shows the prudence and wisdom, as well as the zeal, with which they must have been conducted. The whole north and north-west of Scotland owes to him its conversion to the Christian faith. If any remains of Paganism were left which he had not himself been able to extirpate, they were speedily rooted out by the efforts of his companions and followers, whom he had stationed in various parts that they might complete an undertaking which exceeded the powers of any single man; and who laboured in his own spirit and after his own example. He found the Pictish people a race of barbarous pagans: he left them a Christianised, and, in some degree at least, a Christian people. After the time of Columba, we hear little or nothing of heathenism as existing among the Picts. Nor is it probable that the Anglo-Saxons of the eastern coast of North Britain were excluded from a share of his anxieties and labours; though circumstances—of which the essential difference of language was probably one—appear to have rendered his personal success among them less conspicuous. His successors in Iona, it is well known, were the instruments of converting the whole of the Anglo-Saxons north of the Humber to the profession of the Gospel.[d]

[c] The literary services of the monastic institutions can scarcely be over-estimated. To them we owe the transcription, and in many cases the preservation, of the ancient writings, both sacred and profane, on which all our modern civilization turns as on a hinge. Columba was a famous copyist: and two of the most beautiful existing MSS. of the Scriptures were made in his monastery of Durrow, and that of Kells, in which the monks of Hy took refuge from the Danes. We hope to see a description of these beautiful Codices in the pages of this *Journal*.

[d] Aidan, the apostle of the Northumbrians, whose kingdom extended from the Humber to the Frith of Forth, was an Irishman, and a monk of Hy. Dima the first bishop of the Middle Anglians and Mercians, and his successor Ceollach, were also Irishmen; the latter cer-

That his character was free from faults, we do not assert, nor do we believe. The venerable Bede appears to express himself with doubt as to his claim to *some* at least of the graces of Christian life:[e] though perhaps he did not mean to convey the unfavourable surmise which his words have been supposed to intimate. The most common charge made against him, is that of a tendency to vindictiveness; a charge to which Dr. Reeves lends the high sanction of his name.[f] With a scholar so candid and so accomplished, we own ourselves as unwilling as we are incompetent to cope in controversy on such a point; but it appears to us that the charge rests on insufficient grounds. The facts by which it is supported are, in every case that we can call to mind, *miraculous legends.* A slight is put on Columb-kille by some one during his life or after his death; the saint intercedes with God, to inflict signal and summary vengeance on the persons who have failed to treat him with proper respect; and instantly they are visited with sudden death or some other direful calamity. Adamnan, O'Donnell, and oral tradition, are the vouchers of these facts. We presume Dr. Reeves will concur with us in rejecting the miraculous part of these narratives. It is, indeed, inconceivable that God should work miracles to gratify the malice of Columba, or of any man. But if the legend be rejected, what becomes of the imputation on the character of the saint?

Here we feel ourselves impelled to say a few words with reference to the biographies in which these legends are found. Did their authors *believe* the stories which they record? or did they, *disbelieving them themselves,* nevertheless *desire to impose them* on the credulity of posterity? And first we must advert to the rules for composing history which were followed by those writers whom the biographers of Columba, and the authors of the lives of the saint in general, must have taken for their models. They imitated, as best they might, classical and ecclesiastical historians. Now, Livy declares in the beginning of his *History of Rome,* that he intended to embody in it legends to which he himself attached no historical value. Pliny, in the commencement of his *Natural History,* avows that he has inserted in it many things which he did not believe to be true, but which he thought would be amusing. Eusebius, the father of ecclesiastical history, has, in one of his works, a chapter to which he has prefixed the scandalous title,—for scandalous it is in the work of a Christian bishop,—*that it is lawful to promote the truth by means of falsehood;* and in his history itself, he avows that he suppresses the mention of the discords, dissensions, and fightings of the holy martyrs with each other, holding it to be his province to record only those facts which would be honourable to their memory. Here, then, the great pattern of church historians expressly sanctions the telling of falsehoods for a pious purpose; and avows that he has himself practised the suppression of the truth, and felt it to be his duty to do so. In fact, that history is to be written for the sole purpose of making known the truth so far as it can be ascertained, is a purely modern

tainly belonged to the monastery of Hy: and the former also, as is most probable. Finan, Cuthbert, and other prelates of the North, were of the same nation, and members of the same institution. The third book of Bede's Ecclesiastical History gives ample details; and ought to be carefully studied by any one who is desirous of investigating the influence of the Irish Christians in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons.

[e] "Qualiscunque fuerit ipse," [Columba,]......" reliquit successores magna continentia ac divino amore, regularique institutione insignes."—*Hist. Eccl.*, l. iii. c. 4.

[f] For his strictures, see *Adamn. Prol.*, p. lxxvii.

notion. Tho ancients believed that other objects, such as the reader's amusement, the indulgence of national pride or national hatred, the honour of the hero or the discredit of his enemies, might at times claim a sacrifice of truth, if the simple truth would not promote these views. It seems to us that the historians of St. Columba were influenced by the ancient rather than the modern historical maxims. They wrote to advance their patron's honour and glory. What they looked upon as calculated to promote his honour, they eagerly adopted, on the slightest grounds of tradition or probability; and nothing appeared so well calculated to effect this end as endowing the hero of their tale with prophetic and miraculous powers, which marked him out as the especial object of the Almighty's love and care. Hence the supernatural facts in the life of Columb-kille *grew* under the hands of successive biographers. Cummeneus, who wrote about seventy years after the death of the saint, has a few supernatural incidents; Adamnan, who wrote about a hundred years after Columba's decease has a very great number; and O'Donnell, who wrote nine hundred years after the event, has an enormous quantity: insomuch that Dr. Lanigan, who shows no inclination to reject mediæval miracles in the mass, is, nevertheless, forced to exclaim "We are not bound to admit miracles on the testimony of such writers as O'Donnell!" We extend this principle to Cummeneus and Adamnanus. We think it evident that they were inspired with a fervent reverence for the patron saint of their fraternity, and the founder of their convent; that they were easily persuaded to believe (or at least to record, whether they believed or not) whatever redounded to his honour, and tended to inspire men with respect for his authority; and that, even if they had any suspicion in their own minds as to the accuracy of some of the facts which seemed to have this tendency, they would have deemed it *a duty* to suppress their doubts. We do not believe that they invented the wonderful stories which we read in their pages; but we believe they would have deemed it wrong to subject them to the ordeal of historical criticism. The stories themselves are of various kinds. Some are perhaps physical occurrences misinterpreted: dreams, visions, &c., arising from natural causes, but ascribed to miraculous agency. Some, perhaps, arose from casual sayings, misunderstood, or converted by the event into predictions. Some of the miracles are evidently mere reproductions of histories already current, parodies upon the miracles of Scripture, or parallels to facts already recorded in the lives of other saints. Some are stated to have been wrought on the most frivolous and trifling occasions, totally unworthy of a divine interposition; others for the gratification of passions, which a just and beneficent Deity must regard with detestation. The prophecies *all* relate to facts which had already passed before the histories were written: *for neither Cummeneus nor Adamnanus pretends to record so much as one unfulfilled prediction.* Many of the predictions and angelic visitations are expressly declared by the historian to have been undivulged until after the death of Columba, when it was easy to invent and impossible to contradict them; and not one is even asserted to have been written down till generations had elapsed since the time when it was alleged to have occurred. Add to this the circumstance that these histories were compiled at a time when every one to whom they were presented had a real or supposed interest in accepting

them as true; and we have said enough to justify the rejection of all the rest, as well as those which we find in the pages of O'Donnell.[g]

It was, indeed, unfortunate for the true fame of Columba that he fell into the hands of men who believed that, by writing of him as they have done, they promoted him to renown and dignity. But let the attention be directed to what he was, and did, not to what his mistaken panegyrists have asserted concerning him, and we do not envy the feelings of the man, whatever be the form of his religious faith, who can derive no edification from contemplating the labours of the self-denying life, and the calm composure of the peaceful death of the great and venerable COLUMBA OF THE CHURCHES.

A vast multitude of questions, of no little interest, some in an ecclesiastical, others in an archæological aspect, present themselves to the mind of the reader of Columba's life. What was the condition of religion in Ireland, at the time when he received those impressions which animated his pious efforts; and how far did the form of faith and worship which he established in his own institutions, coincide with, or differ from, any that now exist? What were the physical and spiritual characteristics of the monasteries which he founded, and what were the habits and acquirements of their inmates? Were they really exterminated—have they emigrated to another region—or do they still survive in the persons of the Scottish Highlanders? How far did the great monastery of Iona fulfil its founder's intentions, as a centre of spiritual benefit and Christian enterprise among the pagan tribes which then inhabited the greater part of the island of Britain;—and particularly, what was the amount of its influence on the Anglo-Saxons who had recently invaded its shores? These questions we have neither space nor leisure to discuss: nor, perhaps, would the pages of this *Journal* be the most suitable place for the discussion of some at least of the foregoing topics. But they are deserving of a more thoughtful examination than they have yet received. On some of them Dr. Reeves has touched, with a master's hand; and we know of no living man better fitted to probe them to their depths.

[g] We had intended to illustrate these positions by a few examples selected from the narratives of supernatural occurrences given by Adamnanus, but we abstain; partly because we have already occupied sufficient space with this Biographical Sketch; partly because our motives might be misunderstood; and partly because some of the specimens that we should have selected have already been translated and given to the public, by the able writer who has discussed the life and character of St. Columba in the pages of the *Dublin University Magazine*, for September, 1857. It may be proper to add that our own narrative and most of the illustrative notes, were written before that article appeared.

NOTES ON THE HUMAN REMAINS DISCOVERED WITHIN THE ROUND TOWERS OF ULSTER,

WITH SOME ADDITIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS A "CRANIA HIBERNICA."

BY JOHN GRATTAN.

"'Tis opportune to look back upon old times, and contemplate our forefathers. . . . . . Handsome formed skulls give some analogy to fleshy resemblances; and, since the dimensions of the head measure the whole body, and the figure thereof gives conjecture of the principal faculties, physiognomy outlives ourselves, and ends not in the grave."—SIR THOMAS BROWNE, *on Urn-Burial.*

That the Cranium constitutes an element of paramount importance, in studying the natural history of man, is now universally admitted. Moulded upon the brain—that most wonderful portion of the human organism, in which is situated the material apparatus of the moral and intellectual faculties proper to man, and of the instincts which he holds in common with the higher orders of the animal kingdom—its form and volume, rightly interpreted, indicate with exactitude and precision the special mental aptitudes of the individual it represents, requiring but a commensurate foundation of trustworthy data to enable us to assign to each race its proper position in the social scale. Even by those, indolently or wilfully blind to its higher capabilities and to the all-important truths respecting it, which, dimly foreshadowed by contemplative observers from time to time, have been demonstratively promulgated to the world for upwards of half a century, the human skull is recognised as being, pre-eminently, that part of the skeleton which affords the best and most perspicuous characteristics upon which to base the classification of the various families of mankind. Hence all ethnological writers concur in attempting, after some fashion or other, to treat of its form and typical import, although, as might reasonably have been anticipated, the inquiry in such hands has never advanced beyond a vague and objectless empiricism, alike unworthy of the subject and unprofitable in its results.

So far back as 1798, Gall, in a letter to Baron Retzer, explaining the scope and object of his researches, announces them to be "to ascertain the functions of the brain in general, and those of its different parts in particular; and to show that it is possible to ascertain different dispositions and inclinations by the elevations and depressions upon the head; and to present in a clear light the most important consequences which result therefrom to medicine, morality, education, and legislation; in a word, to the science of human nature."[a] And, writing in 1840, Dr. Elliotson announces

[a] Gall, Boston Edition, 1835, Vol. i., p. 7.

the result in these words:—"There is no fact better established in nature than that the different parts of the brain, like the different parts of the nervous system at large, have different functions, and that some parts are destined for intellectual and some for moral functions or feelings. As the size and weight of the brain must depend upon both these, it is evident that two brains may be of equal size, and yet the one be very large in portions devoted to intellect, and small in those devoted to the feelings; while another is poor in the intellectual portions, and large in those devoted to the feelings; so that a brain may be large or small in regard to certain moral or intellectual powers only."[b]

So recently, however, as 1848, in an elaborate article in the October number of the *Edinburgh Review*, entitled, "Ethnology, or the Science of Races," and which may fairly be presumed to embody the then prevailing ethnological views upon the subject, the writer prefaces his remarks upon "the most striking variations of bodily structure in man," by admitting "that, even from remote times, common consent seems to have connected the idea of intellectual power with the large dimensions of the anterior part of the skull and the corresponding lobe of the brain;" and yet, in the face of such an admission—to say nothing of the discoveries of Gall, an admission so suggestive of more minute analytical inquiry, and presumably pregnant with no unimportant results,—the reviewer appears to consider that Dr. Prichard's classification of skulls, under the three typical forms of *oval*, *pyramidal*, and *prognathous*, leaves nothing more to be accomplished or desired—a classification constructed upon a very cursory view of the subject, and unsupported by any attempt at measurement whatsoever. It is to be observed, however, that Prichard himself puts forward his views with considerable qualification;[c] whilst Retzius, Carus, and Morton recognise the necessity for a more scientific mode of procedure, by endeavouring to base their investigations upon a numerical foundation. Unfortunately, however, the system of measurement adopted, with more or less of modification, by them all, is defective in many particulars, and open to some serious objections.

Retzius gives us, in figures, the length of the skull, its circumference, the breadth of the forehead, the breadth of the occiput, its height, the mastoidal breadth, zygomatic ditto, the height and breadth of the orbits, the height of the upper jaw, of the chin, and of the ascending ramus of the lower jaw, also the length and breadth of the foramen magnum.

Carus omits several of these; but, on the other hand, makes some important additions. Thus, he gives the cubical capacity, the circumference, the length measured from the glabella to the most prominent part of the occiput; the length, breadth, and height of its frontal, parietal, and occipital regions: what he designates their length being their peripheral extension along the median line from the naso-frontal to the coronal suture, for the frontal region; thence to the lambdoidal, for the parietal region; and from that to the posterior margin of the foramen magnum, for the occipital.

[b] Physiology. 1840. p. 1074.

[c] Nat. His. of Man. p. 107.

The breadth of the frontal is taken at the most prominent part of the coronal suture, wherever that may be; of the parietal, at the parietal protuberances, whether that be the broadest part or not; and the occipital, wherever the bone is broadest; whilst the different heights are measured from the auditory foramen to the most elevated portion of their respective bones. To these he further adds the length of the face, from the symphisis menti to the naso-frontal suture; and its breadth, being the diameter between the most prominent points of the zygomata.

Morton gives the majority of these measurements, and adds some others. What Carus gives in three sections as the length of the frontal parietal and occipital regions, Morton gives in one, naming it the "occipito-frontal arch," and gives besides what he denominates the "intermastoid arch," taken on the skull from the point of one mastoid process to the other. He gives but one vertical measurement, and that he takes, not from the auditory foramen, but from the fossa between the condyles of the occipital bone to the top of the skull; and, in addition to the gross cubical capacity of the skull, he gives, as accurately as he can, the relative proportions of its anterior, posterior, and coronal subdivisions.[d]

Of the great value of several of these measurements, so far as they are indicative of absolute size of brain, there can be no doubt whatever. Others, being taken at positions varying with the varying form of each skull, do not afford the means of accurately comparing one cranium with another; while all those taken from the auditory foramen are inherently vicious, and only calculated to mislead; giving, not the true vertical elevation, but the length of the hypothenuse of the triangle formed by the true perpendicular and the semi-diameter of the base of the skull; involving errors wholly incompatible with scientific accuracy, and which vary, with the varying diameter of the skull and the length of its perpendiculars, from half-an-inch to an entire inch.

Nor have phrenological writers been much more successful in dealing with this subject. Though they have furnished many admirable contributions upon the cranial forms of different races and upon their associated moral and intellectual endowments, and although their authority has hitherto been received with an indifference and distrust chiefly attributable to prejudice and ignorance upon the part of the objectors, it must nevertheless be confessed that there exist some well-grounded objections to the general reception of phrenological measurements, as hitherto recorded. The majority of their numerical measurements are similar to those adopted by ethnologists, and liable to the same objections: whilst their measurements of the special organs, in their various degrees of development, being dependent for their accuracy upon the natural endowments, tact, and acquired dexterity of the observer, require, to a large extent, to be accepted as matters of faith or trust—a mode of procedure unfavourable to the extension of scientific truths, and not unnaturally somewhat repulsive to the scientific mind. Indeed, phrenologists themselves have long regretted this defect, and expressed their anxiety for its correction. Mr. Combe, in commenting upon a table of measurements

d *Crania Americana*, p. 240

of national skulls, published in his *System of Phrenology*, [vol. ii., p. 371, 5th ed.,] observes:—"The measurements in the foregoing table do not represent the size of any organ in particular, for the reasons stated in vol. i., p. 156:—they are intended to indicate merely the size of the skulls. They do not, however, accomplish this object successfully, in consequence of the impossibility of measuring irregular spheres by diameters. They are, therefore, indications merely of the length of the particular lines stated in the different skulls, from which a rough estimate of the relative dimensions of the skulls may be formed. *A scientific mode of measurement is much wanted.*

So far we look in vain, therefore, for that uniformity of method and that numerical precision, without which no scientific investigation requiring the coöperation of numerous observers can be successfully prosecuted. The mode of procedure hitherto adopted furnishes to the mind, at best, nothing but vague generalities, which it cannot by any effort of reflection reduce into definite shape and form; and, till we can accomplish something more than this—till we can record with something like accuracy the proportional development of the great subdivisions of the brain, as indicated by its bony covering, so that our figures shall convey to the mind determinate ideas of their relation towards each other, we shall not be in a position to do justice to our materials, or to interpret faithfully or profitably the natural hieroglyphs thus submitted to our examination. What we especially stand in need of is some method of measuring cranial forms and magnitudes, which, by combining perfect simplicity and facility of application with rigid scientific accuracy, shall command our confidence;—by means of which the ethnologist may be enabled to record his own observations and to profit by the recorded observations of others, without the risk of misinterpretation;—which shall afford a sound numerical basis for the phrenologist's special measurements;—and by which, to a large extent, their general accuracy may be tested. But, though an improved method of taking and recording cranial measurements would admittedly be of incalculable advantage to the phrenologist, it is when looked at from an ethnological point of view, that the necessity for the alteration becomes most apparent. The phrenologist can pursue many of his inquiries, and demonstrate conclusively the soundness of his inferences, by the aid of detached or isolated specimens—each head embracing in itself all the necessary data by which its mental capabilities can be determined. But the ethnologist has to deal with tribes and nations. He stands somewhat in the position of the actuary who has to deduce congruous and general laws from an extensive collection of apparently incongruous and heterogeneous facts. In every age, and amongst all races, special individuality of character must necessarily have occasioned considerable modification of typical form; so that no single cranium can, *per se*, be taken to represent the true average characteristics of the variety from which it may be derived. It is only from a large induction, therefore, that the ethnologist can venture to pronounce with confidence upon the normal type of any race, or reasonably expect to attain, in his craniological investigations, that measure of completeness necessary to rescue them from their present objectless character, and to impart to his conclusions scientific definiteness and value.

If an improved method of measurement be thus desirable, when treating of existing and ac-

cessible races whose crania form but one, though by no means the least important, element for determining the influences that may have contributed to their development and progress,—still more necessary does it become when we endeavour to investigate the moral, social, and intellectual condition of their remote predecessors, of whom we possess few, if any records, save such as remain to us in their rude structures and works of art, and in their own osseous remains. These latter are necessarily few in amount, widely scattered, singularly frail and perishable, and are day by day irretrievably disappearing before the unavoidable encroachments of extending civilisation. It is of the first importance, therefore, that our description of such should be as accurate and free from ambiguity as the nature of the subject will permit—the paucity of our materials affording but little prospect of our accumulating the requisite data, unless we can succeed in concentrating upon some recognised scientific plan, as in other departments of natural science, the detached labours of every competent observer.

Finding it totally impossible to furnish, upon any existing method, satisfactory measurements of some ancient Irish crania collected during Mr. Getty's examination of the round towers of Ulster, as well as from other collateral sources, the writer came to have his attention forcibly directed to the subject, and he devised, in consequence, an instrument for taking cranial measurements—a description of which, and of the method proposed to be adopted for recording the results, was published in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* (vol. i., p. 198). That communication was avowedly made, however, more for the purpose of eliciting the criticism of those interested in such investigations than as a complete and matured plan; and much subsequent experience and some friendly counsel, while they have confirmed the soundness of the principle involved, have led to considerable modification, both in the instrument itself and in the method of tabulating its indications.

In the instrument, as first constructed, each part of the skull had to be successively brought for measurement to a sliding scale, which indicated in inches its distance from a common centre, the result being at once recorded in figures; and as these measurements were taken at fixed angular intervals, they furnished numerical data, from which sectional outlines of the skull could, at any time, be readily projected. But this method being liable to accidental errors, arising from hasty and inaccurate notation, and furnishing no means for checking or correcting them, it soon became apparent that it would be much more useful to have an instrument by means of which the sectional outlines could be *traced directly upon paper*;—the measurements to be deduced from them, instead of the outlines being projected from measurements, inasmuch as the outlines so taken could always be referred to as authorities for the verification or correction of their numerical equivalents. After some consideration, an instrument for the accomplishment of this object has been contrived, with a description of which it is unnecessary to trouble the reader, upon the present occasion. It will be sufficient to state that, by means of it, sectional outlines of the skull may be taken, at any point and in any position—vertical, horizontal, or intermediate—without much trouble, and with reliable fidelity: that these outlines afford unimpeachable materials from which measurements can be taken

at leisure, with much greater facility and accuracy than could be arrived at by measuring the skull itself; and that they are readily convertible into numerical values, by the aid of which, and without any preliminary calculation, the form and dimensions of different skulls and of their different sections may be compared with mathematical precision. Upon this latter point, however, some further explanation will be necessary.

In entering upon an investigation where much is new and unexplored, it is very desirable that our inquiries should, if possible, be preceded by the examination of some cognate object, with the features and history of which we are acquainted. For this reason, therefore, the skull of the celebrated German philosopher, Spurzheim, the pupil and associate of Gall, has been selected for the purposes of illustration and comparison.

The exalted moral and intellectual endowments of Spurzheim are upon record, if they be not even yet fresh in the recollection of many still living—for few that had the pleasure of making his personal acquaintance but must remember, after the lapse of even a quarter of a century, the singularly noble, contemplative, and benevolent expression of his manly countenance. That Gall should have considered him a befitting associate in his researches would, in itself, be sufficient to stamp Spurzheim as no ordinary man, even if his labours and writings had not abundantly testified to the fact; and that misunderstanding and estrangement should subsequently have arisen between these two distinguished men is deeply to be regretted. To Gall must ever belong the unapproachable honour of having established his great discovery, and determined all its principal applications by his own unaided exertions; but they wrong both him and Spurzheim who would deny to the latter a large and honourable participation in the subsequent progress and consolidation of the science. It is possible that he may have indulged the desire to occupy a more prominent position in relation to phrenology than, as having been originally Gall's pupil, he was entitled to do. Such a weakness might not have been incompatible with his organisation,—"and to err is human;" but it is equally probable that, as in most similar cases, there were errors of judgment and of temper upon both sides. Certain it is, that the manner in which the question has been taken up and canvassed by those who would depreciate Spurzheim, appears to have been directed as much by a spirit of personal hostility as by a dispassionate regard for truth.

Spurzheim died at Boston, in America, upon the 10th of November, 1832, at the age of 56, of fever, brought on by over-exertion while engaged in delivering lectures upon the anatomy and physiology of the brain. The citizens of Boston conferred upon his remains the honour of a public funeral, retaining his skull, however, as the most appropriate and precious memorial that could be preserved of so celebrated a man. A cast of his skull was published shortly afterwards; and from it the sectional tracings of which the accompanying illustrations are reduced copies, have been taken. It is a fine specimen of a well-developed head; and, as the cast can easily be procured, and the mental endowments of Spurzheim admit of ready determination, it furnishes a very satisfactory starting point for such an inquiry as the present.

Of the measurements hitherto in use, any of real value have been retained, constituting, as will be seen, the first series in the Table; and, as they are chiefly indicative of *volume* only, they are given in the ordinary standard of inches and tenths. The measurements about to be described, being more of a *proportional* or *distributive* character, are based upon a different principle.

By common consent, the naso-frontal suture, and the external opening of the ear, have been selected as the most suitable fixed points from whence to take the majority of cranial measurements; although, as already pointed out, considerable correction is indispensable in order to insure accurate results. In fact, the true centre from which vertical or radial measurements ought to be taken is not the auditory foramen, but that point where a straight line passing through the centres of both foramina is bisected by another straight line, continued from the naso-frontal suture; the suture itself being the zero point from whence their angular values may be determined; as in our first Illustration, where the profile or median section of Spurzheim's skull is placed within a graduated circle—the auditory foramen in the centre, and the naso-frontal suture upon the zero-radius—a moveable graduated scale enabling the distance of any part of its periphery from the centre to be read off at once, and its angular position determined with the utmost facility. If these radial measurements, however, were to be given in inches and tenths, they would be comparatively useless; inasmuch as the absolute measurements of the corresponding sections of different skulls can only be received as proportional to the actual length or other fixed diameter of each skull; and, for the purposes of scientific comparison, the reduction of these to true values would oppose an insurmountable extent of calculation. Instead of this, therefore, the length of each skull, at one determinate point, (*viz.* from 10 to 145 degrees,) has been adopted as its own standard of measurement. Taken as unity, and divided into 100 equal parts, this long diameter furnishes a scale upon which all the subordinate measurements are represented in decimals; thus permitting, without the necessity for any calculation whatsoever, the most perfect comparison between the sub-divisions of different crania, no matter how disproportionate their actual volume. For example,—a skull 6 inches broad and 7$\frac{1}{2}$ inches long must be, proportionably, a narrower skull than another having precisely the same diameter but only six inches long. If each of these long diameters (7 inches and 7$\frac{1}{2}$ inches) be divided into 100 equal parts, 6 inches will be found to extend to nearly ·86 divisions upon the one scale, while upon the other it will only be the equivalent of ·80, indicating, at a glance, the true proportional diameter of each skull; and so of all their other dimensions. For every practical purpose, measurements, taken at successive angular intervals of 10 degrees, furnish abundant data either for conveying to the mind, or for projecting upon paper, the correct outline of any skull; and thus all the prominent information to be derived from any profile drawing may be converted into intelligible numerical values, and condensed, as in the Table, into a moderate-sized column of figures.

In the third Illustration, three skulls are given in profile; and in the accompanying Table the measurements from which they are projected are tabulated in parallel columns, so as to bring prominently before the mind, by the double evidence of *form* and *number*, their relative proportions.

Thus, at zero, Spurzheim's skull exceeds No. 7 by 3 one-hundredths, and No. 14 by 6 one-hundredths; at 30 degrees, No. 7 exceeds Spurzheim by 4, and No. 14 by no less than 15 one-hundredths; while at 150 degrees, No. 14 exceeds No. 7 by 5, and Spurzheim by 6. In like manner may any of the *eleven* columns of tabular measurements be compared with one another throughout their entire range. But the profile-view of any skull, no matter how artistically elaborated, furnishes but a very inadequate representation of its real character, unless accompanied by measurements of its transverse diameters at sufficiently numerous and *constant* points. Hitherto those employed for the purpose have been too limited in amount, and too fluctuating in position, to be of any value. To remedy this defect, it is proposed to take transverse outlines of the skull at regular intervals, and from fixed points upon these to supply as many diametrical values as may be requisite. In the second Illustration, six transverse sections of Spurzheim's skull are thus given :—one at 10 degrees passes over the top of the orbital plates, or nearly in the plane of the base of the anterior lobe of the brain; one at 60° and another at 120°, coincide pretty closely with the anterior and posterior boundaries of the parietal bones; whilst one, severally at 30°, 90°, and 150°, intersects the frontal, parietal, and occipital bones about their centres. If each of these sections be divided into 3 parts of equal vertical elevation, by lines drawn parallel to their bases, the extremities of these lines, and of the base line, will furnish 3 fixed points upon each section, where measures of diameter may be taken, which, for the most part, will be found to coincide pretty accurately with the more prominent features of the skull; and, if the position of these points be marked upon their corresponding radii, in the profile section, (as in the first Illustration,) they will be found to divide it into three concentric *zones*, which, for facility of reference, may be designated the *temporal, juxta-temporal,* and *peripheral:* constituting, as it were, a complete chart of the skull.

Commencing at its base, the mastoidal-diameter may first be noted; next that of the meatus, or to avoid the irregularities that would arise from penetrating more or less into its cavity) the diameter at a point rather above it, upon the radius of 90°; then, in succession, the several diameters of the temporal, and juxta-temporal, zones; and lastly, the three diameters connected with the face, in the order laid down on the Table. One other section, the horizontal one, passing through 10 and 145 degrees, completes the series. [See second Illustration.] From it the length and breadth are determined, it being, in almost every skull, its longest and broadest section. These *proportional* measurements, therefore, being taken at unvarying and determined positions, and being recorded in a language whose symbols admit of no ambiguity, and are universally intelligible, convey to the mind an amount of *exact information* such as no pictorial representation, nor any combination of words, could supply; and, when systematically tabulated, afford facilities for comparison only attainable through the intervention of figures.

It may possibly be objected to this method that it involves too large an array of arithmetical figures, and demands too great an expenditure of labour; but what was ever yet accomplished, of any value, without some labour? And, if it be desirable to furnish measurements at all, (and, from the fact

that almost every writer upon the subject gives them after some fashion, this is manifestly the case,) surely it is of some importance that they should be adequate to accomplish the object in view, and, at least, be so taken and recorded as to convey truthful and intelligible impressions to the mind.

Moreover, as the requisite tracings and measurements are reduced by means of the Craniometer to simple mechanical operations, which may be faithfully executed by any intelligent assistant, the difficulties are much more apparent than real.

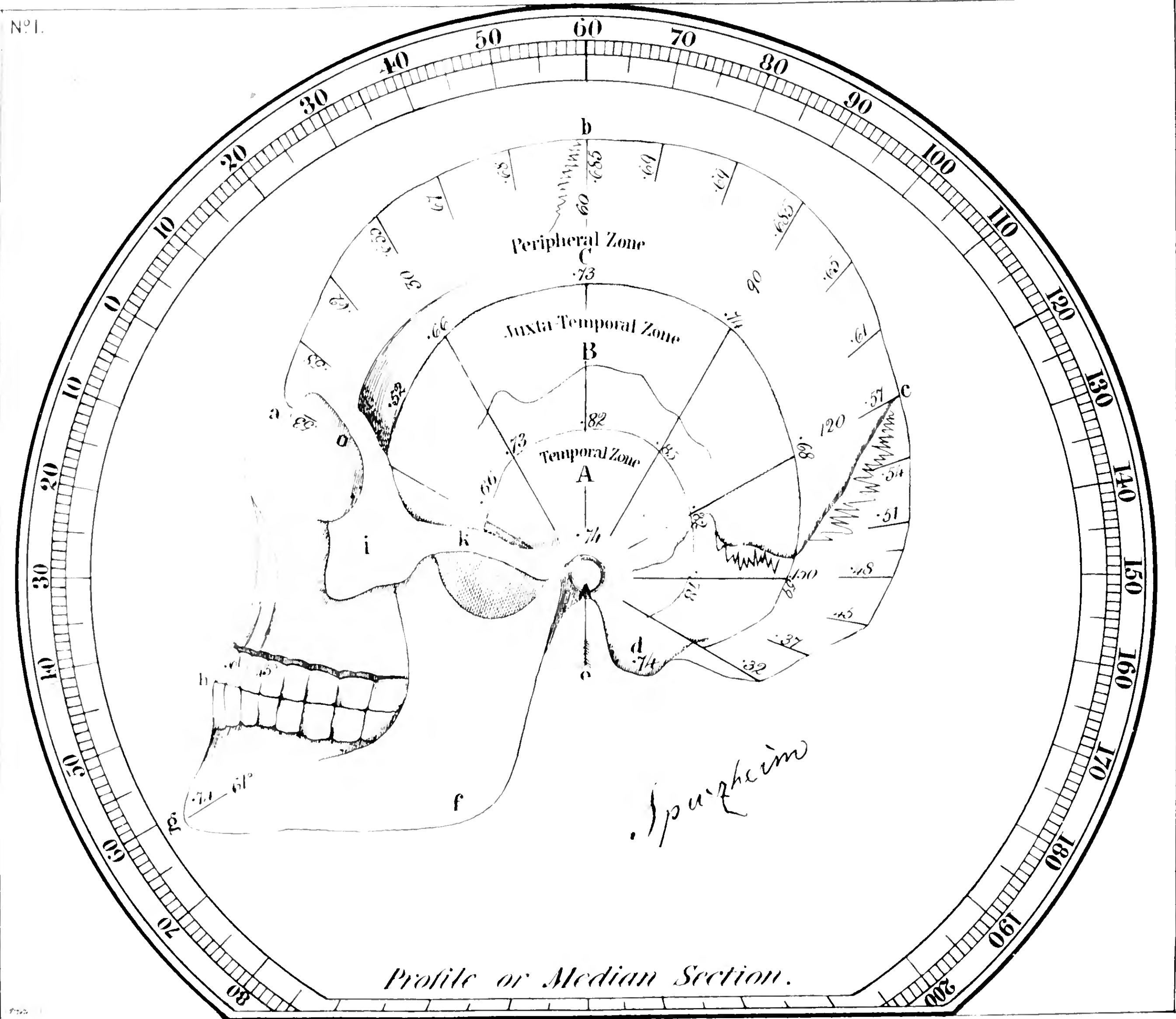
Having now explained, with as much brevity as the nature and importance of the subject would permit, the method intended to be employed for determining the dimensions and peculiarities of form observable in the Irish crania which are to form the subject-matter of this paper, the writer, though he does not enter upon the undertaking without considerable hesitation, indulges, nevertheless, the confident hope that, even should the investigation in his hands yield no sufficient or conclusive results, the materials collected will constitute, so far as they go, authentic and trustworthy data for future and more competent inquirers.

Prominent amongst the antiquities of Ireland stand its remarkable Round Towers, structures of an architectural character so completely *sui generis* as to have neither prototype nor counterpart in any other land,[e] and whose date and origin are so admittedly remote, and were until recently so confessedly obscure, as to have afforded to successive generations of antiquarians an inexhaustible subject for discussion. Before the mystery which for so many ages enveloped them had been definitely removed by the publication of Dr. Petrie's work upon the subject, and while full scope was yet permitted for fanciful speculation and unrestrained conjecture, it came by some means to be surmised that possibly they might have been intended for monumental erections; that, in truth, they might be the still existing mausoleums of renowned men of old—of the high priests, peradventure, of an eastern worship, which, paling before the effulgence of a brighter and purer faith, had passed into oblivion, leaving, with the exception of these perplexing memorials, "scarce a wreck behind." Such an opinion once entertained, an appeal to the nature of their contents followed, as a matter of course; and, as already stated by Mr. Getty, examinations set on foot by the South Munster Antiquarian Society, so far justified the supposition, as to prove that human remains had, in several instances, been deposited within the towers. But the inquiry would appear to have been limited simply to the one object of obtaining countenance for the monumental hypothesis; and without any sufficient appreciation, on the part of the inquirers, of the value which might attach to the remains themselves if they should prove to be of considerable antiquity. Through the instrumentality of that Society, the towers of Ardmore, Cashel, Cloyne, Kinneigh, Roscrea, and even of Brechin, in Scotland, were examined, with varying results. In some, human remains

[e] As Scotland was partially colonised by the Irish, from whom it takes its present name, the towers of Abernethy and Brechin, the only two out of Ireland, can scarcely be looked upon as exceptions.

were found: in some, not; while others bore palpable traces of having been previously disturbed; but the proceedings, from whatever cause arising, (whether from having been imperfectly conducted, or obscurely reported,) had chiefly served to originate a discussion as to whether the remains so discovered were cotemporaneous with the towers, or had been subsequently introduced; nor had there on any occasion been procured a cranium, or even the fragments of a cranium, sufficiently perfect to throw any light upon its own origin, or to interest ethnological inquirers in the result. In this state of the question, the discovery of an almost perfect skeleton within the round tower of Drumbo, as detailed by Mr. Getty, [*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. 3, p. 113,] under circumstances to satisfy such acute and correct observers as the gentlemen present upon that occasion that the body must have been deposited therein at the time of the erection of the tower, imparted to the investigation a value which it did not previously possess: since, no matter in what manner, or to what extent, the discovery of cotemporaneous human remains within these buildings might eventually be brought to bear upon the then disputed questions of their date, origin, and uses, the remains themselves being from a source so unquestionably *Irish*, could scarcely fail to prove a valuable contribution to the ethnological materials of the country.

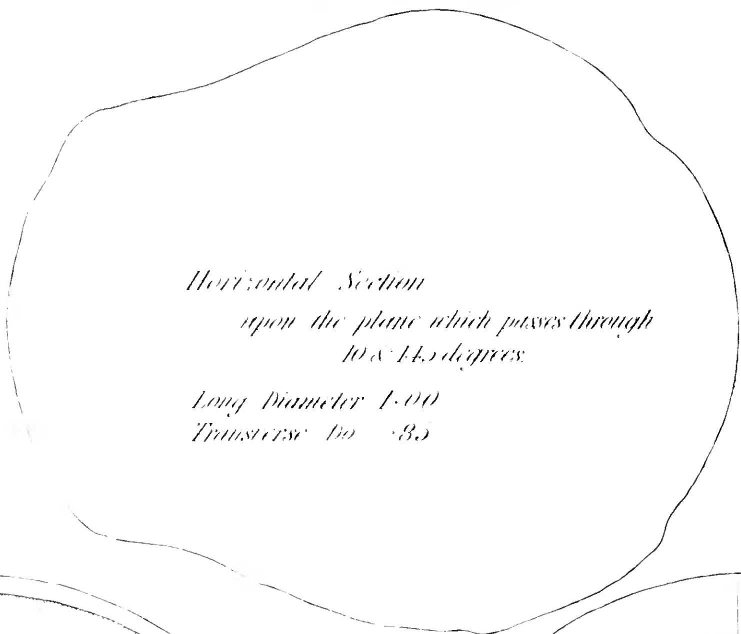
Having enjoyed the privilege of accompanying Mr. Getty in the majority of his round tower excursions, and having assisted personally in exhuming most of the human remains brought to light during the excavations, the writer is in a position to testify to the fidelity with which the details of the examinations made by Mr. Getty have been recorded by him in the pages of this Journal, and to express his own unhesitating conviction that the remains thus obtained must have been, at least, co-eval with the buildings in which they were interred. In every instance, but that of Trummery, (in which there were exceptional peculiarities, both in the construction of the tower and in the mode of interment,) one uniform series of phenomena was observable. After removing a greater or lesser depth of heterogeneous materials, evidently the slow accumulation of ages, a flooring of lime, more or less thick, was reached, from which downwards the successive off-sets that formed the base of the tower extended; the interior being filled up with materials similar in all respects, except compactness, to the natural till or original soil upon which the foundation rested; and it was in this *disturbed soil*, and *beneath this lime floor*, without any exception whatever, that remains, when present, were found. As the result of his own observation, it would appear to the writer that, the foundation having been completed, and whatever was intended to be deposited within having been introduced, the interior was carefully filled up and levelled over, before proceeding with the remainder of the structure; and, that the structure of lime which, for convenience of description, has been designated a "lime floor," resulted from the subsequent accidental dropping of the mortar, during the further progress of the building. Be that as it may, however, the existence of this peculiar stratum was so invariable, and any disturbance of it could be so easily detected, that nothing whatever was recognised as being authentically associated in date with the towers which was not discovered beneath it. Of eleven towers, examined by Mr. Getty, six contained human remains;



Profile or Median Section.

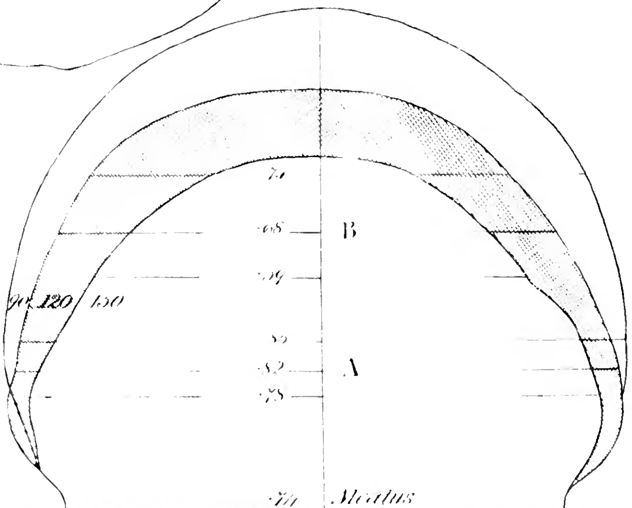
References to Median Section

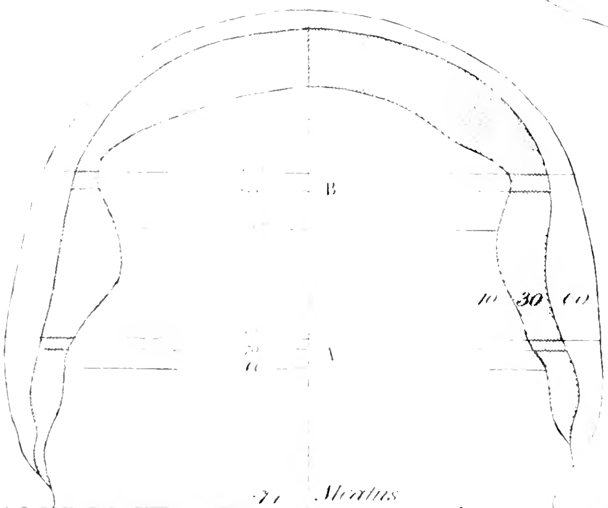
- a Naso-frontal Suture
- b Coronal Do.
- c Lambdoidal Do.
- d Mastoid Process
- e Auditory Foramen
- f Lower Maxilla
- g Symphysis Menti
- h Front edge of Incisors
- i Cheek or Malar bone.
- k Zygoma



A. Temporal Zone
B. Juxta-temporal Do.
C. Peripheral Do.

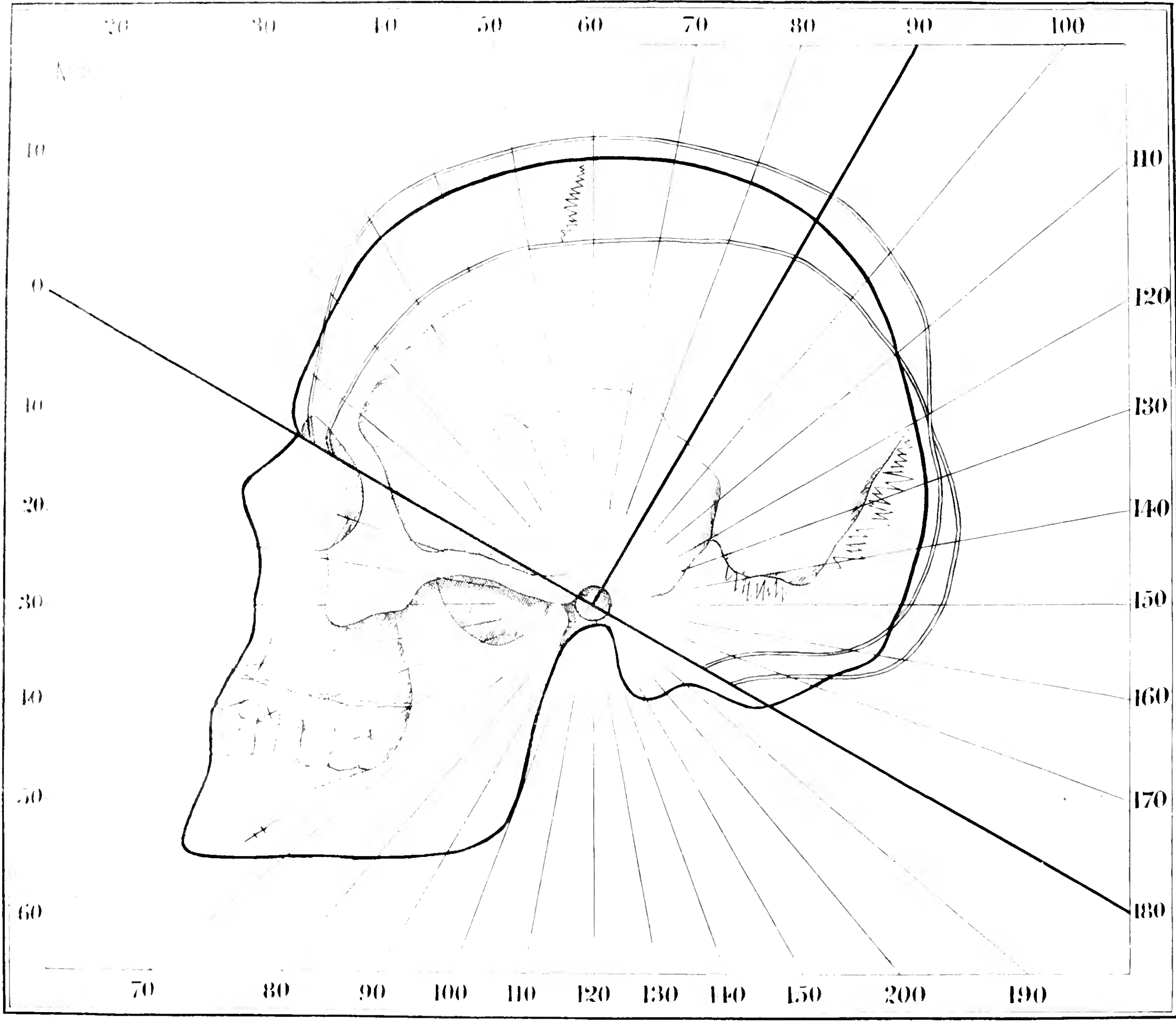
The Frontal bone extends along the Median line from a to b. the Parietal from b to c. the Occipital from c to d. nearly, and the Temporal extends above and around, and includes the Meatus auditorius externus or Auditory foramen.





degrees

Transverse Sections.



Profile outlines of three Crania projected upon a Uniform Scale.

four exhibited no appearance of ever having done so: and one had been previously disturbed. The skulls obtained were, with one or two exceptions, in so frail and perishable a condition, that it was impossible to remove them, except in almost hopeless fragments; but, by carefully saturating these fragments with glue, cementing them together, and strengthening them with plaster of Paris, several of them have been satisfactorily restored.

The number of tolerably perfect skulls derived from this source, exclusive of a few fragments sufficiently large to be of some value, is *seven;* namely, one from Drumbo, four from Clones, one from Drumlane, and one from Armoy. Two other skulls were also discovered during the progress of Mr. Getty's researches, one in St. Molaisi's house or chapel, Devenish, the other within the old Cathedral of Downpatrick; both of which, from the circumstances under which they were found, the age of the buildings in which they were deposited, and the close proximity of these to the sites of Round Towers, may reasonably be associated with the latter in date. The human remains brought to light at Trummery and Inniskeen were too much decayed to permit of more than the merest fragments being preserved. During the sixteen years that have elapsed since the examination of the Round Tower of Drumbo, a considerable number of skulls has been obtained, from time to time, of different dates and from various widely separated localities; but, as the Crania of the Round Towers form, as it were, the nucleus around which the others have collected, it is proposed to describe these five in the order of their discovery.

(To be continued.)

EXPLANATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

PLATE 1.—The profile or median section (half size linear) of Spurzheim's skull, with the distance of its periphery from the centre, taken at angular intervals of 10 degrees, and its various transverse diameters marked upon it in decimal sub-divisions of its long diameter.

PLATE 2.—Six transverse sections of Spurzheim's skull taken successively at 10, 30, 60, 90, 120, and 150 degrees, from which the temporal and juxta-temporal diameters are determined; and one horizontal section passing through the two points of 10 and 145 degrees, for determining its length.

PLATE 3.—Profile outlines of three skulls (viz. Spurzheim's, No. 7, and No. 14,) all projected upon a scale of the same actual dimensions, and exhibiting the proportion which each would bear to the other if the three skulls were precisely of the same length.

THE TABLE, appended to the present article, contains the measurements of eleven skulls thus taken, arranged in parallel columns; from the three first of which, Plate 3 has been projected. In consequence of the Table occupying two pages, its continuity has been unavoidably broken.

TABULATED MEASUREMENTS OF ELEVEN CRANIA.

No. in Catalogue,		7	14	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	15
Name of Skull, or of the locality from whence obtained,	Spurzheim.	Mount Wilson, No. 2.	Ballynehatty, No. 1.	Mount Wilson, No. 1.	Mount Wilson, No. 3.	Mount Wilson, No. 4.	Mount Wilsan, No. 5.	Mount Wilson, No. 6.	Mount Wilson, No. 7.	Mount Wilson, No. 8.	Ballynehatty, No. 2.
MEASUREMENT IN INCHES.											
Cubic capacity,		105.	77.	99.	99.	92.?	80.	79.	86.?	87.?	?
Length from 10 to 145,	7.6	7.2*	7.2*	7.5*	7.2	7.4	7.1	7.1*	7.1	7.1*	7.1
Breadth,	6.4*	5.6	5.4	5.8	5.8	5.7	5.3*	5.4	5.4	5.5	5.3*
Circumference,	22.4	21.0	19.9	21.0	20.7	20.9	20.1	20.0	20.0	20.1	20.1 ?
Frontal Arch,	5.4	5.7	4.7	5.5	4.9	5.4	5.0	4.7	4.7	5.3	5.0
Parietal do.,	5.4	5.2	4.8	5.3	4.9	4.5	4.5	5.0	4.8	4.9	4.5
Occipital do.,		5.3	4.6	4.8	5.6	5.1	4.5	4.4	4.6	4.7	?
Sum of the 3 arcs,		16.2	14.1	15.6	15.4	15.0	14.0	14.1	14.1	14.9	?
Mastoidal Arch,		16.0	13.0	15.9	16.0	?	14.2	14.8	13.8	14.5	?
PROPORTIONAL MEASUREMENT.											
Length,	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Breadth,	.85	.77	.74	.77	.80*	.77	.75	.75	.77	.77	.75
RADIAL MEASUREMENTS. — At Angular intervals of 10 degrees 0	.53	.50*	.47	.52	.50	.49	.53	.52	.51*	.47	.45*
10	.58	.56	.51	.56	.55*	.55	.57	.57	.56	.54	.50
20	.62	.63	.52	.62	.60*	.60	.63	.60	.58	.59	.53
30	.65*	.69	.54	.64*	.64	.63*	.65	.63*	.61	.63	.57
40	.67	.71	.55*	.66	.66*	.64*	.65*	.65	.63	.64*	.59
50	.68	.72	.56	.67	.67*	.65	.64*	.65	.63	.65	.61
60	.68*	.72	.56*	.67	.67	.65*	.63*	.65*	.63	.65*	.61*
70	.69	.72	.57	.66*	.68	.66	.64	.67	.64	.66	.61*
80	.69	.72*	.59	.67*	.69*	.68	.65*	.69	.66*	.67*	.62*
90	.68*	.73	.62	.68	.70*	.68*	.65	.69	.67	.67*	.64*
100	.65	.71	.62*	.67	.69*	.67*	.63	.67*	.66	.66*	.65*
110	.61	.67	.61	.64	.66*	.64*	.60	.64	.64	.65	.64*
120	.57	.60*	.59*	.59	.61*	.61	.59	.60	.60*	.61	.62*
130	.54	.57	.59	.57	.58	.58*	.56*	.57	.58	.60	.61
140	.51	.54	.57	.53	.53*	.54	.52*	.53	.55	.57	.59*
150	.48	.49	.54*	.48*	.48*	.48*	.48	.48	.48	.52*	.55
160	.45	.41	.49	.43	.43	.41	.37	.41	.40	.45	.45
170	.37	.25	.34	.34*	.38	.33	.28	.30	.29	.34	?
180	.32	.20	.25	.27	.33	.29	.23*	.27	.25	.26	?
To front edge of Incisors,	.61	.56	.52	.56	.58	?	?	.52	.56*	.55	.54
— Symphysis Menti,	.74	.63	.61	.67	?	?	?	.66	.66*	.58	?

TRANSVERSE DIAMETERS, AND OTHER MEASUREMENTS.

No. in Catalogue, ...			7	14	6	8	9	10	11	12	13	15
Name of Skull, or of the locality from whence obtained, ...		Spurzheim.	Mount Wilson, No. 2.	Ballynehatty, No. 1.	Mount Wilson, No. 1.	Mount Wilson, No. 3.	Mount Wilson, No. 4.	Mount Wilson, No. 5.	Mount Wilson, No. 6.	Mount Wilson, No. 7.	Mount Wilson, No. 8.	Ballynehatty, No. 2.
Mastoidal, ...		.74	.70	.66	.62	.73*	?	.63*	.63*	.70*	.65	?
Meatorial, ...		.74	.72	.68	.68	.75	.66?	.68	.72	.70	.69	?
Transverse Diameters. A Temporal Zone.	10	.66	.65	.55	.62*	.59	.51?	.62	.56	.59	.60	.54?
	30	.73	.70	.61	.67	.66	.63?	.69	.64	.65	.65	.60?
	60	.82	.77	.70	.74*	.74	.73?	.74	.72	.71	.74*	.70?
	90	.85	.78	.73	.77	.80	.77?	.76	.75	.77	.77	.75?
	120	.82	.73	.71	.71	.77	.70?	.72	.70	.73	.74	.72?
	150	.78	.68	.66	.66	.73	.64?	.68	.66	.71	.67	.67
B Juxta-Temporal Zone.	10	.52	.54	.50	.51	.51	.51	.50	.50	.50	.49	.49
	30	.66	.64*	.55	.61*	.62	.63	.64	.60	.58	.57	.57*
	60	.73	.72	.61	.72	.71	.67	.69	.67	.64	.68	.63*
	90	.74	.74	.68	.77	.74	.71	.71	.71	.71*	.72	.71
	120	.68*	.62	.65	.64	.66	.61	.61	.62	.63	.69	.66*
	150	.59*	.48	.51	.48	.55*	.51	.53	.54	.53	.49	.51?
Zygomatic, ...		.76	.71	?	.68	?	?	?	.65	?	?	?
Inter-Malar, ...		.70	.64	?	.61*	.65	?	?	.62	?	.52	?
Lower Maxillary, ...		.58	.54*	.47	.51	?	?	?	.56*	.47	.44	?
Long diameter of Foramen Mag.			?	.21	.19*	.20	.18*	.18*	?	?	.18*	?
Transverse do.			?	.16*	.15	.16*	.16	.15*	?	?	.15	?
Length of Face, ...		.67	.61	.59	.63	?	?	?	.62	.64	.56	?
Angular Position of												
Coronal Suture, ...		59	63	68	64	58	65	63	60	62	67	68
Lambdoidal do.		120	124	127	125	?	115	118	120	122	125	133
Foramen Magnum, ...			183	187	190	194	182	182	183	183	190	?
Symphysis Menti, ...		61	64	64	63	?	?	?	63	64	64	?
Front edge of Incisors, ...		45	46	49	45	46	?	?	46	45	44	44

Note.—The blanks in Spurzheim's column imply that the measurements required can only be correctly taken from the skull itself, and are left to be filled in at a future date, should an application which has been made to a gentleman in Boston, to procure them, prove successful. The notes of interrogation, when appended to figures, indicate that such measurements are only approximative, in consequence of partial imperfection in the skull, and, when substituted for figures, that the parts so indicated are altogether absent. The asterisk beside a figure implies that the correct measurement extends to another decimal, half the value of the figure, (thus, .68* = .685) which not being of much importance, except for the accurate projection of the outlines, has been thus indicated to avoid a cumbrous accumulation of figures.

A DIALOGUE IN THE ULSTER DIALECT,

"WROTE DOWN, PRENTET, AND PUT OUT, JIST THE WAY THE PEOPLE SPAKES."

INTRODUCTION.

One day, in the month of December, in the "dark days" that happen at Christmas, a farmer of very small holding returned from his daily employment. He was known as "wee Jemmy M'Creedy," of the townland of Ballinastarvet, which lies on the side of a mountain. His crop of potatoes had failed him; his Hollantide rent was unpaid yet, and the agent had sent him a notice. Poor man, he felt age creeping on him; besides, he was weak and desponding, and troubles had made his wife peevish. Though it's wrong to "come over"[1] what's private, or "let on" "ins an' outs" of a quarrel, yet the story may prove to be useful, and they suffer nothing by scandal.

JEMMY.

Auch! auch! there's another day over,
An' the year's comin' fast to an endin';
But two or three sich will desthroy me,
For my cough's gettin' worse, an' I'm waker.
Oh! Betty M'Creedy, what ails ye,
That ye can't keep a wee bit o' fire on?
Go 'long, bring some clods[2] from the turf-stack,
For my toes an' my fingers is nippin."[3]

BETTY.

What's the manin' ov all this norration,[4]
An' me lookin' after the childhre'?
A'm sure, both my ancles is achin'
With throttin' about since the mornin'.
If ye hev been outside for a wee while,
It's many another's condition.
An' the days is n't long; A can tell ye,
It's har'ly an hour since yer dinner.
An' Jemmy, A may as well say it,

1 Repeat.
2 Fragments of peats or turves.
3. Painful with cold.
4. Noise, *quasi* "oration."

There's no use at all in desavin',
It's crosser and crosser ye're gettin',
Till my very heart's scalded wi' sorra.
Deed an' doubles[5] A'll bear it no longer.

JEMMY.

Well, Betty, bad luck to the liars,
But there's one of us greatly mistaken.
From mornin' till day-li't-goin'[6] workin',
Cleanin' corn[7] on the top o' the knowe[8] head,
The wine whistled roun' me like bag-pipes,
An' cut me in two like a razure.
A thrim'let an' shuck like an aspy,[9]
While the dhraps from my nose, o' coul wather,
Might 'a' dhrownded[10] a middle-sized[11] kitlin'.

BETTY.

Och! indeed yer a scar-crow,[12] that's sartin;
Lord help the poor woman[13] that owes ye;
But ye needn't be cursin' an' swearin'
An' still castin' up[14] an upbraidin'.
If ye think there's a liar between us,
Jist look in the glass an' ye'll see him.
(Oh! the bitterest words in his gizzard[15]
Is the best A can git thram my husband.)

JEMMY.

Will ye nivver lave aff aggravatin'?
Now quet[16] an' hev done. A forbid ye.—

BETTY.

Oh, indeed 'twas yerself 'at begun it,
So A'll give ye back-talk[17] till ye're tired.
There was Johnny Kincaid in the loanin',[18]

5. Repetition of an asseveration, like "verily, verily."
6. Twilight:—the derivation is obvious
7. Oats.
8. A knoll; as pow for poll, row for roll, scraw for scroll.
9. Aspen.
10. A [illegible] 'a' is the unemphatic abbreviation for "have."
11. Kitling, a little cat, viz. a kitten. Similar diminutives are duck-ling, gos-ling, dar-ling (a little dear.)
12. A figure resembling a man, intended to frighten birds.
13. An idiomatic expression for "wife."
14. Reminding one of offences.
15. Contemptuous expression for heart.
16. Cease from "quit."
17. Responses or replications.
18. A country lane or "[illegible]."

Was afther me more nor a twel'month,
When you hadn't yit come across me,[19]
But A hedn't the luck for to git him.
He's a corpolar[20] now on a pension,
An' keeps up his wife like a lady,
An's nate an' well dhrest on a Sunday.

JEMMY.

Well, well! but there's no use in talkin',
His crap disn't fail him in harvest;
An' forby,[21] Paddy Shales isn't paid yet
For makin' the coat that I'm wearin'.
More[22] betoken, it wants to be mended,
But ye nivver touch needle nor thim'le.
There's my wais'coat is hingin' in ribbons,
With only two buttons to houl' it;
An' my breeches in dyuggins[23] an' totthers,
Till A[24] can't go to meetin' on Sunday.

BETTY.

Och! have done with yer schamin' religion.
For ye nivver wos greedy for Gospel.
Deed, bad luck to the toe[25] ye'd go near it,
If we cloth'd ye as fine as Square Johnston.
Ye wud slunge[26] at the backs o' the ditches,[27]
With one or two others, yer fellas,[28]
A huntin' the dogs at the rat-holes.

JEMMY.

But I'm used to be clanely an' dacent,
An' so wos my father afore me;
An' how can a man go out-bye, when
His clo'es is all out at the elbows?

BETTY.

Well, yer hat disn't need any patchin',
An' A'm sure it's far worse nor the t'others;

19. Idiom. for, "I had not met with you."
20. Corporal.
21. Besides.
22. An additional fact to the purpose.
23. Scraps or shreds.
24. This is the term of the first personal pronoun when unemphatic; and in similar circumstances "your" becomes *yer*, "you" *ye* or *yay*, "me" or "my" *ma*, &c.
25. Length of a toe, as foot, hand, cubit, nail, &c.
26. Lounge.
27. Dikes or fences.
28. Equals or fit companions.

I bought it myself in the market,
From big Conny Collins, that made it,
For two shillins, an' share of a naggin.[29]
See, the brim is tore off like brown paper,
Till ye're jist like a Connaughtman nager.[30]
An' then, as for darnin' yer stockin's,
As well think ov mendin' a riddle.
Why a woman's kep throttin' behine ye,
Till she can't do a turn, nor a foundet.[31]

JEMMY.

Now, jist let me alone; an' believe me,
If ye don't houl' your tongue in one minute,
An' git me my supper o' sowins,[32]
The same as ye say'd in the mornin',
A'll warm all the wax in your ears,[33]
An' we'll see which desarves to be masther.

BETTY.

Och! ye mane-hearted cowartly scrapins,
Is that the mischief[34] that ye're up to?[35]
Ye wud jist lift your hand[36] to a woman,
That ye ought to purtect an' to comfort.
See here,[37]—ye're a beggarly cowart;
If ye seen yer match[38] sthript an' fornenst[39] ye,
Ye wud wish to creep intil a mouse-hole.[40]
So ye needn't be curlin' yer eyebrows,
An' dhrawin' yer fist like to sthrek me.
God be thankit the tongs is beside me,
An' as well soon as syne, A may tell ye,
If ye offer to stir up a rippet,[41]

29. The parties drank it unitedly. This is a frequent custom, and is sanctioned by the Bacchanalian proverb, "there's no luck in a dthry bargain."

30. Negro, the term being used in the general sense of savage, just as "Indian" is in correct language.

31. Anything whatever.

32. Flummery.

33. A periphrasis for boxing the ears.

34. The word was formerly pronounced in this way, before the practice was so common of throwing back the accent towards the commencement.

35. Designing or intending.

36. A periphrasis for "strike."

37. A frequent expletive, used for the purpose of increasing the attention of the hearer.

38. A person of equal capacity.

39. Fore anent, i.e. opposite to.

40. An exaggeration, frequently used in colloquial intercourse.

41. A racket, or violent disturbance.

An' thinks that ye're imperance [42] cows [43] me.
All the veins in ye're heart [44] ye shall rue it.
If ye dar for till venthur to hit me, [45]
See, by this an' by that, ye'll repent it.
A'll soon comb [46] yer head with the crook-rod, [47]
Or sen' its contents shinin' through ye. [48]

JEMMY.

Well, ov all the oul' weemin in Ulsther,
A nivver seen wan so curnaptious; [49]
It's ivver an' always ye're scouldin',
An' still finin' fault with a body, [50]
For the turnin' o' sthroes, [51] or for nothin'.
Yer tongue wud [52] clip clouts jist like sheers,
An' from mornin' till duskiss [53] it's endless.
A'm sure if A wos for to bate ye,
An' give ye yer fill ov a lickin',
It isn't yer neighbours [54] desarves it;
But A wudn't purtend to sitch maneness,
Nor even my wit [55] till a woman.

BETTY.

It's the best o' yer play [56] A can tell ye,
An' now that ye're comin' to rason,
Let me ax where ye met yer companions?
Ye've been dhrinkin'; ye needn't deny it:
Now don't look so black at me that 'ay,
Nor sin yer poor sowl wi' more lyin'.
Can't A see that ye smell like a puncheon? [57]
Oh! the Lord [58] in his marcy look on me,

42. Impudence.
43. Intimidates; used by Scott, in the *Lady of the Lake*, "as your tinchel *cows* the game."
44. Compare this expression with *Coshla ma chree*.
45. This verb is mainly used to denote striking with the fist; imperfect, *hot*, or *hut*, occasionally used.
46. Contemptuous menace to strike him on the head.
47. An iron instrument, for suspending the pot on a cottager's fire.
48. There is a mixture of figures here, the latter derived from a gun.
49. Quarrelsome and petulant.
50. An impersonal pronoun.
51. Trifles, i.e., the turning of straws.
52. Is unusually sharp.
53. Dusk, or twilight.
54. Every branch of the Hibernic dialect abounds with indirect expressions like this.
55. Degrade my understanding.
56. Your best policy. This and other expressions:—"take yer dalin' thrick out o' them," "what's thrumph?" "take a han';" "as black as the ace o' spades';" "the five fingers," (five of hearts), &c., appear to be derived from the practice of card-playing.
57. A puncheon of "liquor," [whiskey] of course.
58. By the lower orders the Deity is seldom spoken of as "God," but usually as "the Lord."

A dissolate heart-brucken woman,
While my cross-grained oul' snool [59] of a husban'
Runs spendin' his money with blackguards.) [60]

JEMMY.

Will ye nivver ha' done aggravatin'? [61]
Why, the patience o' Job cudn't stan' ye.
It's asy for *you* to be talkin',
Jist sittin' at home on yer hunkers, [62]
An' burnin' yer shins at the greeshaugh. [63]

BETTY.

Oh! I know very well what ye're after, [64]
Ye wor spendin' yer money with weemen.
Lord forgive ye, ye gray-headed sinner,
I suppose you'll be poisonin' *me* nixt.
It's that makes ye crooked an' fractious, [65]
In the house with yer wife an' yer childthre.

JEMMY.

Will ye whisht [66] wi' yer capers [67] an' blethers, [68]
Before ye hev dhriv me quite crazy,
An' A'll tell ye it from the beginnin'.
Yer oul' uncle Billy come past me
About half an hour afore sun-set,
An' he said we might shanough [69] a minute
In Okey M'Collisther's shibbeen. [70]
It wos him that stud [71] thrate for the both of us;
An' good [72] luck to the dhrap bud a "Johnnie," [73]
Cross'd my corp [74] since ere-yestherday [75] mornin'.
The d—l a mortyal wos near us.
He ax'd for yerself very kine-ly;
An' siz I "'twas for Betty, poor crather,

59. A sneaking "Molly Caudle" of a man.
60. This word is used in the restricted sense, of a person obscene in his language and actions.
61. Annoying, or provoking to anger.
62. Squatting without a seat.
63. Red ashes.
64. What you mean.
65. Irritable.
66. Hush.
67. Foolish actions.
68. Foolish talk, or nonsense.
69. Gossip in friendly confidence.
70. A cottage in which whiskey is sold without a license.
71. Paid for what was drunk.
72. A euphonism for "bad luck."
73. Half-a-glass.
74. Passed my body, [i.e., my lips.]
75. The day before yesterday.

She's gettin' more donsy[76] nor ever ;
An' can't sleep a wink for rheumaticks,
Forbye both the weed [77] an' the tooth-ache."
Poor Billy appear'd very sorry,
An' say'd he'd call over to see you.
" Och," siz I, " but I'm badly [78] myself, too,
An' still gittin' ouldther an' waker ;
A'm afeard A'll be soon lavin'[79] Betty,
Poor widdy, without a purtacter.
But A'll make out my will in her favour;—
An' she'll may-be live happy, in comfort,
When I'm put to bed with a shovel." [80]

BETTY.

Now, Jemmy, ye mustn't talk that 'ay ;
See, ye've set me a cryin' already,
An' my heart's in my[81] mouth like a turmit.[82]
Poor fella, ye're kine at the bottom,
An' A'll nivver-more taze nor torment ye.
Why, yer poor bits o' breeches is wringin', [83]
With the damp that comes on at this sazon.
Sit down on that furm[84] by the hollan' [85]
An' I'll brisk up the fire in a jiffey ; [86]
An' see, here's half-an-ounce o' tobacky,
Ye can jist take a dhraw o' the dudyen, [87]
While the tay in the pot is confusin'.
There's no time for a wee bit o' slim-cake, [88]
So I'll jist whip [89] across to the huxter's [90]
For a bap, [91] that agrees with yer stomach,
Or two penny roulls, an' some bacon. H.

76. Delicate in health.
77. A short feverish attack, to which women are sometimes liable.
78. Unwell.
79. The Irish have many circumlocutory expressions to represent dying. Thus, a man is "disaysed;" [i.e. deceased.] or "departed;" or "gone to glory;" or "there's his place empty;" "they have lost one of the pair;" he is "undther board;" there's "a wake in the family;" and if he was executed, he merely "suffered;" or was "put down." Even when foul play is suspected, it is mildly suggested that some one "helped God Almighty away with the crathur."
80. Buried.
81. This expresses the sensation caused by fright
82. Turnip.
83. Saturated.
84. Form, or long bench.
85. A jamb to protect the fire from the wind of the door. It was introduced from Holland, and usually has in the centre a triangular spying hole.
86. An instant.
87. A small pipe. This term is of Celtic origin, and is frequently represented by "cutty."
88. Bread made from flour and potatoes
89. Move quickly.
91. A spongy cake of loaf bread.
90. Grocer's.

THE IRISH DIALECT OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

"And they said unto him, say now '*Shibboleth*,' and he said '*Sibboleth*,' for he could not frame to pronounce it right."—*Judges*, xii., 6.

It has been said that there are in the world about 2,000 languages, and of these again 5,000 dialects. In reference to the former, this is obviously an approximate calculation, which may in reality not be far from the fact; but, in reference to the latter, it is clear that only the more important ones have been taken into consideration. Many of the languages are evidently cognate in sets, as the Shemitic, Teutonic, and Celtic languages, or as the well-known languages of Latin origin. In other instances, where the varieties exist with every grade of distinction, it is sometimes almost impossible to say when differences of speech are cognate languages, or merely variations of dialect. In general, when two persons can converse together, it is said that they speak the same *language*; the forms which they use respectively being *dialects* only. This principle, however, is to be received with some modification; for the Spaniard or Portuguese can make himself intelligible to the Italian, though we consider the speech of all the three as so many distinct languages.

The separation of languages bears a remarkable analogy to the separation of families; and the comparison has not escaped the notice of those who have written on the subject. For example, two sections of the same people may be separated by war or emigration; and, in the course of a few generations, the language of each will become considerably modified, though still possessing the substance of the original. But, in time, new divisions take place, in one or both of these populations, producing similar results; and, in the course of successive generations, others still. It is clear that every remove places the new languages farther apart from certain others, and also from the original parental one; until the marks of identity disappear one by one, and the relationship comes at last to be questioned, or at least to be admitted with doubt and caution. Hence languages are said to exist in families, and have their respective pedigrees; or, to adopt another illustration suggested by this, the various twigs can be traced to main branches, which again are related to a parent stem.

It so happens that not far from home we have an interesting illustration of this principle. On the western coast of England and the Continent, we find one group of languages,—the *Welsh*, the *Cornish*, recently extinct in England, and the *Bas-Breton*, in France. These may be said to be fraternal, or peculiar dialects of the same original tongue; as is proveable, not merely on oral and philological grounds, but also on geographical and historical ones. In other words, not only do the spoken and written forms resemble each other at the present day, but we can show that proximity afforded op-

portunities for frequent intercourse, and that, in point of fact, it actually took place. Another group of languages is found at other points; the *Irish*, the most perfect branch of the ancient Celtic, the *Scottish Gaelic*, in the north and west of Scotland, and the *Manx*, which is slowly expiring in the Isle of Man. These three present the same features of identity, and indeed were one language within the limits of the historic period; so that we have thus a second triad of fraternal languages. To give the general idea, of their affinity, it will be sufficient to say that the two sets stand to each other in the relation of cousins.

In contrast with the tendency to assimilate, which printed books and standards naturally produce, is the fact that living tongues present very marked varieties. The inhabitants of the ancient Provinces and even of the modern Departments of France, may be readily distinguished from each other; Italian of various kinds is found within the Peninsula, and round the shores of the Mediterranean; and German in great variety is spoken both among the States included under the "geographical expression," and also in the border countries. The same may be said in a greater or less degree of other countries of Europe; and, in Spain, not only are the natives of the ancient Kingdoms still distinguishable, but even those of their constituent Provinces.

The same law applied to the languages which are now "dead." The known varieties in the Latin have reference to time rather than to place, its purity being reckoned by ages or periods; but even geographically, at Præneste, which is not far from Rome, "instead of *ciconia* they said *konia*." The contemporary varieties of Greek are noticed in the most ordinary grammars and other school-books: nor are we to suppose that the four forms usually enumerated were the only ones, though, no doubt, they were the principal. The dialects of the Hebrew language are noticed at two points of its history, twelve centuries apart. In the days of Jephtha, the men of Gilead slew the Ephraimites at the fords of the Jordan, having identified each by his pronunciation of a selected word; and again, when the disciple, Peter, had denied his Master, the hearers were unconvinced, the ground of their doubt being that he spoke with a Gallilean accent.

Accordingly, the existence of provincial peculiarities in the English language ought not to surprise us: they are not exceptions, but illustrations of a general rule. The educated Englishman can tell the native districts of twenty or thirty different persons, without any aid from the parish register. He identifies one as a native of Cork; and others as from Aberdeen, Belfast, London, Newcastle-on-Tyne, or Berwick-on-Tweed. He distinguishes the natives of Connaught, from those of Londonderry or Dublin; separates the Yorkshireman from his brother of Lancashire; the northern Welshman from the southern Welshman; the English-speaking Gael from the Saxon Scot; and, among this last class, can even assign geographical limits to some of its component members.

The three great divisions of English, Scottish, and Irish provincialisms constitute only the rough outlines of a general classification; and, in any one of the three countries, these are almost all that are recognised in reference to the other two. In addition to them, however, there exist subordinate peculiarities of great interest, which are confined to separate shires, as Cumberland, Hereford, Lin-

coln; or sets of shires, as East Anglia, Northumbria, the south-east, the west; or portions of shires, as Exmoor, Carlisle, Pilling, Rochdale, London, and the West-riding of Yorkshire. Forms of sentences are retained in one locality which have been extinct for centuries in others; peculiar terms, with perhaps collateral customs, illustrate the character of the population in mediæval or even ancient times; while whole classes of words lingering among certain grades of the population, enable us—like a geologist examining the ripple-marks locked up in a slab of sand-stone—to predicate something with certainty respecting the tides of population which have flowed over a district. The subject of mere pronunciation, though less interesting, is still very interesting. Thus we see the almost exclusive use of the voice consonants among "the Zedlanders" in "Zummezetzheer;" the voiceless, on the Welsh Marches, as in the use of *Taffy* for *Davy;* the interchange of *v* and *w* among Cockneys, as illustrated in the conversations of "Sam Weller;" the use of Scottish forms of vowels prevalent in Yorkshire; the apparent hostility to the correct use of *h*, in Lancashire; and the indescribable "burr" of the north part of Northumberland. The publications connected with the Dialects of England proper are so numerous, that their *titles* alone have constituted a separate bibliographical work for nearly twenty years; and of humorous treatises written in local dialects, sometimes many thousands of copies are sold.

What is known as the "Scottish dialect," is in like manner not one, but many. The ear of a North Briton distinguishes in a moment a native of Edinburgh from one of Glasgow; a Berwickshire man from a Dumfries or Ayrshire man; and, generally, any of these from a person born north of the Highland line. While the English spoken is comparatively pure in Inverness, it is execrable in Aberdeen; and, in some parts, such as Orkney and Shetland, it possesses peculiarities of great ethnological interest. The remark of Lord Jeffrey,—that the Scotch is a separate national language, not a vulgar local dialect—is true, but with important modifications. So long as Scotland was a separate kingdom, with a separate metropolis, local aristocracy, and seat of legislation, there was no unanswerable reason why she should recognise English standards, or England, Scottish ones. Scotland had kept nearer to the original Saxon tongue which prevails in both countries, while England had diverged considerably from it. In short, the two had ideas and standards of their own, wholly independent of each other, and were in a position analogous to that of England and the United States of America, at present; or rather they resembled the independent States of Europe, which speak the German or Italian language. But when London became the metropolis of Great Britain, in 1707, as it had practically been for a century before, even the language of a former king [James I.] would have been vulgar and barbarous; and it became the duty of every scholar to purify himself from local peculiarities of diction, and to mould both his speech and his writing according to the best examples in the united country. In after years, the language of Ramsay, Ferguson, Tannahill, and Burns, was admired on totally different grounds; but it was provincial and vulgar, in the same manner, though not in the same degree, as the "brogue" of a Connaughtman.

The Irish dialect of English, which these remarks are intended to illustrate, can scarcely be

spoken of as an existing fact before the beginning of the eighteenth century. The English settlers of the Pale remained a set of distinct colonists till the close of Elizabeth's reign; more exclusive than an ordinary garrison of ancient Rome was in a conquered territory, and in some respects like the present English at the Cape of Good Hope, or the French in Africa. The native Irish and they communicated with each other, it is true, but they spoke separate languages, and there was no fusion of the populations. Even after English law and order had been extended to the whole country, it was many years before anything like a dialect for the island could be said to exist. The older settlers were English by descent, who had adopted a few Celtic words for the expression of new ideas, and who had, no doubt, modified their utterance of vowel and consonant sounds, in the course of time, to harmonise with the predominant ones in their vicinity. The new immigrants from England spoke the language of the several districts from which they had come: and the Scotch settlers in the maritime counties preserved their own dialect with little or no alteration from that of their mother-country. The civilised Celts, on the other hand, spoke what is called "broken English." In the ballads of the republican and revolutionary periods of English history, the Celtic Irishman is represented as using language similar to that which is found in the "Banjo" songs of modern times; and the language of the old dramatists in their case differs very little from that which is put into the mouth of a modern Negro, in similar circumstances. Those who are familiar with the doggerel lines known as "Lilliburlero," have a favourable specimen of it; and one sees part of the reason for the effect which this song produced, in the low intellectual grade which was thus evidently attributed to the persons represented.

During the greater part of last century, the language in Ireland was in a transition state. The inhabitant of a mountainous region, or a native of the south or west, though speaking English as his native tongue, and able to express himself with fluency and ease, was noticeable in a moment; and the writers of fictitious tales (including Miss Edgeworth) have made merry with those who thought their tongues would not betray the land of their nativity. In the Scottish districts, on the other hand, *Burns's Poems* were better known [a] than in many portions of North Britain itself; and the rustic poets in Ulster, especially in Down, Antrim, and Londonderry, seemed to let their ideas flow insensibly in Scottish verse. There were two reasons, however, for the practice. One was, that their taste had been formed almost exclusively on Scottish models; [b] the other, that by using more or

[a] The writer has known a child, six years old, able to repeat most of Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd;* and such ballads as *Johnnie Armstrang*, *Sir Patrick Spens*, *Annie O'Lochran*, *Lady Margery*, &c., are as well known as Cowper's *John Gilpin.* There are hundreds of these traditional ballads, Scotch and English, which the reciters have never seen in print, but which they receive, and transmit orally.

[b] Burns's favourite style of verse, as exemplified in his *Address to a Haggis*, to a *Daisy*, &c.: and in *Death and Dr. Hornbook*, as well as in most of his *Epistles*, is also a favourite one in the North of Ireland; being, no doubt, imitated from him.

"Wee, modest, crimson-tippet flow'r,
Thou'st met me in an evil hour;
For I maun crush amang the stoure
Thy slender stem;
To spare thee now is past my pow'r,
Thou bonnie gem."
ROBERT BURNS, *Ayrshire.*

"Then worst of all, the weaving trade
I had to yield, and lift the spade,
As only half my time I staid
Where I was bound;
The cause of which, work was ill paid,
The nation round."
PETER BURNS, *Downshire.*

fewer Scotticisms at will, they had nearly a double power in the matter of rhymes. In the English districts, the genuine English form of the language prevailed throughout; but it was spoken with a provincial accent down to the beginning of the present century. In Ulster there is a tradition that the language is spoken in most purity about Lisburn; but this notion must have originated more than a century ago, at a period when the children and grand-children of the original settlers still survived, and the statement was unquestionably true.

The Irish dialect, in the sense in which it is used here, is not much older than the present century: for the fusion of the various portions into one homogeneous mass was previously incomplete. Many of the characteristic terms of it are now disappearing; for a higher intellectual tone has been given to the population by the National Schools, so that the words not found in printed books are in a great degree disused by the rising generation. Of course there are broad distinctive features which mark the four Provinces; and there are even peculiarities of Counties, or occasionally those of Parishes or smaller districts. These it is unnecessary to notice at present. It is curious to observe, however, that, though the local peculiarities in Ireland are discernible by the Irish themselves, they ignore the more general characteristics which belong to the whole island. Thus, the inhabitant of each Province distinguishes a person from any of the other three; or the native of one County or Barony recognises the native of another; but he fails to distinguish between what is local and special on the one hand, and what is purely generic on the other. In like manner the members of a private family recognise each other by their *differences*, and at last wonder that any one can perceive a *resemblance*; while a stranger notices at once the feature common to all, and marks it down, but it requires some familiarity to recognise the specific differences of individuals.

If, for the sake of distinction, we call the Irish dialect a *national* one; it is obvious that it has less comprehension of characteristics than the provincial ones, and greater extension geographically or numerically. It drops the characteristics which prevail exclusively in Belfast, Cork, Dublin, or Galway, and embraces those only which are common to the whole thirty-two counties. It has been frequently brought before the public, but is especially known through Carleton's *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*. In the more recent edition of that work, the author informs us that at first his narrative was far more Irish than it became subsequently; but that the public taste would not now bear the dialect in its broadest form. The truth is, that the writer was at first *too* [illegible] in his representations of dialogue; for, by the aid of a very retentive memory, some of the sentences were almost literally what had occurred in his native district. They were, therefore, *provincial* pictures, not *national* ones; and the public, as well as the author, are much indebted to the person who advised

* The Scottish idiom and words, as given by Scott, in the Waverly Novels, are recognised as national in every part of the country; but the Scotch of Galt will always interfere with the popularity of his writings, because it is low and provincial. Sometimes a poem is Scotticised or Hibernicised by a single characteristic word or two, as distinctly as by a thousand; and as dialects exist, [illegible] in every degree of intensity, there is much left to the option and taste of the writer. When Burns decided on appropriating a song of Bishop Percy's, he altered only three words in the first line, "Oh! [illegible] wilt thou *gang* wi' me;" but the singer, guided by this fact, Scotticises those English words that admit of the process, all through. Thus, "town" and "gown," in the first stanza, become [illegible] and [illegible].

this alteration—it is said, the late Rev. Cæsar Otway. The Hibernic dialect is often represented quite too accurately by Lover; he fails in the process of generalising, and mingles with the pure wine of racy Hibernicisms the dregs of provincial speech.

During the present century a great deal has been done towards the identification of parts of our standard English classics with our provincial English dialects; on the same principle by which Homeric forms of expression lingered, some here, some there, through ancient Greece, nearly a thousand years after "the blind old man" had gone to rest. There are Spenserian expressions and Chaucerisms to be found yet among the peasantry, probably in every county in the British Isles. The lower classes of society do not change their fashions in dress, manners, or language, so rapidly or so frequently as the middle and upper classes do; and thus archaic forms, which were supposed to have perished long ago, are found to survive in obscure spots beside us. Great credit is due to the literary antiquaries who have illustrated Shakspeare and "rare Ben Johnson" from the lips of our working men, and who have elucidated our various local[d] dialects from the writings of almost all our mediæval English writers. On the one hand, they have given a dignity and an importance to expressions which are now contemptuously designated as vulgar, and have shown that certain literary inquiries cannot be prosecuted successfully without a knowledge of popular speech. On the other hand, the obscure and neglected writings of the past come home to us with renewed force and beauty, when we find their characteristic expressions still interwoven with domestic life among us. Some inquirers have mingled the illustration of manners and customs[e] with that of language, and have thus given a double interest to their researches.

It has sometimes been surmised, but the fact is not generally known, that for the purposes of philology, criticism, and literary history, the dialect of the English language in Ireland is one of the most interesting in existence. Its basis is the old English of the era of Elizabeth, as spoken by the middle classes and yeomanry from before the period of James I. till the Restoration. In general it was carried to Ireland at the re-settlement of the country; on which occasion almost every portion of Great Britain contributed its quota of population. These carried over many words which were probably unknown in any of the districts separately; and the difficulty of communication with

[d] "Much of the peculiarity of dialect, prevalent in Anglo-Saxon times, is preserved even to the present day in the provincial dialects of the same districts. In these local dialects, remnants of the Anglo-Saxon tongue may be found, in its least altered, most uncorrupt, and, therefore, most perfect state. Having a strong and expressive language of their own, the people had little desire and few opportunities to adopt foreign idioms or pronunciation, and thus to corrupt the purity of their ancient language. Our present polished phrase and fashionable pronunciation are often new; and, as deviating from primitive usage, faulty and corrupt. We are, therefore, much indebted to those zealous and patriotic individuals who have referred us to the archaisms of our nervous language, by publishing provincial glossaries, and giving specimens of the various dialects."—*Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary,—Preface.*

[e] "No inconsiderable part of this work relates to diet, dress, buildings, employments, sports, and amusements, municipal regulations, legal terms, religious ceremonies, names both of persons and places, popular customs; and, in every department of them, one of my leading aims has been to show that the knowledge of words is neither the least compendious, nor the least sure way of coming to the knowledge of things. I have likewise ventured occasionally to introduce literary remarks and criticisms, illustrations of obscure and difficult passages in ancient English and Scottish historians and poets, and not a few on the Scriptures themselves."—*Original Prospectus to Boucher's Archaic Glossary.*

other parts of the empire previous to the application of steam, prevented the introduction of any very marked changes subsequently. The original colonists of New England, in like manner, carried over with them the language and manners of their own time; but, unlike their countrymen in Ireland, they were not a separate people. A continuous stream of immigration from many points removed everything like fixity of character; so that the very last place to which we should think of turning for any illustrative trait of the Pilgrim Fathers is the spot in which they found a home.

In addition to the Scottish poetry produced in Ulster, other varieties of English existed in Ireland before the assimilation had taken place to its present extent. The Fingallians, near Dublin, had a dialect of their own, a glossary [f] of which is still preserved; and the inhabitants of the barony of Forth, in Wexford, presented an address [g] to the Lord Lieutenant, in the ancient dialect of the district, about the year 1836. At the present moment, thousands of single words and idiomatic expressions, which do not belong to pure English, can be identified with those which are still used by the populace in different parts of Ireland; and the same words, or others, however vulgar they may be supposed to be now, can be shown to be identical with the courtly phrase and standard literature of the olden time. The truth of this, and of much more to the same purpose, is not only a probability, but an established fact. The words have been collected, over a period of nearly a quarter of a century, and their illustrative bearing has been noted at the same time. In that period, a considerable number which appear in their alphabetical places have disappeared from among the population; and if another generation were permitted to pass away, the character and interest of the Hibernic dialect would, it is to be feared, be practically lost for ever. Many of these words admit of a three-fold illustration. A quotation from Chaucer, Layamon, or Shakspeare, for instance, shows that the term is preserved in our old English literature; another, from a tract illustrative of an English provincial dialect, shows the paternal spot on which it is still found; and a quotation from some of the Hibernic Classics, or from the popular *Ballad Poetry of Ireland*, establishes its use there. A very large number of words and phrases, however, do not admit of such extensive illustration, though they appear in one or two of these sets of authorities.

As it is intended to give, in the pages of this Journal, at least copious illustrations of this DICTIONARY OF HIBERNICISMS, any extended reference to it would be premature; it may be sufficient to enumerate a few of the points which it will illustrate.

A coincidence of ideas is to be expected; but sometimes it meets us in forms that are very interesting. For example, there is an Irish superstition that a mother who suffers her child to be reared apart from her, and who at length loses it by death, will not know it in heaven; though this idea is also prevalent elsewhere. It receives a beautiful illustration in Shakspeare's *King John*,[h] when Constance[i] appeals to Pandulph the Legate, respecting her son Arthur, that he will pine

[f] Only two copies are known to exist, one in the possession of the writer, and the other in the collection of Lord Talbot de Malahide.

[g] This is printed, with a modern version, in Mr. and Mrs. Hall's *Ireland*.

[h] Act III., Scene 4.

[i] Another idea of her's may be placed in amusing contrast with a modern one, thus:—

away as a prisoner, and that she will not recognise him in the next world. But the topics most intimately connected with the subject are old words,[j] quaint expressions,[k] terms of Celtic origin,[l] well-known words used with a wrong meaning,[m] (i.e., too limited,[n] or too extended,[o]) grammatical peculiarities,[p] dialectic and vulgar forms of correct English words,[q] &c. Of some of these, single illustrations are given below.

It may be satisfactory to the reader to allude more pointedly to one subject—pronunciation. Nothing is more certain than that several sounds which are Irish to-day, and, therefore, classed with impure English, were pure classic English more or less than a century ago. It is difficult to prove what the sounds of a language were at any previous period, and hence the doubt which hangs over the Roman pronunciation of Latin; but happily, English poetry, which is regulated by sounds as well as measures, affords us material aid on this point. An analysis of Pope's rhymes is extremely interesting. It exhibits a vast number of singular coincidences, which are evidently not individual efforts to help the rhyme, but the application of certain understood principles, the nature of which our extensive induction now enables us fully to understand. Thus, "Rome" is pronounced *Room* in the two instances in which it occurs, and is rhymed with *doom;* (Scott, in *Marmion*, rhymes it with *tomb;*) "devil" is *divil*,[s] rhymed in every instance with *civil;* "none" is *noan*,[t] corresponding to *own, stone, alone;* "yet" is *yit;*[u] "spirit" is *sperrit;*[v] and so of many others.

There are two English words, *blood*, and *flood*, in which the diphthong *oo* has the force of short *u;* while in other cases it is sounded as in *food*. But the populace of almost every district in the

"My grief's so great,
That no supporter but the huge firm earth
Can hold it up."—*King John*, iii. 1.
"With the weight of your grief, now I tell you,
You'll break down the three-legged stool."
LOVER.—*Pop. Song.*

[j] "The land *fornenst* the Greekish shore he held,
From Sangar's mouth to crook'd Meander's fall."
Fairfax's Tasso, ix. 4.

"I'm not sayin' you wouldn't call me a liar as soon *fornenst* [fore-anent] my face, your honour."—LOVER, *Paddy the Sport.*

[k] And though I might, yet would I nat doe so,
But can'st thou playin' raket to and fro
Nettle in dock out, now this now that Pandare,
Now *foule fall her* for thy wo that care.
Chaucer's Tro. and Cres., iv. 461.

[l] *Madgaun* ["muddya arran," the bread-stick] a tripod of wood, to support *farrels* or quadrants of oat-cake, which are *harnin'* [hardening] before the fire.

[m] *Learn*, to teach. "If thy children will keep my covenant and my testimonies that I shall *learn* them. ("teach," Authorized Version.) Psal. lxxxii., 13.

Now cheare up, Sire Abbot, did you never hear yet
That a fool he may *learn* a wise man witt.
Old Ballad.—K. John and Ab. of Canterbury.

It's long before you'd think of *larnin'* him his prayers, or his catechiz.—CARLETON.—*P. F.* and *Funeral.*

[n] *Travel*, to go on foot.

[o] *Sore-foot*, a misfortune of any kind.

[p] For example, new conjunctions,—*still-an'-with-all*, *moreover-nor-that*, *when done.*

[q] *Bother*, for pother, *fordther* for furtherance, *leggin'* [of a cooper's vessel] for ledging

[r] From the same foes, at last both felt their *doom*,
And the same age saw learning fall, and *Rome*,
POPE.—*Essay on Criticism.*

[s] These I could bear, but not a rogue so *civil*,
Whose tongue will compliment you to the *Devil*.
POPE.—*January and May.*

[t] "'Tis with our judgment as our watches; *none*
Go just alike, yet each believes his *own*.
POPE.—*Essay on Criticism*, 10.

[u] I've had, myself, full many a merry *fit*,
And trust in Heaven I may have many *yet*.
POPE.—*Wife of Bath.*

[v] Behold, Sir Balaam, now a man of *spirit*,
Ascribes his gettings to his parts and *merit*.
POPE.—*Moral Essays.*

Praise to thy eternal *merit*
Father, Son, and Holy *Spirit*.
Ordination Service.

That's beautiful *sperits*, anyhow,
LEVER.—*O'Malley.*

With a right heroic *spirit*
He was even more endued;
Fame and glory did he *merit*,
And his foes he still subdued.
CROKER'S *Hist. Songs of Ireland.*

British islands, and certainly of all the four provinces in Ireland, adopt the short *u* in a certain set of words, *e.g.*, *gud*, *stud*, *wud*, *shud*, &c. Now, it is remarkable that Pope, in sixty-nine couplets, has the pronunciation *stud* (for *stood)* forty-eight times, *wud* (for *would)* seventeen times, and *gud* (for *good)* four times; but such words as *food*, *wood*, *snood*, are never pronounced with the short *u* by the populace, neither do we find one instance of it in all his voluminous writings. The following parallel explains itself:—

Classic English.	Hibernicisms.
Thus round Pelides, breathing war and *blood*, Greece, sheath'd in arms, beside her vessels *stood*. Pope. *Hom. Il.*, xx, 22.	My lord, this moment, as I firmly *stood*, Lodg'd in my post, near the adjoining *wood*. *Battle of Aughrim*, p. 25.
Soon pass'd beyond their sight, I left the *flood*, And took the spreading shelter of the *wood*. Pope. *Hom. Odys.*, xiv., 388,	I strove in vain, and by his side I *stood*, Till as you see, I dyed my sword in *blood*. *Ibid*, p. 18.

One of the most characteristic pronunciations in the Irish dialect is the substitution of the sound *a*, as in *table*, for *e* as in *hero*. This occurs not only when the sound is represented by the diphthong *ea*, as in *say* for "sea," but also in other words, as *complate*, *desare*. In this instance, also, we can quote an analogy; for "break," "great," and "steak," still require the diphthong to receive the Irish sound. Now, the writings of Pope exhibit no fewer than seventy-six examples of this pronunciation, in cases where we should now call it decidedly vulgar, did we not know how to make allowance for the changes of time. It is interesting to compare, with the examples from Pope and others, a genuine specimen of Hibernic literature; and such we find in a dramatic pamphlet just quoted, of very extensive circulation in Ireland, entitled *the Battle of Aughrim and Siege of Londonderry*. Other illustrations are readily procured.

Classic English.	Hibernicisms.
Here thou, great Anna, whom three realms *obey*, Dost sometimes counsel take, and sometimes *tea*. Pope.—*Rape of the Lock*, iii.	Led by brave Captain Sandays, who with *fame* Plung'd to the middle in the rapid *stream*. *Battle of Aughrim*. p. 6.
The plots are fruitless which my foe Unjustly did *conceive*: The pit he digg'd for me has prov'd His own untimely *grave*. Tate and Brady.—*Psalm*,* viii., 14.	Without your aid, I will the foe *defeat*, To free my country and my lost *estate*. *Ibid*, p. 10.
God moves in a mysterious *way*, His wonders to perform; He plants his footsteps in the *sea*, And rides upon the storm. Newton, *Psalm* xxxvi.	Or as two friends, who with remorse *survey* Their vessels sever'd on the raging *sea*; Each gets a plank, and his companion *leaves* To the wild mercy of the raging *waves*. *Ibid*, p. 30.

* There are forty-seven examples in this version of the Psalms.

I am monarch of all I *survey*,
My right there is none to dispute ;
From the centre all round to the *sea*,
I am lord of the fowl and the brute.
COWPER.—*Selkirk*.

Some, in his bottle of leather so *great*,
Will carry home daily both barley and *wheat*.
TUSSER.

The town of Passage is large and spacious,
And situated upon the *sea;*
'Tis nate and daycent, and quite convaynient
To come from Cork on a summer's day.
CROKER'S *Pop. Songs*[x] *of Ireland*.

And there's Katty *Neal*,
And her cow I'll go *bail*.
LOVER.—*Popular Song*.

In a few instances, the fragrance of the shamrock has adhered even to our distinguished writers; and occasionally through life. The poems of Parnell, for example, present a still larger proportion of Hibernicisms than those of Pope; and the *Battle of the Frogs and Mice*, frequently printed along with the poems of Pope, affords a ready instance of comparison. Some of Goldsmith's words remind us of the banks of the Shannon: the following is an interesting specimen. In a great part of Ireland, "vault" is sounded *vau't;* and, in like manner, "fault" is *fau't*.

CLASSIC ENGLISH.

Whan that she swouned
Next for *faute* of blood.
CHAUCER.—*Cant. Tales*.

Let him not dare to vent his dangerous *thought*
A noble fool was never in a *fault*.
POPE.—*January and May*.

But mine the pleasure, mine the *fault*,
And well my life shall pay;
I'll seek the solitude he *sought*
And stretch me where he lay.
GOLDSMITH.—*Hermit*.

Yet he was kind, or if severe in *aught*
The love he bore to learning was in *fault*.
GOLDSMITH.—*Deserted Village*.

HIBERNICISMS.

If I don't be able to shine, it will be none o' my *fau't*.
CARLETON.—*Valentine McClutchy*.

God pardon me for cursin' the harmless crathurs, for sure, Sir, 'tisn't their *fau'ts*.—CARLETON, *Poor Scholar*.

Other points relating to this subject will be noticed in future communications; but the writer requests that the present may be regarded merely as a sketch, in part suggestive and in part explanatory. Anything like an attempt at an analysis of the Hibernic dialect of the English, in a short paper such as this, has been studiously avoided.

A. HUME.

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[x] In the poem entitled *Doneraile Litany* (Croker, p. 184) there are only forty-two couplets, in each of which the word Doneraile is rhymed. Eight instances of this Hibernicism occur, as it is rhymed with *seal*, *veal*, *weal*, *peal*, *meal*, *steal* re-*veal*, con-*geal*.

MILITARY PROCLAMATION, IN THE IRISH LANGUAGE, ISSUED BY HUGH O'NEILL, EARL OF TYRONE, IN 1601.

The two following documents relating to the history of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, are now laid before the reader in a printed form for the first time.

No I. is a military order or proclamation issued by Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, on the 2nd of February, 1601, nearly one year previously to his defeat at Kinsale, 3rd of January, 1602. The language is technical, and exceedingly curious; the exact spelling of the words, both in the Irish original and the contemporary English translation, being preserved in this publication; and two paragraphs left untranslated by the Government interpreter, are rendered literally by the present Editor. The name of this interpreter has not been discovered.[a]

No. II. is a letter from Sir Geoffrey Fenton, chief Irish Secretary, and was written to Sir Robert Cecil, on the 5th of December, 1601, immediately after the Ulster chieftains had set out for Kinsale, to assist the Spaniards. The reference to Tyrone's private family is very curious, and shows what accurate information had been communicated to the Irish secretary by his spies in Ulster. The descendants of Cormack, Tyrone's brother, referred to in this document, are still extant in Tyrone, under the name of MacBaron.

Of the history of Hugh, the famous Earl of Tyrone, but little is known previous to the year 1585, when he was declared by the parliament then assembled in Dublin to be the true heir of Con, the first Earl of Tyrone. Shane O'Neill, the celebrated chief or prince of Tyrone, had asserted and offered to prove in England, in 1562, that Matthew, the father of this Hugh, was an illegitimate son of Con, the first Earl, and that he (Shane) himself was the true heir to the earldom; but though this illegitimacy was much talked of, and intended to be thoroughly examined into, from 1562 till 1567, a parliament convened by Perrott in the year 1585, in Dublin, decided that Hugh, the son of Matthew, was the *true heir* to the earldom of Tyrone. The subject, however, still remains in profound darkness, and will remain so for ever unless the State Papers happen to contain

[a] He was probably William Doyne, or Sir Patrick Crosby. The great Florence MacCarthy, who knew the Irish language well, was sent a prisoner to England some short time before.

some correspondence on this *state secret*. Ferdoragh, or Matthew, the supposed bastard, eldest son of Con, first Earl of Tyrone, married Joan, the daughter of Maguire, (Cuconnaght,) and she had for him two sons—Hugh, afterwards Earl of Tyrone, and Cormac mac Baron. Matthew was slain by his brother Shane in 1558, at which time the great Hugh must have been some years old; but nothing has been yet discovered to prove the year of his death. The *Four Masters* state that he died in 1616 at an *advanced* age; but as the same annalists inform us that his mother lived till the 22nd of June, 1600, he cannot have been very old in 1616.

No mention is made of Hugh, the great Earl of Tyrone, by the *Four Masters* before the year 1585, when, as has been already remarked, he was declared by the Irish parliament to be the true heir to the earldom. In 1587 these annalists state that he had married Joan,[b] aunt of the celebrated Hugh *Roe* O'Donnell,[1] (the daughter of Hugh, son of Manus O'Donnell,) but of the year in which this marriage took place, or of his age at the time, they afford us no information whatever. After the death of his father, Matthew, Baron of Dungannon, Hugh appears to have become a state prisoner, and to have been, like the young Earl of Desmond, brought up in the Tower of London, where he acquired that knowledge of fine English composition for which Sir Richard Cox gives him credit; but we have as yet no particulars connected with his early history from any published documents.

It appears from the State Papers that he had been married twice, and once divorced, before the year 1591, when he fell in love with the youngest daughter of Marshal Bagnal, whom he married in that year. Up to this time he had been loyal to the English government, and during the rebellion of the Earl of Desmond he had served in the Queen's service as captain of horse. He remained faithful to the English, though wavering, till the year 1593, when he was wounded in a battle with Maguire, at a ford on the river Erne, near Belleek. [See O'Sullevan Beare's *History of the Irish Catholics*, tom. iii. lib. ii. cc. 7 and 10.] He was driven to disaffection by Marshal Bagnal, whose sister he had married, and who impeached him of divers treasons, to which he replied, and offered even to appear in England, and there to defend his cause, or to maintain his innocence in single combat with his adversary. Captain Thomas Lee, who had commanded some troops in various posts on the frontiers of Ulster, during the Lord Deputy Fitz William's administration, and who was well acquainted with the machinations of Bagnal against the Earl of Tyrone, wrote the following curious remarks on the dissensions between them:—

"And then I am persuaded he (the Earl of Tyrone) will simply acknowledge to your Majesty how far he hath offended you; and besides, notwithstanding his protection, he will, if it so stand with your Majesty's pleasure, offer himself to the Marshal (who hath been the chiefest instrument

[b] *Joan the aunt*, &c.—The earl himself states, in a letter to the Lords of the Council, that he had been married to Sir Brian Mac Phelim's daughter, from whom he was divorced, by orders of the church, long before he married O'Donnell's daughter. See Proceedings and Papers of the *Kilkenny Archæological Society*, March, 1857, p. 303.

against him) to prove with his sword that he hath most wrongfully accused him; and because it is no conquest for him to overthrowe a man ever held in the world to be of most cowardly behaviour, he will, in defence of his innocency, allow his adversary to come armed against him, naked, to encourage him the rather to accept of his challenge. I am bold to say thus much for the Earl, because I know his valour, and am persuaded he will perform it."

The youngest daughter of the elder Marshal Bagnal, and youngest sister of the younger Marshal, Tyrone's deadly enemy, did not live to see the mortal struggle between her husband and her brother. She died in January, 1596, two years and a-half before the "Journey to the Blackwater," where O'Neill slew Marshal Bagnal and gained a complete victory over the Queen's forces.

His subsequent history, up to his flight in 1607, is rather fully given by the *Four Masters*, by P. O'Sullevan Beare, by Fynes Moryson in his *History of the Rebellion of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone*, by Sir George Carew in his *Pacata Hibernia*, and by Peregrine O'Clery in the *Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell*. But there is a very curious account of his proceedings, from his flight in 1607 till his death in 1616, given in an Irish MS. on paper, consisting of 150 closely written pages, now preserved in the College of St. Isidore at Rome, of which I have printed the first page (from a facsimile sent me by the late Dr. Lyons, of Kilmore, Erris,) in my edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 1607, pp. 2352, 2353. I trust that some friend about to visit Rome will copy this document for the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*; and I know of no one more competent than the venerable Dr. Magettigan, R.C. Bishop of Raphoe, who, to his profound knowledge of the classics and the modern languages of Europe, adds a rare knowledge of his own native Irish dialect.

It is stated by Dubourdieu in his *Statistical Survey of the County of Down*, p. 312, that there is a picture of this famous Earl in the possession of the Earl of Leicester. The great English antiquary, Camden, thus (imitating Sallust) describes his characteristics in his *Annals of the Reign of Elizabeth*, A.D. 1590:—

"Corpus laborum, vigiliæ, et inediæ patiens, industria magna, animus ingens, maximisque par negotiis, militiæ multa scientia, ad simulandum animi altitudo profunda, adeo ut nonulli eum vel maximo Hiberniæ bono vel malo naturo tunc prædixerint."

The following account of the translation of his remains from the Church of St. Peter, in Montorio, at Rome, in which he was buried in 1616, is found in a MS. in the Burgundian Library at Brussels, (No. 5095,) a copy of the Martyrology of Donegal:—

"In S. Pedro Montis Aurei Romæ, cùm septennio post obitum fieret translatio eximii Domini Comitis Tironiæ e sepulchro Apostolorum, inventæ sunt ambæ manus integræ, quarum ad conspectum Guardiani loci Petri de Rosa: Ecce, inquit, benedictæ manus quæ sæpe lotæ sunt in sanguine hæreticorum et proprio sanguine pro fide et patria."

John O'Donovan.

No. I.

Carew Collection, No. 614: folio 186. In Lambeth Library.

A n-ainm Dia. Ag so mar fhostus* O'Nèill buannadha.† Ar tùss do'n chèd saighdiuir ced pont do thuarustal 'sa ràithe, 7 fiche ponta d'uaisle leith-bhliadhna, acht in uaisle d' fhaghail 'sa chèd ràithe; 7 da m-brisedh in buanna ar in tighearna fa gan anmhain aige in ath-ràithe, aisseag ar in uaisle chom in tighearna: 7 madh è in tighearna dhiultus do'n bhuanna fa gan a fhostadh in ath-ràithe, in uaisle ag an buanna. Is amhlaidh dhìoltar in tuarustal, gach mèide nach ffuighther 'n a airged de do dhìol mar so: in loilgheeh no in mart ion-laoigh do chor amach is na fiachaibh a n-imeochaidh si eidir iocadhaibh 7 sgològaiph in tire; in t-arm 7 in t-èdach do chor amach a n-diol in tuarustail do radh na marusgal. Biadh in t-saighdiuir 'sa ràithe xvii. meadair ime, do thomhus galuin na Loinne, 7 fiche medar mine; 7 d' fhiachaibh ar in tìr leith in bhidh phàidhedh, ceithri sgillingi 'sa meadar eo n-a mhin; 7 breith in mharasgail 7 in bhuanna do phàidhedh 'sa leith eile do'n bhiadh 'san àit nach ffuighther in biadh 'n a bhiadh fèin. Cead caoiedhisi, ò lò a fhasta amach, ag an buanna chom a bhidh do thògbhail, 7 è ag caithemh ar a aimsir in chaoiedhis sin; 7 da ffanadh se on chaoiedhis sin amach, leth choroin mar chàin ag an tighearna air gach èn là bhias se amoigh.

* *Fhosdus.*—The verb *fosdadh* or *fostadh*, is still the common word employed throughout Ireland, for "to hire" a servant. The Ulster pronunciation of the word, however, is *fasta*: which leads us at once to the root, viz., the Scandinavian and Gothic *fast*, "firm," the same as the English *fast*: so that the Irish *fasta*, or *fostadh*, would literally mean "to fasten," to "bind fast." The same root is found, with various modifications, in all the Teutonic languages: Anglo-Saxon, *fast*, German, *fest*, Dutch and Flemish, *vast*, Frisian, *fest*. That the word was applied by the Northmen to the making of contracts, is proved by the old name for a particular kind of marriage-contract among the ancient Danes. Ihre says: (*Glossar. Suio-Goth.—voce.* "Hand-festing:")—*Handfesting*, promissio quæ fit stipulata manu, sive cives fidem suam principi spondeant, sive mutuam inter se matrimonium inituri, à phrasi *fasta hand*, quæ notat dextram dextræ jungere." This custom also prevailed in some parts of Scotland. Pennant, in his *Tour*, alludes to it under the same name: and says that in Eskdale, about a century before he wrote, "unmarried persons made the engagement by joining hands, and living together for a year: after which time, if either party dissented, the engagement was void." He says this curious custom seems to have originated from the want of clergy, in some districts, at the time of the Reformation. Martin, in his *Western Islands of Scotland*, mentions the same practice as having existed in the Highlands.

The word is still used in the original sense in some parts of England. At Holderness, servants are engaged once a year in the market-places of Hedon and Patrington, and a small sum is given, by way of earnest, to each servant hired, and is called the *Fest*. In Scotch, "to *festyn*" signifies "to enter into a legal engagement that one person should work under another."

We still preserve in English the idea of *fastening*, in the phrase "to *bind* an apprentice." It is worth noting, too, that the same idea, expressed by another word of cognate meaning, is found in the Italian *ferma*, "the period for which a servant is hired:" from *fermo*, "firm, fast," (Latin *firmus*.) Is it not likely that our word "to *farm*," i.e., to let out on certain conditions, may come from this root, although other derivations have been proposed? The French have *ferme*, "a farm," and *affermer* "to let or to hire a farm."

It is likely, therefore, that the word *fostadh* or *fasta*, is a word borrowed by the Irish from some other language, and most probably introduced by the Northmen. That it is not an original Gaelic root is proved by its standing alone in the language, without derivatives. Both the word, and the custom of hiring servants or soldiers for a fixed period, may have been introduced together at the time of the Danish conquest. In the present document we have several examples of military terms, evidently borrowed, viz., *constabla*, "constable," *marusgal*, "marshal," and *paidh*, "pay:" just as in English we have borrowed from other languages most of our terms relating to warfare, such as *infantry*, *cavalry*, *artillery*, *colonel*, *musket*, *bayonet*, &c.

The complete correspondence of the Ulster form, *fasta*, with the Scandinavian, is an example, in addition to many given in Dr. O'Donovan's *Irish Grammar*, of the ancient pronunciation of words being preserved in the North of Ireland. [Edit. U. J. A.]

† *Buannadha.*—The word *buanachas* is still met with in the traditions of the Scottish Highlands, for "free quarters for soldiers." [Edit. U. J. A.

Muna diolaidh in t-ìocaidhe in biadh leis in bhuanna fo chionn na caoicdhisi sin, d' fhiachaibh ar in ìocaidhe in biadh d' iomchar gus in àit a m-biaidh in buanna a ffoslongphort. D' fhiachaibh ar in chonstabla ced beith ceathrar is ceithri xx. ar a g-cossaiph, 7 d' fholmhughadh sè fir dèc; 7 is è ceal a d-teidh in fholmhughadh sin, cuid deichneamhair ag constabla in ched de, 7 cuid cuigir ag marasgal in tìre fèin, 7 cuid fir ag galloglach tighearna. D' fhiachaibh ar in tighearna fo bhrigh a chonsiais 7 a thighearnuis gach nì de so do chomall do'n bhuanna, 7 gach maith is mo bhus èidir leiss do dhenamh do'n bhuanna in a chàilidhecht fèin: 7 in chèd oidhchi rachus in buanna ar a bhiadh, è do bheith ag caithemh ar fèin in oidhchi sin; 7 madh è in t-ìocaidhe bhus ciontach fa gan diolaidhecht do dhenamh leis in bhuanna 'sa chèd lò go n-oidchi, a bhiadh ar in ìocaidhe in feadh chuinncochus se è; 7 a chuid fèin iomlàn leis in bhuanna ag imthecht dò, leth moigh do bhiadh in chèd laoi go n-oidchi ò ghephus in buanna a bhiadh.

Gach àit a ttiocfaidh cassaoid air fa aidhighecht no fa aindeoin, galuin ime mar chàin na h-oidchi sin ar gach cùiger da ttuillfe cassaoid do dhenamh orra do na buannadhaibh.

Is iad na fiacha ata ar m-buanna as so. Ar tùss, fo bhrigh a choinsiais 7 a anma a bheith diles, tairisi, gradhach, umhal, urramach, d'a thighearna, 7 a fhreagra gach uile uair iarrfus se è, 7 dul leiss do lò 7 d' oidhchi in gach àit a n-iarrfaidh se è, acht nach g-cuirionn O'Nèill d'fhiachaibh ar bhuanna baile d'innsaigh acht do rèir a thoile fèin; 7 in buanna do bheith a ffoslongphort gach fad iarrfus a thighearna air è, leth amoigh do'n chaoicdhis tugudh dò chom a bhidh do thògbhàil; 7 da n-iarraidh in tighearna taispena dà uair 'sa sechtmhain ar in m-buanna, sin do thabhairt dò, 7 leth-choroin mar chàin ag in tighearna ar gach fer nach ffuighther do lathair do na saighdiuribh gach èn là dioph sin. D'fhiachaibh ar in m-buanna gan geall ar bith do ghlacadh a ffoslongphort no a ttir a thighearna, acht re marasgal do bheith aige; 7 da n-dearnadh, tuitim ar in agra; 7 mar in g-cedna gan geall do dhenamh ar in m-buanna acht re marasgal do bheith do lathair; 7 da g-cuiredh buanna a n-aghaidh marasgail a thighearna, a bhreith fèin do chàin ag in tighearna air in m-buanna. Gach cùis imresna no aimhreidhtigh theigemhus eidir tighearna in tìre no in tìr fèin 7 buanna, breith in dà mharasgal do bheith ann sin; d'fhiachaibh ar in m-buanna gan urchòid do dhenamh d'én duine ar gach taopha de gan chead spècialta a thighearna.

Gach creach dhenus in tighearna 7 in buanna, trian na g-creach do na buannadhaibh 7 dà d-trian ag an tighearna. Gach each maith 7 gach lùirech bheanfaidher amach, do bheith ag an tighearna. Gach bràighe èifechtach, assa ffuighther sithchàin no comh-aiscag braghda, do bheith ag an tighearna: 7 in tighearna do thabhairt luach saothair iomchubhaidh don bhuanna do rèir toile in tighearna: 7 gach bràighe ghebhus in buanna as a ffuighther fuasughadh, trian in fhuasluicthe ag an bhuanna, 7 dà trian ag an tighearna.

D'fhiachaibh ar in m-buanna bardaii lòi, 7 faire leaptha oidhchi, 7 ceithernn aradha do thabhairt d'a thighearna fo bhrigh càna.

Atà O'Neill ag a fhògra do Thadhg O'Ruaire 7 do gach buannadhaibh rachus 'sa Mumhain, anmhain 'sa staid-si le maithibh Mumhain, fa phèin gan èn là do mhaith na d'fhògar I Nèill no I Domhnaill d'fhaghail go brath; acht gach uile bhuanna do rachaidh tar in ffoirm-si do bheith fuagartha ò Ua Nèill 7 ò Ua Domhnaill, ionnamhail 7 do buì Diarmeit O'Conchubhair go fflaghthaoi a chenn re a bhuain de.

A n-Dun-geanain, 2, Februarii, 1601. O'Neill.

Cotemporaneous Translation of the foregoing.

THE ORDER AND MANNER HOW O'NEILL DOTH CESSE HIS BOWNIES. FEB. 1601.

In the name of God.[c] This is the order and manner of O'Neyle his interteyning[d] of Bwonaghs. First, he allowith to the company of souldiers[e] entertaynement quarterlie 100 pounds ster., and XX pounds every halfe yeare by name of a rewarde, tearmed in Irish *wasly;*[f] and the same rewarde to be payed to the Bwonagh the first quarter; and if it chance the Bwonagh [wish] not to remayne and serve out his full quarter, then he is to make restitution of[g] the rewarde. But if the Lo. should refuse to contynue the Bwonagh in his service during the full quarter,[h] then the Bwonagh to enjoy the rewarde without restitution. The enterteynment is thus payd: where money wanteth, there the milche, or-in-calfe cowe to be receyved for payment acording the price it bears betwixt the tennants and husbands of the country. The armor and clothes to run at such rates as the Marshall shall sett downe. The victuayles quarterly, to be xxiv. meaders of butter of Linster gallon measure,[i] and [ ] skore meaders of meale; the country bound to pay the one halfe of the victuails in victuails itself, and for the other halfe to deliver the Bwonagh certain allowance of pay in lieu of every meader that shall be wanting of halfe the victuayles; the Bwonagh to receyve four shillings with the meale, and for the other halfe, where no victuayles is to be had, the allowance of payment for the same to be according as the Marshall and Bwonagh will consultingly agree upon. The Bwonagh to have a fortenight respite from the day of his entry to levie and collect his victuayles, that fortenight to be acompted of the quarter; and if he should spend longer time in staiing abroade, then for every day of his absence he to be answerable in a fyne of halfe crowne p^r. diem to his Lo.

[c] *In the name of God.* [*A n-ainm Dia.*]—This form, which is still in use, should be *i n-ainm Dé*, according to strict grammar.

[d] *Interteyning.*—literally: "this is how O'Neill retains or hires bonoghts."

[e] *The company of soldiers.* [*Don chéd saighdiuir.*] literally "to a hundred soldiers." The translator regarded one hundred soldiers as forming "*a company.*"

[f] *Wasly.* [*uaisle.*] i.e. bounty, literally the gentility or nobility.

[g] *Restitution.*—Literally, "should the Bwanna disappear [illegible] not [illegible] with him the second quarter [illegible] bounty is to be returned to the lord."

[h] *The full quarter.*—This translation is incorrect, and shows that it was hurriedly done. It should be—"and if it be the lord that refuses the Bwanna with respect to not retaining him the second quarter, the Bwanna is to have [keep] the bounty."

[i] *Leinster Gallon.* [*do thomhus galuin na loinne.*]—The translation is here decidedly incorrect. If it meant "Leinster measure," it would be "*do thomhus galuin na Laighneach.*" *Galun na loinne* was evidently some Ulster technical term which Doyne, Crosby, or Fox, who were Leinster-men, did not understand.

If within that fortnight's space the tennante or husbande on whom the victuayles are allotted do not pay the same to the Bwonagh, that then from hence forth that he be bound to bring the same at his own cost and charge unto him wheresoever he lies in campe. The captain of a hundreth is to have by the poll for the hundreth four score and four,[j] and is allowed xvi. dead pays, whereof he himself is to have ten, the Marshall of the country five, and the Lord's gallowglas one. The Lord upon his conscience and honour not to withhold anything of his due from the Bwonagh, but acording his degree and qualitie to do the best he can for his good. The first day the Bwonagh is enterteyned he is for that day and night to live at his own charges; and if the tennant or husband, on whom the victuaills are allotted, through their default keep the Bwonagh from receyving his victuaills the first day of service, then the Bwonagh during the tyme he is so stayed to be at the tennant's own charges; and upon his departure to receive the full allowance sett down for him at first, except the first day and night's victuaills.

After the Bwonagh has receyved notice where he is to receyve his victuaills, and is by delayes dryven to complayne for not having it, a fyne of a gallon of butter by the night to be imposed uppon every five, that by reason of delaye gives the Bwonaght cause of complaint.

The Bwonagh in consideration hereof, upon his conscience and soule, is to be faithfull, trustie, loving, humble, and obedient to his Lo., and to be answerable and at his command at all times he doeth require him, and to go with him by day and by night into all places whereunto he will require him O'Neil would not[k] that the Bwonagh should geve attempt or go to any towne without his Lord's direction, but lye still in camp so long as his Lord directs him so to do, except for the fortnight that he is to collect his victuaylls. If the Lo. would twice every week take view or muster of the Bwonagh, he is to give him the same; and for every souldier deficient, or that shall not be present at the muster, halfe a crowne in name of a fyne. The Bwonagh not to distreyne in his Lord's country or camp without the Marshall; and if he should, his challenge to be void: and also no distresse to be taken of the Bwonagh except the Marshall be present to do it. If the Bwonagh should refuse or resist the Lord's Marshall, then he to be fined according to the Lord's discrecion; and the Bwonagh to do no hurt or damage any where without speycial direction of his Lord.

What preyes shall be taken by the Lord and the Bwonaghs, the third parte thereof to the Bwonagh, the rest to the Lo. Every good horse or shirt of mayle that shall be taken, to be the Lord's. Every prisoner by whom either peace may be had or other prisoner delivered in exchange, to be the Lord's; and the Lord to give the Bwonagh a competent reward in consideration thereof according

[j] *For the hundreth four score and four.*—Literally, "the constable of one hundred men is bound to have eighty-four men *on their legs*, instead of the full hundred [in poll] and he is to have sixteen pays: and the manner in which this allowance goes is, ten to the constable of one hundred himself, five to the marshall of the country, and one to the Lord's Galloglass."

[k] *O'Neill would not.*—This translation is not very faithful. It should be—"But O'Neill does not impose it as an obligation upon any Bwonagh to attack any town but according to his own will; and the Bwonagh is to be in the camp as long as his lord shall require it of him, except the fortnight given him to raise his food."

to his discreation. Every prisoner taken by the Bwonagh of whom ransom may be had, the third part of the ransom to the Bwonagh, the rest to the Lord; to be given uppon payne of a fyne.

[The Bwonagh[1] to be bound to ward by day and watch the bed by night; and to afford the service of *cethernus aradhna,* (i.e., to attend to the horses, to clean, polish, and repair their bridles, trappings, &c.,) to his Lord on pain of fine.]

[O'Neill is giving warning to Teige O'Rourke and to all the Bwonaghs who will go into Munster, to remain in this state with the chiefs of Munster, under penalty of never having one day of the benefit of the favour of O'Neill or of O'Donnell for ever; but every Bonagh who transgresses this order shall be proclaimed by O'Neill and O'Donnell in like manner as was Dermot O'Conor, who had his head struck off.]

At Dungannon, 2 February, 1601. O'NEILL.

No. II.

1601. Dec. 5.—To the R[t]. Hon: Sir Robert Cecyll, K[t]., Principal Secretary to her Majestye, and one of the wardes and liveries.

Rt. Hon,—I have somewhat longe put off to wryte to your Honor to see what wold ensue in these parts, after the passinge of the Irishe forces into Mounster, and how the Ulstermen wold behave themselves in the absence of Tyrone, for it was likely, that out of this two, would grow some matter of advertisement, seeing both had their severall expectations; and yet I finde nothing worthie the cause of a letter in their passage through Leinster, save that O'Donnell, in his tract, and Tyrone following after, used all the means they cold to worke the Irishre royalists to their side, but have reduced none of reckoning, for anything yet discovered: onely they both made havocke of some countreys, as a revenge to the loyalists that refused to rise with them. But for my parte, notwithstanding their Irish formalities, I hold few of them absolutely sound, if a time come to fit them to declare themselves, for they all await inwardly for a stroke to be stroken by either, with or against us in Munster; according to which they will carry their course. Touching Ulster, Tyrone having established his eldest son Hugh in the government of the country, with the name and style of O'Neile in his absence, amongst other lessons he left with him, charged him to attempt somethinge in his beginninge worthie of so great a name; wherein the more to enable him, he left him some Spanish coyne, to raise men and buy horses and arms, and all to distresse the English pale; admonishinge him not to meddle with the garrison of Loughfoile, and the rest, for that, he said, it were but to lose his labour and time: other directions he recommended to him, but of lesse consequence, for that they consisted more in ceremony than in matter. As that good agreement should be between him and

1 *The Bonagh.*—These two paragraphs are left untranslated by the interpreter. A detailed account of the killing of this Dermot son of Dubhal-tach, son of Tuathal O'Conor, on the 24th Oct., 1600, is given by the *Four Masters*, A.D. 1600, p. 2185, and in *Pacata Hibernia*, Book I., c. 17. He was beheaded by Theobald Bourke, surnamed "*na long.*" Carew remarks:—"Her Majesty's honour was blemished, and the service hindered, by this malitious and hateful murther." According to the tradition in the country, Theobald Bourke was afterwards murdered by Dermot O'Connor's idiot brother, at the instigation of his sister.

Cormock, [Tyrone's brother] to whom the archtraytors vowed in the presence of sundry the followers, that before his return he would put in venture to win or lose all Ireland. That his aim in all his enterprises should communicate chiefly with Patrick Mac Art Moyle M^c^Maghone, and be most governed by his advice. That he should entertaine Cormocke, but in a remote degree of trust, and not to use him inwardly, a matter which Cormock stomachethe (as I am written unto) and will not come to his younge pretended Rebell prince, since Tyrone went. Lastly, he acquainted some of his followers how much he was troubled with a prophecy that he should lose his life in this action of Munster; and yet, saith he, the feare of such a destiny shall not make me falsifie my promise given to so great a king as the king of Spaine. Many other particulars of this nature passed from him at leave-takinge—which, though they carry no great consideration, yet they are not altogether to be silenced, for that they have their observations. Touching the proceedings of their Irish forces since their coming into Munster, and what accidents have happened either to or from them, we have nothing here of certainty, but depend on the L. Deputy's advertisement, from whom the State hath received no advice since the 16th of last month; at which time her Majesty's shippers were arrived before Kinsale; but for the doings of the campe, I received only this letter enclosed yesternight, from an honest plain intelligencer [informer] whom I have long used in the discovery of the Spanish designs: he is now at the campe, and such matter as he hath written I send herewith to your Honor, the man being more simple and zealous than fine or judicious. God blesse the army, for that in the well or evil speedinge thereof resteth the good or bad state of this kingdom; and yet, considering the royal means which her Majesty hath sent hither, I do not (according to human reason) see how the disaster should fall on our side, especially if the action of Kinsale be dispatched before the coming of their seconds out of Spaine.—And so for this time I most humblie take my leave.—In great haste at Dublin.—4 December, 1601.—Your Honor's ever most humbly at commandment,

G. H. FENTON.

THE BRUCES IN IRELAND.

(Concluded from Vol. 5, page 136.)

The last portion of our memoir of the military adventures of the Bruces in Ireland left the royal brothers in Carrickfergus, after their rapid and ineffectual inroad through the centre of the island; and found their opponent, Roger Mortimer, the celebrated Earl of March, at the head of a strong English and native force, stationed in Dublin. The King of Scots had been foiled in his rush upon the Irish capital, by the sudden capture of his father-in-law, the Earl of Ulster, by the resolute citizens: but he and his gallant brother were too completely masters of the North for Mortimer to venture on attacking them there. Still, there was nothing that could then be achieved worthy of the Lion of Scotland, who presently retired, like a baffled king of beasts of prey, back to his own half-desert kingdom. The flower of the Englishry of Ulster were either slain, or had fled, or were prisoners, or perishing of hunger. Some few that remained rallied under the leading of their hereditary seneschal, Lord Savage; but were utterly routed near the "city of the bridge," (Coleraine,) and many more were chased out of the province.[a] Rapine and ravage on all sides, and the consequent suspension of agriculture during more than two years, now aggravated the terrors of war into their climax of absolute famine. Numbers living in slavery under Bruce starved to death, after having been reduced to the horrible extremity of devouring human corpses.[b] The summer season of 1318 was remarkable for an extraordinary dearth which was felt throughout the British islands, lasting from April until autumn, and causing innumerable deaths.[c] In the English Pale, wheat sold at the enormous rate of 23s. a *cronoc*, containing four gallons.[d] Friar Clyn, the Kilkenny chronicler, who may himself have seen the smoke of Robert Bruce's conflagrations wafted over the city of St. Canice, dwells upon the extremity of famine which in that year swept off multitudes.

Peace being somewhat restored in the Pale, it was high time for vengeance on some of the treasonable Anglo-Irish. Viceroy Mortimer, indignant at the conduct of his rebellious vassals, the Lacys, summoned them before him; and, on their refusal to obey, sent troops into their country, which was laid waste, many of their men were slain, and all their "nation and cognomen" driven into Connaught, excepting Sir Walter Lacy, who is said to have fled to Carrickfergus to seek aid from

a Clyn.
b Campion.
c Clyn, and the Annals of Ross.
d Dowling.

Bruce. John Lacy was taken, and pressed to death in a dungeon in the citadel of Trim, by sentence of Mortimer. The traitorous assistance given by this family to the invaders was long unsuspected, having been concealed under specious acts of loyal service; for lords Hugh and Walter Lacy were included in the king's letter, dated 28th April, 1317, of thanks to many of the Anglo-Irish nobility for their services against the Scots: but, on the 20th July, the treason of the Lacys having been discovered, they were proclaimed "seductores et felones Domini Regis, quia vexillum tulerunt contra pacem Domini Regis Angliæ:" their persons were proscribed, and their estates forfeited. A contemporary chronicler states that they fled into Scotland; and it appears that four of this family, Hugh, Walter, Robert, and Amory, were in the ranks of Edward Bruce's army at the final battle, near Dundalk.

Taking in hand again Archdeacon Barbour's metrical history of Robert I., King of Scotland, let us read the close of his episodiac narrative of the Bruces' military enterprise in Ireland. Even in the rude archaic verses of the old poet the story reads like a romance. That the Scottish nation, although exhausted by a long and sanguinary contest with England, sent out considerable bands of their bravest defenders to attempt to wrest a great country from subjection to the English, an invasion which was almost certain to renew hostilities against their own country, is one of the many historic proofs of the adventurous intrepidity of their national character. Our archæologic readers cannot but have been pleased with the few passages we have extracted from the archdeacon's curious poem. This almost first fruit of Scottish poetic genius contains, indeed, many a germ of genuine poetry; and although the archdeacon, venerable in rank, was almost so in years at the time he wrote, he describes battle-fields and various stirring incidents with much spirit; and, besides giving numerous traits of manners, is by no means deficient in humour, nor in that which, truly, is more to be admired, heroic sentiment, and pathetic and devotional feeling.

Our poetic narrator, notwithstanding his previous reflections on the unstable allegiance of the "Irsche kings" to "Schyr Edward, that thair king callit thai," declares that "he was now weill set in gud way to conquer the land halyly; for he had upon his party the Irschery and Ullyster," (meaning the revolted Englishry of the province,) and that he would have gained a kingdom had he been able to govern himself; but that he could not restrain his "outrageous surquedry," *(surcuidance*, or presumption.) Seeing that "Schyr Edward had all the Irschery at bidding," the monarch of Scotland, whose presence was required in his own realm, "buskit hame," leaving, however, the greater number of his hardiest and most chivalrous men to support his brother:— his reason for leaving him to carry on the enterprise being apparently that, while the spirit of the younger brother was hopeful, prudence governed that of the heroic and successful king of Scots; who, being convinced, (as it has been judiciously remarked by the national historian of Ireland,) of the hopelessness of attempting to build up a durable monarchy out of materials so incongruous as the state of this country then afforded, was yet willing that his more sanguine brother should continue to prosecute a war which served to divert the forces of England and Ireland from again attempting to subvert his own newly raised throne

The "King of Irland" remained inactive for some half a year, not venturing forth from the North; until at last, "he that rest annoyit ay, and wuld in travail be alway"—"took hys way," despite good counsellors, "southwart too far." Yet in point of fact the invaders were compelled by the severity of the famine to make a descent into unwasted lands—an actuating motive beneath the dignity of history, but not unnoticed in the metrical romance. The force which the bold leader could rely on was inconsiderable :—

> "For he had not then in that land
> Of all men I trow, two thousand,
> Owtane" (except) "the kings of Irschery,
> That in gret routs raid him by,
> Towart Dundalk he tuk the way."

Our poet's estimate of the muster that opposed this irruption may be contrasted with that of native annalists, and then pardoned as a superlative exaggeration, introduced for the purpose of making the scene close with befitting grandeur on the second hero of his poem. When the viceroy, he says, heard that the Scots again threatened the Pale, he assembled "of all Irland of armit men" to the number "of trappit horse 20,000," and an equal amount of pedestrian militants; and, with this splendid army, "held forth northward on his way." Even this formidable array did not daunt Edward Bruce, who audaciously exclaimed he would give battle were the foe six-fold more numerous! In vain did Lords Stewart and Mowbray entreat him to wait until an expected reinforcement came up. The "full tendre counsaill" of the Irish kings was equally disregarded. These chiefs briefly reminded him of the accustomed tactics of the Gael, whose flight, as of light horse, archers, and javelin-men, was more formidable (as has also been said of the Parthians) than their attack; besides often drawing their pursuers into dangerous defiles :—

> "Our maner of this land
> Is to folow and fycht, and fycht fleand :
> And not to stand in plane mellè
> Quhill the'a part discomfyt be."

Their imperious "king" replied by telling them to draw their men aside and look on! Their remonstrances and assistance being thus despised, it is not surprising if these chieftains withdrew, and actually did stand aloof, as Barbour declares they did, with their forces, which amounted to "20,000 men." Magnifying all numbers, except those of his own brave countrymen, the bard proceeds to tell how Bruce set his men, "that war not fully twa thousand," in order of battle "stalwartly to stand against 40,000 and ma." The numbers that fought and fell in the action are variously stated. The Scottish force is estimated at 3,000 men in the ancient MS. *Book of Howth*, a compilation in which their numbers would not be underrated. The amount of the opposing array is not mentioned: but Marlebrugh gives it as only 1324; the force being in truth little more than a hasty muster of the armed men of the invaded northern Pale. Several curious and unpublished legendary particulars of the long-remembered battle that ensued are related in the above-mentioned old MS., and as they are credible enough, may be here given.*

* From a transcript in MS. Add. Brit. Mus. 4789.

"At St. Calestis is day, being on Saterday, their a batell was appointed betweene the Scotts and the Englishmen of Ireland, which Englishmen encamped themselves within two miles of the town of Dundalk. Unto the which battaille came owt of Scotland, Edward Bruce, and said that he was King of Ireland; and in his company lord Philip Mowbray, lord Walter de Sulis, lord Alan Steyward, with his three brothers; lord Walter de Lacy, lord Hugh de Lacy, lords Robert and Amorey de Lacy, John Gerondine, Walter White, and to the number of 3,000. At this tyme the counsaille of the realme were of severall opinions who should have the cheftainess of the English; diverse misfortunes of battaille was reputed to diverse of the nobilitie, and a long time this was debated; and at length, Alexander Bignor, lord justice, said as followeth: 'By reison of this infirmitie that of late hath taken me, my ability serveth not in this worthie enterprize to take in hand; theirfor you shall understand what I think best, and what he is that I would wishe to take uppon him this worthie and serviceable service, whereuppon the honnor of our Prince, and the duritie of this realme resteth uppon. Here is among others, lord John Bremingham, a man of great corage, stallworthines, practised and apte in warrs, wise, of a good condition, sober and circumspect, and will doo that may be done, and that cannot be, he will not; therefore I thinke him meete to be cheftaine of this battaile; and tho my predecessors did not well like of him, by reason of evill dishonest counsaillors, more of malice then zeale of justice did informe and impute under my predecessor much inconvenience that of him did insue, or it were by reason that my predecessor could not so easily come by certaine of his desyred purposes, in case the foresaid lord John Bremingham had the place or maisterie of his aunceestors, by reson whereof the said lord John Bremingham was put by till now in my tyme. I thought him as meete to be of this counsale as anie of his aunceestors hath beene, and, as the report is, no man worthier in the realme without comparison, tho yt be odius to those that doeth malinge this same as they did before this tyme past. And another great cause moveth me to have the better liking in the said John Bremingham, that all the tyme of this malitius purpose and doinge, he was contented as well to be absent as to be in presse among the hiest. Then he perswaded the magistrates throwe his countenance, and alwaies he answered this his friend with fault found thereat; which in this manner, that he was most beholding and bound to such a lord that purchast to him so much rest and quietnes, and to make suit for my auncestor's place and roome I meane it not, for that belongs to other men's estate that alwaies is desirous to clame for strangnes where they nor ther's never was. And for me, when that tyme do serve that I shall be in my present state, I shall not think yt strange that was to me of right, considering the premises, and much more which I think it this tyme tedious to trouble your lordships withall: therefore I do condiscend and thinke yt good that he be head and governor of this worthie purpose.' Whereunto all that there was did agree and consent thereunto.

"The Scots preparing to the battaile afore premised, and the daie appointed, the English host came to south Dundalk and camped.

"The daie before the battaile, lord John Bremingham, the chieftain of the English battaile, was

desirous to see Bruce, the Scots captaine, and apparailed himself in a frier's weed, and came to Bruce, being on his knees at Masse, and his booke of devocion before him, and asked his almes. Bruce, being occupied with his book, did not make answere, nor did not hold upp his head; the other being desirous of his desired purpose, never gave over of craving; Bruce looked upp and said to those that stood by:—'Serve this sawse and importunat frier with somewhat, he doeth disturbe me in my servis.'—'And ever so dooth I meane, unlesse I have my desired purpose:'—and so departed. After Masse was done, said Bruce, 'I pray you, sirs, where is this bold frier that hath thus disturbed me, for I swere to you since I saw his face my hart was not in quiet.' This frier was sought for, and could not be found. 'No?' said Bruce, 'cannot he be had? my hart telleth me that this frier is Bremingham. Well!' said Bruce, 'we shall meete ere; whereas he shall receive a bitter rewarde; but it was evell done to suffer him to depart, for then wee easily should winne that which great travail is doubtfull to get.'

"When the battaille was set and redie on both sides to have fought, lord John Bremingham said these words:—'My followers and frendes, you shall understand this; in this hope of battaile it is necessarie to be remembered, forst the cause of the battaile, which on our side is right for us to defend our countreye, for so sayth the Bibill we may; the second is wee are fresh and lustie souldiers, not weried in the warre withe travaile and pesterus spoils, covetinge nothing but to mayenten that that is our land, goods, and frends, not desirous of no man's else; wee are to serve a worthie prince our king and maister, which if wee do well not this former talke only to keep and win, but wee shall receive such reward that all our frends shall rejoice the rest. Nowe, valliant stomacks! set forward in the name of God and our King!'

"All the while that the battaile was a fighting lord Bremingham was riding from one company to another comforting them, and helping those that were in necessitie, with a chosen company of men that was about him in that fight. Wone lord Alanus Steward did the like as John Bremingham did, which Bremingham saw, and mett both together and fought terrably; and at length he slewe the Scots lord, and then the Scots fled. Against whom Englishmen came, the said lord Bremingham, that was chosen captain in the field, lord Richard Tute, lord Myles Verdon, Hue Trepentoun, lord Herbert de Sutton, lord John Cusake, lords Edmond and William Bremingham, and the prymat of Ardmagh, which did absolve them all, lord Walter de la Pull, and to the number of xx armed and chosen out of Drogheda, with whom came John Mapas, manfullie did kill the said Bruce verie honorable, whose bodie was found deade lieing upon the bodie of Bruce. The Scots were slain to the nomber of 1230, and very fewe of them did escape. This battaile was fought betweene Dondalk and Faghard, and the said lord Bremingham tooke Edward Bruce is head unto ye King of England, for the which he was promised the erldome of Louth, and had the baronie of Atri-Dei given to him and to his heirs. And the said Edward, his armes, quarters, and hart was sent to Dublin, and other men's quarters sent to other places."

In the persuasion that the fall of King Edward Bruce would decide the fate of the day, and ter-

minate his ambitious invasion, the Anglo-Irish leader, Sir John Bermingham, determined, as we have seen, to single him out in the forthcoming *melée,* in the hope of ending a long and destructive war by the might of his own arm; and, as the person of Bruce was unknown to him, on coming up to the Scottish forces, he instantly risked his life to see their leader, so as to be able to recognise him in the field either by his features or by his armour. Disguising himself as a friar, the resolute champion passed into the enemy's camp, and, finding Bruce on his knees, bending devoutly over his mass-book, by repeatedly craving alms made him look up. Bruce ordered his attendants to relieve the importunate monk. But the bent and stern regard of the visitor had "disquieted the heart" of Bruce; and, as soon as Mass was over, he caused search to be made for him, but in vain. This romantic anecdote is somewhat borne out by a passage in the poetic narrative, showing that Bruce was aware he was marked out for death in the coming fray; for—

> "Schyr Eduuard that day wold not ta
> Hys cot armour: bot Gib Harper
> * * * * had on that day
> All hale Schyr Eduuard's aray."

To ensure his safety further, Lord Alan Stewart acted as general of the field. After a hard contest, the Anglo-Irish Knight, apparently believing that this prominent commander was the veritable "Richard," pressed forward to encounter him, and, in a combat in which both "fought terrably," at length slew the Scottish lord, on whose fall his countrymen turned and fled. According to the Howth chronicle, their loss, few escaping, was 1,230 men. Walsingham's statement is 26 knights bannerets, and 5,800 men; a number increased by Marlburgh to 8,274. There is no account of the loss on the side of the victors. So few of the Anglo-Irish chivalry were present, that the day was declared to have been gained, as at Crecy and Poitiers, by the gallantry of the yeomanry alone, or, in the words of an ancient record, "by the hands of the common people," to which is reverentially subjoined "*et dextram Dei!*" This decisive action was fought on Sunday morning, the 14th October, 1318. According to Barbour, the Anglo-Irish forces made a rapid charge upon the Scots, of whom the most valiant, the flower of the little band, that stood firm, were quickly hewn down, "and the remnand fled till the Irische to succour." Of slain, he only mentions Bruce, Stewart, and Soulis. Pembridge mentions that Hugh and Walter Lacy were slain: but it is certain that they escaped, and that the former was afterwards pardoned.[e] The ancient annals of Ross state that the battle was won by John Bermingham, "et alios illius patriæ." Davy's says, in his *Discoverie,* that "Bermingham, Verdon, Turpilton, and some other private gentlemen, rose out with the commons of Meth and Uriell; and at Fagher, a fatall place to the enemies of the crowne of England,[f] overthrew a potent army" of invaders. "Et sic," (he continues, quoting from the Red Book of the

[e] Grace.

[f] The "Faughard" is an artificial mound, raised to the height of sixty feet.—Wright's *Louthiana.* Sir John Davys alludes to the circumstance that Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, had been overthrown in a decisive battle at this place, which, being on the frontier of Ulster, and at the gorge of the difficult passage into the North, was the scene of frequent engagements.

Exchequer,) "per manus communis populi, et dextram Dei, deliberatur populus Dei à servitute machinata et praecogitata."

The fall of Edward Bruce in this battle, on which so much depended, is historically ascribed to the devoted bravery of "Sir John Mapas," who, however, was only an humble but valiant yeoman, and of whom there is a legend that he had entered the Scottish camp in the guise of a juggler, probably from the same motive that influenced Sir John Bermingham. Bruce was evidently aware of an intention to single him out in fight, and had therefore used the precaution of not wearing his own armour; the "whole array" of which, as we have seen, as stated by the poet, was donned by his trusty henchman, Gilbert Harper. Our authority goes on to say :—

> After the battle was o'er,
> They" (the victors) "soucht Schyr Eduuard, to get hys heid,
> Amang the folk that thar was deid,
> And fand Gib Harper in hys ger," (gear)
> "Thai strak hys heid off, and syne it
> Thai haff gert salt into a kist;
> And sent it intill Ingland,
> Till the King Eduuard in presand.
> Johne Maupas till the King had it;
> And he resavit it in daynté:
> Rycht blyth off that present was he"

But this assertion, that the Englishry took the henchman's head for his master's, is, doubtless, false. Both Mapas and Bermingham seem to have entered the enemy's camp for the purpose of seeing the man whose fall would end the war, in order to be able to identify him in battle; and, besides these precautions, the features of a man so eminent and remarkable must have been well known. It is noticeable that the poet speaks of John Maupas as having carried off the slain man's head in triumph; because it proves there was a Scottish tradition that this individual was the actual slayer, agreeing with all Irish legends. Our own historian, Moore, thus describes the Curtius-like deed :—

"Under the persuasion that the death of Bruce himself would give victory at once to the English, John Maupas, a brave Anglo-Irish knight, rushed devotedly into the enemy's ranks, to accomplish that object: and when, after the battle, the body of Bruce was discovered, that of John Maupas was found lying stretched across it."

An Anglo-Gaelic chronicler, Thady Dowling, mars the romance of the event by his account;—he calls the chivalrous hero "Mappas," and says he was a butcher, who was one of the party that marched up from Dublin; adding "Mappas, a jugler, knocked him" (Bruce) "with two bullets in a bagg, and killed him," for which service Edward II. conferred four pales of land on him and his heirs. We disbelieve the vulgar legend that Mapas was either a butcher or a juggler. A similar story makes Hussey, baron of Galtrim, who distinguished himself at Athenry, a butcher also. According to the *Book of Howth*, a superior authority, "John Mapas" was one of the Drogheda contingent. There can be little doubt that the ancient Anglo-Irish family of "Mape," of "Mape-

rath," in the shire of Meath, was descended from this distinguished slayer of Edward Bruce. The heiress of John Mapas, Esq., of Rochestown, county Dublin, was married to the late Richard Wogan Talbot, Esq., of Malahide.

Some threads of antiquarian information respecting this important battle may now be spun together. Edward Bruce, who was as rash as he was brave, is declared to have given battle against all advice, whether of native allies, or of his best officers. "He was slayne by his own wilfulness, that wold not tary for his ful company, that were almost at hand."[g] The annals of Clonmacnois, compiled by Gaelic writers, give, remarkably enough, the real feelings of the Irish people with respect to this event:—

"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, the 14th of October, 1318, together with MacRowric, king of the Islands, and MacDonnel, prince of the Irish" (Gaels) "of Scotland, with many other Scottishmen. Edward Bruise seeing the enemies 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 kingdome in generall, 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 Finè Fomores out of this land, done in Ireland, than the killing of Edward Bruise; for there 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."

Manifestly, the Gael of Ireland had been by no means generally ready to succumb to and serve the sceptre-sword of the Scottish adventurer. Friar Clyn, indeed, who lived contemporaneously, writes, that during the whole time the Scots were in Ireland, they were adhered to by almost all the Irish of the land, adding "paucis valde fidem et fidelitatem servantibus." The main object of the royal brothers, in their circuitous march through the island, must have been to invite the cooperation of the native chieftains; and, perhaps, the military circuit made by "the King of Irland" was in imitation of the ancient practice, customary with Milesian monarchs, of making a "progress" through their dominions to receive the homage of provincials. Archdeacon Barbour, however, declares that of all the Irish kings that did homage to their new sovereign, he did not get but "ane or twa bargayns" among them.

The ensuing fragment, entitled "Robert Bruce's advice to the Irish," is entered in the MS. volume of collections made by the chronicler Hanmer; but seems rather to be a prose version of the

[g] Lodge's Collections, II, 547.

rhythmical military counsel bequeathed by the King of Scots to his subjects, called "Good King Robert's Testament." The system of strategy recommended is so sound and characteristic that we append a transcript of the document :—

"Robert Bruce advised them never to appoint any set battle with the English, nor to jeopard the realme upon the chance of one field; but rather resist and kepe them off from the endangering of their country, by often skirmishing and cutting them off, at straights and places of advantage, to the intent that if *the Scotts* were discumfeyted they might yet have some power reserved to make new resistance. Again, he forbad them in any wise to make peace, unless for their own turn; for naturally men were dull and slothfull by long rest; so that after long peace, through lack of use of arms, men are not able to sustain any great paynes or travail; and therefore he would have the peace but for three or four years at the most."[h]

After the defeat of Dundalk, the residue of the Scots fled back to the North, and were actually met by the troops which the King of Scotland had sent over to reinforce his brother. The whole party were frequently assailed, in their flight to Carrickfergus, by bodies of the "Irschery" that had hitherto been either neuter or hostile; yet the Scots, by keeping together, fighting some opponents, and fending off others by gifts of arms and armour, at length reached the sea-port, and sailed away. Edmond Spenser says that Lord Bermingham followed up his victory so hotly that the Scots hardly took breath, or could gather together, until they reached the sea-coast; and declares that in all the way of their return, they, "for very rancour and despight," utterly consumed and wasted whatever they had before left undestroyed; so that in all towns, castles, forts, bridges, and habitations, they left not a stick standing, nor any inhabitants, for the few which survived fled from their fury into the Pale. "Thus was all that goodly country wasted,"—says Spenser; and he then breaks into his beautiful apostrophe in praise of the beauty, richness, and advantages that nature had lavished on Ulster.

Let us now consider the effects of this famous invasion in the fourteenth century. One of the first was to elevate the power of those native dynasties of the O'Neills, to reduce which, in Elizabeth's reign, required all the available force in Ireland, backed by frequent armaments from England. Immediately after the battle near Dundalk, the clan of "Yellow-Hugh" joined the English in expelling O'Neill-*more*, (the patriotic and brave chieftain, Donnell) from his territory. He, however, soon reassumed his petty kingship, and transmitted the principality to a long line of succeeding chieftains, who grew every generation more capable of defending their country against the Saxon. Certainly, the O'Neills of Tyrone presented, in that determined defence during three centuries, no ignoble spectacle. And, when the religious sympathies of the Continent were aroused and exerted in their favour, the contest for Ulster assumed European importance. Some idea of the deadly nature of this great feud, and of the mortal antipathy that raged in the breasts of Irishmen

[h] State Paper Office, vol. I., p. 754

towards the English, may be obtained from the indignant letter addressed by Donnell O'Neill and his brother chieftains to the Roman Pontiff. The historian Thierry gives it entire; let us read the concluding passage, the *ultimatum* of the Irish Gael in their passionate address. Having expatiated upon the heavy wrongs they had sustained from the invaders, they declare their inveterate hatred, and deep resolution of revenge :—

"These grievances, added to the difference of language and of manners which exists between them and us destroy every hope of our ever enjoying peace or truce in this world; so great on their side is the desire to rule, so great on ours the legitimate and natural desire to throw off an insupportable servitude, and to recover the inheritance of our ancestors. * * Without regret or remorse, so long as we shall live, we shall fight in defence of our rights; ceasing only to combat and injure them when they themselves, through want of power, shall cease to do us evil, or when the Supreme Judge shall take vengeance on their crimes, which we firmly hope will happen sooner or later. Until then, we will, for the recovery of that independence which is our natural right, make war upon them to the death, constrained as we are thereto by necessity, and preferring to confront the peril as brave men rather than to languish amidst insult and outrage."

Commenting on this remarkable document, Thierry finds its spirit guiding the subsequent struggles of the Irish, and concludes his remarks in these words :—"This indominable pertinacity, this faculty of preserving through centuries of misery the remembrance of their lost liberty, and of never despairing of a cause always defeated, always fatal to those who have dared to defend it, is perhaps the strongest and the noblest example ever given by any nation."

The desolation of Eastern Ulster, consequent on three years' ravage and famine, permitted the Gaelic clans to reconquer the country; and, by changing the remnant of the Teutonic families, descended from the first conqueror-colonists, into subordinate septs, effected a revolution from English to Irish rule, which lasted for three centuries. After the fall of the great feudal Earl of Ulster, his barons assumed an almost complete independence. Remote from the seat of government and from England, and supported by the Hebridean Scots, the revolted lords assumed the port and habits of the Irish chieftains, and set the Crown at defiance. Similar results were produced, throughout the entire kingdom, by this shattering invasion. Those magnate peers who had recently led their ravaging legions into Scotland, were almost ruined; and, the native chiefs having been inspired to assert independence, not only were multitudes of the Gael detached from under the banners of the Anglo-Irish lords, but became such formidable enemies that those flags never floated again over Scottish soil. On the whole, this raid into Ireland by the Bruces has certainly the appearance of a daring exploit of romance, rather than of an act of sound policy; but, if we may believe that its effects were foreseen by the monarch who directed and led it, they amply prove his sagacity.

Herbert F. Hore.

It may be interesting to many of our readers to know that several branches of a family, lineally descended from that of King Robert Bruce, still exist in the North of Ireland.

King Robert Bruce was succeeded by his son David, who left no family. On his death, Sir Robert de Bruce, knight, succeeded as heir-male of the Bruces. His son Edward was the ancestor of the Rev. Robert Bruce, who crowned the Queen of James VI. of Scotland. Some curious letters to him from King James and Chancellor Maitland are printed in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, communicated by the late Rev. W. Bruce, D.D., from originals in his possession, and accompanied with a memoir on King James. His son, the Rev. Michael Bruce, was the next of the family that was connected with Ireland. He was settled in Killinchy, county of Down, in 1651, from which he was ejected in the reign of Charles II. and afterwards imprisoned in Scotland for preaching without license, and for this offence was banished to Tangiers. In process of carrying this sentence into execution he was transmitted to the Gatehouse, at Westminster. While here he had a petition presented to the King, by his wife, in 1668; and, at the intercession of one of Charles's mistresses, who was attracted to the prison by the fame of his preaching, he was allowed to choose the place of his exile, when he named the "wild woods of Killinchy," his former parish. A copy of his petition is given in the original, in the papers refered to. His son James was minister of Killileagh, county Down, and his son Michael was minister of Holywood, in the same county. He was one of the founders of the Antrim Presbytery, and there have been seven Presbyterian ministers in lineal succession, from the Rev. Robert Bruce, in King James's time, to the present day. The Rev. Patrick Bruce, younger brother of Michael, of Holywood, was grandfather to Sir Henry Harvey Aston Bruce, of Downhill, county Derry. There was another brother, William, who had a principal hand in establishing the fund for the widows of Presbyterian ministers; was an intimate friend of Abernethy, Duchat, Mr. Stewart, the ancestor of the Londonderry family, and others; and was held in high estimation for his public spirit and moral worth—of whom an interesting notice was written by the late Dr. Hincks, and printed, but not published. The Rev. William Bruce of Belfast is the present representative of the family.

We subjoin the

Genealogy of King Robert Bruce.—1. He was son of Robert de Bruce, Lord of Annandale, and Earl of Carrick, by right of his wife, Margaret, daughter of Earl of Carrick; 2. son of Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale, and competitor for the Crown of Scotland, and Isabel, his wife, daughter of Earl of Gloucester; 3. son of Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale, and Isabel, dr. of David Earl of Huntingdon, and niece of William King of Scotland; 4. son of William de Brus, who sat in the parliament of King John; 5. son of Robert de Bruce, and Isabel, daughter of William the Lion, King of Scotland; 6. son of Robert de Bruce, Lord of Annandale, by right of his wife Agnes, daughter and heiress of De Annan, Lord of Annandale; 7. son of Robert de Bruce, Lord of Skelton, and Agnes, daughter of Fulk Pagnell, a great baron; 8. son of Robert de Brusce, or Brus, of Skelton castle, in Cleveland, a noble Norman knight, and Agnes daughter of Waltheg, Earl of St. Clair; 9. son of Robert de Bruse, who built the castle of La Brusce, in Normandy, and Emma, daughter of Earl of Bretagne; 10. son of Regenwald and Arlogia, daughter of Waldamar duke of Russia; 11. son of Brusce, Earl of Caithness, and Ostrida; 12. son of Sygurt, Earl of the Orkneys, and Alice daughter of Malcolm II., King of Scotland; 13. son of Lother, Earl of the Orkneys, and Alfrica daughter of the Prince of Argyle and Lord of the Isles; 14. son of Torfin, Earl of the Orkneys, and Shetland Isles, and Gailcota, daughter of the Earl of Caithness; 15. son of Eynor, Earl of the Orkneys; 16. son of Regenwald, a Danish Earl; 17. son of Euslin; 18. son of Thebotaw, Duke of Sleswick and Stosmasch, who was living in A.D. 721.

[Edit.]

Shewing the present
Distribution of the Population
by their Surnames

SURNAMES IN THE COUNTY OF DOWN.

'Twere long to tell the great and good of these and other days,
Montgomeries, and Hamiltons, and Hills, and Castlereaghs;
Here sleeps the great apostle of the island of the west,
Here ruled the "proud de Courcy," here Percy sunk to rest;
And hundreds more, by lofty deeds, have nobly won renown,
Yet the soil is not exhausted of my own county Down.

I. INTRODUCTION.

The two counties of Down and Antrim are intimately related, in other respects, as well as in their geographical contiguity. They are nearly of the same size; their population consists of the same three great elements; in both is supported in the same way; and they are, as nearly as possible, of the same relative importance. Their points of coincidence, therefore, as well as their points of dissimilarity, present interesting subjects for reflection.

Speaking in round numbers, Antrim is to Down, in extent, as seven to six; but its hilly and comparatively barren portions occupy a wider area. Hence the population of Down is scarcely one-twelfth less than that of Antrim, and its families and inhabited houses are in the same proportion. But, if we compare the rolls of county voters, that of Down rises in numbers so as to exceed that of Antrim by more than five per cent. We at once conclude, therefore, that there is a greater number of large farms in Antrim; and a very slight degree of observation is necessary to show that this is the fact.

The list of voters for Down, which I have analysed, is that which was used at the contested election of 1852. It extends from the 15th of March, 1851, to the 1st of December, 1852; and, therefore, includes the very day on which the census of the whole county was taken. It thus admits of the most satisfactory comparison with the population tables. There were, in 1851, 10,028 voters in the list, 63,625 inhabited houses, and 328,754 individuals. Adopting the nearest whole numbers, we find the proportions to be the same as in the case of Antrim—viz., that each name in the *list* represents six *families*, and thirty-six *individuals*.

There are fourteen baronies, or rather baronial subdivisions, in Antrim; and we find precisely the same number in Down. In the latter county, Upper Iveagh and Lower Iveagh are each permanently subdivided into an upper and a lower division; and Lecale and Ards are also permanently

subdivided into upper and lower portions. Thus there are, practically, the fourteen baronies. In the present instance, however, that division has not been preserved. All the voters in Ards, Lecale, Upper Iveagh, and Lower Iveagh, respectively, have been formed into one alphabetical list; so that the accompanying map is divided into *ten* baronies only, instead of *fourteen*.

These, again, are far more widely different in area than those of Antrim. Upper Iveagh alone, for example, includes more than a fourth of the whole county; while Dufferin is less than one-ninth of that size, and Newry scarcely one-tenth, or a fortieth part of the whole county. It must be obvious, therefore, that the difficulty which was felt in Antrim, of selecting the names, relatively to the whole number in the barony, becomes here greatly magnified. Thus, a comparatively frequent name may scarcely secure a place upon the map among the hundreds of population in Dufferin: while a comparatively unfrequent name may secure a prominent place among the thousands of Upper Iveagh: still the plan is adhered to, as on the whole the best. In the larger baronies, a much larger number are represented in the higher Classes; but probably very few appear which in other circumstances would have been omitted. The difference, therefore, is more in the style of printing than in the actual names which appear.

Selecting all those names which occur six times or upwards in any barony, there are 252 which fulfil this condition; and, as some of them occur with the required degree of frequency in several divisions, these 252 surnames are printed on the map 440 times.[a]

The actual number of distinct surnames in Down was not ascertained; but the number in each of the divisions given here was carefully reckoned. They range from 656 in Upper Iveagh, to 129 in Mourne; and average 358 for each of the *ten* subdivisions. The number of separate surnames cannot possibly be less than 800, but more probably it approximates closely to 900. [The average for Antrim was 217 to each of its fourteen subdivisions: and the entire number was estimated at 700.]

II. NAMES IN THE WHOLE COUNTY.

Arranging the whole 252 names in tabular form, and placing opposite to each the number of times it occurs in each of the ten divisions, the sums exhibit, as before, the leading *county* names. There are twenty names which occur fifty times or upwards in the printed list, and up to 122 times: that is to say, each of them represents from 300 to 732 households, or from 1800 to 4,392 individuals. The name which reaches the highest limit is the well-known one, SMITH; this, therefore, is *the leading name in the county of Down*. The other nineteen, given in the order of their frequency,

[a] In the map of Antrim there were 186 surnames, occurring in all 333 times. Of those which occur in Down, there are 170 that are not printed in the Antrim map, and 104 in Antrim which are not printed in the Down map; while eighty-two are common to both. In the list, at the close of this article, these last names are printed in Italics.

are Martin, McKee, Moore, Brown, Thomson, Patterson, Johnson, Stewart, Wilson, Graham, Campbell, Robinson, Bell, Hamilton, Morrow, Gibson, Boyd, Wallace, Magee.[b]

As the order of names in the *county* is not at all affected by the union of baronies just noticed, the proportions which the leading names bear to the whole may be here stated, and may be compared with similar facts in Antrim. The coincidence is of the most surprising kind; so that if the number of voters were not slightly different in the two cases, one descriptive paragraph might suit for both, figures and all. I am tempted to place them in juxta-position.

ANTRIM.

"There are six surnames which comprise 633 in the printed list; and ten which embrace 913, or nearly one-tenth of the whole. If we take the first fifteen, they embrace 1,2 5 names, or more than one-eighth; and the forty-one which have been given in the text and note, embrace 2,381 names, or one-fourth of the whole. The first sixty-seven comprehend 3,179, or one third of the whole; and the first 157 extend to 4,768, or half of all the voters, householders, and individuals in the county. Of course, the remaining half of any of these is spread over about 550 surnames."—*Journal*, vol. v., p. 326.

DOWN.

There are six surnames which comprise 639 in the printed list; and ten which embrace 958, or nearly one-tenth of the whole. If we take the first fifteen, they embrace 1,286 names, or more than one-eighth; and the forty which have been given in the text and note, (with three others) embrace 2,519 names, or more than one-fourth of the whole. The first seventy comprehend 3,342, or one-third of the whole; and the first 162 extend to 5,014, or half of all the voters, householders, and individuals in the county. Of course, the remaining half of any of these is spread over about 700 different surnames.

The *distribution* of the names cannot be ascertained in the same way as in Antrim, as in the present instance there are only ten columns instead of fourteen. If the whole of the divisions were given, it is possible that some of the names which seem to occur in all might be wanting in one or two. The names which appear to be best distributed are Brown, Campbell, Johnston, Patterson, Robinson, Thomson, and Wilson; for each of them is found in all the ten baronies. If, however, we look to those names which occur with sufficient frequency to entitle them to a place on the map, Moore and Smith are the best distributed; for each of them is printed on the map in eight of the ten baronies. Johnson, McKee, and Patterson, are next in order, each of them being printed seven times; while Brown, Martin, Thomson, and Wilson, occur six times each.

The worst distributed name in the whole county is Annett. It occurs only in the barony of Mourne, or parish of Kilkeel, and there to the extent of eighteen names, or 108 families. Now, in

[b] The next twenty, in the order of frequency, are Scott, Murray, McCullough, Orr, Graham, Anderson, Russell, Hanna, Murphy, Fitz-imons, Ferguson, Heron, Reid, McDonnell, O'Hare, Jamieson, Kerr, Sloane, Carson, Crawford. The first twenty names occur seventy-seven times each, on the average; [in Antrim seventy-three times;] each, therefore, may be taken to represent 462 households, or 2,772 individuals. The twenty mentioned in this note occur forty-three times each, on the average; [forty-two times in Antrim;] each, therefore, represents 258 households or 1,548 individuals

the whole of Mourne, there are only 273 voters, so that this clan comprises the unusually large proportion of one-fifteenth of the whole! Fitzsimmons is next in order, exhibiting forty-one names in Lecale, and one in each of two other baronies. In point of mere numbers in a barony, this is the highest degree attained anywhere in the two counties; but there are 1,164 names in Lecale, so that the forty-one are only the twenty-eighth part of the whole, and are, therefore, less concentrated. O'Hara, or O'Hare, has thirty-five names in Upper Iveagh, and only five anywhere else; while McKeating occurs only in two baronies, of the first Class in Lecale, and of the fourth Class in Ards.

[By placing in vertical columns the numbers which represent the leading names, in each of the two counties, we ascertain those which preponderate over the joint area, and their order of succession. Thus, Thomson, which is first in Antrim, takes precedence of Smith, which is first in Down; the former having 223 names in the two lists, and the latter 212. The order of the first twenty-five names in the *two* counties, is as follows:—1. THOMSON, 2. SMITH, 3. *Wilson*, 4. Moore and Stewart (equal), 6. Brown, 7. Johnson, 8. Martin, 9. Boyd, Campbell, and Patterson (equal), 12. McKee, 13. Bell, 14. Robinson, 15. Graham, 16. Wallace, 17. McMullan, 18. Crawford, 19. Hamilton, 20. Kennedy, 21. McAlister, 22. Morrow, 23 Miller, 24. Gibson, 25. Craig. These represent 3,228 names in the *two* lists; that is to say, 19,368 families, or 116,208 individuals. Now, the population of the two counties jointly, is 681,018; so that *these twenty-five*[c] *surnames embrace seventeen per cent., or from a fifth to a sixth of the whole.*]

III. EXAMINATION OF THE NAMES IN BARONIES.

The plan laid down in reference to Antrim has been followed here also. Whenever a name occurs six or seven times in any barony, it is printed on the map in *Italics;* when eight or nine times, it is represented in Roman Letter; when ten times (and upwards to fifteen), in **BLOCK TYPE;** and when fifteen times and upwards, in SMALL CAPITALS. This arrangement was adopted somewhat arbitrarily, but answered the purpose in the case of Antrim; it is open to question, however, whether it is quite the best. In the case of Down, for example, the large numbers run high;[d] and so many as seven or eight reach twenty-five or upwards, in a single barony. Further, when a name appears at several points on the map, its culminating point is marked by the prefix †; or if the two highest numbers be equal, there are two such marks. In a few instances, a name occurs twice only, the numbers being equal; in that case the symbol is omitted. The lead-

[c] McNeill, Hunter, and Hill, among the leading names of Antrim, do not appear in Down: and Magee, in Down, appears nowhere in Antrim.

[d] The 440 names on the map of Down, and the 333 on that of Antrim, are thus distributed, in their various classes:—

FIRST CLASS	Down,	12 per cent.,	Antrim,	9 per cent.
SECOND,	"	25	"	"	21	"
Third,	"	19	"	"	23	"
Fourth,	"	44	"	"	47	"

ing name in each barony is followed by the mark = ; and, when a name occurs at one point exclusively, it is preceded by the symbol ∴—

It is somewhat singular that, in Down as in Antrim, the two highest names in any barony are names greatly concentrated and little known throughout the county. Thus, McMullan and McCreedy in Antrim, both situated in Carey, occur jointly fifty-seven times; while in Down, Fitzsimons of Lecale, and O'Hare of Upper Iveagh, occur seventy-six times in those two baronies. They thus represent, at those two points only, a joint population of nearly 3,000 souls.

While the leading barony name reaches forty-one in Lecale, the leading one in Newry reaches only seven; all the names, therefore, which occur in the latter division, are of the fourth or lowest Class. The reason of this is easily seen. The "Lordship of Newry," as it is called, contains the smallest list of voters of any division in the county, but not the smallest number of surnames; for "the frontier town of Ulster," like any other town, absorbs the population from various points. Hence, there is not here the same fixity of occupation which is so strongly illustrated in the case of the Annetts, in the adjacent district of Mourne.

It sometimes happens that a name appears to be lower in numbers than it really is, from the fact that it lies near a barony boundary. Some names are reckoned in one district, therefore, and some in another; and the result appears to contradict the experience of a person familiar with the locality. Thus, the Erwins or Irwins, of Lower Iveagh and Kinelarty, tend to the same point; the Lowrys of Dufferin and Upper Castlereagh, and the Thomsons of Lower Iveagh and Ards. In many instances, it is obvious that persons of the same name have effected a settlement at several points; but, in others, the parental seat can be distinctly shown, and the result of changes can be traced in the diminishing ripple of population as we recede from this point. Thus, the stronghold of the numerous Thomsons is in Kinelarty; they are found still numerous, but in diminished numbers, in the adjoining baronies of Upper Castlereagh and Lower Iveagh; they are again in diminished numbers in the still remoter baronies of Lower Castlereagh and Upper Iveagh; and, at greater distances, they scarcely secure a place on the map. In like manner, Bell culminates in Lower Iveagh; Smith in Lecale; and Patterson in Upper Castlereagh. The original seat of the Martins was Lower Iveagh; they still cast a well-marked shadow in Upper Iveagh, and Upper Castlereagh; it is a *penumbra* only in Kinelarty, Lecale, and Ards; and elsewhere it is quite undistinguishable.

The different races are less distinctly marked in Down than in Antrim, and the introduction of a "contour line" (or line passing through a number of points on the same level) on the map, does not aid us so much as was expected; yet of forty-three Macs and O's we find twenty-one in Upper Iveagh; and eleven of these occur nowhere else. Some of them reach high numbers.

Of the 252 surnames which appear on this table, there are 157 exclusive, or appearing only at one point. Of course, the remaining ninety-five appear 283 times. Only a small proportion of the exclusive names, just seventy-nine, or one-half, are of the lowest Class; while thirty-one are of the third Class. For reasons already stated, so many as forty-two are of the second Class; and five

averaging more than twenty-five names each, are of the first Class. There are thirteen names, each of which occurs several times, but nowhere rises above seven; and fifteen others, each of which exhibits varieties of eight and nine. In general, however, names reach their maximum limit (as will be seen from the map), in numbers of the first and second Class; and more than half of all which do so are in the large baronies of Upper and Lower Iveagh.

IV. REMARKS ON PARTICULAR NAMES.

Considering how many surnames there are in this county, it is natural to suppose that some will present strange, or interesting, or illustrative varieties. One of the commonest is that in which changes of vowels occur, either in accordance with local peculiarities of speech, or merely from caprice. On the former ground we have Rabb[e] and Robb, Larimer and Lorimer; Taggart[f] and Teggart; Harvey[g] and Hervey; and, probably, we must ascribe to mere caprice, Abernathy, Nisbet, Nisbitt, Nesbett; and Arskine for Erskine. In other instances, the lengthening or shortening of a vowel requires an alteration in the consonants, when the word is written; but the principle is the same. Thus, Clelland, Cleland; Dorian, Dorrian; Magorian, Magorrian. Sometimes the spelling is varied to the eye, but the sound is identical to the ear; as Boal, Bole; Ray, Rea, Colquhoun, Cahoon, Cahoone; Waddle, Waddell.

A very common change in a surname is the addition of a plural termination by the vulgar, as Law*s*, Hope*s*, Mather*s*, Hume*s*, Humphres*s* (Humphry), Stothart*s* (Stoddart), Grime*s* (Graham), Dodd*s*, Burn*s* (Byrne), Barn*s* (Baring), Seven*s* (Sefton), O'Brien*s*.

The modes of abbreviation are sometimes very peculiar. One of the commonest is to omit the prefix Mac or O, and thus we have such names as 'Crory, 'Connell, 'Hagan, 'Keating' 'Kee, 'Keown, 'Kinney, 'Millen, 'Mullen, 'Neill, &c. Another very usual plan is to shorten the word to the extent of a syllable, by omitting a vowel or consonant; as Ste(v)enson, Shiel(d)s, Gar(de)ner, Titter(ing)ton, Pol(loc)k; Madole, for MacDowell, Greer, for MacGregor, Pender, for Prendergast.[h]

There is often a vulgar form of a surname which is never written, the correct form being used only on rare occasions. Thus, Buttonit (Arbuthnot), Kinnmins (Cumming), Kinnigam (Cunningham), Bruerton[i] (Brereton), Frazure (Frisell), Haskiss (Hesketh), Skendritch (Scandrett), Merriday (Meredith), M'Elshender (Alexander.)

Sometimes the consonants of cognate origin are interchanged. Thus, by an indiscriminate use

[e] Compare these with the provincialisms *form* for farm, and *band* for bond.

[f] Like *bagger* for beggar.

[g] Compare *sergeant*, *Derby*, *Berkley*, *Hertford*.

[h] Compare this with the English Chumley for Cholmondeley.

[i] This form occurs in the ancient records of Cheshire, which is the original seat of the name.

of two liquids, in names originally distinct, Tor*n*ey[j] and Tor*l*ey become the same; so, also, Mulli*g*an[k] and Milli*k*en; Ly*d*iate and Li*gg*art, or Le*g*ate; Mc*Q*uiggan and Mc*G*uiggan.

In the barony of Mourne, the name Cunnigan is found; it is very distinct in its origin and use from Cunningham, with which it is often confounded. Megraw is given here separately from McGrath, but, in reality, the two names are one. Muckle and Meikle are Scotch forms of the English Mutch and Mudge; Little is common to both countries, probably in some instances altered from Li*dd*ell. McCaw is sometimes changed into McKay, as Make and Mack are into Malcom; but they appear to be distinct names. Uprichard (for Ap-Richard) is a singular instance of the Welsh settlers retaining the uncontracted form, though, on their native hills, the name usually takes the form Pritchard. Edgar[l] is vulgarly pronounced Agar, and some branches of the clan spell the name so, or Eager. It is pleasing to find that the ancient name of Magennis is abundant in both Iveagh and Lecale, the old territory of the family; that Savages and Whites are still pretty numerous in Ards; and that Bagnall is not extinct in Newry. Hamilton prevails nearly all over the county.

There are several families of Saxon descent, whose names are commemorated in the names of townlands, villages, &c.; so that though they may not appear upon the present map they are well known in the topography of the district. Without entering into an explanation of the individual names, the following may be enumerated: Sea-*Forde*, Castle *Ward*, Acre[m]-*Mc Cricket*, *Isle-Mc Cricket*, Island-*Henry*, *Jordan's*-Acre, *Jordan's*-Crew, *Dodd's*-Island, Island-*Teggart*, *Reilly's*-Trench, *Gilford*, *Hill*-hall, Mount-*Stewart*, *Echlin*-ville, Mount-*Alexander*, *Russell's*-Quarter.

The term "town," is affixed on very slight grounds. Two families of the same name residing near each other, on a public road, might give such names as Briggs's-town, Hendry's-town, Megaghy's-town; and three would certainly do so. Among the many names of this kind we have the more formal ones of *Carson's*, Coniam's, Cook's, Greg's, Herd's, Hogg's, Marshall's, Priests', *Sloane's*, Thomas's, Waring's, and Whigham's towns. Of all these names, Carson and Sloane, in italics, are the only ones which appear on our map. More than half these places are in Ards, and three of them in the parish of Donaghadee.

Long before the settlement of Ulster, it was customary to name a place by appending the owner's name to the prefix "Bally." The Saxon settlers adopted the same plan, partly from analogy, and

[j] Compare the provincial words "flanne*n*" and "chimley."

[k] The interchange of *g* and *k* occurs provincially in bragget, for bra*cket*, and sho*g* for sho*ck*. Similarly from tabaco (a native American word for pipe), came the Spanish Toba*go*, whence the English word toba*cco*.

[l] The four families (using the term family in a large sense) of Dunbar, Hume, Edgar, and Dundas, all trace their descent in an unbroken male line, from a common ancestor, Cospatrick, Earl of Northumberland, *temp.* William I. It should be borne in mind that surnames originated about the twelfth century. The record of the relationship is preserved to this hour in their armorial bearings; three of them having the same charge, but varying the tincture, and the fourth varying both slightly. See *Drummond's History of Noble British Families*, and *Burke's Peerage*, [illegible]

[m] The term is here used in the general sense of an enclosure. Thus, our Saxon forefathers called the churchyard "God's acre." See *Longfellow's Poems*. "It does not appear that in ancient times, an *acre* signified any determinate quantity of land; and when, at length, it came to signify a specific quantity, the measure still varied, till it was fixed by the statute, called the *Ordinance for Measuring of Land*, passed in the reign of Edward I. The perch, or rod, however, with which land was measured, not being the same in all places, the *acre*, of course, still varied, as it does to to this day. In some instances in Cornwall, what is called an *acre*, is not less than *a hundred* statute acres! The Cheshire, the Lancashire [also, the Cunningham, the Irish Plantation], and the statute acre, consist of very different quantities."—*Boucher's* [illegible] *Glossary*.]

partly as a matter of necessity; for, as a general rule, except in countries newly discovered or explored, it is unquestionable that "the common people fix all our names of places." Omitting the prefix "Bally," and selecting only those names which occur on the map, there are townlands called *Bally* Adam, 'Black, 'Henry, 'Kelly, 'Vick-na-Kelly, [the town of Kelly's son], 'Magee, 'Martin, 'McConnell, 'McCormick, 'McKeown, 'Murphy, 'Rogan, 'Roney, 'Russell, 'White. In no instance does the position of the local name now coincide with the same name as applied to persons. There are several other townlands named from families,[n] which do not appear on the map; and the prefix "Bally" occurs associated with them in like manner. Other prefixes are connected with family names; as Rath-Gorman, Rath-Cunningham, Rath-Mullan, Tully-Branigan, (the hill of B.) Lis-na-Mulligan, (the fort of M.) Tir-Fergus, (the land of F.) Tir-Kelly, Saul, (i.e. Sabhal Phadraig, the barn of Patrick.) Sometimes, without naming a family surname, a large denomination is indicated; as Craig-na-Sassanach, the rock (or rocky land) of the Saxons, in the parish of Saintfield; and Carn-Albanach,[o] the stone-heap of the Highlanders.

An examination of the names of the townlands would lead us away too far from the present subject, and might also forestall a special paper by some learned Gaelic scholar. But it may be permitted to name a few in a note. Some proclaim a Saxon [p] ancestry; others, again, are obviously of Celtic [q] origin.

There are large districts in Upper Iveagh and Mourne thinly inhabited; and even in the lowlands there are spots where the inhabitants are few. In the parish of Kilkeel, there are townlands embracing more than 11,000 acres, or about seventeen square miles, with only *one inhabited house!* In Kilbroney, there is an area of 5,006 acres, or nearly eight square miles, with only two families resident. In the whole county there are 184 townlands which have not more than ten inhabited houses in any of them; and there are 22 others which have none whatever. Of the former, the greatest number are in Ards [36], and Lecale [66.] Of the latter, the greatest number are in Upper Iveagh [8], Lecale [5], and Mourne [4.]

[n] *Bally* Barnes, 'Branigan, 'Bryan, 'Copeland, 'Cullen, 'French, 'Garvigan, 'Gilbert, 'Lucas, 'MacNamee, 'Maginaghy, 'Megaughy, 'Macarnett, 'Macaratty, 'Maconoghy, 'Macateer, 'MacKeown, 'Minnish, 'Mullen, 'Nicol, 'Philip, 'Rickard, 'Ridley, 'Stokes, 'Walter, 'Ward, 'William.

[o] There are two townlands of this name in the parish of Moira, of the extent of about twenty-three and twelve acres respectively. Neither of them has any resident population,

[p] Killinchy-in-the-woods, Narrow-water, Quarterland, Grey Abbey, White Abbey, White Church, Fish Quarter, Broom Q., Nuns' Q., Church Q., Spittle Q., Saul-Q., Q. Ballee, New Castle, Trooper-field, Holy-wood, Bishop's-Court, (in Ards formerly the episcopal residence,) Strang-ford, Sheep-land, Green-castle, the Strand (popularly the Sthron', at Killough.)

[q] Coolsallagh (the wood of osiers), Ballysallagh (the place of the willows, or osiers), Knock-na-goney (the hill of the rabbits), Bally-knock (the town of the hill), Knock-breckan (the fern hill.) The parish of Knock, in Lower Castlereagh, was united with the parish of Breda, in Upper, forming the present parish of Knock-Breda, [Between the rivers Senegal and Gambia, in Western Africa, lies *Sene-Gambia*, showing a similar union of names.] Tully-na-kill (the hill of the church), Tullyard (the high hill), Tullymore (the great hill) Tullylish (the hill of the fort), Lisduff (the black hill), and Lis-na-brague, Lis na gade, Lis-na-Gonnell, and Lis-na-Tierney, all in the parish of Aghaderg.—Ardglass (the green height), Derry boy (the yellow oak wood), Derry oge (the young oak wood), Ross (the promontory), Ross-glass (the green promontory), Ross-connor (Connor's promontory), Slieve-na-griddle (the mountain of the sun, exhibiting traces of idolatrous worship at its summit), Inch (the island, from its situation in reference to the Quoile river). Bally-kinler (the town of the candlestick,—certain endowments from it having provided candles for the high altar in one of the two cathedrals of Dublin), and Glass-mass, in Cumber (green field.)—The Holywell-station, on the Chester and Holyhead railway, is called "Green-field," by the English, and "*Maes-Glass*," by the Welsh.

In contrast with this diffusiveness, instances of the close condensation of families are more numerous and curious than in Antrim. The name Carse appears on the map in the parish of Killinchy: and all the persons of this name in the barony reside in this parish. Moreover, they are all found in one townland, Carrigulliam. There are thirteen families of the name Morrow in the same barony, of whom six are found in Derry-boy of Killileagh. The McIlwaines are all in Dromara parish, and in that part of it which lies in Kinelarty. There are eleven families of the name Blaney in Lecale; and six of them are found not only in one parish (Dunsfort) but in one townland (Sheepland More.) There are twenty-two Thomsons in Kinelarty, and fourteen are in the part of Magheradrool which lies in that barony. Five out of seven of the name Jennings are found in Ballynacraig, in the parish of Inch; and six out of nine of the name Neil are in Wood-grange of Down. Half of the Dicksons are in Ballygorian More of Clonduff; nearly all the Hooks in Corbitt of Magherally; and about half of the Annetts of Mourne, in the townland of Ballyvea. As before, each name is placed in the parish, without any attempt to secure a more minute localisation.

These simple facts show, if we required any such proof, that the centrifugal tendency is not great among the agricultural classes. In several instances,—by the appending of the terms "junior" and "senior," and by all the other Christian names differing,—I think I can recognise a father and his five sons (who, ten or fifteen years ago, were a single household,) claiming for their family surname an honourable place on our little map. But if we include not merely brothers, but cousins, there is no doubt that there are many such instances. If we take in second cousins, (viz., persons having had a common great-grandfather,) the name may rise to one of the second rank, still allowing for a reasonable proportion to sink below the level of our test,—the parliamentary suffrage; or to be drained off for town population or colonists. If a father, with a growing family, had settled here so recently as 1780, he might be represented at this hour by his great-grandsons, sturdy farmers, of thirty years old, "be the same more or less." But, as the majority settled a generation or two earlier, we have a superabundant population not on the voting list, in the proportion of five households to one.

[It is a peculiarity of articles like the present that every one suggests half-a-dozen others; and the last paragraph reminds me that no attempt has yet been made to write the "Family History" of our northern counties. The materials for it exist, but are passing away. I propose, health and leisure permitting, to write one or two such articles, which may not only interest by the facts themselves, but, as in the present case, may serve to guide others in researches of a similar kind.]

IV. ALPHABETICAL LIST OF NAMES.

As before, the figures in the columns of the Table show the baronies in which the names occur upon the map; and this Table should show the whole 440 occurrences of the 252 names. The figures 1 denotes a name of the first Class, or one printed in small capitals; and 2, 3, 4, indicate block type, Roman letters, and Italics, respectively.

The number [illegible] there are 123 which take

precedence of Adams, and 97 which precede Agnew. In the table referring to Antrim, five or six names sometimes amounted to the same general number, but their order was put down according to the alphabetical arrangement. A more correct plan is followed here, the nature of which will be apparent from the order for the *two* counties given above. Boyd, Campbell, and Patterson, are all ranked as ninth in order, that is to say, only eight numbers precede them; but the next following, [M'Kee] is twelfth, as there are eleven which precede it. It is in this way that the names are all numbered 109, and the next number is 119; five are equal at this grade, and the next is 124, &c. Each of the group which is lowest in order is numbered 232; and such of them as appear in Upper or Lower Iveagh, Lecale, or Ards, might have disappeared from the map had there been the usual number of fourteen baronies instead of ten.

I am encouraged to believe that I do not overvalue this subject, from the numerous favourable testimonies which have been recorded respecting it, during the past three months. But as yet, only the first stone has been laid. If we had a map of Ireland, showing from twenty to fifty leading names in each county, we should be able to track the Saxon from the channel to the ocean, in his accumulations by conquest, grant, intermarriage, or purchase. If the same thing were done for England, our populations would, as it were, photograph themselves in their respective positions; and the numerous local causes which give rise to peculiar appellations would be ascertained with unusual facility; just as in geographical terms one shire is celebrated for "Halls," another for "fields," another for "becks," &c.; and so the "Tre, Pol, and Pen," of Cornwall are only indications of a large class of facts. In Scotland, though famine, the sword, clearance, and emigration have all swept over the country, a map of this kind would put flesh upon the dry bones, and muster each clan on the spot which it claims as its own. Instead of the loose generalities of topographers and tourists, we should ascertain the facts with absolute certainty; and, from the association of places and persons, it is impossible to say how much light might be thrown upon family and general history on the one side, or on local etymologies on the other.

If we widen the horizon of our researches, and suppose this work done for the countries in the north and west of Europe, what limit can be placed to the knowledge which we should acquire of our neglected continental relations? The Du Bois [*wood*, *à wood*, or *Atwood*] would figure under the Anglican metamorphosis of Boys and Boyce; and Cordeaux would be traced in Cordukes, just as the French *beaux* is vulgarised into English "bucks." In like manner, in the Scandinavian districts of our islands, Truelove would be represented in its original form, "Troe lof," ["bound in law, or bondsman"] while the northern Olav would be found altered to Mac Olav, MacAulif, and Macauley.

It is needless to pursue these reflections farther. Let me only request that those literary explorers who may have patience sufficient to travel in the same path, will remember that I have gone two stages of the journey with them. And, I can assure them, that my guidance, whether of little or of much value, has been given with laborious accuracy, and the most sincere good faith.

A. Hume.

Order in the County.	NAMES.	Ards.	Castlereagh L	Castlereagh U	Dufferin.	Iveagh L	Iveagh U	Kinelarty.	Lecale.	Mourne.	Newry.
121	*Adams,*	4					4				
98	*Agnew,*	3				4					
53	*Allen,*		4				4				
26	*Anderson,*	3	4	2			4				
232	Angus,	4									
109	Annett,									1	
232	Archer,					4					
168	*Armstrong,*							4			
62	Baillie,	1									
210	Baird,	4									
198	Bassett,								3		
92	Beattie,					3					
142	Beck,						4				
14	*Bell,*		4			1	1				
98	Bennett,			2							
109	Bingham,						2				
80	Black,					2					
73	Blakeley,			2			4				
183	Blaney,								2		
18	Boyd,	1	2	4		4	4				
134	Boyle,	4									
210	Braniff,	4									
5	Brown,	1	3	3		1	1	2			
62	Burns,						2				
109	Byrne,						2				
12	*Campbell,*	2	4	4		2	2				
98	Carlisle,			2							
168	Carse,		4		4						
39	*Carson,*			3			3		3		
124	Caughey,	3									
41	Chambers,			2		2	4				
221	Clanny,	4									
42	Clarke,			2		4					
48	Cleland,			2	4						
119	*Connor,*								4		

Order in the County.	NAMES.	Ards.	Castlereagh L	Castlereagh U	Dufferin.	Iveagh L	Iveagh U	Kinelarty.	Lecale.	Mourne.	Newry
124	Cooper,	4									
161	Corbett,					4	4				
168	Corran,	4									
88	Coulter,								4		
142	Cowan,						4				
98	*Craig,*					4					
109	Craugie,	3							3		
39	*Crawford,*	2		2							
124	Croney,						2				
189	Croskerry,							4			
161	Crothers,						2				
142	Cunnigan,									2	
53	*Cunningham,*			4			4				4
232	*Cupples,*						4				
67	*Davison,*			3							
168	Dalzell,	4									
75	Denvir,								1		
71	Dixon,						2				
183	Dodds,						3				
124	Donnan,	2									
142	Doran,						4				
189	Dorrian,	3									
142	Doyle,						2				
98	Edgar,			4							
210	Emerson,					4					
183	English,					3					
57	Erwin,					1		4			
142	Fegan,						4				
31	*Ferguson,*	4	1	4		3	4				
80	Finlay,	2									
46	Fitzpatrick,						1		4	4	
30	Fitzsimmons,								1		
142	Gardner,					3					
17	*Gibson,*		3	2		1					
210	Gilchrist,								7		

Order in the County.	NAMES.		Ards.	Castlereagh L	Castlereagh U	Dufferin.	Iveagh, L	Iveagh, U	Kinelarty.	Lecale.	Mourne.	Newry.
161	Gill,	..			4							
95	Gillespie,	..					2	4				
67	Gilmore,	..				4		3				
232	Glenny,	..										4
57	*Gordon*,	..						4	4			
11	*Graham*,	..			1		1	3		9		
189	Grant,	..						4				
161	*Green*,	..					4					
224	Gunning,	..	4									
15	*Hamilton*,	..	4		3		1	3				
28	*Hanna*,	..					3	2		2		
109	Harper,	..				4						
134	Harvey,	..			4							
109	Harrison,	..					2					
232	Harshaw,	..						4				
161	Hawthorne,	..						4				
80	*Henry*,	..						3				
32	Heron,	..					2	2				
168	Hinds,	..								2		
210	Hock,	..					4					
161	Hughes,	..								3		
224	Hutchison,	..						4				
161	Hutton,	..								4		
189	Innis,	..	4									
80	Irvine,	..	4									
134	Jackson,	..			2							
36	*Jamieson*,	..		2	2		2					
224	Jardine,	..						4				
95	Jennings,	..							4	4		
8	*Johnson*,	..	2	3	2	4	2	4	2			
142	Jones,	..					3					
168	Jordan,	..					4					
198	Kearney,	..								3		
44	*Kelly*,	..	4				4	3	4			
48	*Kennedy*,	..	4	3			4					

Order in the County.	NAMES.		Ards.	Castlereagh L	Castlereagh U	Dufferin.	Iveagh. L	Iveagh. U	Kinelarty.	Lecale.	Mourne.	Newry.
161	Keown,	..								2		
36	*Kerr*,	..		4			2	4				
142	Killen,	..								2		
183	King,	..						4				
168	Kirk,	..			4							
168	*Kirkpatrick*,	..			4							
124	*Knox*,	..					2					
161	*Lavery*,	..					4					
161	Law,	..					4	4				
198	*Lawther*,	..				4						
198	Lennon,	..	4									
189	Lilburn,	..					2					
57	Lindsay,	..		4			2	3				
232	*Livingstone*,	..					4					
168	Lockhart,	..					3					
210	Loughlin,	..						4				
39	Lowry,	..		4	4	3						
232	Macken,	..						4				
20	*Magee*,	..			3		4			1		
62	Magennis,	..						1		3		
88	*Magill*,	..					2	3				
168	Maglennon,	..								2		
224	Magowan,	..					4					
124	Magreevy,	..								2		
198	Maguire,	..							3			
119	Malcomson,	..			3			4				
168	Marshall,	..						4				
2	*Martin*,	..	2		1		1	1	1	2		
183	Megraw,	..								2		
124	Mercer,	..					1					
124	*Miller*,	..	3									
210	Mills,	..					4					
88	Mitchell,	..					3					
198	Moorhead,	..					4					
4	*Moore*,	..	1	1	3	4	2	2		2	4	

Order in the County.	NAMES.		Ards.	Castlereagh L	Castlereagh U	Dufferin.	Iveagh L	Iveagh U	Kinelarty.	Lecale.	Mourne.	Newry.
134	Moreland,	..	4									
142	Morgan,	..						4				
97	Morrison,	..	4					2				
15	*Morrow*,	..		2	2	2	4					
232	Muckle,	..	4									
80	Mulligan,	..					4	2				
142	Murdoch,	..			4							
28	*Murphy*,	..		4				2				
22	*Murray*,	..		3	3			1				
95	*McAlister*,	..						3				
134	*McAulay*,	..						3				
73	*McBride*,	..						2				
53	McCartney,	..					4	2				
198	*McCarr*,	..					4					
57	*McClelland*,	..					3	1				
168	McClory,	..						2				
92	McComb,	..					4	4				
62	*McConnell*,	..		3	3							
189	McConvey,	..										
119	McConvill,	..						2				
142	*McCormick*,	..	4									
22	*McCullough*,	..		2				2				
168	McCracken,	..	4									
98	McCutcheon,	..	2									
98	*McDonnell*,	..	4									
34	*McDowell*,	..	4	2	4	4						
161	McEvoy,	..						3				
210	McGifford,	..	4									
198	McGivern,	..						3				
224	McGorrian,	..								4		
67	McGrath,	..	2					4		4		
232	McGrattan,	..	4				4	2				
109	*McIlroy*,	..										
183	McIlwaine,	..							4			
224	McKeag,	..	4									

Order in the County.	NAMES.		Ards.	Castlereagh L	Castlereagh U	Dufferin.	Iveagh L	Iveagh U	Kinelarty.	Lecale.	Mourne.	Newry.
92	McKeating,	..	4							1		
3	*McKee*,	..	1	2	1	3	1	1			4	
109	*McKeown*,	..					2					
80	McKibbin,	..					4				4	
232	*McKinney*,	..						4				
98	*McKnight*,	..						2				
119	McMaster,	..	4									
142	McMillen,	..		2								
57	*McMullan*,	..						2	4	4		
75	McMurray,	..					2					
189	McNabb,	..	3									
134	McRoberts,	..			4							
210	Napier,	..								4		
98	*Neill*,	..								3		
88	*Nelson*,	..					2					
142	Nesbitt,	..								4		
168	Nicholson,	..					2					
210	O'Hagan,	..						3				
34	O'Hare,	..						1				
109	*O'Neill*,	..						3				
22	*Orr*,	..	2	1	4						3	
7	*Patterson*,	..	2	3	1	4	1	4	2			
62	Patton,	..	1	3								
71	Porter,	..						2				
51	Quin,	..						4			4	
42	*Ray*,	..			3			4				
232	Radcliffe,	..						4				
210	*Rankin*,	..	4									
32	Reid,	..	3				4		3			
142	*Robb*,	..		2								
13	*Robinson*,	..	2	2	2					2		
80	Rodgers,	..					3					
142	Rogan,	..							2			
75	Rooney,	..						1		4		
142	Rowan,	..						2				

Order in the County.	NAMES.		Ards.	Castlereagh L	Castlereagh U	Dufferin.	Iveagh. L	Iveagh. U	Kinelarty.	Lecale.	Mourne.	Newry.
210	Rush,	..					4					
26	Russell,	..	3	4	4			4		4		
198	Rutherford,	..					3					
168	Sands,	..					4	4				
42	Savage,	..	3					4	4	3		
232	Scandrett,	..					4					
21	Scott,	..			2		1	3				
161	Seed,	..								2		
189	Shannon,	..						4				
25	*Shaw*,	...	3		1			4	4			
119	*Skelly*,	..			4		4					
36	*Sloane*,	..		4	3			4				
1	SMITH,	..	1	3	2	4	1	1	2	1	3	
109	Spence,	..			4		4					
142	Speers,	..						2				
210	Standfield,	..					4					
210	Starkey,	..								3		
75	Stevenson,	..	4					4				
9	*Stewart*,	..	1	3	2	2	4	2				
142	Taggert,	..								2		

Order in the County.	NAMES.		Ards.	Castlereagh L	Castlereagh U	Dufferin.	Iveagh. U	Iveagh. L	Kinelarty.	Lecale.	Mourne.	Newry.
48	*Taylor*,	..	4							2		
6	*Thomson*,	..	4	3	1		1	2	1			
134	*Todd*,	..						2				
124	Torley,	..								4		4
161	Trainor,	..								4		
232	Uprichard,	..					4					
98	*Walker*,	..					4					
18	*Wallace*,	..	1	4				1				
97	Walsh,	..					4					
224	Warden,	..	4									
161	Warnock,	..	2									
189	Waterson,	..								4		
46	*Watson*,	..		4			2					
198	Waugh,	..					4					
53	*White*,	..	3					4				
198	Whiteside,	..					4					
10	*Wilson*,	..	3	4	2		2	3			4	
51	*Woods*,	..					3	2				
67	*Wright*,	..					3	4				
80	*Young*,	..						2				

THE DESCENDANTS OF THE LAST EARLS OF DESMOND.

The question has been often asked, who are the present representatives of the Geraldines of Desmond? The Knight of Glyn, and the Knight of Kerry, and the Fitzgibbons of Munster, may be considered at present as the only representatives, in a sort of way, of this great race; being descended from three legitimate sons of the celebrated John Fitzgerald, of Callan, who was slain by the MacCarthys, in 1261. This John of Callan left one legitimate son, Maurice, the ancestor of the Earls of Desmond, and three illegitimate sons, who became the founders of several respectable families in Munster, viz.; 1. Maurice, by the wife of O'Kennedy, the ancestor of the Knight of Kerry; 2. Gilbert, or Gibbon, by the wife of O'Coinin, ancestor of the White Knight, and of Fitz-Gibbon of Ardskea and Kilmore; and 3. John More, surnamed *na-Sursainne* [of the Surcingle] by the wife of O'Collins, chief of Hy-Connell Gaura, ancestor of the Knight of Glyn, and also of the Fitzgeralds of Clonlish, Finiterstown, and Ballinard, in the county of Limerick, and of the Fitzgeralds of Ballinphoill, and Moinhotry, in the Decies, in the present county of Waterford.

It has been also often asked whether any of the descendants of the last Earl of Desmond are yet extant? It has been universally acknowledged by our geneaologists that his male descendants are long extinct, though some of his female descendants may still be extant; but none of them has taken the trouble, so far as I know, to trace this descent. The following pages are devoted to this inquiry; and the writer will feel thankful to any reader who will be kind enough to point out any error in what he advances, or who can throw additional light on a subject which must be now considered as of much curiosity, if not of historic interest.

Gerald, the sixteenth and last Earl of Desmond, who forfeited the largest estate that any individual in Ireland ever possessed, married Eleanor, daughter of Edmund, Lord Dunboyne; by whom he had one son, James, who died in the Tower of London: and two daughters; 1. Catherine, who married Sir Daniel O'Brien, first Viscount of Clare, third son of Conor, third Earl of Thomond; and 2. Ellen, who married Sir Valentine Browne, ancestor of Lord Kenmare.

John Fitzgerald, the nephew of the unfortunate Desmond, retired to Spain in the year 1603, where he was known as the Conde de Desmond. He died at Barcelona, leaving by his wife, the daughter of Richard Comerford, of Bangammore in the county of Kilkenny, an only son. Dr. Daniel O'Daly, the historian of the Geraldines, who was an attached adherent of his family, and who had attained to an eminent position in the church in Spain, speaks of his brief career as follows:—"This loved youth, created Count at my instance, did not tarry long in the land of Spain. The scanty pension allowed him by the King was not commensurate with the dignity and rank which belonged to the heir of

Desmond. In fact, he saw that many Irish, then at the King's court, were preferred to him; and these were men who could not dare to compare with the Geraldine in his own country. Wherefore, choosing rather to trust to fortune, he abruptly left Spain, and, taking service in his Cæsarian Majesty's army [that of the Emperor of Germany] served him well and chivalrously for three years. But at last, when he had the command of a strong town, then besieged, he was called on to surrender. This he refused, choosing rather to die of starvation than betray his trust."

This Gerald, Conde de Desmond, died without leaving any issue, and in him ended the male representation of a line of nobles who, since the extinction of the Earldom of Ulster, were certainly the most powerful in Ireland, and who had bravely supported their sovereigns in their wars in France and the Holy Land.

On the death of Gerald, son of John, Conde de Desmond, the representation of the Earls of Desmond reverted to the descendants in the female line of Gerald, the sixteenth Earl. His eldest daughter, Catherine, married Sir Daniel O'Brien, afterwards Viscount Clare. A younger daughter married Sir Valentine Browne, founder of the family of the Earl of Kenmare. The Viscounts Clare accordingly became the representatives of the Fitzgeralds of Desmond, on the extinction of the male issue of John, Conde de Desmond, by the decease of his son, Gerald, as already mentioned. Conor O'Brien, second Viscount Clare, had, besides his son Daniel, third Viscount Clare, two daughters, who left issue, viz., Helena the elder, who married Captain Roger O'Shaughnessy, of Gort, in the county of Galway, and Elizabeth, who married the Knight of Kerry.

Daniel, third Viscount Clare, was a zealous adherent of the kings of the Stuart race, and particularly of King James II., whose cavalry he commanded at the battle of the Boyne; and throughout a long military career gave the highest proof of ability, as well as of fidelity to the three kings of England, whose favour he enjoyed. He went abroad with his regiment after the Treaty of Limerick, and became Colonel of one of the proprietary regiments in the French service, his own corps of cavalry being constituted one, the command of which was always to continue in his descendants.

The Viscounts Clare, who, as has been shown, represented the great house of the Fitzgeralds of Desmond, after the decease of Gerald, Conde de Desmond, continued in the Roman Catholic faith, remaining steadfast to the political as well as religious principles of their progenitors, both paternal and maternal. Charles, the sixth Viscount Clare, (by courtesy,) commanded the Irish regiments in the French service, at Fontenoy and other places, where they maintained their military character in a manner too well known to require special mention here. He frequently visited his cousin, the Earl of Thomond, in England, after the peace of Utrecht, [1713,] and was presented by him to King George I., who made him an offer that the estates of his family and his dignity should be restored, if he would become a member of the Established Church of England. He, nevertheless, refused; and, on the death of Henry, eighth Earl of Thomond, his landed property went to the next in legal succession, who were Protestants. The eighth Earl of Thomond, however, (to his great honour be it mentioned,) left him a legacy of twenty thousand pounds.

The history of the two families of Thomond and Desmond may well induce a doubt of the correctness of a saying attributed to Lord Burleigh, that "nobility is nothing but ancient riches." Never, probably, did blood and lineage more assert their influence and exhibit their force than in these two races of O'Brien and Fitzgerald. The sympathy felt for them in foreign countries is strikingly instanced by the course pursued by Louis XIV. On the death of Charles, the fifth Viscount Clare, (who died at Brussels of wounds received in the battle of Ramilies, A.D. 1706, his son, being still very young,) the preservation of the colonelcy of the proprietary Regiment of Clare was due to the interposition of the French king, who did not wish to let it pass from a family that had abandoned all but their *honour* and their *swords* for the cause to which they had adhered. His Majesty, therefore, reserved a right of succession for the young Lord Charles O'Brien; and, in the meantime, appointed as its Lieutenant-Colonel, Morogh O'Brien, to command by brevet; in consideration of his paying to the young Viscount Clare, every year, six thousand livres, out of the emoluments attached to his post.

Time at length demonstrated that the unfortunate estrangement of the Irish Roman Catholics, both at home and abroad, from the British crown, crippled the strength of the empire; and the pressure of circumstances necessitated the adoption of a conciliatory policy. By slow degrees the principle of civil and religious liberty asserted its influence; and, in proportion to its growth, was the increase of the good sense and of the practical charity that has since resulted from toleration throughout Christendom.

In the year 1774, Charles O'Brien, known as seventh Viscount Clare, died without issue; and the representation of this family, as well as of the sixteenth Earl of Desmond and third Earl of Thomond, devolved heraldically in Ireland on the descendants of Captain Roger O'Shaughnessy; that is to say, the representation did so, of the families of which these noblemen were the heads. The sixth Viscount Clare, however, left a representative in France, through the female line,—the Duc de Choiseul, Preslin, being descended from him.

Captain Roger O'Shaughnessy left an only son, William, who served with distinction in the French army, though not possessing a proprietary regiment like his uncle Daniel, third Viscount Clare. He commenced his military career in 1689, as captain of one hundred men for King James II., in Ireland; and went to France in 1690, in O'Brien's regiment, belonging to the brigade commanded by Lord Mountcashel. He served through the various great campaigns of Louis XIV., in Germany, Italy, and Flanders; and died at Gravelines, in January 1744, having attained the rank of Major-General, or Marechal de Camp. On his death, his only sister, Helena, became the representative of the family; but their great estate of Gort had been confiscated, in consequence of the part taken by Captain Roger O'Shaughnessy in upholding King James II.

Captain Roger O'Shaughnessy was eldest son of Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy, who possessed Gort as a fee held by knight's service, as his ancestors had done from the time of King Henry VIII; when Dermot O'Shaughnessy, then the head of his family, or captain of his nation, surrendered the

lands which had belonged to his progenitors from time immemorial, and received a grant of the same from the English crown, by knight's service, together with the honour of knighthood. Sir Dermot's successors, thus being all deemed knights of Gort until the time of the last Sir Dermot, were styled accordingly; but Sir Dermot forfeited his lands on account of his adherence to the cause of Charles I. and Charles II., and received only a portion of them back, in consideration of his loyalty and merits, (under a special clause in the Act of Settlement,) to be held by the modern tenure of Common Soccage: his son, Roger, therefore, was never considered to have borne the honour of knighthood.

The family of O'Shaughnessy descended from Dathi, the last pagan monarch of Ireland, (said to have been killed by lightning at the foot of the Alps,) was so celebrated for dignity, integrity, and high bearing, that De Burgo, in his *Hibernia Dominicana*, was induced to say of them "cujus nobilitatem, antiquitatem, et integritatem qui non novit, Hiberniam non novit!" Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy, the father of Captain Roger, was distinguished for his attachment to the house of Stuart, and took a leading part among the Confederate Catholics of Kilkenny. Helena Ny-Shaughnessy, who, as has been already observed, became the representative of the family, on the death of her brother William, in 1744, married Theobald Butler, and was the mother of Francis, John, and Theobald Butler, living in 1784, and great-grandmother of the Right Honourable James Fitzgerald, who was born in 1742, and died 20th January, 1835, at the advanced age of 93 years. Mr. Fitzgerald was thus lineally descended in the seventh degree from Gerald, sixteenth Earl of Desmond. Gylles Ny-Shaughnessy, the aunt of this Helena, married Daniel O'Donovan, of Castledonovan, in the county of Cork, chief of his name; and from her the present O'Donovan (Morgan William, son of Morgan of Mountpellier, near Cork) is descended, in the sixth generation.

Mr. Fitzgerald had two grand-uncles in the army of James II.; viz., Colonel Nicholas Fitzgerald, and Robert Fitzgerald, who was comptroller of the Musters, as was his ancestor in the fourth degree, Captain Roger O'Shaughnessy.

Mr. Fitzgerald was paternally descended from David Fitzgerald, or Fitzgibbon, commonly called the "White Knight," feudal Lord of Kilmore, in the county of Cork, who became the eldest male representative of the descendants of Gibbon or Gilbert Fitzgerald, who was styled "the White Knight." On the decease of Edmund Fitzgibbon, the "White Knight," who first (as appears from the pedigree of his family, in Lambeth Palace) assumed the name of Fitzgibbon, instead of Fitzgerald, A.D. 1607, his estates devolved on his daughter, who married the celebrated Irish Chief Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, from which marriage is descended the Earl of Kingston. Edmund Fitzgibbon, the "White Knight" already mentioned, was enabled to arrange with the English government, as one of the conditions of his betraying the Earl of Desmond, that he should not only preserve his landed property, but should transmit it to his daughter, contrary to the usual rules of descent of Knight's Fees in Ireland, which would have given it to David Fitzgibbon, of Kilmore, commonly called *ne Carrig*, (i.e., David of the Rock.) It must be observed, however, that, if the

fief of the White Knight had been allowed to descend, according to the common course of law, to his cousin, David *ne Carrig*, it would have been confiscated; as the estate actually possessed by the latter was, in consequence of participation in the rebellion of Gerald, sixteenth Earl of Desmond, in the year 1585.

In Ireland, at an early period, those who possessed knight's fees were called knights, and often took the name of the land they held by military service. Thus, the first Knight of Kerry was the son of the father of the first Earl of Desmond, and appears to have been so called from his fief being in the county of Kerry; while his descendants still continue to enjoy the same honorary distinction. The Knight of Glyn was another son of the same chieftain; and was so denominated on account of his land being a well-known valley called Glencorbry, now Glyn, in the county of Limerick, which has remained in the possession of his posterity. The White Knight was senior to the latter; and all three were the illegitimate sons of the same father, John of Callan, according to several Irish MSS., which are corroborated by a genealogy in the Carew collection at Lambeth, compiled by order of government, on the termination of the civil wars in Munster, with a view evidently to making arrangements as to the property which had been forfeited.

The White Knight possessed a very large estate in the counties of Limerick and Cork, which, at a comparatively recent period, was declared by Mr. Arthur Young to be the finest estate in Europe. The White Knight was not, however, called after his land, but is supposed to have taken his distinctive appellation from the colour of his armour. The family of the White Knight was always esteemed the second branch of the great southern house of the Geraldines, of which the Earl of Desmond was the head. There was likewise a Fitzgibbon, a Knight of Ardskea; and another, Knight of Clonlish, [*Ridire na Claenghlaise*] who seems to be the same as the old Knight.

It has been already stated that the descendants of Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy (knighted by King Henry VIII., in 1553,) continued to be recognised as knights until their tenure *per servitium militare* came to an end, in the time of Cromwell; restitution being made to them after the Restoration of Charles II., in Common Soccage.

In Scotland, likewise, persons are frequently spoken of as "knights" of certain places, because they held by military service.

At the time of the visit of his Majesty King George IV. to Ireland, in 1821, the claim of the Earl of Kingston, to be allowed a place on public occasions, as "the White Knight," in company with the Knight of Kerry, was successfully opposed by Mr. William Vesey Fitzgerald, (afterwards Lord Fitzgerald of Desmond, and of Clangibbon,) eldest son of the Right Honourable James Fitzgerald.

The Right Honourable James Fitzgerald was younger grandson of Mr. James Fitzgerald, whose two brothers already mentioned were present at the Battle of the Boyne. On the decease, in 1852, of Major William Edmund Fitzgerald, of Drumbighill, in the county of Clare, without issue, Mr. Fitzgerald's son, Henry, third Lord Fitzgerald, and Vesci, became the eldest male representative of

that race of the Geraldines, "commonly called the White Knights," (to use the expression recorded on the tomb of their house, in the Abbey of Kilmallock,) and of the family of Fitzgibbon or Clangibbon.

Mr. Fitzgerald naturally entertained a strong feeling in reference to the losses sustained by his ancestors and relatives during the civil wars; the forfeiture of Gerald, sixteenth Earl of Desmond, having been larger than of any other individual; and the property which was confiscated, that had belonged to the branch of the White Knight's family from which he was descended, as well as to the O'Shaughnessys and others with whom he was connected, being likewise of vast extent. He always kept up close relations with the Roman Catholic body in Ireland, and at an early period devoted his efforts to the advancement of civil and religious liberty. He was also strongly attached to the cause of Irish nationality, and took a decided part in favour of the Declaration of Independence in 1782, and was one of those who succeeded in carrying it in the Irish House of Commons. From that period, until the Legislative Union with Great Britain was proposed, he continued to fill high official positions; but, deeming that measure inconsistent with the interests of Ireland, he resigned office, considering that "the post of honour was a private station," when political turpitude prevailed to the extent it then did, overbearing all opposition.

Mr. Fitzgerald having inherited considerable wealth from his maternal grandfather, Pierce Lynch, Esq., and being in possession of large private fortune from various sources, a peerage was pressed upon his acceptance as an inducement to support the Union; but he never thought proper to receive this mark of distinction.

Mr. Fitzgerald married Catherine, eldest daughter of the Rev. Henry Vesey, Warden of Galway, and co-heiress of her brother, Mr. John Vesey, of Oranmore, in the county of Galway, who died A.D. 1770. This lady was descended from the family of which Viscount De Vesci is the head; and derived extensive property in the county of Galway from her great-grandfather, the Most Reverend John Vesey, Archbishop of Tuam, a zealous adherent and personal friend of King William III., during part of whose reign he acted as one of the Lords Justices of Ireland. In 1815 her two sons, in conformity with the Will of their uncle, Mr. John Vesey, assumed by sign manual the name and arms of Vesey, in addition to that of Fitzgerald; and she was created a peeress of the kingdom of Ireland, A.D. 1826, by the title of Baroness Fitzgerald and Vesci.

Her eldest son, Mr. William Vesey Fitzgerald, was returned to parliament soon after the Union, for Ennis, in the county of Clare, a borough in which his father possessed political influence. He subsequently represented the county of Clare, and became a member of the Duke of Wellington's Cabinet, in the year 1828. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald had long been one of the most efficient of the parliamentary friends of the Roman Catholics.

When the late celebrated O'Connell declared his intention of coming forward himself as a candidate, in opposition to Mr. Fitzgerald's re-election, asserting that he could take his seat in the House of Commons, though a Roman Catholic, under the then existing law; and a contest ensued, which terminated in the return of Mr. O'Connell, by an overwhelming majority; accusations were made

against Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald of luke-warmness or hostility to the cause of the Roman Catholics. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, however, subsequently again represented Ennis, and on his mother's death succeeded to her Peerage. In A.D. 1835, he was created a Peer of the United Kingdom, by the title of Lord Fitzgerald of Desmond, and of Clangibbon, in the county of Cork. In A.D. 1841, he became President of the Board of Control, in Sir Robert Peel's Cabinet, his health having compelled him to abstain from proceeding as Governor-General to India soon after the formation of that administration, and died May 11th, 1843, unmarried.

He was succeeded in his Irish Peerage by his brother Henry, third Lord Fitzgerald and Vesci, the present Peer, who is likewise the Very Rev. the Dean of Kilmore.

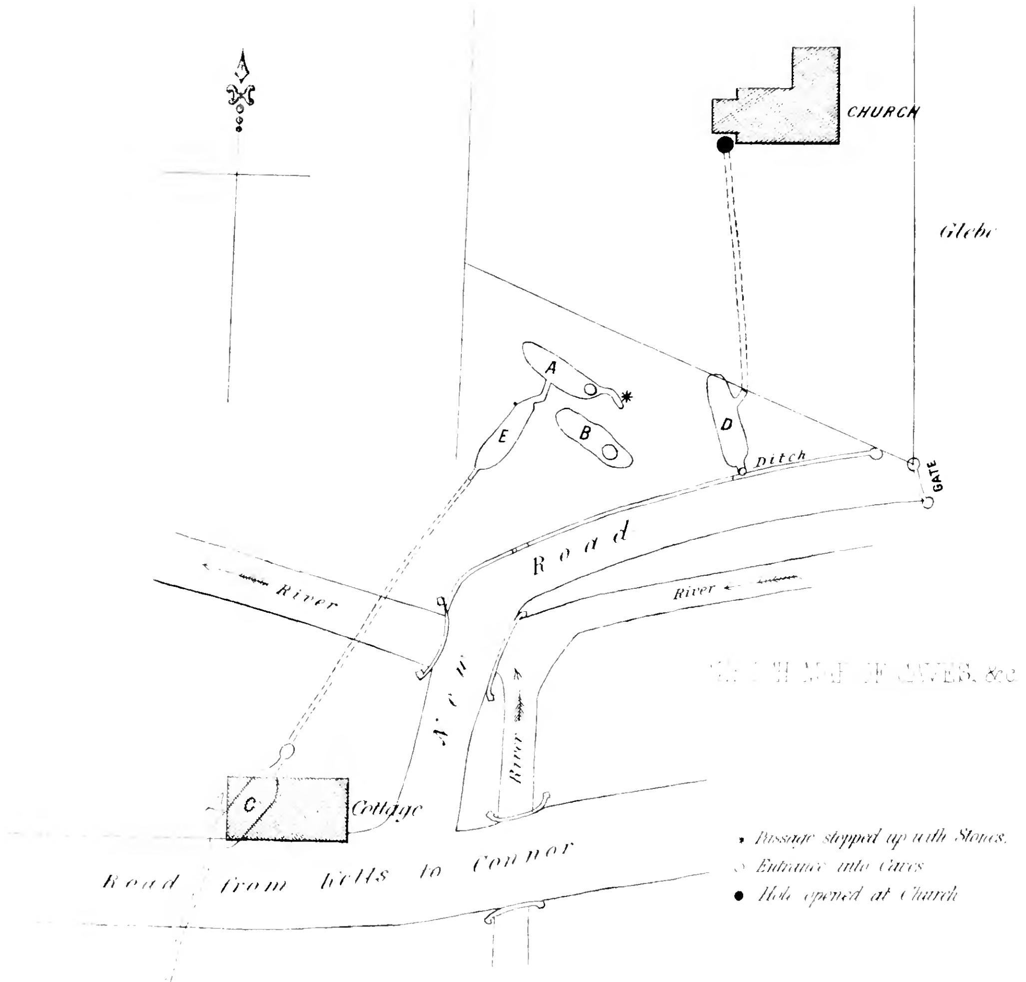
We have thus traced, through various channels, down to the present day, the representatives of Gerald the sixteenth Earl of Desmond, and found the race to have been uniformly talented, generous, and noble-hearted. It will afford us much gratification if any correspondent will point out others of the same illustrious blood. John O'Donovan.

SUBTERRANEAN CHAMBERS AT CONNOR, COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

Some engineering operations in the neighbourhood of Kells and Connor, in this county (about four miles from Ballymena), lately brought under my observation a series of very remarkable caves, which, so far as I am aware, have not hitherto been noticed. They are situated close to the present church of Connor, part of them being covered by the burying-ground; and a local tradition affirms that a passage proceeds from one of them directly under the church itself. One cave is divided from the rest by the intervening river; but it is believed by the people on the spot that a passage exists under the bed of the stream connecting it with those on the opposite side.

The whole of these caves are evidently artificial, being built of large undressed stones, without any kind of mortar or cement. The walls are corbelled in to support the roof, which is, in all cases, composed of large flattish stones. The depth of soil, at present covering the top of the caves, varies from four to fifteen feet. The accompanying plan, which was carefully made on the spot, gives a correct idea of their arrangement and connection with each other, so far as the inquiry has yet been pursued. It is not improbable that other similar chambers may exist in their immediate vicinity.

The first cave into which we entered (marked A on the plan) was about 18 feet long by 5 feet wide, narrowing towards one end next the passage leading into it—a circumstance observed in all the caves we examined. This chamber was very wet, from the copious dropping of moisture from the roof; but the others were quite dry. The passage leading to it had been opened some years



ago, and was now filled up with small stones. The height of this chamber, and, indeed, of all those we entered, was about 5 feet. From it we crawled through a very low and narrow passage (not more than 18 inches square) for a distance of about 8 feet. Near the centre of this passage, one stone projected downwards from the roof much lower than the rest; and at this spot, also, the floor of the passage sunk perceptibly, so as almost to preclude the possibility of seeing from one chamber into the next. There was, likewise, a considerable angle in the direction of the passage itself. After proceeding about eight feet, we found ourselves in a second chamber (marked E), 16 feet long by 5 feet wide, having at its farther end a very small opening leading into another nar-

row passage. This, however, extended only about five feet, and then seemed to turn off at nearly a right angle. Had we been able to explore it farther, it is most probable that it would have led to another similar cave.

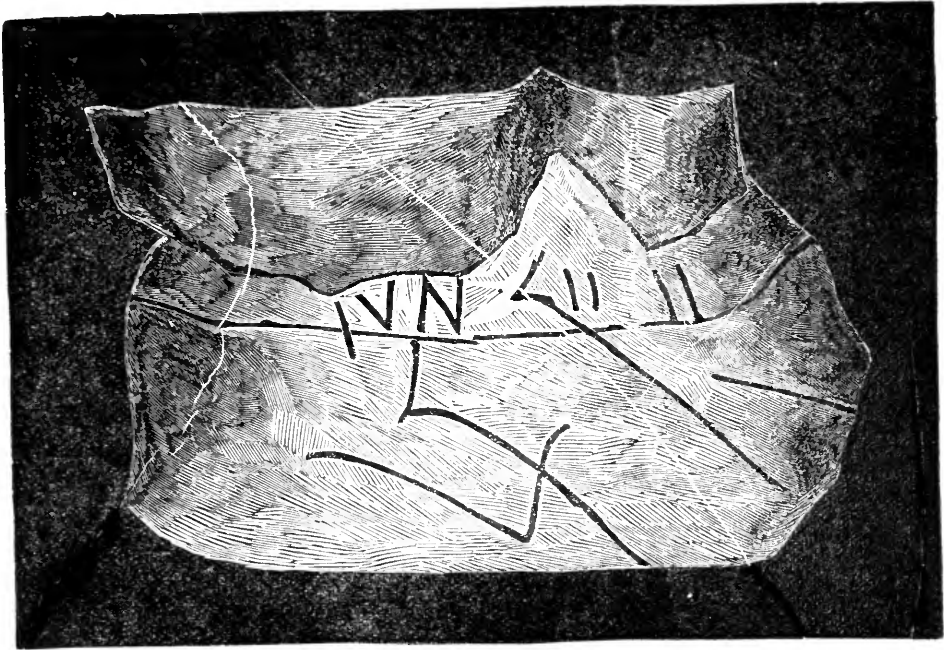
The third chamber (marked B on the plan) was almost of the same dimensions as the one first described; and, so far as we observed, was not joined to the others by any passages. These, however, may exist.

Crossing the river, we next entered and crawled along another narrow passage for about 10 feet, and then emerged into a chamber (marked C) about 16 feet by 5, which we afterwards ascertained to be situated exactly underneath a cottage, indicated on the plan. This chamber had three passages leading into it. The one by which we entered, as already mentioned, was about 10 feet long, and it became gradually wider and higher as we approached the chamber. It is the continuation of this passage that is said by tradition to lead right under the bed of the river, joining the caves first described. The second passage from this chamber issues from the farther end, and is believed traditionally to pass under the road, and lead to other caves on a rising ground. We were only able to follow it for a few feet. The third passage was at one side, and after proceeding about eight feet became wider and higher, and then turned upwards like a funnel. This was probably the ancient entrance to this set of chambers.

The last cave which we examined was on the opposite side of the river (marked D). This chamber was twenty feet long, and more than five feet wide, and was higher than any of the others, being in some places nearly six feet. It was entered, like the rest, by a narrow passage; and at one side, near the farther end, a second passage went off at right angles; but here all progress was soon stopped by large roots of trees, though believed to extend under the church. Another large chamber belonging to the same set had existed close by, but was destroyed in making the new road.

About the centre of the cave marked D., and at its highest part, I observed a large stone standing out about three inches below the general surface of the roof, having on it some curious marks, so regular as almost to induce the belief that they are an inscription of some kind. The more regular characters were about three inches long, the others more. Of these, the annexed is an accurate copy. I am not aware whether they resemble the form of ancient characters called Ogham. If they should prove to be an inscription of this kind, they are probably the first yet discovered in Ulster; for although numerous Oghams are found on stones and in caves in the South of Ireland, they do not appear hitherto to have been met with in any part of the North.

The traditions of the neighbourhood afford no clue to the history or former use of these caves. It is not probable they were used for interment, as no indication of urns or human bones was observable in any part of them. One man, indeed, told us that some bones had been found in one of the chambers, but the close vicinity of a burying-ground would easily account for them; or they may have been the bones of animals used as food. However, these bones were not forthcoming, and we were unable to ascertain any further particulars about them. The impression left on the mind, after examining all the chambers, was certainly that they had been used as places of refuge or con-



cealment in ancient times; and their peculiar construction, approachable only by narrow and winding passages leading from one cave to another, would indicate that they had been planned for this purpose. But I must leave the discussion of this point, and of the date of their formation, to others. Having mentioned the traditions of the neighbourhood, I shall conclude with one which has something in it of the marvellous. At the end of the long passage which is said to pass beneath the church, we were assured that there are hidden the images of the Virgin Mary and the twelve Apostles, made of pure gold! but so concealed by magic or enchantment that they cannot be found. Not long before the time of our visit, six of the country-people had determined to search for this valuable treasure, and accordingly went in the night-time and commenced operations. One of their number, who said he did not like digging among graves after night, was left outside as a watch; while the others proceeded to open the ground immediately beside the door of the church. All went on well until they came down to a large flat stone (in fact the roof-stone of one of these caves or passages), when all of a sudden the crow-bar with which one of the men was working disappeared out of his hands; and he being persuaded that some one had a hold of the other end of it, (no doubt "the old gentleman,") lost no time in making his escape. The panic became general, and the whole party, leaving their tools behind them, rushed past their astonished watchman at racing speed. So ended the sacrilegious attempt to carry off the Virgin and the twelve Apostles.

J. Lanyon.

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

Arthur's Round Table.—[Notes and Queries, vol. 5, p. 252.]—The idea alluded to by H. P., namely, that a *round* table was devised to prevent all disputes about precedency, is embodied in a proverb in two languages,—the Italian and the French. "A tavola ronda non si contende del luoco;" and "Ronde table ôte le débat." It is highly probable that both these old sayings have come down to us from the times of chivalry, and that they took their origin in the romances of the Troubadours about Arthur and his "Knights of the Round Table." The story is said to have been first brought to the British Islands in 1077, by Rhys ap Tudor, on his return to Wales from Brittany, where it probably took its rise. Wace, who wrote in 1155, says, (v. 9,994):—

> "Por les nobles barens qu'il ot * * *
> Fist Artus la *Roonde Table*
> Dont Breton dient mainte fable."

Viator.

Townsend, in his *Statistical Survey of the County of Cork*, published in 1815, mentions (vol. 1, p. 145) that in that part of Ireland heaps of *burnt stones* are found in great numbers, which are said to have been used by the inhabitants, in ancient times, for cooking their victuals. He says these heaps are often found in the neighbourhood of bogs, and frequently covered over with the turf, which has been formed since the period when they were used. The stones are commonly small, seldom exceeding half-a-pound weight, and when in convenient spots are used for repairing the roads. In spite of this, and the levelling of many of the heaps in tilling the ground, great numbers still remain, indicating a very considerable ancient population in that district. Small pieces of charcoal are found in them, showing that wood was the fuel employed: and it is observable that these heaps of stones are always near water, an additional proof of their having been used for cooking.—I wish to be informed whether the same has been observed in any other part of Ireland. Anglicus.

In an Irish newspaper, dated November 1, 1785, is the following notice:—"On the banks of a rivulet, in the North of Ireland, is a stone with the following curious inscription, which was, no doubt, *intended* for the information of strangers travelling that road:—'Take notice, that when this stone is out of sight it is not safe to ford the river.'"—This reminds one of the famous finger-post, which was erected, not many years ago, in Kent, by order of the Surveyor of the Roads, with the following notice inscribed upon it:—"This is a bridle-path to Feversham; if you can't read this you had better keep the main road!"—We thus see that all "Bulls" are not "*Irish* Bulls." Eirionnach.

The word *Erse*, applied to the Gaelic language by many writers who ought to know

better, ought surely to be expunged now from our philological vocabulary. It is merely a mal-pronunciation of the word "Irish." (*Scoticè* "Eerish.") So little is it understood on the continent, that I find it explained in one of the best and most recent French dictionaries, (Spiers's) as "the language of the ancient *Scandinavians!*"

EIRIONNACH.

When I was a child, I remember an old cook in the family, on every Hallowe'en, baking a three-cornered oaten cake, with a hole in the middle, by which she strung it round my neck. It was called a *stroan*. No doubt there was some superstition connected with it; but what was it? and what language is the word *stroan?* I am not singular in my recollection of this circumstance, as several of my friends also remember it. I am speaking of the county Derry.

J. F.

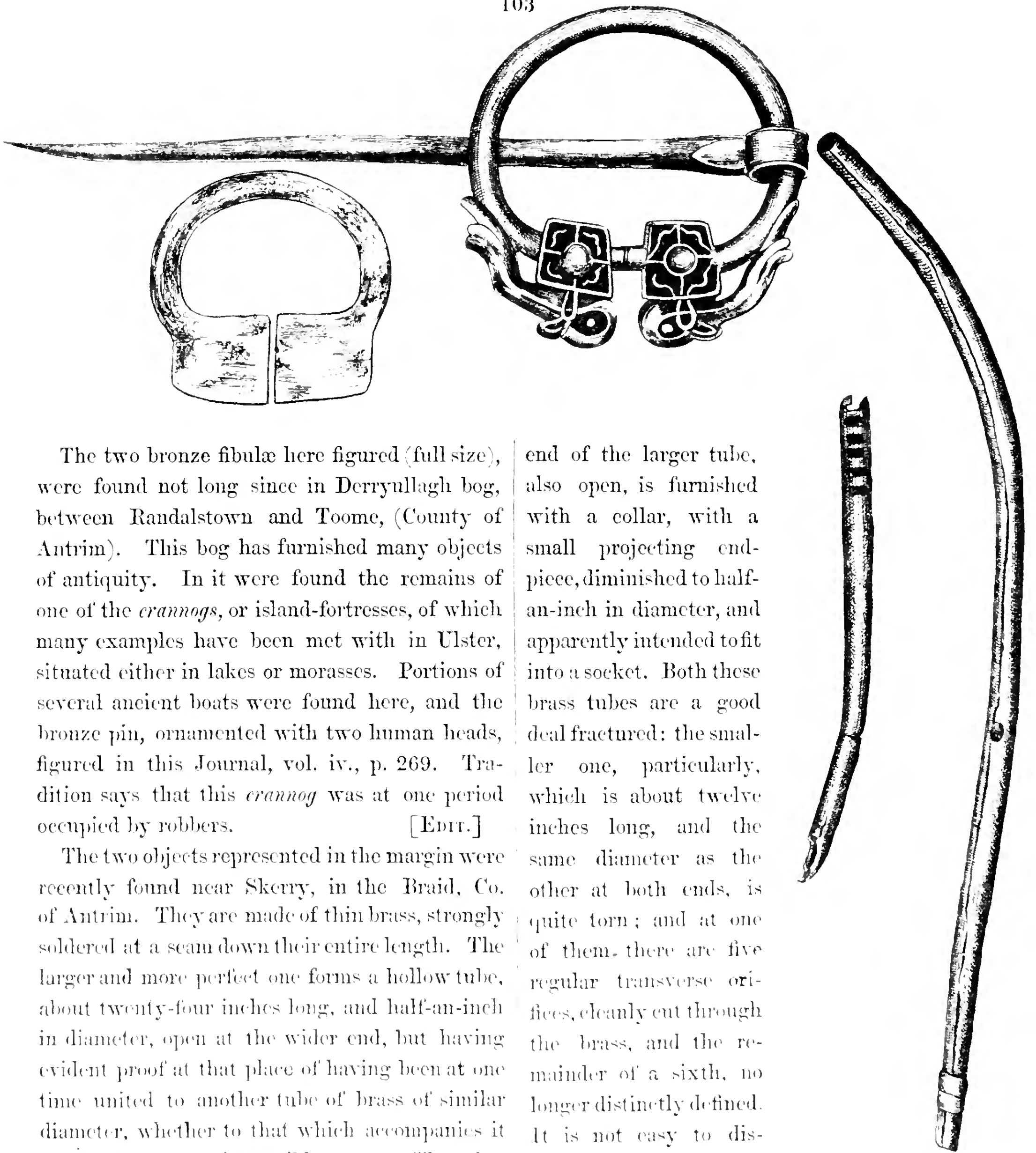
THE IRISH LANGUAGE.—I have read with great interest the remarks of J. W., of Cork, [*Journal*, vol. v., p. 243,] on the prevalence of the Irish language. It appears to me that his facts are correct, but his inferences erroneous. The capability of speaking a language is one thing, and the actual use of it another. Probably one tenth of the Jews in Europe can speak Hebrew; but no two of them make it the current vehicle of thought. In like manner, there may be two millions of people in England who can speak French; but there are, probably, not two hundred who speak it only. The Irish-speaking population has, unquestionably, increased in the course of years; but it is only in *absolute* numbers, not *relatively* to the whole population. In July, 1844, I met a wild sort of guide, on the Tore mountain, at Killarney, and, asking him if there were any who knew Irish only, "Oh no!" he replied, "none but some wild fellows among the mountains." "Even with such a man as this," I remarked, "the Saxon tongue is the symbol of civilization." In 1850 a statistical return was made of 5,439 families, embracing a population of 29,690, in a low part of the town of Liverpool. It was found that not fewer than 1,356 families had some adult members who could speak Irish. Yet the Irish, except in occasional expressions, was not used by any of them as a means of communication. A written language, side by side with a mere spoken one, breaks it down eventually; and, had the Irish been sooner reduced to writing extensively, and books printed in it, there would have been a greater chance of its standing. Another generation will probably clear off many thousands of those who use it currently in speech; and, by the end of the present century, it will be driven into the almost inaccessible parts of the bogs and mountains.

PHILALETHES.

INVITATION TO A PIG.—Every rural child in Ulster must have frequently heard the sound "tthur-tthur, tthur-tthur," employed in calling a pig. It is obviously the Irish *tore*, with the final consonant elided, as when a Jew calls "ole' clo'." Unconsciously, then, and in a different tongue, the domestic servant is calling "pig-pig, pig-pig."

In connection with this subject it may be mentioned that the game of school-boys, called "see-saw," or "shuggy-shoo," is also called "copple-thurrish." This is obviously "horse-and-pig," (which the two Irish words imply) as if the two animals were balancing against each other, and alternately becoming elevated and depressed.

BALLINAMUCK.



The two bronze fibulæ here figured (full size), were found not long since in Derryullagh bog, between Randalstown and Toome, (County of Antrim). This bog has furnished many objects of antiquity. In it were found the remains of one of the *crannogs*, or island-fortresses, of which many examples have been met with in Ulster, situated either in lakes or morasses. Portions of several ancient boats were found here, and the bronze pin, ornamented with two human heads, figured in this Journal, vol. iv., p. 269. Tradition says that this *crannog* was at one period occupied by robbers. [Edit.]

The two objects represented in the margin were recently found near Skerry, in the Braid, Co. of Antrim. They are made of thin brass, strongly soldered at a seam down their entire length. The larger and more perfect one forms a hollow tube, about twenty-four inches long, and half-an-inch in diameter, open at the wider end, but having evident proof at that place of having been at one time united to another tube of brass of similar diameter, whether to that which accompanies it or not it would be impossible to say. The other end of the larger tube, also open, is furnished with a collar, with a small projecting end-piece, diminished to half-an-inch in diameter, and apparently intended to fit into a socket. Both these brass tubes are a good deal fractured: the smaller one, particularly, which is about twelve inches long, and the same diameter as the other at both ends, is quite torn; and at one of them there are five regular transverse orifices, cleanly cut through the brass, and the remainder of a sixth, no longer distinctly defined. It is not easy to discover to what purpose

these objects had been applied. No circumstance connected with their finding, that might assist in forming a conjecture as to their use, has come to the knowledge of the writer. On a cursory view, they might almost be taken for the fragments of a musical instrument; but they are, more probably, parts of some domestic implement of ancient date. G. B.

PARALLEL PASSAGES.—

"Tell me where is Fancy bred,
Or in the heart, or in the head?
How begot, how nourished?—
It is engender'd in the eyes
With gazing fed: and Fancy dies
In the cradle where it lies:
Let us all ring Fancy's knell,
I'll begin it:—Ding, dong, bell.
Ding, dong, bell."
(Merchant of Venice, III, 2.)

This is said to have been written in 1597. Every one knows that "Fancy" here means "Love." Now, among the Latin poems of George Buchanan, who died in 1582, the following lines occur:—

"Quis puer ales? Amor. Genitor quis? Blandus ocelli
Ardor, Quo natus tempore? Vere novo?
Quis locus excepit? Generosi pectoris aula,
Quæ nutrix? Primo flore juventa decens."
"Amor
"Non metuit mortem? Non. Quare? Sæpe renasci,
Sæpe mori decies hunc brevis hora videt."

This is at least a remarkable parallelism.

T. H. P.

* * * * * *

A beautiful little sepulchral urn, in the possession of a gentleman in my neighbourhood, attracted my attention from the circumstance of having curves and bands on its bottom and sides *arranged in threes*. Another urn, figured at page 179 of Dr. Wilde's *Catalogue* of the Royal Irish Academy's Museum has "*nine* sets of upright marks each containing *three* cross-barred elevations." Another in p. 177, (fig. 126.) has "*three* sets of leaf-like marks," and the bands of ornaments on figures 125, 127, and 128 seem also to be *three* in each. If this peculiarity should be found in any other cases, it might point to some veneration in remote times for the number *three* and its multiples. Some very curious observations on the sanctity of the number *twelve* among the old Irish, may be seen in the Notes by the Hon. A. Herbert, to the Irish copy of *Nennius*, published by the Irish Archæological Society, at page 112. T. H. P.

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

AESAR.—[Queries, vol. 5, p. 351.]—Professor Pictet, of Geneva, in remarking on the improbability of this word being compounded of *aes* and *fear*, i.e., "man of age," says it is not likely such an epithet would be applied to the Deity. Now, in colloquial Irish, I have more than once heard the word *fear*, "man," used when speaking of God, but evidently in the general sense of "individual" or "person." Thus, in reply to the common salutation, "Go m-beannuigh Dia dhuit," (God bless you,) I have received the reply, "Go m-beannuigh an *fear* céadna dhuit-se," (may the same person [man] bless you also;) showing that the Irish-speaking people do not consider the word as applied to human beings alone, or that the epithet is in any way deroga-

tory. There are, perhaps, no people on the face of the globe, who (in their native language) speak more respectfully and deferentially of the Supreme Being.

This use of the word *fear*, however, is by no means modern: we meet with many examples of it in our old Irish MSS. I shall just refer to one of these, an ancient poem entitled *Caoidh Oisin a n-diaigh na Féinne*, [the Lamentation of Ossian after the Fenians], which was printed last year, by the Ossianic Society. At page 256, we have

A deir se gur mór an fear é Dia,
"He says that God is a great Man."

And at page 276:—

Go d-tiubhrair gradh don fhear shuas,
"That thou wilt bestow love on the *Man* above," *i.e.*, God. Even in the New Testament we have the word "man" directly applied to the Divinity:—"The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is the Lord from heaven."—[1 Corinthians, xv. 47.] OLLAMH FODHLA.

AESAR.—I never met with the word *Aesar* in any Irish book or MS.; and I believe it to be one of the many Irish words forged or imagined by Vallancey. He inferred it from the story in Suetonius, and thought it might signify *aes-fhear*, i.e. "aetatum vir," "aevorum vir," or "vir saeculorum." It may have existed in the original Celtic of Gaul; but I do not believe that we ever used it in the "Island of Saints." We had the word *Dailemh* genitive *Dailemhan*, to signify the Creator or Arranger of the Elements; and various other words to denote the Eternal Being, besides *Dia*, our present word, which is cognate with the Sanskrit *dyau*, the Latin *Deus*, and the Greek Θεός. J. O'DONOVAN.

TO STRIKE A BARGAIN.—[Queries, vol. 5, p. 258.]—Compare the following passages:—

Proverbs, xi., 15.—"He that hateth those that *strike hands* is sure."

Proverbs, xxv., 26.—"Be not thou one of them that *strike hands*, or of them that are sureties for debts."

"Ere I could make thee open thy white hand
And class thyself my love: then did'st thou utter
I am yours for ever."
Shakspeare's Winter's Tale, Act 1. s. 2.

[Note by Stevens.—"She opened her hand, to *clap* the palm of it in his, as people do when they confirm a bargain. Hence the phrase "to clap up a bargain," i.e. to make one with no other ceremony than the junction of hands."]

If Q. Q. had seen our country-people bargaining at a fair, he would have had a practical illustration of this. The buyer puts a piece of money into the seller's open hand, names the price, and, if it be accepted, claps his hand on it with a loud slap. If rejected, he removes it till he makes a better offer. T. H. P.

"GO TO POT."—[Queries, vol. 5, p. 352.]—I think your correspondent, SHEMUS, might find an answer to his query about "going to pot," in the Greek word πότμος "fate, destiny, or *death*." J. F.

"GO TO POT."—I cannot say whether it throws any light on this strange expression, but it is, at all events, curious, that in Latin *orcus* signifies "hell," and *orca*, "a pot." QUISQUIS.

GO TO POT.—1. In one of the editions of *Joe Miller*, there is a story of a tailor who lived near a church-yard, and it is said that whenever a funeral passed his window, he threw a stone or pea into a pot beside him, to keep reckoning, for his own satisfaction, of the number of funerals

within a limited period. After the man's own death, a customer inquired for him, and a flippant shopman replied:—"Oh, he's *gone to pot*, himself, now." This may actually have occurred; but it only proves that a passing allusion was made to a well-known idiom.

2. The Psalmist says, (lxviii., 13:)—"Though ye have lain *among the pots*, yet shall ye be as the wings of a dove;" but this only contrasts dirtiness with cleanness, or filth with beauty and ornament. The passage is quoted, however, in Carr's *Glossary of Craven*, [Yorkshire] vol. 2, p. 55, in illustration of the idiom.

3. We speak of "a *furnace* of affliction," but as pots were common, and furnaces not, the expression in question came home to people better. There is a large number of expressions referring generally to misfortune, whether in connection with health, property, or reputation. Thus, a man is in "bad odour," "low water," the "black books," "under a cloud," "in back water," "off the road," "out of the world," "in Coventry," "down the hill," "under cover," "on his keeping,"—"gone *to pot*," in short. I think there is a school-boy game, in which one who is "in pot" is out of the play."

4. The following quotations establish this sense of the word.

"They that appertain to God, they shall inherit everlasting life; but they must *go to pot*, they must suffer here."—*Latimer's Sermons.*

When the cowardly Roman soldiers allowed Coriolanus to be shut up alone within the walls of Corioli, they expected for him captivity, torture, and death, as a matter of course. They all exclaim, therefore,—"*To Pot*, I warrant him."—*Shakspeare, Coriolanus*, i. 4.

During the reign of Charles II., those who dreaded the accession of his brother, frequently indulged in the expression—"to *pot* James must go." This was particularly the case in 1679, when the opinion was prevalent that Charles had been married to the Duke of Monmouth's mother; and it gave point to the old story about the warming-pan in connection with the birth of the first Pretender. In this sense, the expression "*go to pot*," was used in Ireland at the time of the Revolution, and it survives unaltered.

A. H.

INSCRIPTION IN BALLINTOY CHURCH.—[Queries, vol. 5, p. 351.]—In reply to the inquiries of A.T.L., I can satisfy him that the story he mentions is true, though the tomb-stone be not that of the child which met so premature a fate. The accident befel the heir of the Ballintoy estate about the year 1735, being seventy years later than the date on the tomb-stone described by A.T.L. I happen to possess a curious MS., containing many anecdotes of the various branches of the Stewart family, who settled in Ulster in the seventeenth century; and from it I give the subjoined extract, relating, circumstantially, the accident referred to. The writer of the MS. was a contemporary and intimate friend of Sir Annesly Stewart, son of the lady who was the unfortunate cause of the infant's death. Mrs. Stewart was the daughter of the Rev. Dr. Charles Ward, of Mount Panther, in the county Down, and great-grandmother to the present Sir James Stewart, Bart., of Fort Stewart, in the county Donegal. Dr. Stewart, the father of the ill-fated child, was succeeded by his brother's son in the Ballintoy estate, which is, I believe, still in that family; the present owner, however, having

some time ago assumed the name of Fullarton.

G. S.

—"There were some remarkable occurrences in the life of the late Dr. Stewart of Ballintoy, which may be related here. He was chaplain to a regiment which was sent with the army under the command of the Earl of Peterborough, to Spain, in the reign of Queen Ann; when he returned to Ireland he resided at Ballintoy, where he was possessed of an estate, and was presented to the Rectory of that Parish, and afterwards promoted to the Chancellorship in the Diocese of Connor, on the death of the Rev. Jasper Brett. He married a Miss Vesey, of the family of Bishop Vesey; they were married near twenty years before his wife conceived of child, and was delivered of a son: being solicitous to strengthen the constitution of this only child of their old age, they had it bathed in a large vessel of cold water, for several mornings. Mrs. Stewart, the widow of Mr. Ezekiel Stewart, of Fort Stewart, being at Ballintoy, undertook the office of bathing the child; and having dipped the child two or three times in the water, without sufficient intermission for the child to recover his breath, he was wrapped in a blanket to be conveyed to the nursery; when the blanket was opened he was found dead, to the astonishment and grief of the family."—

RAZORS.—[Queries, vol. 5, p. 350.]—CURIOSUS inquires how the old Irish contrived to shave themselves, when they had no steel for making razors. There are other sharp substances which can be used for this purpose, as may be seen from the following. In an account recently published (in *La Belgique Industrielle*, 30 Août, 1857) of the island of New Caledonia, it is mentioned of the natives that—"Ils se rasent avec *des verres de bouteille* disposés à cet effet, et cela avec une adresse dont nos artistes coiffeurs se formeront difficilement une idée!" Z.

SURNAMES.—[Notes and Queries, vol. 5, p. 253.]—A correspondent has alluded to an Irish surname, derived from the name of a wild animal. Spenser, in his *View of the State of Ireland*, (p. 107) says:—"The Irish themselves report that the Mac-Mahons, in the North, were aunciently English, to wit, descended from the Fitz-Ursulas, which was a noble family, in England; and that the same appeareth by the signification of their Irish name. [*Mahon* being the Irish for "a bear," as *Ursa* is in Latin.] Likewise that the MacSwynes, now in Ulster, were aunciently of the Veres, in England, but that they themselves, for hatred of English, so disguised their names."—Is Spenser quite correct in this assertion? ANTIQUARIUS.

THROWING THE SLIPPER.—[Queries, vol. 3, p. 254.]—I am sure I once saw in a Number of the *Jewish Intelligencer*, a notice of certain Jewish superstitions in the North-West of Africa, mentioning among others the taking off the bride-groom's shoe at a wedding: and it was suggested that this may have had some reference to the custom of having the "shoe loosed" which is alluded to in *Deut.*, xxv., 10. T. H. P.

OLD NICK.—The Enemy of Mankind is always spoken of (I do not know why) as having a *cloven* foot. It seems to me that this circumstance, without looking farther, furnishes a sufficient derivation for what is evidently (and literally too) a *nick*-name. But can any one explain why the Evil One should be represented with this peculiarity and with horns? QUISQUIS.

QUERIES.

Has it ever occurred to any of your readers to consider why specimens of helmets and other pieces of defensive armour are so very rare in Irish antiquarian collections? After so many wars, one would expect to find many of them in the bogs and elsewhere. T. H. P.

What were the birds specified under the head of "game" in the old Irish Acts of Parliament, by the name of "*wild turkies*"? T. H. P.

What was *O'Neill's Stuchan* named in Speed's map of Ulster, where a figure appears like a tall tower? T. H. P.

Can any of your correspondents inform me if there be such a thing published as an *English-Irish* dictionary, except M'Curtin's, which is out of print, and besides is not good? J. F.

Can I obtain from any of your readers some information respecting a singular person known traditionally in the Antrim Glens as "the Black Nun of Bona-marga?" MONASTICUS.

In reading the curious and interesting poem called the *Circuit of Ireland*, written in Irish, in the year 942, and published with an English translation in 1841 by the Irish Archæological Society, several points struck me on which I should feel obliged by some information. The poet, in speaking of Dublin, calls it *Ath-cliath*, and the Danish inhabitants *Galls*. Now, is the latter term synonymous with our modern one *Gaels?* If not, what is the distinction, and to whom were the two names severally applicable? If they were identical, what name did the native Irish give to themselves? because in applying the name to foreigners it was equivalent to saying —"You are Gaels, but we are not."—A few lines farther on the poet says:—

> "A plentiful supply from an abundant store was given [by the Danes]
> To Muircheartach, the son of Niall,
> Of bacon, of good wheat;
> * * * *
> Joints of meat and fine cheese were given
> * * * *
> A coloured mantle for every chieftain.

The enumeration of these articles indicates a considerable degree of comfort and advance in civilization at this period in Ireland. In a former number in this Journal [vol. 5, p. 167] a correspondent inquires respecting the time when the cultivation of wheat was first introduced into Ireland. The passage in the poem above quoted, proves that, in the middle of the tenth century, the Danes, at least, were in the habit of cultivating it. But was it known also among the native Irish themselves at that time, or was it introduced by these strangers?

Another verse in the same poem is as follows:—

> "We were a night at cold Aillinn,
> The snow came from the north-east
> Our only houses, without distinction of rank,
> Were our strong *leather cloaks*."

Were these cloaks the usual costume of the Irish soldiers, and is there any other authority for the fact? WILLIAM MILLEN.

THE ARCHÆOLOGY OF IRISH TENANT-RIGHT.

BY HERBERT FRANCIS HORE.

It is no exaggeration to say that the desire to occupy land in Ireland has long been, with Irishmen, their strongest passion. Several causes, such as are not found in other countries, combined to give this passion its force. It is out of our province and purpose to do more than allude to all those causes, which are well known, and thoroughly account for the unparalleled tenacity with which the Irish peasantry used to cling to land. But, considering that modern Irish Tenant-Right is peculiarly indigenous to Ulster—where it seems to have first sprung up, and where it has grown, in self-sustaining strength, working as a principle, with constant motive power by the security it confers, for much good; and, on the other hand, unhappily, in some cases and ways, for much evil, by the intimidation that, in those cases, supports it—for us to enter upon the archæology of this singular custom is literally within our *province*. By confining our remarks, as far as possible, to an archaic view of the subject, our antiquarian readers may possibly receive (as we hope and labour for) at least some gratification. Indeed, restricted as we are from discussing the subject of "Irish Tenant-Right" in its present aspect, with any view of considering this important topic in its economic bearings, we incline to fall back to times before its birth, and, by analogic digression, to dilate into the more general theme of the archæology of Land Tenancy in Ulster. And we shall not, probably, wander much in doing so; since it cannot be doubted that the circumstances to which we shall refer—namely, the nature of tenancy among the Gaelic Irish, and the rebellions, confiscations, and colonization of the North—were those which called the custom under review into being. Avoiding, therefore, the existing phase of the topic, our inquiry is directed to the parentage, birth, and early progress of this usage, which is so special to Ulster.

To commence with the first section of our theme, premising that the study of the laws and customs relating to the property of a country gives the key to comprehending her feuds and history, let us briefly examine the nature of ancient Irish tenancy.

Originally, among the Celts of Ireland, by a system which once extended from the Himalayas to the Atlantic, the ownership of the land of each tribe was vested in the men of the tribe, and there were neither landlords nor tenants. Tenancy commenced when it became customary for each sept of the general tribe to render a "seniory" to their senior. In time, this tribute became a "chief" rent. But it could not be increased *ad libitum*, because the men of the sept

were freemen, and heirs of the soil. They rendered tribute merely to support their chieftain in his dignity. Like himself, they were patricians, descended from the same patriarch; *edel*—i.e., noble-men, whose freedom from labour was *idle*-ness; and "horsemen" and "kerne," the warriors of the clan. The labourers were of totally separate castes, forming the clan serfs and plebeians. After a lapse of ages, when these latter had become, as in the 16th century, virtual owners of cattle, sheep, and swine, they were suffered to occupy the land as tenants at will, liable to have the rent raised on them *ad libitum*. Bearing in mind the marked distinction between the patrician and plebeian occupiers, it must be recollected that the former were also no more than a species of tenants-at-will. The chieftain,—even the clan,—could not confer any term of tenancy. Any continued occupancy was, therefore, the result of a claim, or customary title, to possession. The temporary usufruct of certain demesnes was enjoyed by the senior and his tanist during their tenure of office, and they let the land by the year. The residue of the "country" was occupied by junior septs, whose possession, owing to changes sometimes induced by various causes, was practically insecure. This absence of legal fixity of tenure prevented the erection of substantial dwellings. The portion of an Irish sept styled a *creaght* was as nomad as an ancient Scythian horde. This sort of sept, peculiar to Ulster, was a community of relatives, to whom almost all was in common, and named in Gaelic "herdsmen of cattle," cows being, save their scanty clothing, almost their sole property. Their few wants were easily supplied, so far as lodging was concerned, by the use of such hovels as they found about the country. Even their chiefs lived either in the ruins of castles erected by the first Norman invaders, or in houses little better than cabins, or in the woods. Central Ulster was a wilderness under the rule of the last O'Neill. Eastern Ulster would have been little else, had it been entirely under the swords of the clan Hugh-buoy O'Neill, whose bards were wont to lament the usurpation, by the English, of much of the territory of the clan, and the consequent "disfigurement of ramparts and frightful towers on lands never before taken away from the support of men and animals."[a] What would those old Irish poets of Clandeboye, who ignored the use of "improvements," have said about the tall and smoking fabrics which are now the glory of Belfast? They would have found these monuments of civilization as distasteful as a Scottish tenant's steam-engine and agricultural machinery used to be deemed in Tipperary.

Although it is impossible to believe that change of occupancy among Gaelic clansmen, who were joint owners and occupiers, was frequent, yet their pastoral habits rendered removal easy. Writing from the site of Enniskillen, Attorney-General Davys declared that there was not a single village in the entire county; so "wild and transitory" was the life of the people. It is not easy to reconcile this statement with another in the same letter, that in the shire of Monaghan "almost every acre" had a separate owner, who termed himself "a lord, and his portion of land his

[a] O'Conor's Dissertation, 62.

country."[b] We imagine the truth to be that as, under tanistry, the occupancies of tenants were more long-lived than the tenure of a chieftain, the former, when agricultural, gradually obtained a traditional right, which became the Irish "copy-hold," transferable interest, or "tenant-right." The insecurity that would have resulted from a full operation of gavelkind and tanistry, with all their effects, must have been seen to be so pernicious (for, under it, men and their families must have been shifted like sheep,) that even ancient Celtic human nature revolted against it, and was constantly endeavouring to obtain that permanence of tenure which modern Irish farmers so naturally desire. The claim given by some duration of occupancy became gradually recognised. If we give credence to native authorities, many occupiers of land enjoyed a right equivalent to copy-hold; if to foreign, the general tenantry were always liable to dispossession. Both statements may be correct; since an actual permanence of occupation may have existed, as in the present day, without any legal security. Indeed, the Irish tenant seems always to have retained his power to remove, and yet to have held on (as Sir Henry Piers[c] states) under a mere verbal tenure, satisfied therewith, and averse, like Jack Cade, to parchment and wax. The uncertainty and certainty of his tenure were much the same as now. No written demise or lease was, or could be, made; and the chieftain was able to dispossess any unfortunates who had lost their stock by a raid. Still, that undefined but cogent claim of usufructuary possession, which humanity has ever acknowledged, was in force under the patriarchal rule of clanship; and the effect of these two influences was that, generally speaking, the inferior septs, or families, continued to dwell on their forefathers' land.

It has been asserted that a certain condition of continuous occupancy gave, under Gaelic usage, a tenant-right; or, to speak accurately, that by Brehon law, or custom, "occupation under three successive generations made the fourth tenant proprietor." This assertion, which we quote from the *Dublin University Magazine* for April, 1848, is somewhat borne out by a passage in one of those curious memoranda papers,[d] compiled by Dr. Hanmer at the time he was inditing his work on Ireland, and in which, under the head of "Mores Gentium," he has recorded many traits of the Irish of his time. We find in it the following sentence, characteristic of the conduct of the natives in respect to the point under view:—"*Set them a farme, the grandfather, father, son, and they clayme it as their owne; if not, they goe to rebellion.*" A similar claim, or title, and closer in resemblance than that which we shall presently quote from the Brehon laws, is to be found set forth in the Gwentian code of Wales, published in the *Leges Wallicæ*, viz.:—

> "Dudenhudd" [a proprietorship] "is the tilling by a person of land tilled by his father before him. In the fourth degree a person becomes a proprietor—his father, his grandfather, and his great-grandfather, and he himself the fourth."

This ancient British custom, which was perhaps imported by the Celts into Ireland, was doubtless, as observed by the writer of the above-mentioned article in the *Dublin University Magazine*, the origin

[b] Davys, in Vallancey, I. [c] Vallancey. I. [d] S. P. O.

of "copy-hold" tenure; and exists to this day, as that writer believes, in a modified form, in parts of Cumberland. The passage from the Brehon code, also quoted in that article, is as follows:—

> "All lands are bound, when by three lords they are set—*i.e.*, his lands are bound from a person when he has fairly set them out during the time of three. . . . The land shall belong to the man who grazes it, who takes off its sweet herbage, during the time of three, he having its possession during that term."

It is likely that a permanent proprietorship, given by Cumbrian custom, is the origin of those small estates owned by "statesmen" around the Lakes, whose strong attachment to their little properties is warmly noticed by Wordsworth. In a somewhat inconclusive *Essay on the Tenant-Right of Ulster*, Mr. Hancock, formerly professor of Political Economy in Belfast, quotes the following account of tenant-right as it exists on a church estate in Cumberland:—"In the manor of Linstock, *which is the property of the see* of Carlisle, the custom of tenure is that termed tenant-right. The freehold of the customary tenements is in the lord; the tenant holds to him, his heirs and assigns for ever, of the lord, according to the custom of the manor, under fixed customary rents, and performing certain customary duties and services, the tenements descending, and being descendible, from the ancestor to the heir, as of the hereditary right of the tenants, called tenant-right."

So lenient were the Brehon laws in their criminal code, and so equitable and minute in their provisions respecting matters of property, that we may well believe it will appear, on the publication of these laws, that custom, having the force of law, and so enforced as to have been included among written provisions, raised some shield of prescriptive claim over families that could boast a long occupancy. It was declared of the Irish, on good authority, that no nation in the Christian world were greater lovers of justice—which virtue, as Lord Coke generously observes, must of necessity be accompanied by many others. So we may reasonably conjecture that successive chieftains frequently allowed their kinsmen to continue in undisturbed occupancy, under easy rents; especially when we know that modern landlords, who are neither kith nor kin to their tenantry, honourably and willingly recognise a similar right, if sanctioned by length of tenancy, or required by the claims of industry.

Other causes operated to confer a prescriptive right on Gaelic tenants. In fact, several peculiarities of Irish occupancy combined to form the national idea of a right to a cheap and permanent tenure of the land. Some castes and professions held their patrimonies in permanence, subject only either to a fixed rent, or to professional services. Under this latter category were ranked the numerous septs of galloglasses, bards, &c. The extent and peculiar ownership of Church lands contributed more than any other combination of circumstances to establish fixity of tenure. Bishop Montgomery designates see lands as "copy-hold," (strictly speaking, unknown here,) or *censuales terræ*, subject to a mere nominal rent, or "*antiquum censum*." As he observed, the lands belonging to

the bishoprics of Ulster were scattered throughout the province, being in the vicinity of the churches, "much after the distribution of the Levites' portion among the rest of the tribes." Besides the effect of permanency on these estates, their example was wide-spread and congenial. It would seem that, anciently, the tenancy of *herenachs*, who were hereditary occupiers of church lands, resembled that of *adscripti glebæ;* and that, like the Roman *villani*, who by thirty years' possession became *coloni liberi*, they became permanent free tenants.[e] In warlike Ulster, agriculture was, it is likely, confined to ecclesiastical lands; the county of Armagh, now the seat of the primate, and in ancient times largely owned by the church, is, at present, the shire in which tenant-right prevails to the fullest extent; and it is probable that custom endowed church tenants with a fixity that neither bishop nor chieftain, who could not bind their successors, could legally give.

The account given by Cæsar of the mode of creating tenancy among the Germans applies exactly to the system pursued among the Irish fifteen hundred years afterwards. He describes them as no practisers of agriculture, but subsisting, for the most part, on milk, cheese, and flesh. "No one among them had any particular land assigned to him, nor limits within which he could call it his own; but the leader, or chief, assembled the various septs each year, and applotted land in such portions and places as was seen fit; and, in the year following, compelled them to remove to a different quarter." This condition must have necessitated an almost unvarying state of pasturage. In Ireland, where this barbarous state of things continued until the reign of the Stuarts, it was customary for the heads of *creaght* communities to bargain for a year's grass for their herd of cattle every May-day.[f] During their pasturing progress over the unenclosed portions of the country, which they obtained a right to graze on by payment of so much per head, they used for shelter whatever shealings they found. Sir William Petty observes that Irish cabins could be built in three days, and were held of the superior from May to May. "They hold" (writes Sir Henry Piers, so late as 1682) "but from year to year, nor do they desire a longer term." Under such tenure, there could be little attention to agriculture, and hardly any to such improvements as would entitle a tenant to claim a permanent interest.

Sir Henry Piers' description of the native farmers of his day is so curious and graphic, that the following extracts from his account are worth quoting:—

"As to the inferior rank of husbandmen, called *sculloges*, (which may be Englished farmer or husbandman, or yet more properly, boors,) they are generally very crafty and subtile in all manner of bargaining. . . . Every townland held by them is grazed in common. . . . They have a custom, on a stated day every year, to come and give warning to their landlord to provide other tenants for their holdings and houses, and this they will do as formally as if they were in earnest; and yet after all they intend nothing less, for they *will not leave the place with their good will*, where they and their ancestors have sat. In this case, you shall have some of them tell their landlord, that they and their forefathers have been there as long, and perhaps longer, than he, and they will

[e] Archbishop Ussher on Corbes, &c. 1609.

[f] Collins, I. 97.

not out for him;—whither shall they go? and the like stuff: and this their shyness of leaving their antient habitations is not without some cause. For *if one of them remove*, but to dwell in the next county, nay, the next parish, provided it be under *another landlord*, he is on every little pique with his neighbour reproached with terms importing vagabond, or forsaken outcast, &c.; and so keen is his *anima redeundi*, that he is not at ease within himself till he make way for his return again to the place, as he phrases it, where he ought to be:

Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine cunctos
Tangit, et immemores non sinet esse sui."

Greatly as the free spirit of adventure and self-reliance, which leads the Englishman to seek a livelihood in any quarter of the globe, is to be admired, we confess we sympathise fully in that strong sentimental affection which the Irish peasantry evince for their homes, kinsfolk, friends, and father-land. Much that might pass under the review of an Irish archæologist has, doubtless, contributed to foster the growth of this national feeling. But the theme is apart from our present object. Let us, however, not altogether pass it over; and notice, at least, one evident archaic peculiarity of the national mind—viz., that it was never clear to the Irish understanding that *land could be lost*. Were the country conquered and confiscated, it might be reconquered. No men, or combination of men, could justly sell an acre of the clan-land. Whatever interest an occupier had, it is questionable if he could have sold it; and, certainly, he could only forfeit his own interest without affecting that of his relatives. Under the similar law of Kentish gavelkind, the father paid, according to the old rhyme, the penalty of his "bond," but his sons inherited the "lond;" and though he might be hanged on "the bough," they returned "to the plough." Treason to the lord, under the feudal system, caused the fief to be forfeited. But clanship acknowledged neither fiefs nor lords. Conquest might have been felt and understood by the Gaelic Irish, but forfeiture was ignored by them. A successful insurrection, a great political revolution, might, they thought, at any time, restore what they had lost. In the national idea that land was inalienable, we discover the origin of those pretensions to estates and rank which indued the character of an "Irish gentleman" with the ludicrous assumption so humorously delineated by old novelists and playwrights. The sons of the former chieftains and proprietors, who had been ousted by violent transfers, ever looked ardently, while brooding over their losses, to be reinstated by some political movement. Often did this repressed feeling of having suffered spoliation burst into a flame; and we do not over-rate its lasting strength in believing that its ashes, spread over Ireland, are far from being extinguished. Let us, in archæologic fashion, look back, and, in evidence of the national persuasion at one period, quote Dr. King, who, writing in bitter triumph after the success of the Revolution, observes:—"It is the humour of this people to count an estate their own, though they have sold it, or been legally turned out; so that they reckon every estate theirs that either they or their ancestors had at any time in their possession."

Naturally, the farming colonists of Ireland ever were, to many intents and purposes, in an

enemy's country. This view of their condition, in their relation to the ancient and dispossessed occupiers, is obviously even more true of the Protestants who settled in Ulster in and after the 17th century, than of Strongbow's yeomen archers, or Cromwell's musketeers. Without pausing to trace the vicissitudes which the general Saxon settlement underwent from the epoch of the first invasion, we may notice the characteristic manner in which those half-subjugated natives, who continued to dwell among the colonists, swelled in numbers, gradually intruded themselves into an almost universal occupancy of the land, and, at last, by perverting their degenerate masters, the lords of the land, to Irish usages and manners, so metamorphosed feudal peers into independent chiefs as to undermine and peril the English interest and power. Lease-hold, that honest and fruitful security of tenure, which, conjoined in England with the hereditary feudal good feeling between landlord and tenant, has so powerfully "contributed" (in the words of Adam Smith) "to the grandeur of England," was transplanted to flourish in Irish soil at the earliest possible period. But it was always regarded by the natives (so we believe) as a foreign and uncongenial tenure, with which, particularly in early ages, they were unacquainted; which, in their mind, was fraught with written legal restrictions; and the close of which threatened rise of rent, or eviction. We could adduce several proofs that the English yeomanry of the Pale held their farms by the sound security of leases. Indeed, it cannot be thought that, when conquered Ireland was granted by the Crown in vast fiefs to Strongbow and other royal barons, to be held by them and their heirs "in hereditary descent for ever," (so it is expressed in their charters,) and when these lords allotted subordinate estates to their companions in arms, the knights and esquires who had partaken in the valiant enterprise, it cannot be thought, we repeat, that these nobles, knights, frankleins, and squires, whose own claims had been so amply rewarded, forgot the still stronger claims of their brave yeomen, (those English archers who, as Cambrensis declares, surpassed the Norman chivalry in their services in the conquest,) but that they established their stout and trusty supporters in firm tenancy of the land around every newly-erected castle, which was to be guarded by their valour, and maintained by their industry. But, in the meanwhile, numbers of the lower orders of the Gael, such as some original cultivators and graziers of the soil, and such as had been enslaved by the conquerors, continued to occupy large portions of the Pale, under (as it seems,) the terms of ancient Gaelic tenure; for by a remarkable clause in the compact between Henry II. and Roderick, monarch of Ireland, it was expressly provided that such Celtic tenants as had fled before the conquerors, but might please to return into the Pale to live under the new lords, should pay the ancient services to which they were accustomed. The banners of the Normans had not been followed by a force adequate either to the complete reduction of the country, or to its pacific occupation; and consequently, during succeeding centuries, the strength of the Englishry was wasted by the native enemies in the mountain regions, whose raids and devastations gave fortress and farm-house alike to the flames. For the repair, or reconstruction of the castle, the nobleman

could summon his tenantry, and compel their assistance; but to rebuild and replenish the more important farm steadings was a more difficult task. Again, while the feudal peer was bound by strong ties of interest to the country, the freeholder, "all his gear gone," must either migrate, or compete against the offers of Gaelic serfs to hold his farm according to their custom of tenancy. And his lord, now changing into the leader of a border family, preferred the ready submission of mere tenants-at-will, to the sturdy independence of lease-holders. So soon developed and contagious was the temptation to substitute the native tenure for lease-hold, that it is recorded of an Anglo-Norman archbishop of Dublin, Henry of London (one of those great men by whose advice Magna Charta was granted), that he acquired the nickname of "scorch-villein" from having inveigled the tenantry of the see into showing him their leases, and then seizing these documents, and throwing them into the fire! The gradual extirpation of the English yeomanry of the Pale is distinctly traceable in our national records. Even the higher nobility, whose frail hold on this narrowed territory depended mainly on the loyalty of the descendants of the men-at-arms who had conquered under the flags of De Clare, De Lacy, and Fitz Gerald, completed this extinction in the 15th century, when the English power sank to its lowest ebb, by letting their lands to "Irishry," who (in the words of a contemporary record), "by living hardlie, and without victuals, in penury and wretchedness," were able to render a larger share of the produce to the lord of the soil than the Saxon yeoman could have paid, without reducing himself and family to their miserable level.[5] Assuredly, whenever these yeomen, to meet that competition, descended in the scale of civilization, their landlord partook of their degradation; and, moreover, so far as he was affected by the manners of his Gaelic followers and companions, he lost caste and nationality by his degeneracy; since castle walls can no more keep out the influence of the habits and manners of the lower ranks, who minister in a hundred forms to the domestic needs of the inmates, than those walls can exclude the infection of epidemics. When the estate of a Geraldine or De Burgh became crowded with *kerne*, *creaghts*, and *betaghs*, who held at his mere will, and rendered to him all that was usually rendered to an O'Rourke or an O'Flaherty, they proved as ready to follow him in war as if he were their *ceann-kinè*, lineally descended from Conn of the Hundred Battles. "Like master like man" is a true proverb in the reverse sense; and when "silken Thomas," Lord Fitzgerald, backed by a mob of Celtic enthusiasts, revolted, both English master and Irish man performed parts that may be likened to those in the play:—"Enter Tilburina mad, in dirty white satin, and her maid, mad, in dirty white linen."

The natural antipathy of race which subsisted between the natives and the colonists, and which must have considerably impeded the peaceful cultivation of the land, requires and merits our archæologic notice. Besides the invariable hatred between Gael and Saxon, every new-comer, or

[5] The gradual degeneracy of the Pale is admirably treated of by the Rev. Richard Butler, in the Irish Arch. Society's publications, edited by him.

"stranger," from England or Scotland experienced a full measure of that jealousy and dislike felt by the natives of a semi-civilised country towards incomers more advanced in civilization than themselves. Such of the aliens as were farmers, bent on obtaining their living on Irish soil, were inevitably odious to the natives they competed with, or displaced. During mediæval times, the few English who ventured over to colonise the Pale were stigmatised as English "hobbes," *i.e.* clowns, by the old colonists, who, themselves, were ridiculed by the new Saxons as Irish "dogs."[h] Native wit was never at a loss in satire; a weapon easily wielded against a class that in Ireland has always found great difficulties in rising. The Irish Secretary of State, writing in 1584, recommended that the use of the epithet "churle" should be abandoned, and that the English terms, "husbandman," "franklein," and "yeoman," should be used instead.[i] A foreign term, however, was not to be transplanted into the national mouth, when the national mind was inclined to eradicate the foreign thing itself. With respect to the archæology of the crime of murder in revenge for dispossession—a crime peculiar to Ireland—few instances of it are to be found in all our sources of information. There can be little doubt, however, that the Brehon law of *eric*, or the fine for shedding human blood, was frequently the avenger, and sole avenger, of such offences in early days, when they were little remarked, because occurring among the native race. Under the year 1443, the annalist Firbis notices the murder of an abbot in the county of Sligo, by his own kinsmen, for having taken certain hereditary lands from them.[j] John Dymmock, writing in 1599, after describing the virtues of the Irish, their generous hospitality, quick wit, kindliness of heart, and strong natural affection, observes that they "are secret in displeasure, of a cruel revenging mind, and irreconcileable." There is certainly enough in the history of their gradual subjugation to account for their antipathy to their conquerors. Our archæologic readers may perhaps remember Story's statement that, during the rebellion of 1688, cattle were ludicrously put on trial by the rebels, and slaughtered, because they could not plead denizenation, in the same spirit that has, within this year, filled the bog-holes of Gweedore, in Donegal, with the carcasses of sheep belonging to "stranger" tenants.

Lease-hold security is of too modern a date in Ulster to come within our present notice, further than to observe that, as "tenant-right" is its substitute, we are curious to ascertain whether the latter usage has, in many instances, supplanted that more satisfactory mode of letting land. In modern times, a large class of tenants obviously prefer to hold land free from the restrictions and liabilities of leases. More anciently, such restrictions were unknown; for the economy of the relation of landlord and tenant was not understood; it not being deemed essential that the occupier should be restricted from deteriorating the soil. But, doubtless, the need for lease-hold security must have been constantly and paralysingly felt. In a letter, dated 1594, a law officer of the crown in Munster recommends that the nobility and landlords of the country be ordered to make leases of

[h] State Paper Office. [j] Irish Arch. Miscell. 202. [i] Statute of Kilkenny.

their lands for twenty-one years, or three lives, instead of for three years, as is the practice.[k] The improvements effected in the Lowlands of Scotland, and the excellent system of farming pursued there, have been traced, in a great degree, to the customary leases for nineteen years; a term found adequate to compensate the tenant for most improvements he may effect, excepting building, which indeed, with all permanent improvements, should be undertaken by the owner of the soil. Edmond Spenser speaks of the absence of security of tenure among the Irish farmers; yet, as we conceive, his statement is applicable rather to the tenantry who lived under the Anglo-Irish barons, than to the occupiers of Gaelic countries. He writes:—

"The lords of land do not use to set out their land in farm, or for term of years, but only from year to year, and some during pleasure. Neither, indeed, will the Irish tenant or husbandman otherwise take his land than so long as he list himself: the reason hereof in the tenant is, for that the landlords there use most shamefully to rack their tenants, laying upon them coigny and livery at pleasure, and exacting of them, beside their covenants, what he pleaseth: so that the poor husbandman either dare not bind himself to him for longer term, or thinketh, by his continual liberty of change, to keep his landlord rather in awe from wronging of him."

It seems, then, that the intimidation practised by the tenantry of those days consisted in threatening to remove with their flocks and herds, or floating capital. This right was, of course, theirs, and is incapable of abuse. Unstable as Gaelic tenancy *appears* to have been, we believe that it was, in effect, more durable than tenures which had the legal security of leases; just as, in modern times, Irish tenants actually enjoy a more continuous possession than is general in the well-cultivated parts of England. Every Englishman in Ireland saw that the tenure of the Irish occupiers was deficient in written legal security; but became significantly cognisant of the real nature of the security whenever he attempted to break the occupancy.

Continuing our retrospective review of the nature of tenancy among the Irish people, we will string together a few original passages bearing on the subject, being some curious *excerpta* from the valuable correspondence preserved in the State Paper Office.

In the year 1625, an Anglo-Irish landlord of the Pale, Mr. Eustace, of Clongowes-wood, declared, in a paper drawn up for the government, that "Old O'Neil" (as he styles Hugh, Earl of Tyrone) "had been behated in his country," on account of his "tyranny among his own in the North; because most commonly none of *the common sort* could eat a bit of their own butter, being almost their only food, for that he took all; moreover, none of *the best sort* could be, or was, sure of the land he had this year for the next year."[l] These latter were manifestly the *ceann-finès*, heads of septs, or free tenants, who were removable whenever a repartition of the country was made; while the "common sort" were of plebeian extraction. Mr. Eustace's statement is probably true enough; but it must be recollected that O'Neill was prosecuting a desperate defence of his country

[k] State Paper Office, 25th April, 1594. Justice Saxey.

[l] State Paper Office.

and clan against the tremendous power of the English crown. Unfortunately, it is the lot of archæologists, in their inquiry after old truths, to find themselves frequently stripping history of much that gives it the charm of romance. But *dicat verum, ruat cœlum!* is their maxim. Sir John Davis writes to Lord Salisbury (19th April, 1604), that the Earl of Tyrone is seeking an order from Government "to have all such tenants as formerly dwelt in his country but are now fled into the Pale and other places, to avoid his extreme cutting and extortion, to be returned unto him by compulsion, albeit these tenants had rather be strangled than returned unto him, for he will be maister both of their bodies and goods, and excercise a greater tyranny now than he would have done if they had never departed; and yet it is certen that these tenants are not his bondmen and villaynes, but the king's free subjects; for himself confesseth that, if they had given him a quarter or six months warning, they might have departed lawfully, which, if they were bondmen and villaynes, they could not doo. I know this demand of his is not agreable with the law of England, which is in force here; neither standeth it (under reformation) with reason of state or policy that *he should* have such an interest in the bodies of the king's subjects; for this usurpation uppon the bodies and persons of men made him able to make warr against the state of England, and made his barbarous followers to think they had no other king than Tirone, by cause their lives and their goods depended upon his will: and certainly such tenants at will did enable the Earle of Warwick, in the time of King Henry VI., and the great lords in the time of the Barons' warres, to raise so great a multitude of men; whereas at this day, if any of your great lords of England should have a mind to stand uppon their guard, well may they have some of their household servants or retayners, but as for their tenants, which have good leases for lives and leases for years, or being but copyholders, seeing that by the law at this day they may bring an action of tresspass against their lords if they dispossess them without cause of forfeiture, these fellows will not hazard the losing of all their sheep, their oxen, and their corne, and the undoing of themselves, their wives, and their children, for the love of the best landlord that is in England." [m]

Our next extract is from Sir Tobias Caulfield's Accompt[n] for the escheated estates of the Earl, in which the accountant describes the manner among the Irish of charging rents and duties, as follows:—

"First—There was no certain portion of land sett by the traitor Tyrone to any of his tenants that paid him rents.

"Secondly—Such rents as he reserved were paid to him partly in money and partly in provisions, as oats, oatmeal, butter, hogs, and muttons.

"Thirdly—The money rents that were so reserved were chargeable on all the cows that were milch or in calf which grazed on his lands after the rate of 7d. (seven pence) a quarter le year, which cows were to be numbered but twice in the year by Tirone's officers viz.: at May and Hollontide, and so the rents were levied and taken up at the said rate for all the cows that were so

[m] State Paper Office.

[n] Lately printed by the Kilkenny Arch. Society.

numbered, except only the heads and principal men of the *creaghts*, who in regard of their enabling to live better than the common multitude under them whom they caused willingly to pay the said rent, were usually allowed as followeth; parte of the whole rents which rise to £700 Irish a year, or thereabouts, *communibus annis*, which they retained in their own hands by directions from the Lord Deputy, and so was never received; and for the butter and other victualling provisions they were only paid by such as they termed horsemen, called the Quinns, Hagans, Connelans, and Devlins, which were rather at the discretion of the givers, who strove who should give most to gain Tirone's favour, than for any due claim he had to demand the same.

"Fourthly—All those cows for which those rents are to be levied must be counted at one day in the whole country, which requires much travel and labour, and many men to be put in trust with that account, so as that country, which is replenished with woods, doe greatly advantage the tenants that are to paie their rents *to rid away their cows* from that reckoning,—and also to such overseers to be corrupted by the tenants to mitigate their rents, by lessening the true number of their cattle, which must needs be conceived they will all endeavour to the uttermost, being men as it were without conscience, and of poor estate, apt to be corrupted for such bribes, which they may the more easily do in regard that the bordering Lords adjoining are ready to shelter their cows that should pay those rents, whereby they may gain those tenants to live under them.

"Fifthly—This rent is uncertain, because by the custom of the country the tenants may remove from one Lord to another every half-year as usually they do, which custom is allowed by authority from the State."

We consider this document as valuable from its disclosing, in a few sentences, the entire economy of "estate management," as it subsisted under the rule of "O'Neill;" depicting a nomade pastoral life, such as the Scythians followed, and Horace seems to have envied; but utterly differing from the fixity of tenure on the small farms, assiduously cultivated, of the present day.

Lord Deputy Chichester, writing, in 1610, to the King, as to the difficulties of the "Plantation" in Ulster, especially in inducing the natives to abandon their old manners, and their rude way of living as *creaghts* (or wandering graziers), instead of in fixed homesteads, says that "to live by their labour and industry on small portions of land, as farms, by fencing, stocking, and manuring it with goods of their own, is as grievous to them as to be made bond-slaves."[o] The progress of time and circumstances worked a radical change in this respect; but we may well conceive that permanent improvements on farms, which endowed the families that had made them with a just claim to sell their interests, were effected far more largely by the colonists than by the natives.

Referring back to Sir H. Piers' details as to the repugnance of Gaelic tenants to remove, we will now quote a statement to the opposite effect; and can only reconcile the two by supposing that either there was less competition when the latter statement was written, or that the wish was father to it.

Sir William Brereton, a Cheshire gentleman who made a tour in the eastern parts of this kingdom, in the year 1635, in bootless quest of a farm, describes the tenantry of the country as holding but from year to year, and, instead of paying money rent, rendering every third sheaf of

[o] State Paper Office.

corn to the landlord. He observes that, in consequence of this, the soil was "overtilled, and much wronged"—"slothfully and improvidently ordered, much impaired, and yielding much less than if well husbanded." His concluding observation is very remarkable. "But," he declares, "these unprofitable commodities" (the tenants) "may be removed at pleasure, *and without any manner of inconvenience, exclamation, or exception*."[p] We suspect that removals were not frequent, and are sure that there was ample room for the removed when such changes were made. Brereton's statement, however, is a notable evidence of the different feeling of the peasantry of those times on occasion of ejectment.

Recurring to Ulster, the following passage from Sir John Davy's *Discoverie*, demonstrates that government commissioners recognised the ancient right of occupancy vested in clansmen, to the extent of making the actual tenants freeholders, subject only to fixed rents. Sir John says that the commissioners for giving real estates to the chieftains did not, after examining into the ancient dues of tenancy, grant to each chief the entire country, because it belonged to the clansmen; but only those lands which were found in the chieftain's possession, being demesne-lands, and "those certain sums of money, as rents, issuing out of the rest;" but the land found in the tenants' possession was left unto them, "charged with those certain rents only." These "tenants" were not, of course, the inferior husbandmen, but the highest caste, the junior clansmen, who were now erected into a permanent landed proprietory. Peter Heylin, an Englishman, writing, in 1621, of the reformation effected by the Plantation Commissioners in the mode of letting land in Ulster, bears testimony to its effects in producing those improvements which are, by some, supposed to have formed the original claim to sell the occupancy. He says:—

> "Whereas there was before but one freeholder in a whole county, which was the lord" (chieftain) "himself, the rest holding in villenage, and being subject to his immeasurable taxation, whereby they had no encouragement to build or plant, now the lord's estate was divided into two parts; that which he held in demesne to himself, which was still left unto him, and that which was in the hands of his tenants, who had estates made in their possessions according to the common law of England, paying instead of uncertain Irish taxations, certain English rents; whereby the people have since set their minds upon repairing their houses and manuring their lands, to the great increase of the private and publique revenue."[q]

Whatever may have been the security or insecurity of Gaelic tenure, we shall presently see that some of the new British tenants felt such confidence in their new landlords, the London Companies, as to be induced to build on farms they held at will. This appears in the well-known report of Nicholas Pynnar on the state of the colony, or "Plantation." First, however, let us hear him as to the manner in which the natives who remained among the colonists (like the Canaanites among the men of Israel) conducted themselves.

[p] Christian Examiner, vol. iii. 1827.

[q] Mikrokosmos, 4to edit. Lond. 1629.

He frequently states of the tenantry under chieftains, such as Sir Mulmurry M[c]Swyne and others, that their landlords had "made them no estates," *i.e.* had not given them cheap leases, as bound to do by the terms of the grants; and he adds, "for that they" (the tenants) "will have no longer time than from year to year." It would be curious to ascertain the period when this class of tenantry overcame their repugnance to lease-hold tenure (the opposite of Irish "tenant-right,") a change the date of which might be found by consulting old rent-rolls. On the other hand, with respect to the British tenants, the surveyor employs the expressive term "estates," to designate the beneficiary interest they had obtained. Of a certain Celtic landlord, Donnell Mac Swyne, the surveyor notices that he had actually "built a house all of lime and stone," in civilised contrast to the "Irish houses" of the age, which seem to have been large cabins formed of wattle-work and clay. But Mac Swyne had failed either to give his tenants such security as would lead them to build, or to induce them to accept it; for the surveyor states that they "would take for no longer time than from year to year." Their disposition, indeed, was not an improving one, for, as he adds, they "do plough by their horses' tails." Thus backward in agriculture, their notions on the political economy of land tenancy were, no doubt, but little more advanced; and they were content to hold on, without any change, especially of their place of abode, unless, indeed, such change was deprived of severity by the custom of "sale of good will," which, according to a scholar in Brehon law, Irish tenants enjoyed as a right.[r]

Let us now consider the historic origin of that remarkable usage, so peculiar to Ulster, by which an ancient and industrious tenantry obtain, through the moderation of their rents, and the value of their past industry, a right to dispose of their interest.

The earliest trace of the origin of tenant-right, or sale of tenancy, among the colonists in Ulster, is to be found in the report just referred to. Pynnar states that "the British tenants, *who have many of them built houses at their own charges*, have *no estates* made to them, which is such discouragement unto them, as they are *minded to depart the land*." Some of these men, holding without leases, did, very probably, sell the interest, or value they had created by improving, to some of those new-comers who may have entered the colony in consequence of the attention directed to it by Pynnar's report. Or they may have parted with it to the natives, who, as stated in a subsequent report by Sir Thomas Philips, were twice as profitable tenants, in the way of rent, and were willing "to over-give, rather than remove."[s] It is obvious, from all that Pynnar reports of the displacement of colonists by natives, and from the small number of the former, that the latter enjoyed very much the largest share of the occupancy of the province. Several causes conspired to prevent the general ejection of the ordinary class of farming Irish; and it is probable that numbers of them were left in possession, just as the Gaelic tenantry in the Pale remained after the conquest; and that, while they paid a rent *sec*, according to English fashion, they were left by their absentee landlords in

[r] Dublin University Magazine, April, 1848.

[s] Harris's Hibernica.

possession of their hereditary notions as to tenancy. The English tenantry at Omagh, under an absentee, complained to Pynnar that they had no leases; for that, since the death of their old landlord, a triple rent was demanded, and, at the same time, they had been deprived of half of their land. So numerous were the natives on the estate of the Fishmongers' Company, in the County of Derry, and so high the rents they gave, that the English could not obtain any land to farm. Some of the tenants under the Mercers' Company, in the same county, paid so dearly for their farms, "that they are," says Pynnar, "forced to take Irish tenants under them to pay the rent;" while forty-six townlands were "set to the Irish of the sept of Clandonells, which," he remarks, "are the only *wickedest men* in all the country." The London Society and the great absentee proprietors had "found," (as Sir Thomas Philips wrote to Charles the First,) "that they could not reap half the profit by the British which they did by the Irish," who were soon generally accepted as tenants, were "used at the pleasure" of their new landlords, and were "willing to over-give, rather than remove, looking to their assured hope that time would relieve them, by rebellion, of their heavy landlords." The smouldering hostility at length burst out; and, in the massacre of 1641, and the struggle of 1688, the Gael turned on the settlers; wrote for them (in the Douglas phrase) leases on their own skins, with pens of steel and ink of blood; and grasped, with the Red Hand of Ulster, their old lands once more!

Enough has, perhaps, been already said to enable our readers to form a sufficient idea of the state of central Ulster two hundred years ago. Yet, let us not quit the subject until, by some comparison between that state and its present condition, we may better estimate, by contrast, the advantages of security of tenure, with its consequent blessings, peace and "good-will" among men. In 1656,[t] the bulk of the inhabitants of our province continued to live as *creaghts* (a term then synonymous for the wildest of "the wild Irish"), according to their ancient but barbarous manner of life, having no fixed habitations, but wandering up and down, with their families and substance, a vague and savage mode of life, "contrary to Christian usage." This "substance" of theirs consisted of the cattle they drove before them. Whenever rebellion raged, these people and their kine were a ready made commissariat to the insurgent army. When pursued by the English soldiery, their best talent was shown in the crafty modes by which they eluded pursuit. If a hasty rush for a bog, a defile, or a wood, could not be made, they sometimes found it easy to secrete their live-stock by the methods they practised for avoiding payment of rent, either by sinking them up to their heads in water, or hiding them in glens and thickets. A herdsman would fight desperately with his staff and his *meadoge*, or short knife, to defend his cows, his sole means of life. He had no more clothes than a rugged woollen coat, or a narrow cloak, which he wrapped round his left arm, as a shield, in fighting; for he preferred to fight naked. He could run nimbly and securely where the heavy armed "red soldier" sunk. When half starving, a little rancid butter,

[t] Transac. Kilkenny Arch. Society. "Ulster Creaghts."

shamrocks "hastily snatched" from the ground, a draught of milk, or a drink of blood drawn from a cow, supported him. In peaceable times, the men of a *sliocht*, or community of these herdspeople, lay at night in a circle round the fire, among their women and children, hardly superior in outward appearance to the animals they herded with. This is a faithful picture of social life, in its lowest stage in Ulster, two centuries ago; while at the present day, in the county of Tyrone, for example, the scenes in which these *dramatis personæ* were such as we have described are changed in almost as complete a manner as the best fairy of romance could desire. Those Caliban *creaghts* are vanished with their starveling black cattle, and in their stead the ploughman whistles merrily at his work; the mediæval wood-kerne, and their successors, the "tories," and "rapparees," or regular robbers, have given place to police; while the land is frequently rendered bright to the eye and the mind by breadths of that pretty plant that forms the staple of our most successful manufacture—flax, which, by its careful culture, enables thousands of industrious families to live in comparative comfort and happiness. Besides the full part that "tenant-right" among the colonists must have had in effecting these changes for the better, purchase of "good-will" from native or original occupiers, in a province inhabited by hostile races, must assuredly have been necessary, and have produced corresponding advantageous results. After the great rebellion, the new and numerous landlords imported by Cromwell were satisfied to extract as much honey as they could from their tenantry, without exasperating the bees. An Ulster absentee was content to get rent from his estate, without caring who paid it: and any changes of occupancy among the tenantry were left to their own free will. During interchanges between colonists and natives, the purchase of "good-will" averted banded enmity, especially in troubled times, such as when the payment of tithe was resisted by association, and when, in the words of Primate Boulter, "the humour of clans and confederacies was well understood." The resurgence of the native Gael over the land was continuous. A pamphleteer of 1746 complains of the emigration of colonist tenants, and of the preference daily shown to their rivals; who, "seeing the warm plight of the houses" occupied by the former, the *various improvements made in expectation of a renewal*, "and especially the strong sod on the earth," from which they looked for a rich return by means of their destructive practice of burning the vegetable matter it contained, easily induced land-jobbers to bid for large tracts, binding themselves as under-tenants. Under this unequal competition, great numbers of the British gave up their land, for they were loth to descend, by paying heavy rents, in the scale of comfort; and they had none of that attachment to the soil which chained the Irish down. Rising rents, however, did not form the *primum mobile* with all; the animating motive with many was to better their condition. Arthur Young notices that many adventurous emigrants had valuable interests, for which *they obtained considerable sums*. The same intelligent tourist observes:—"The Roman Catholics never left; seeming not only tied to the country, but almost to the parish in which their ancestors lived." These statements are remarkable enough; especially the first, in proof of the early date of the high value of Tenant-Right

EASTERN SIDE AND ENTRANCE OF THE BAWN AT BELLAGHY

in Ulster. It can hardly be but that some of the last-mentioned class removed from, at the least, their old habitations. When many another hamlet than Lissoy became, about that time, a "deserted village," ejections and emigrations were surely not confined to the least numerous class. If some of the natives removed, at that period (when a sudden rise in the value of cattle led to considerable changes of occupancy), were they not sometimes "paid for their good-will?" The most tender-hearted of Irish poets—the gentle and unworldly author of "The Deserted Village" —who tinged his sweet melancholy verse with doleful sentiment, wretched political economy, and unphilosophic forebodings—besides immortalising the tenant-grievances of the day, has shown, even in prose, his poetic sense of justice and acquaintance with Irish usages, by introducing Hibernian tenant-right in merry England; making the Vicar of Wakefield propitiate a predecessor in a farm of some twenty acres, by purchasing, with an ill-to-be-spared £100, his "good-will." Surely this lavish libation was unnecessary where there were no *Dii campestres* to be conciliated.

Beyond Noll Goldsmith's establishing of the sale of "good-will" in a country where, happily for itself, ill-will rarely produces ill results, we have no more recent archæologic notice of Irish tenant-right. The precise nature of tenant-right in England is quite outside our theme. Under this serviceable custom, the tenants, encouraged to improve, are almost sure, if they improve, to continue in occupancy; the golden rule for landlords *and tenants* being there acted on—"Live and let live." Test Irish tenant-right, in its two different phases, by this significant criterion, and it will be found to rise or fall in moral and true value according as the maxim has been obeyed or disregarded.

NOTES ON BAWNS,

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ONE

AT BELLA-HILL, NEAR CARRICKFERGUS.

BY ALFRED T. LEE, M.A., M.R.I.A.

Little has as yet been written respecting the ancient fortifications called *Bawns*, which formerly existed in great numbers thoroughout the Province of Ulster; and the notes here given are intended merely as a contribution towards a more complete account of them hereafter. We shall first say a few words respecting the supposed origin of the name, and the earliest writer by whom it is mentioned, and then proceed to examine the circumstances under which they were first erected in this

country; concluding with a particular description of the Bawn still existing at Bella-Hill, near Carrickfergus, a view and ground plan of which accompanies this account. According to Ledwich,[a] *daingean* is the Irish word expressing a close-fast place, and, subsequently, a fort. This the English called a *bawn*, from the Teutonic *bawen*, "to construct" and "secure with a number of trees." According to Richardson, bawn is derived from the gothic *bauan*, German *bauen*—"habitare, construere sedem ubi habites;"—and *bauain* "domicilium," occurs in the Gothic version of the Gospel of St. Mark, v. 3:—"He had his dwelling among the tombs." It appears to have been applied to any habitation or building, whether constructed of earth, wood, or stone, and for the purposes of defence. Todd [*Spenser's Works*, vol. viii, p. 399,] observes that bawn is evidently used by Spenser for "an eminence." He thus speaks of these buildings in his *View of the State of Ireland*:—

"But those round hills and square *bawnes*, which you see so strongly trenched and throwne up, were (as they say) at first ordained for the same purpose, that people might assemble themselves therein; and therefore anciently they were called Folk-motes, that is, a place for people to meete, or talke of anything that concerned any difference between parties and townships, which seemeth yet to me very requisite."

Dean Swift [*Works*, vol. viii. p. 331, Ed. 1753,] wrote a poem called "The Grand Question Debated, whether Hamilton's *Bawn*[b] should be turned into a Barrack or a Malt-house;" the opening lines are as follows:—

"Thus spake to my Lady the Knight full of care,
Let me have your advice in a weighty affair;
This *Hamilton's Bawn*, whilst it sticks on my hand,
I lose by the house what I get by the land;
But how to dispose of it to the best bidder,
For a barrack, or malt-house, we must now consider."

In a note to this passage, a Bawn is described as "a place near the house, inclosed with mud or stone walls, to keep the cattle from being stolen at night. They are now [1753] but little used."

The earliest kind of Bawns seem to have been an inclosure, square or circular, surrounded by a thick embankment of earth, impaled with wooden stakes or branches of trees, and surrounded with a deep trench. Numerous remains of such fortresses have been found, not only in Ireland, but also in Britain, Germany, Sweden, and almost every part of Europe.[c] The Irish gave great trouble to the early English settlers for many centuries, by fortifying passes between the bogs and mountains in this manner, so that it was very tedious to cut through them. This was called *plashing* a pass, from the Franco-Gallic word *plasser*, which, like *bawen*, signifies "to construct" or "entwine." In that part of the barony of Forth, in the county of Wexford, which is nearly inclosed by the small river Gill, the descendants of the first English colony still retain many of the words commonly

[a] *Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 196.
[c] *Rees' Encyclopedia*, under the word *Bawn*.

[b] In the county of Armagh. The village still bears this name, and remains of the Bawn are yet in existence.

used in the time of Henry II. A spider is called "attercross;" a physician, a "leach;" and a quadrangle or *Bawn*, a "basecanet." [Jamieson's *Etymolog. Dict.*]

It seems probable that, before the English gained possession of this country, each family of the Irish lived in a cabin surrounded by a Bawn. The English introduced castles,[d] in which they were imitated by the Irish; and, in course of time, a *Bawn* came to signify an inclosure with a wall flanked by towers, instead of plashed stakes. In Wexford, Bawns or walled inclosures are usually found in connection with the keeps or towers of the early English settlers. The Bawn of the castle of Drimnagh, near Dublin, on the road to Crumlin, is still perfect, and the ancient fosse is well preserved.

On the occasion of the "Plantation of Ulster," in the beginning of the reign of King James I., it was ordered that each of the English and Scottish "undertakers" should be bound to build a strong Castle or Bawn on the lands granted to them; and that they should "draw their tenants to build houses for themselves and their families, near the principal Castle, House, or Bawn, for their mutual defence and strength."[e]

These new proprietors of the soil were bound to pay to the Crown six shillings and eightpence, English, for every threescore *English* acres held by them. Those who had 2000 acres, held by Knight's service *in capite;* those who possessed 1500 acres, held by Knight's service from the castle of Dublin; and those who held 1000 acres, held in free and common soccage. The kind of Castle or Bawn required by the Crown to be built on these lands was to be of a strength proportioned to the number of acres held by the undertaker, as will be seen from the following extract from the "Orders and Conditions to be observed by the Undertakers upon the distribution and plantation of the Escheated Lands in Ulster. (Printed in 1608.)

Articles concerning the English and Scottish Undertakers who are to plant their portions with English and Scottish Tenants.

4. Every undertaker of the greatest proportion of 2000 acres shall, within two years after the date of his Letters Patents, build thereupon a Castle, with a strong Court or Bawne about it. And every undertaker of the second or middle proportion of 1500 acres shall, within the same time, build a stone or brick house thereupon, with a strong Court or Bawne about it. And every undertaker of the least proportion of a 1000 acres shall, within the same time, make thereupon a strong Court or Bawne at least. And all the said undertakers shall draw their tenants to build houses for themselves, and their families, near this principal Castle, House, or Bawne, for their mutual defence or strength. And they shall have sufficient timber, by the assignation of such officers as the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland shall appoint, out of His Majesty's woods in that Province, for the same buildings, without paying anything for the same, for the said two years; and, to that end, there shall be a present inhibition to restrain the falling or destruction of the said woods in the mean time, for what cause soever."

[d] Before the arrival of Henry ii. stone structures were uncommon. He built Castles within the English Pale, to secure possession of this country, and by these means the English seized the richest portions of the country, and drove the natives to the woods and mountains.

[e] Harris' *Hibernica*, p. 126.

In consequence of these orders of the government, there were erected, in the six northern escheated counties, in the space of a few years, 107 Castles with Bawns, 19 Castles without Bawns, and 42 Bawns without Castles or Houses. Those to whom lands were granted in every part of the kingdom were bound to build in like manner: there were 80 in Queen's County alone, and probably between three and four thousand throughout the kingdom.[f]

The far greater number of these Bawns have long since fallen into decay: few ruins even of them remain. In Pynnar's *Survey of Ulster* (1618-19), full particulars will be found of the Bawns then existing in the six northern escheated counties, in which number (unfortunately for archæologists), Antrim, not being escheated, is not included. They seem all to have been built in a very similar manner; and the following account of one of them, will serve as a description of the whole:—

"COUNTY OF CAVAN.

John Hamilton, Esq., hath 1000 acres, called Kileloghan. Upon this Proportion there is built a Bawne of Lime & Stone eighty feet square, and thirteen feet high, with two round Towers for Flankers, being twelve feet le Piece in the diameter. There is also begun a Stone House, which is now one Storie high, and is intended to be four stories high, being 48 feet long & 24 feet broad; besides two Towers which be vaulted, & do flank the House."[g]

Most of the Bawns erected were about 80 feet square, with two flankers to each; but we must refer those who wish for fuller particulars to Pynnar's accurate Survey.

We come now to describe the Bawn existing at Bella-Hill, to which we wish to direct particular attention, it being, as far as we are aware, the most perfect of its kind now existing in Ulster. Before doing so, however, it may be necessary to say a few words respecting the person by whom it was erected, and the manner in which he became possessed of the property on which it stands.

John Dallwaye, the first of that family who settled in this country, landed at Carrickfergus with Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, and Lord Rich (according to family MSS.), on the 20th of August, 1573. He was at this time a cornet in the army of Queen Elizabeth; and from a sketch of his family-arms, painted on black oak, and which is still preserved at Bella-Hill, it appears that he came from Devonshire,[h] probably in the suite of Sir Arthur Chichester, whose family resided at Raleigh, in that county. In 1603, John Dallwaye was Constable of Carrickfergus Castle. Previous to this, he had married Jane O'Bryne, niece of Sir Phelim McBryan O'Neill, and grand-daughter of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, and nearly related by her mother to Shane McBryan O'Neill, of the Lower Clandeboye. In consequence of this marriage, he obtained a grant from Shane O'Neill, of the greater part of the

[f] Ledwich's Antiq., p. 197.
[g] Harris's *Hibernica*, p. 141.
[h] Dalway MSS.
The arms are: *Arg.* two lions in chief, counter passant, and one in base, passant, all guardant, *gu.* armed and langued, *az.*—Crest, a demi-lion rampant, holding in his paw a staff erect *ppr*; on a banner appendant thereto and flotant to the sinister: *arg.* a saltier of the first.—Motto, "Virtus suo munimine tuta." Under the motto is the inscription "Insignia Gentilia JOHANNIS DALLWAY, de Bello Monte juxtà RUPEM FERGUSII in Com. Antrim armigeri, qui sub vexillis ELIZABETHÆ REGINÆ in Com. Devoniæ in Angliâ venit in Hiberniam, circiter An. 1573." The present motto of the family is "Esto quod audes;" but when or by whom changed does not appear.

"Tough" of Braden-island (now Broad-island), and the lands of Kilroot. The original agreement was as follows:—[i]

"Mem^{dm},—That I, John Dallwaye, of Carrickfergus, Gent., doe promise to performe these Covenants and Conditions following; that is to say, dureing my own naturall life I am to pay for the Tough of Brinny Island,[j] in the contry of North Clandyboy, but her Maj$^{ty's}$ rent according the Survey, and after me Deceas that my Heirs shall pay to Shane McBryan O'Neill, or his Heirs, portionally according as the rest of the freeholders of the said Shane's contry shall pay by the acre or estimation. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand, 17th Febr., 1591.

JOHNE DALLWAYE.

Signed & delivered in the
presents of us whose names
insue,

MOYSES HILL, JOHN BROWN,
A. BAGENALL, HA: * * * ESMAN."

Shane O'Neill died in 1595, and, in consequence of his having joined Tyrone's rebellion, all his lands (including those granted to John Dallwaye), became forfeited to the Crown. John Dallwaye, however, on the 8th of October, 1603, obtained a grant from James I. of the "Barony of Braid-island, Harrington Savage, Alfrackine, Island Ogre, Clubforde, or Johnstone's Ford, the Mountains of the Orland-water, near Lough Morne, BALLIHILL, Mullagh-moelli, Mullagh Killroute, or Mullagh-Killrowle, & the White-heade near the sea, in the C^o Antrim, at the rent of £xiii. Engl. to hold for ever in free and common soccage as of the Castle of Carrickfergus." These, with other lands, purchased from James Hamilton, Lord Clandeboye, were on the 8th of July, 1608, erected by Letters Patent into the Manor of Dallway.

Having thus had these lands re-granted by the Crown, it would seem that John Dallwaye was obliged to fulfil the conditions imposed on all who had obtained lands in the Province of Ulster; and he probably proceeded forthwith to build a Bawn of the kind required. The exact date of the erection is not known; but from an agreement (given below) made between John Dallway and William Miller, for the repair of the four turrets, it must have been anterior to 1632. It was probably erected in 1609, immediately after the grant of the Letters Patent by King James.

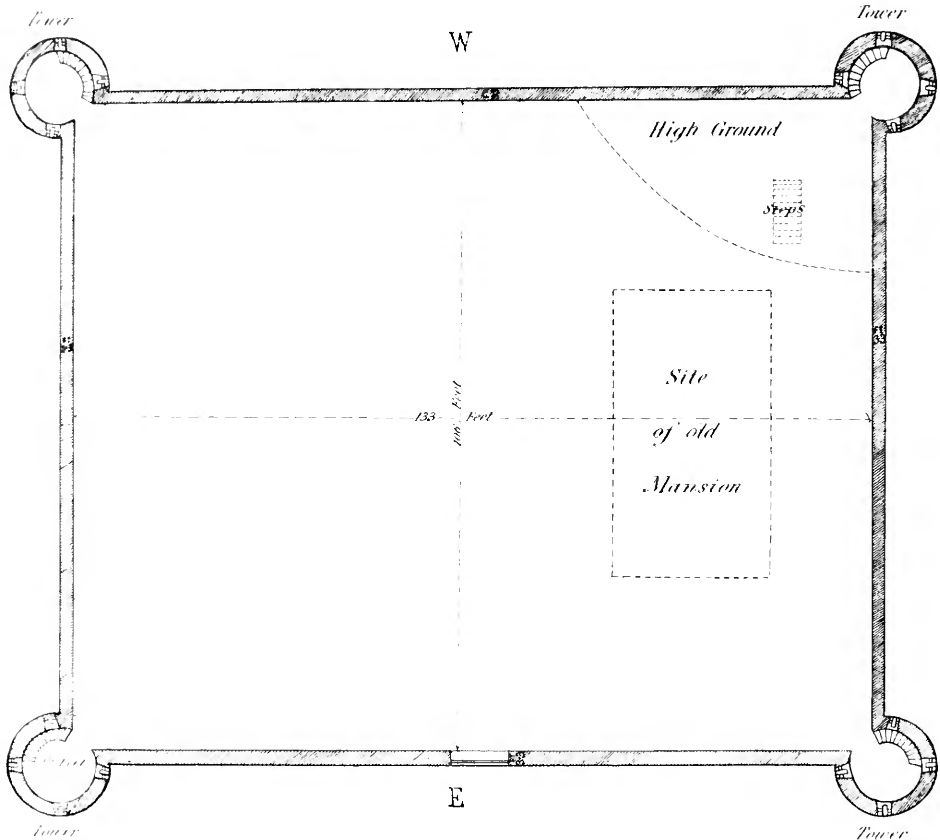
Its dimensions (as will be seen from the accompanying ground-plan) are as follows:—

Length from North to South,	133 feet.
,, East to West,	106 ,,
Original height of walls,	From 16 to 23 feet.
Height of the towers,	30 feet.
Diameter of towers inside,	12 ,,

[i] Dalway MSS.

[j] Now Braidisland, or Broad-island.

Thickness of tower-walls, ... 3 feet.
,, curtain-walls, ... 3 ,, 3 inches.
Height of gateway, ... 12 ,,



Immediately over this gate-way, formerly a gallows was placed, the ring of which still remains. The turrets have three floors each. These turrets are all standing, and in good repair, with the exception of that in the S.W. corner, which fell many years since. Two of them are at present inhabited. Two embrasures for cannon were formerly in each turret, though now built up; but, as the opening was only four inches wide, it is probable that only musketry was used as a means of defence. Tradition asserts that this Bawn was several times attacked during the unquiet times of the 17th and 18th centuries; but we can find no accurate account of the date

when, or the persons by whom, these attacks were made. Some thirty years since, the present owner, whilst removing some earth from the yard, found three or four six-pound shot, and some fragments of shells, together with one perfect one, deeply imbedded in the soil. From this it would seem that the Bawn had been formerly attacked with cannon. In its original state it was capable of affording shelter for 200 head of cattle, and it has, without doubt, been used for this purpose. The family mansion-house formerly stood on the N. side of the yard (as marked on the ground-plan), but was removed at the end of the last century. The present house was built in 1791, by the late Marriott Dalway, Esq., grand-uncle of the present owner.

The agreement (mentioned above) between John Dallwaye and William Miller, of Broadisland, mason, for building four staircases to the turrets, is as follows:—

"(Endorsed) Agriment betwene M[r] Dallway synor and William Miller, for putting up 4 staircases to the four turretts, at 8 Lib. sterl. p. peice. Dated 3 Janry., 1632.

Memorand. that it is agreeit betwixt John Dallway of Ballehill the elder, esquier, on the on part, and William Miller of Broadylland, maysone, on the wther part, videliz it: The sayd William Miller is to build to the sayd M[r] Dallway within his land of Ballehill four stair caisses to his four turretts in Ballehill, with ane turnrayle within every of the sayd caisses of gud and suficient frie-stone, with ane rund litle turrat tuo storie heigh to everie turrat, the sayd stair caisses being of the quantie ass now thay ar of, and the corners of the caisses is to be of gud and sufficient fristone, with peat stones to everie of the godvilles (?) of gud and sufficient fristone, all which fristone is to be weill and sufficiently heuin, and everie turrat is to haue tuo chimlayes of gud and sufficient fristone, with hearth stones to everie chimlaye, all sufficiently heuin with ane doir to everie stair caiss, weill and sufficiently heuin of fristone, with thre windoos to everie stair caiss of frestone; and the sayd William is to make pidgione holles in the godvill (?) of everie of the sayd caisses; and the sayd Williame Miller is to furnish all the sayd frestones upon his man chairdgis, and is to leay them in at the rivver fout of Ceilrout, with alss manny frestone ass will be riging stones to the rufe of the sayd caiss; and the sayd Williame Miller is to burne lyme to the forsayd work, the sayd M[r] Dallway furneishing colles and quarryyit lymestone and workmen (?) for the setting of the lyme cill; and the doores of the sayd caisses is to be wroight accoirding ass the castell geet of bread plankis (?); and the sayd M[r] Dallway is to pay to the sayd William Miller for consideration for the sayd work and furnishing of frestone, the soome of Aught pounds lawfull Englesh mony for everie of the sayd stair caisses, amounting for all to thrattie and tuo pounds in maner following; first, the sayd William is to haue fortie scillings when he begins the sayd work, & fortie scillings when the stair caiss is half wrought, and wther fortie scillings when the stair caiss is compleit and ended; and so he is to haue his payment for the rest of the stair caisses accordingly, with ane barell of meall to the boutay; and the sayd M[r] Dallway is to lay all the materialls for the sayd work within the sayd land of Ballehill; and this agriment is to be further amplefiet with bands for the performance theirof.

Witnes our handes, At Broad Iland this 3d of Januare, 1632.

Witness heirto,
James Edmonsonne,
Homphray Maldoone.

John Dallway.
William Miller,
———
his mark."

From the particularity with which the turrets are here described, an accurate idea can be formed of the manner in which they were originally built.

The "Cynament" of Ballynure was leased on the 16th of November, 1610, by John Dallwaye to Thomas Hybbotts and Moyses Hill, for 61 years, at the rent of £100 per annum. These lands in 1626 passed into the hands of the Dobbs family, and are still in their possession; Margaret, the daughter of John Dallwaye, having married John Dobbs, who thus became possessed of the lands of Castle-Dobbs and Ballynure.

In this agreement it is stated that John Dallwaye "is bound, by his Majesty's Letters Patent, to raise a sufficient Castle of Lyme and Stone, to be builded within the said Cynament of Ballynure;" and, by a clause at the end of the lease, it is agreed "that the said Thomas Hybbotts & Moyses Hill, or either of them, or either of their executors or assigns, shall from time to time, at their own proper costs and charges, repair the said Castle or Bawn, and *all other buildings of the English fashion*, which shall hereafter be erected & raised on the premises, or on any part of them; & att the end of the said lease, shall leave the said Castle or Bawne, and all other the said buildings which shall be on the premises, stiff, stanch, and tennanable." The ruins of this castle may still be seen at Ballynure.

From an indenture made 28th May, 1609, between "John Dallwaye of Brayd Island & William Edmonston, of Duntreath, in the kingdom of Scotland," it was agreed that "the said William Edmonston shall and will, at any time hereafter within the space of six years next ensuing the date hereof, whensoever the said John Dallwaye, his Heyres and Assignes, shall goe about to erect and build a castle at Ballynure, within this county of Antrym, upon notice & request thereof to be made by the said John Dallway to the said Wm. Edmonston, at the costs & charges of the said Wm. Edmonston, procure, provide & bring to the place where the said Castle shall be appointed by the said John Dallway to be built, all such and so many good and sufficient slate stones as shall be necessary for the covering of the said Castle of Ballynure." It was also agreed that William Edmonston's tenants should give four days labour, "with themselves and all their cattle, for the bringing home of the Timber to the said Castle, for building of the said Castle, and also provide carts & horses sufficient for the bringing home to the said Castle of half the Lyme which shall be spent & employed in & about the building thereof, so as they be not compelled to travell out of Brayd-island for the fetching of the same Lyme."

It will be observed that this agreement with William Edmonston was made by John Dallwaye the year previous to the one with Thomas Hybbotts and Moyses Hill; and it is probable that, on his making the latter, the castle at Ballynure was built forthwith, as required by the Letters Patent, and in the manner above stated.

The preceding remarks have been put together with the hope that they will induce archæologists, better acquainted with the subject, to give the readers of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* an account of the Bawns known to them, together with the dates of their erection, and the purposes to which they have been applied. The history of these structures is one of considerable interest to the antiquary, and has never yet received the attention which it deserves.

[The following additional notes on Bawns have been contributed by Dr. O'Donovan.—Edit.]

The term Bawn, which frequently appears in documents relating to Irish history since the plantation of Ulster, is an anglicismatical form of the Irish *bàdhùn*, meaning an enclosure or fortress for cows. It occurs but very seldom in Irish documents, the earliest mention of a castle so called being found in the Annals of the Four Masters, under the year 1547, namely, *bàdhùn Riaganach*, which was the name of the chief castle of O'Dunne's territory of Oregan, in the north-west of the Queen's County. From this period forward, it is frequently to be met with in different parts of Ireland. In the Erse or Gaelic of the Highlands of Scotland, it is called *bábhún*, and the word is now so pronounced in Ulster, but in Munster *bòdhun*. In the more ancient Irish documents, as in the Brehon laws, a cow fortress is more usually called *bò-dhaingen*, but *bò-dhùn* is equally correct. It is sometimes written *badhbh-dhùn*, *i.e.* the fortress of Badhbh, the Bellona of the ancient Irish; but this is probably a fanciful writing of it. The word *dùn*, which is derived from the verb *dùn*, to enclose, shut, is found in various names of places in Gaul, mentioned by Cæsar. It was translated *munitio* by Adamnan in his *Vita Columbæ*.

The term "Bawn" for a cow-fortress, or enclosure for cattle, would appear to have been more generally used in the Highlands of Scotland than in Ireland; for, after the "plantation" of the province of Ulster in 1609, we find that a fortress of this kind was built by each of the undertakers, who were principally Scottish. One of the articles concerning the English and Scottish undertakers upon the distribution and plantation of the escheated lands in Ulster, enjoins that—"Every undertaker of the greatest proportion of two thousand acres shall, within two years after the date of his Letters Patents, build thereupon a castle, with a strong Court or Bawne upon it. And every undertaker of the second or middle proportion of fifteen hundred acres, shall, within the same time, build a stone or brick house therewithin, with a strong Court or Bawne about it. And every undertaker of the least proportion of a thousand acres shall, within the same time, make thereupon a strong Court or Bawne at least. And all the said undertakers shall draw their tenants to build houses for themselves and their families near the principal castle, house, or Bawne, for their mutual defence."

It is also enjoined on the Irish natives, who shall be admitted to be freeholders, that "they shall inhabit their lands, and build their castles, houses, and Bawnes, within two years."

Accordingly, we find by Pynnar's *Survey of Ulster*, made in 1618-1619, that the English and Scottish undertakers all built castles and Bawns; as Sir James Hamilton, who held three thousand acres in the territory of Clonkee, in the County of Cavan, on which he built a very large strong castle of lime, and called Castle Aubignie, with the king's arms cut in free-stone over the gate. "This castle," says Pynnar, "is five stories high, with four round towers for flankers, the body of the castle fifty feet long, and twenty-eight feet broad. The roof is set up, and ready to be slated.

There is adjoining to the end of the castle a Bawne of lyme and stone, eighty feet square, with two flankers fifteen feet high. This is very strongly built and surely wrought. In this castle himself dwelleth, and keepeth house with his lady and family. This castle standeth upon a meeting of five beaten ways, which keeps all that part of the country."

His example was followed by John Hamilton, Esq., at Kileloghan, in the same county, where he had one thousand acres, who built a Bawn of lime and stone eighty feet square, and another of stone and clay one hundred feet square.

Bawns were also erected in the same county by William Hamilton, Esq., Sir Thomas Ash, Captain Culme, Sir John Elliott, and Shane Mac Phillip O'Rellie, who, on his proportion of nine hundred acres, hath "a small Bawne of sodds," and an Irish house "wherein he dwelleth; and Mullmorie Mac Phillip O'Reyley, who, on his proportion of one thousand acres in Ittererry-Outra, hath a very strong Bawne, with four flankers and a deep Moate; a good Irish house within it, in which himself and family dwelleth. Captain Reley of Liscannor also hath a Bawne of sodds and a house in it, in which he dwelleth. He hath made no estates but from year to year, and all his tenants *do plough by the tail.* Mulmorie Oge O'Relie hath three thousand acres. Upon this there is a Bawne of sodds, and in it an old castle, which is now built up, in which himself and family dwelleth. He hath made no estates to any of his tenants, *and they do all plough by the tail.*"

The other Irish natives who had proportions in this county were Maurice MacTelligh of Liscureron, who had three thousand acres, and a "Bawne of sods, and in it a good Irish house; Mullmory Mac Hugh O'Reley, two thousand acres called Commet, who had a strong house of lime and stone, and a Bawne about it of sodds; and Phillip MacTirlagh, three hundred acres called Wateragh, and a Bawne of sodds; Magauran, one thousand acres, a house of lime and stone, with a ditch cut up about it."

In the County Fermanagh, also, the English and Scottish undertakers built castles and Bawns of lime and stone, sixty, seventy, or eighty feet square; but Con MacShane O'Neal, who had fifteen hundred acres called Clabby, "hath made a little Bawne of sods," and a house within it of lime and stone very strong built. He hath made three lease-holders, which have each of them sixty acres for twenty-one years; but all his tenants do plough after the Irish manner." Brian Maguire of Tempo Dessell, hath a large Bawne of sodds, and "all his tenants do plough after the Irish manner."

"In the Co. Donegal Sir Mulmoria MacSwyne, hath built a Bawne of lime and stone, and a good stone house, but his tenants plough after the Irish manner. MacSwyne Banagh hath also a Bawne of lime and stone, and so hath O'Boyle and Walter MacLoughlin MacSwyne, who was loyal, and a Justice of the Peace in the County."

In the Co. of Tyrone, the English and Scottish undertakers built Bawns of lime, and of the usual dimensions: but the only native Irish chieftain mentioned is Tirlagh O'Neale, "who hath four

thousand acres, and hath made a piece of a Bawne, which is five feet high, and hath been so for a long time. He hath made no estates to his tenants, and all of them do plow after the Irish manner."

In the Co. of Armagh, the English and Scottish undertakers built castles and Bawnes of the usual materials and dimensions; but the only native Irishman Henry MacShane O'Neale, who had one thousand acres, built nothing;—"he being lately dead, his proportion came unto the possession of Sir Toby Caulfield."

In the Co. Londonderry, the undertakers built great castles, houses, and Bawnes, but the native Irish were allowed no proportion.

It would appear from Pynnar's Survey of the preceding Counties in Ulster, that the few Irish who were granted estates at "the plantation," wished to adhere to their old system of building and husbandry. They were no doubt very poor and totally unable to vie with the new undertakers, with the exception of Sir Mulmurry MacSwiney Doe, who had a pension of seven shillings a day allowed him for life. The native Irish built very fine Bawns of lime and stone in other parts of Ireland, long before this period; one of the finest specimens of which, now remaining almost perfect, is the castle of Ballintober, the ancient seat of O'Conor Don, in the Co. of Roscommon.

What "ploughing by the tail" actually means, none of our writers have as yet cleared up. The Irish yoked six horses to the plough, and hence the team is called *seisreach;* but I hold it impossible that they could drag the plough through the land, if yoked to their tails only. I am aware that the opposite opinion has been maintained, but the subject has not received that degree of historical and scientific investigation which it deserves. JOHN O'DONOVAN.

ERRORS OF EDMUND SPENSER;—IRISH SURNAMES.

This distinguished poet was born in London, about the year 1530, and became a student of the university of Cambridge, where he made a great progress in his studies, but he never attained to any high collegiate degree or profession. He came to Ireland in the year 1585, as secretary to Arthur Lord Grey, Baron of Wilton, Lord Deputy of Ireland; and in 1588, he obtained a grant of three thousand acres of land around Kilcolman, in the county of Cork, on which he settled with his family, but he was expelled from thence by the Irish rebels. He died very poor in London in 1599, and was, according to his own desire, buried there in St. Peter's Church, near Chaucer, at the expense of Robert, Earl of Essex. He was considered the prince of the English poets of his time.

His principal poetical work was his Faery Queen, which he wrote from his retreat "on Mulla's banks," and which he had presented to the Earl of Ormond, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

He also wrote in prose, *A View of the State of Ireland, written Dialogue-wise, between* ***Eudoxus*** *and Irenæus*. This work lay in MS., in Archbishop Ussher's Library, and was printed and published by Sir James Ware, in folio, Dublin, 1633, and dedicated to Lord Wentworth, then Lord Deputy of Ireland.

The scope and intention of this work, was to forward the reformation of the abuses and evil customs of Ireland, and to reduce them to the standard of English "civilitie." Some subjects in this work are very ably handled and well written, particularly those which relate to politics, such as the reduction of the disaffected "wilde Irishrie" to due obedience to the Crown of England; but in the history and antiquities of the country he is often mistaken, and seems rather to have indulged the fancy and licence of a poet, than the judgment and research of a historian.

A few of his more glaring and barefaced mistakes will be pointed out in the present short paper. We shall perhaps make his other errors the subject of future articles.

Harris, in his Edition of *Ware's Writers*, p. 327, states that Spenser promised to write a particular treatise on the antiquities of Ireland, but that it is probable he never performed the task, being prevented by death. Ben Johnson, in his Letter to Drummond of Hawthornden, states that he died "for lack of bread," but this is scarcely credible; for he had a pension of £60 per annum, which was, at that period, more than the highest literary pension of the present day. His descendants were in possession of Kilcolman when Ware edited his *View of the State of Ireland.*

Spenser has attempted to shew that many distinguished families having Irish surnames in his time, and accounted as of Irish origin, were really of English descent. In his *View of the State of Ireland*, written in the shape of a dialogue between *Eudoxus* and *Irenæus*, he writes as follows of the Byrnes, Tooles, and Kavanaghs of Leinster:—

Eudoxus.—"There now remaineth the East parts towards England, which I would be glad to understand, from whence you do think them peopled."

Irenæus.—"Marry, I thinke of the Brittaines themselves; of which though there be little footing now remaining, by reason that the Saxons afterwards, and lastly the English, driving out the inhabitants thereof, did possesse and people it themselves. Yet amongst the Tooles, the Birns or Brins, the Cavanaghs, and other nations in Leinster, there is some memory of the Britans remayning. As the Tooles are called of the old British word *Tol*, that is, a hill country; the Brins of the British word *Brin*, that is, woods; and the Cavenaghs of the word *Caune*, that is, strong; so that, in these three people, the very denomination of the old Britons doe still remain."—[*Dub. Edit.* p. 74.]

"The people of the Birnes and Tooles (as before I showed unto you in my conjecture) descended from the ancient Brittains, which first inhabited all those easterne parts of Ireland, as their names doe betoken; for *Brin*, in the British language, signifieth woody, and *Toole* hilly, which names it seems they tooke of the countryes which they inhabited, which is all very mountainous and woody."—[*Dub. Ed.* p. 184, 185.]

Again, speaking of the English families who changed their names, he says:—

Eudox.—"But can you count us any of this kind?"

Iren.—"I cannot but by report of the Irish themselves, who report that the **Mac-mahons**, in the north, were anciently English, to wit, descended from the Fitz-Ursulas,[a] which was a noble family in England, and that the same appeareth by the signification of their Irish names: likewise that the Mac-swynes, now in Ulster, were anciently of the Veres in England, but that they themselves, for hatred, "so disguised their names."

Eudox.—"Could they ever conceive any such dislike of their own natural countryes, as that they would be ashamed of their name, and byte at the dugge from which they sucked life?"

Iren.—"I wote well there should be none; but proud hearts do oftentimes (like wanton colts) kicke at their mothers; as we read Alcibiades and Themistocles did, who, being banished out of Athens, fled unto the kings of Asia, and there stirred them up to warre against their country, in which warres they themselves were chieftains. So they say did these Mac-swines and Mac-mahons, or rather Veres and Fitz-Ursulaes, for private despight, turne themselves against England. For at such time as Robert Vere, Earl of Oxford, was in the Barons' warres against King Richard the Second, through the malice of the Peeres, banished the realme and proscribed, he, with his kinsman Fitz-Ursula, fled into Ireland; where being prosecuted, and afterwards in England put to death, his kinsman there remaining behind in Ireland, rebelled, and conspiring with the Irish, did quite cast off both their English name and alleagiance, since which time they have so remained still, and have since been counted meere Irish. The very like is also reported of the Mac-swines, Mac-mahones, and Mac-shehies of Mounster, how they likewise were anciently English, and old followers to the Earl of Desmond, untill the raigne of King Edward the Fourth: at which time the Earl of Desmond that then was, called Thomas, being through false subornation (as they say) of the Queene for some offence by her against him conceived, brought to his death at Tredagh most unjustly, notwithstanding that he was a very good and sound subject to the King: Thereupon all his kinsemen of the Geraldines, which then was a mighty family in Mounster, in revenge for that huge wrong, rose into armes against the King, and utterly renounced and forsooke all obedience to the Crowne of England, to whom the said Mac-Swines, Mac-Shehies and Mac-Mahones, being then servants and followers, did the like, and have ever sithence so continued. And with them (they say) all the people of Mounster went out, and many other of them, which were meere English, thenceforth joyned with the Irish against the King, and termed themselves very Irish, taking on them Irish habits and customes, which could never since be cleane wyped away, but the contagion hath remained still amongst their posterityes. Of which sort they say be most of the surnames which end in *an*,[b] as Hernan, Shinan, Mungan, &c.; the which now account themselves naturall Irish. Other great houses[c] there bee of the English in Ireland, which thorough licentious conversing with the Irish, or marrying or fostering with them, or lack of meete nurture, or other such unhappy occasions, have degendred[d] from their ancient dignities,[e] and are now growne as Irish as O'hanlan's

[a] Campion also gives this absurd story in his *Historie of Ireland*, written in the year 1571. In his list of English gentlemen of longest continuance in Ulster, he mentions "the Savages, Jordans, Fitz Symonds, Chamberlains, Russels, Bensons, Audleyes, Whites; and Fitz-Ursulyes, now degenerate, and called in Irish, MacMahon, the Beare's Sonn."—[illegible]

[b] *Which end in an.*—Spenser here mistakes what the Irish had told him, viz., that all these surnames ending in *an* among the Irish are of English origin, as Suttun, Hugan, Dalatun, Barun, Masun: i.e., Sutton, Huggon, Dalton, Baron, Mason.

[c] The great houses he had in view were, according to some MS. copies of his work, those of De Burgo of the Co. of Mayo, the Birminghams of Athenry and Galway, and the De Courceys of Kinsale: some MS. copies also mention the great Mortimer, but this was MacNamara of Thomond.

[d] *Degendred from their ancient dignities.*—The writer of a tract on the O'Madden family, preserved in the *Book of Hy-many*, asserts, that the descendants of the English settlers in Ireland had, before the arrival of Bruce in 1315, improved very much by their connection with the Irish. He says that "they had exchanged their savageness for a fine mind, their surliness for good manners, their stubbornness for sweet mildness, and their perverseness for hospitality."—[See *Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many*, p. 136.]

[e] On the idea entertained in Ireland, concerning the nobility of the different members of a tribe in the reign

breech, as the proverb there is."—[*Dub. Ed.* p. 107 to 110.] Again, in p. 23, he calls the country of the Mac-Namaras, lying between the river Fergus and the river Shannon, by the name of "Mortimer's land," by which appellation it is also called on some old maps of Munster, made in the reign of James I.

"In the reign of King Edward the Fourth, things remained yet in the same state that they were after the late breaking out of the Irish, which I spake of; and that noble Prince began to cast an eye unto Ireland, and to minde the reformation of things there runne amisse: for he sent over his brother, the worthy Duke of Clarence, who, having married the heire of the Earle of Ulster, and by her having all the Earledome of Ulster, and much in Meath and in Mounster, very carefully went about the redressing of all those late evills; and though he could not beate out the Irish againe, by reason of his short continuance, yet hee did shut them up within those narrow corners and glennes under the mountaines foote, in which they lurked, and so kept them from breaking any further, by building strong holdes upon every border, and fortifying all passages. Amongst the which hee repaired the castle of Clare in Thomond, of which countrey he had the inheritance, and of Mortimer's [i.e., Mac-Namara's] lands adjoining, which is now (by the Irish) called Killaloe. But the times of that good King growing also troublesome, did lett [i.e., prevent] the thorough reformation of all things. And thereunto soone after was added another fatall mischiefe, which wrought a greater calamity then all the former. For the said Duke of Clarence, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was, by practice of evill persons about the King, his brother, called thence away: and soone after, by sinister means, was clean made away. Presently after whose death, all the North revolting, did set up Oneale for their Captaine, being before but of small power and regard: and there arose in that part of Thomond one of the O'Briens called Murragh-en-Ranagh, that is Morrice of the Ferne, or waste wilde places, who gathering unto him all the reliques of the discontented Irish, eftsoones surprised the said castle of Clare, burnt and spoyled all the English there dwelling, and in short space possessed all that countrey beyond the river Shannon, and neere adjoining."—[*Dubl. Ed.* pp. 23, 24.]

The assertions and conjectures of the poet Spenser, have been already partially exposed by Dr. Keating, in his preface to his History of Ireland, [Haliday's Edition, p. xxxix,] and by Roderic O'Flaherty, who has devoted a whole chapter of his *Ogygia* [part III., c. 77] to prove that Spenser, though a distinguished poet, can have no claim to credit as a historian. The celebrity of his name, however, has imposed upon some learned foreign writers, such as Thierry and others, and it becomes our duty here to point out his errors on this subject at full length. And first, as to his historical errors.

First, with respect to Robert De Vere, Earl of Oxford, and his cousin Fitz-Ursula, there is not the slightest evidence to show that either of them ever was in Ireland. Robert de Vere was ap-

of Elizabeth, Spenser writes as follows:—"You must know that all the Irish almost boast themselves to be *gentlemen*, no less than the Welsh; for if he can derive himself from the head of any sept, (as most of them can, they are so expert by their Bardes,) then hee holdeth himselfe *a gentleman*, and thereupon scorneth to *worke* or use any hard labour, which he saith is the life of a peasant or churle."—[*Dubl. Ed.* pp. 227, 228.]

"Those of the lowest rank among a great Irish tribe, traced and retained the whole line of their descent with the same care which in other nations was peculiar to the rich and great: for it was from his own genealogy each man of the tribe, poor as well as rich, held the charter of his civil state, his right of property in the cantred in which he was born, the soil of which was occupied by one family or clan, and in which no one lawfully possessed any portion of the soil if he was not of the same race with the chief."—[See the *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, p. 144, and *Cambria Descriptio*, cc. i., and xvii.

pointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on the 1st of September, 1385, but he never came over, [see Harris's Ware, vol. II., p. 106,] nor was he put to death, but died at Louvain, in 1392. And secondly, with respect to Spenser's assertion, that Edward the Fourth, King of England, sent his brother, the Duke of Clarence, over to Ireland, where he married the Earl of Ulster's daughter, and being Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was called thence away, and soon after put to death; it involves such a tissue of errors, as drew from the honest O'Flaherty the severest censure.—"Hæc in præsenti sufficiunt ad omnem fidem historicam Spencero denegandum."—[*Ogygia*, part III., c. 77.]

The brother of Edward IV. (George, Duke of Clarence,) was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1478; he never came over, however, but discharged that office by different deputies, till he was sentenced by his brother to be put to death. He was not the Duke of Clarence who married the heiress of the Earl of Ulster; for the Earldom of Ulster had passed into the royal family of England, five generations earlier; namely, in the time of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, who was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1361, and who married the Lady Elizabeth De Burgo, the sole heiress of William De Burgo, third Earl of Ulster. So much for Spenser's knowledge of English history! Had he studied the works of the truly learned Camden more closely, he would never have fallen into such egregious mistakes.

"Eu igitur poetæ in domesticis peritiam! En politici in historiis pueritiam!"

Let us next consider his Irish traditions and etymological arguments, which have been received as conclusive by Sir Charles Coote, and even by the ingenious Thierry. The families which he attempts to prove to be of British origin, though then bearing Irish surnames, are the following:—

1. The O'Byrnes of Leinster.
2. The O'Tooles of Leinster.
3. The Cavanaghs of Leinster.
4. The MacMahons of Ulster.
5. The MacMahons of Munster.
6. The MacSwynes of Ulster.
7. The MacSwynes of Munster.
8. The MacSheehies of Munster.
9. The MacNamaras of Thomond.

Now, with respect to the two surnames placed first in this list, it will be remembered that Spenser concludes that, as the word *Brin*, in the British language, signifieth woody, and *Tol* hilly, the O'Byrnes and the O'Tooles were of Welsh origin, and derived their names from the woods and hills of the present county of Wicklow. But it must be here remarked, that this conjecture is not even ingenious, because Irish family names are not derived from localities; and even granting, for the sake of argument, that they were, it would not hold good in the two instances under considera-

tion, because the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles were not originally seated among the woods and hills of the present county of Wicklow, but in the plains of the county of Kildare; and their real names are not Brin and Toole, as Spenser thought, but the one is properly O'Brain—*i.e.*, descendant of Bran, a man's name, signifying *a raven:* and the other O'Tuathail, *i.e.*, descendant of Tuathal, a man's name, signifying *princely* or *lordly*, and having no more relationship to the Welsh *tol*, a hill, than it has with the English "tool." We know, moreover, from the authentic Irish annals, who these two progenitors were; and Spenser might have learned the same from many of the Irish poets whom he consulted, if his object had been the investigation of truth, and not political figments. Bran, the progenitor of the family of O'Brain, was king of Leinster. He was deprived of his eyesight by Sitric, son of Amlaff, king of the Danes of Dublin, in the year 1017; after which he left Ireland, and retired into the Irish monastery at Cologne, where he died at an advanced age in the year 1052. His father, Maelmora, who was also king of Leinster, was slain in the battle of Clontarf, of which he was the chief instigator.—Tuathal, the progenitor of the family of O'Tuathail, now O'Toole, was also king of Leinster, and died in the year 956. His son was slain at Clontarf in 1014, fighting on the side of the Danes.

3. To prove that the surname Cavanagh is of Welsh origin, he asserts that *Caune* in Welsh signifies *strong* in English. This may be true; but what has the signification of the Welsh word *caune* to do with the cognomen *caemhánach*, which was first applied to Domhnall (Donnell, the bastard son of Dermot Mac Murrough, king of Leinster), who was slain in 1175, and who had himself received this cognomen from his having been fostered by the Coarb of St. Caemhan or Cavan, at Cill-Chaemhain, now Kilcavan, near Gorey, in the county of Wexford. This Donnell became the most powerful of the Mac Murroughs of Leinster, and attempted to become king of that province; but his sister Aoife, or Eva, the wife of the Earl Strongbow, having proved his illegitimacy, he never was able to attain to that dignity. [See *Hibernia Expugnata*, lib. i., cc. 3, 10, 17; and *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 1175, note *f*.] The descendants of this Donnell alone took the name of Kavanagh, and the name is not older in this family than his time; nor was the name Mac Murrough wholly rejected till after the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The O'Caemhains of Ui-Fiachrach, in North Connaught, who now incorrectly anglicise their name Kavanagh, in imitation of the more respectable royal family of Leinster, derive that name from Caemhan (a man's name, signifying comely or handsome, *i.e.*, *neach caomh no áluinn*,—*Keating*,) who was son of Connmhach, and grandson of Donncatha, king of Connaught in the year 768. [See *Genealogies, &c., of Ui-Fiachrach*, pp. 109, 110, 138.] Hence it is clear that *caemhan* or *caemhanach* is in no way cognate with the Welsh word *caune*, strong; and that Spenser's argument is not borne out by history, or by analogy of any kind.

4. The Mac Mahons of Ulster are said, on the report of some unnamed Irish persons, to be the descendants of the Fitz-Ursulas of England. To corroborate this, Spenser says that Mac Mahon is

synonymous with Fitz-Ursula, *i.e.*, son of the Bear; but granting that the names are synonymous —for we find that *Mathghamhan*, a man's name, is explained *ursus* in a MS. Glossary in Trinity College, Dublin, [H. 2, 13.]—it does not thence follow that the one is derived from the other; as we have stronger reasons to urge than etymological conjecture to prove the utter futility of this assumption: first, that the Fitz-Ursulas never settled in Ireland; and, secondly, that we have the testimony of the authentic Irish pedigrees and annals to prove that the Mac Mahons of Ulster had been settled in the territory of Oirghialla, or Oriel, and had borne the name of Mac Mathghamhna, or Mac Mahons (Gens Matthæorum, as Colgan calls them in Latin) long before the English invasion. They derive the name of Mac Mathghamhna, *i.e.*, Fitz-Mahon, or Fitz-Matthew, from Mathghamhain or Mahon (son of Laidhgnen, son of Cearbhall), lord of Farney, who was slain at Clones in the year 1022. [*Annal. Ult.*] This Mahon may have been, in character, a bear, as his name denotes, but he certainly was not the same *Ursula*, or bear, from whom the Fitz-Ursulas of England derived their name and descent. [See Shirley's *Account of Farney*, p. 148; and *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 1022.] It may not be out of place here to remark, that Dr. Hanmer, who was Spenser's contemporary, introduces Sir John De Courcy so early as the year 1178 (a long time, certainly, before 1385) as fighting against the rebel Mac Mahon in Farney; but in this Dr. Hanmer is nearly as incorrect as Spenser, for Sir John De Courcy fought no battle against Mac Mahon. Both stories were invented to turn them to account against the Mac Mahons of Farney and Oriel, who were very troublesome to the government in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; the one to hold them up as objects of hatred to the Irish and English people, as being descended from the murderer of St. Thomas à Becket; and the other to show that they were "irreclaimable savages, the readiest of all the Irish to kicke and spurne at English government." [See *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 1178, note *d*, and Sir Charles Coote's *Statistical Account of Monaghan*.]

5. The Mac Mahons of Munster.—That these are not Fitz-Ursulas, but a family of the highest Irish descent, can be proved from their pedigree and consecutive history, which is as certain as that of any royal or noble family in Europe. They derive their name and descent from Mathghamhain, or Mahon, son of Murtough O'Brien, monarch of Ireland, who died in the year 1119; who was son of Turlough O'Brien, king of Ireland, who died in 1086; who was the son of Teige, the only son of Brian Borumha who left issue. This fact Spenser might have learned from many of the Irish bards or "shanachies" of Thomond. After the battle of Kinsale in 1602, the great Earl of Thomond, through whose aid that battle was won by the forces of Queen Elizabeth, thought proper to put on record, for the use of posterity, the descents of the chief families of Munster. This task he executed by the aid of the most learned of the genealogists of Thomond, and the work is now preserved in a folio MS. at Lambeth. [*Carew Collection*, No. 599.] It contains a pedigree of Mac Mahon, of Corca-Vaskin, in Thomond, which is traced to the stock of the Earl's own pedigree; Mac Mahon descending from Murtough O'Brien, king of Ireland, commonly called "the senior,"

who died in 1119, as already stated, and the Earl of Thomond from Dermot O'Brien, a younger brother of the said Murtough. This MS. affords the highest evidence to show what the tradition in Ireland of the descent of the Mac Mahons of Thomond really was in Spenser's time.

6. The Mac Swynes or Mac Sweenys of Ulster are, according to Spenser, of the English family of Sweyne; but where is the proof of this? The Irish form of the name is Mac Suibhne, and according to the pedigree of the family, they descend from Suibhne (or Suivnè), son of Ronan, son of Flaherty O'Neill, king of Aileach, who died in the year 1036. This family emigrated to Scotland in the eleventh century; but they returned to Ireland about the middle of the thirteenth, and became hereditary leaders of "gallowglasses" to the O'Conors of Connaught, as well as to O'Donnell, and several other Irish chieftains. The first notice of this family to be found in the Irish annals occurs in the year 1267.

7. The Mac Swynes of Munster.—These are an offset from the Mac Swynes, or Mac Sweenys, of Ulster, who became hereditary gallowglasses to the Earl of Desmond, and to other powerful families of Munster in the fifteenth century.

8. The Mac Sheehys of Munster are of the same race as the Mac Donnells of Scotland, being descended from Sitheach, son of Eachdonn, son of Alister, son of Domhnall, who was the common ancestor of the Mac Donnells of Scotland. They and the Mac Sweenys would appear to have emigrated from Scotland at the same period; but no notice of the Mac Sheehys occurs in the Irish annals previously to the year 1367, when William Mac Sheehy and the two Mac Sweenys are referred to as gallowglass leaders in Connaught. At the year 1397, John Mac Sheehy is mentioned in connection with Marcus Mac Donnell and Dugald his son, as a leader of gallowglasses in Lower Connaught. A branch of them settled in Munster in the year 1420, where they were hereditary leaders of gallowglasses to the Earl of Desmond. Their chief residence was the castle of Lisnacullia (or Woodford), situated in the parish of Cloonagh, barony of Lower Connello, and county of Limerick. From various notices of these families in the Irish annals, and from their pedigrees as given in Irish MSS., it would appear that the Mac Sweenys, Mac Sheehys, and also Mac Donnells Galloglagh, who were the chief leaders of O'Neill's gallowglasses, emigrated together from Scotland about the year 1250, at the invitation of O'Neill, O'Donnell, and O'Conor; and that their descendants, afterwards settling in various parts of Ireland, carried the tradition of this emigration with them: and it is quite evident that it was from a vague report of this tradition that Spenser drew his account of their being originally from England.

9. The Mac Namaras of Thomond.—How this family came to be considered Mortimers by the English literati in Ireland, in the reign of Elizabeth and James, who have mapped the territory lying between the Fergus and the Shannon as "Mortimer's Country," it is difficult to determine; for it appears from the *Caithreim Toirdhealbhaigh*, or Wars of Turlough O'Brien, that the family of the Mac Namaras, who bore the tribe-name of Ui-Caisin and Clann-Choilcain, were the most

powerful sept in Thomond in aiding the race of Turlough O'Brien to drive De Clare (son of the Earl of Gloucester) out of Thomond. They were originally seated in the cantred of the Ui-Caisin, the extent of which is preserved in the modern ecclesiastical division called the Deanery of Ogashin; but, after the defeat and slaughter of the De Clares in 1318, the family of Mac Namara got possession of nearly the entire of that part of the county of Clare lying to the east of the river Fergus.

How the idea originated that this territory had belonged to the family of Mortimer, it is difficult to comprehend. Sir Thomas De Clare, son of the Earl of Gloucester, obtained possession of all that tract of land extending from Limerick to Ath-solus, in the territory of Tradry, in which he erected the castle of Bunratty, in the year 1277; but his family was expelled from this territory in the year 1318, and there is no evidence to show that the family of Mortimer ever had any pretension to property in Thomond, even by fiction of law; so that it is very much to be suspected that this notion owes its origin to the mere similarity between the names Mortimer and Mac Namara: but we know now that there exists no more relationship between them than between Muircheartach and Mortimer, as proper names of men. The family name Mac Namara is properly Mac Con-mara, *i.e.*, descendant of Cu-mara [literally Dog of the Sea], who flourished about 1060, for his grandfather Meanma, chief of the Dalcassian tribe of Ui-Caisin, died in the year 1014, and his grandson Cumara Mac Conmara was slain in 1135. But the first of the family of Mortimer who came to Ireland was Sir Roger Mortimer, afterwards Earl of March, who was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland in the year 1317, and again in 1319. In 1380 Edward, or Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March and of Ulster, was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and he died in 1381. In 1395, July 4, Roger Mortimer, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, is styled in Harris's List of the Chief Governors of Ireland, "Earl of March and Ulster, and Lord of Wigmore, Trim, Clare, and Connaught." He was slain at Cill-Iosnada, now Kelliston, in the county of Carlow, in 1398, in a battle with O'Byrne, O'Nolan, and their adherents. How he came to be called Lord of Clare, or what that title exactly meant, is not easy to understand; but, if I be allowed to indulge in conjecture, I would venture to offer the opinion that it was merely grounded on the assumption that, as Clare was a part of Connaught, and as he was the heir of Elizabeth de Burgo, the great heiress of Ulster and Connaught, he was the lord of Clare also—that is, of the town of Clare (for there was no county of Clare till 1585),—and of that part of the territory of Tradry, which had been given in 1277 by Brian Roe O'Brien to Sir Thomas De Clare. But how Sir Roger Mortimer could have been considered the heir of Sir Thomas De Clare, nothing remains to clear up. It is more than probable that this is a fiction of the writers of the reign of Elizabeth, and that he never was styled Lord of Clare in his own life-time. Claims to obsolete titles in Ireland were set up by English families at various periods. In the reign of Edward III., Thomas De Carew set up a claim, as heir of Fitz-Stephen, to all his ancient estates in the kingdom of Cork; but this claim was rejected, as it was found that Fitz-Stephen was a bas-

tard, and died without heir of his body. However, the claim was again set up in 1568 by Sir Peter Carew, who brought his cause before the Lords of the Council, and came to Ireland fully resolved to prosecute the recovery of this ancient estate. Sir Peter laid claim to the barony of Idrone, in the county of Carlow, then in possession of the Kavanaghs, and to half the kingdom of Cork. This claim was allowed by the government, and Sir Peter was granted a yearly rent out of the lands supposed to have belonged to his ancestor, Fitz-Stephen. He died in 1575, appointing as his heir, by his will, Peter Carew, junior, and, in default of issue in him, mentioning, as his next heirs, George Carew (afterwards President of Munster and Earl Totness), and fifteen others in England, whom he appoints in remainder. But Sir Peter, junior, was killed by the O'Byrnes, at Glenmalure, in 1580, leaving no issue; and as the government evidently saw the illegal nature of the claim, the further prosecution of it ended in nothing. [See *Annals of Ireland*, by Thady Dowling, A.D. 1366, 1575; and Cox's *Hibernia Anglicana*, A.D. 1575.]

Finally, Spenser's assertion that he was informed by certain Irishmen that most of the surnames which end in *an* were of English origin, as Hernan, Shinan, Mungan, &c., is a most glaring error; for the termination *án* long is unquestionably Irish, and it is most likely that Spenser did not exactly understand what these Irishmen had told him. It is much more probable that what they told him was, that all those surnames which ended in *un* (pronounced *oon*), among "the meere Irish," were of English origin, for this would be the fact; as Hugoon, Suttoon, Dalatoon, Dantoon, Baroon, Masoon, &c. This holds good not only in English surnames hibernicized, but also in all English words of this termination taken into Irish, such as *naisiun*, nation; *patrun*, patron; *butun*, *burdun*, *reasún*.

I have now done with Spenser's *fictions* about Irish surnames. The delusion will, it is hoped, stop here; and will never again be supported by a great historian like Thierry, or by any writer worth naming.

JOHN O'DONOVAN.

WOODS AND FASTNESSES IN ANCIENT IRELAND.

BY HERBERT FRANCIS HORE.

> "Whylome when Ireland flourish'd in fame
> Of wealth and goodnesse, far above the rest
> Of all that bear the British Islands' name,
> The gods then us'd, for pleasure and for rest,
> Oft to resort thereto, when seem'd them best:
> But none of all therein more pleasure found
> Than Cynthia, that is soveraine Queene profest
> Of woods and forests, which therein abound,
> Sprinkled with wholsom waters more than most on ground."—*Spenser.*

The author of *The Faery Queene* loved the woods with a poet's love for the beautiful, the wild, and free. In the most perfect of his poetic pieces, his *Epithalamium,* a joyous ode upon the occasion of his own marriage, we meet with the pleasing idea of the woods around his abode echoing the shouts, music, songs, and sounds of happiness attendant on his nuptials. One of his sons, an offspring of this marriage, he named "Sylvanus," another token of his affection for sylvan scenes. It is no slight tribute to the charms of Irish scenery that Edmond Spenser more than once warmly celebrates them. Perhaps we do not err in asserting that he is the earliest of English poets who evinces an appreciation of the picturesque. Living, as he did in Ireland, on the margin of a river, when the banks and surrounding country were either richly clothed with wood, or rendered even still more agreeable to a poet's eye by their uncultured and uninclosed state, their gorse and heather luxuriance of colouring, he saw indeed, in wood, water, and the purple mountains standing like graceful distant wide and lofty ramparts, the noblest elements of landscape beauty. In our day, the scenery around Kilcolman is sadly deficient:—the hills and the river are there, but the woods are gone.

Let us quit poetry for archæology—the two not being always compatible, for the bard exercises his imagination, while the antiquary seeks truth unadorned. Doubtless, as Spenser says, woods and forests abounded in Ireland in his time; but we suspect the abundance was not extreme. Our notion of their real extent is formed on some notes made on this subject, which are about to be given, in order that the reader may form a sufficiently accurate idea of the sylvan state of green Erin in Elizabeth's time. The "Books of Survey and Distribution," compiled in 1657, and the maps of the Down Survey, give the exact area of every woodland in the kingdom. With regard to the earlier period, the one selected, it is so because Sir George Carew has left, in his MSS., brief notes of the area or dimensions of some of the old forests of Munster, as they flourished in his time. His data, however, must be regarded as mere rough calculations of the probable square measure of those woods, since it certainly was as impossible for him to have computed the actual

quantity of ground occupied by them as to have counted their trees; the extent of ground they covered having varied in outline, according to incidental circumstances. Again, it is to be observed that the mile of that time was longer than the measure now so called. Before entering into details respecting notable woods in three[a] of the provinces of Ireland, a brief archaic view may be taken of the general topic of "Woods and Fastnesses in Ancient Ireland;" and we shall perceive, after even a glance, that trees fill an important part in the history of the Irish Gael.

Strabo describes the Britons as making their forests "their towns, of which," says he "they fence in a large circle with felled trees, and make huts there for themselves, and stables for their cattle; but *not for a long time.*" This last expression gives us an idea of the nomad life of the Britons, with which, it may be believed, the life of the Celtic Irish corresponded. Indeed, we find that the same wandering unsettled habits were prevalent in Ulster, even so recently as the 17th century; many of the people living as "*creaghts,*" that is to say, as septs or *sliochts* dwelling in common, subsisting on the produce of their herd of cattle, with which they wandered along the sides of mountains and through the woods; content, during this pastoral existence, with the nightly shelter of shealings or huts that an hour or two sufficed to construct. It is probable that the "large circle" mentioned by Strabo closely resembled the *pal-lis,* or palisadoed rath, the Irish *poleis* of Ptolemy. That famous historic territory, "the Pale," is said to have obtained its name from the fact that the unwalled villages and towns, within this wide colony of the Englishry, were defended with palisades of timber—in military parlance, stockades. Its Norman appellation, *le Pal,* must have been derived from some actual defence of this kind, rather than from an imaginary separation. In 1515 it was recommended that every village and town in the barony of Kells (co. Meath), that lay "within six miles of the wylde Iryshe, be dycheyd and hegeyd strongly about the gates, of tymbre, after the manner of the Co. of Kildare, for dredde of fyre of ther enymyes." The settlers in Leinster under Strongbow had, of course, taken possession of the champaign—naturally the richest—land, and artificially the freest from wood. "Maghery ground," the name by which such land was designated, derives its name from the Gaelic word *machaire,* a plain. From passages in records, it would seem that the colonists in the Pale arrogated the right to all bordering land of this denomination. Long and frequent were their contests with the old natives for the possession of the soil; since these enemies lay ever around them, in the depths of the dark forests that skirted the horizon, or in the recesses of the blue mountains that rose above it. The aspect of Ireland in the 16th century must have differed almost *in toto cœlo* from the appearance it now presents. The rivers are, indeed, the same that then brightened the landscape, and the mountains those that ennobled it; but the vast untouched tracts of forest, and wide wastes of heather, have given place to a multitude of small, ill-fenced fields, not too well cultivated, and dotted with habitations, many of which one sees but to hope they will be displaced by better. At that early period, the wayfarer—instead of, as now, finding but little wood

[a] Leinster has already appeared in the Kilkenny Archæological Journal,

visible from the highway save "plantations," which never look sylvan—found the level plains so overrun with natural wood that the few roads of the time, necessarily avoiding mountains and morasses, had been cut through forests, but were closed in many places by the rapid growth of underwood. The remedy ordained by the parliament of 1297 for overcoming this serious impediment is curiously set forth in the following clause:—

"The Irish enemy, by the density of the woods, and the depth of the adjacent morasses, assume a confident boldness; the king's highways are in places so overgrown with wood, and so thick and difficult, that even a foot passenger can hardly pass. Upon which, it is ordained that every lord of a wood, with his tenants, through which the highway was anciently, shall clear a passage where the way ought to be, and remove all standing timber as well as underwood." [b]

Giraldus Cambrensis states that the woodlands of Ireland exceeded the plain, or cleared and open land. After the partial conquest of the natives, these great forests became the fastnesses and abodes of such septs and clans as retained their independence, and were to them what castles were to the Norman barons; for the Irish were accustomed to improve the impregnable character of a wood by cutting down trees on both sides of passages through it, casting some in the way, forming breast-work with others, and plashing or interlacing the lower branches of standing trees with the undergrowth. It may be safely asserted that, for three centuries subsequent to the invasion, a troop of the colonial cavalry could not ride twenty miles in any direction, when in chase of their turbulent and destructive enemies, without finding the pursuit obstructed by a wood, which instantly served as a redoubt to the fugitives. Such having been the extent of the sylvan shelter into which the Gaels retired before the invaders—fortifying every path in their ingenious manner, and fighting bravely in defence of it, while ever and anon they sallied out and plundered the Saxon colonists—we may conceive that the forests presented the greatest obstacle to a complete conquest of the country, and that the efforts of the settlers were constantly directed to their destruction. It was repeatedly declared that "the Irish could not be tamed while the leaves were on the trees;" implying both that woods sheltered them from their enemies, and that the foliage and summer's grass supported their horses and cattle; so that "the best service that could be done," to quote the phrase of the day, was to attack the wild foe in the winter, and cut and burn down their thickets. Abundant evidence could be adduced from our archives that the Norman sway was almost paramount in Ireland during the century that succeeded the invasion. The Gaelic race, even in the centre of Ulster, were then in tolerable subjection. Still, the extensive woods throughout the island formed safe retreats to clans that were driven from the cleared and fertile tracts, and long continued to be the resort of predatory marauders. This evil became greatly aggravated after the invasion of the Bruces, when the natives yearly grew in strength; an invasion, indeed, induced by the very cries of the Gaels from their wretched retreats. In their address, at this period, dated 1318, to Pope John XXII., they describe themselves as driven from their hereditary lands and former spacious habitations,

[b] Sir W. Betham's Constit. of England, p. 2[illegible].

and compelled, for safety of their lives, to seek shelter in mountains, forests, bogs, and other barren places, and even in the caverns of the rocks, like wild beasts; while the borders or marches between them and their enemies were not one definite line, dividing the country into two parts, but were interspersed throughout the whole island, wherever the barrenness of the soil caused it to be unoccupied by those enemies, or where the strength of the fastnesses deterred them. Owing to the fact that the lands of the two opposing parties everywhere intermingled, and were without fixed boundaries, border war lasted for centuries throughout the length and breadth of Ireland.

Of instances in which the impregnability of Gaelic fastnesses enabled their hardy occupants to hold out against the foe, one of the most remarkable is the case of the O'Conors of Connaught, the "Sil-Murray,"—*sliocht*, or seed, of Muiredhach. At the period of the invasion, Roderic O'Conor, as is well known, was monarch of Ireland. His successors withstood the conquering advances of the Normans by means of forest and mountain retreats, from whence all the chivalry that could be mustered by De Burgh, feudal Baron of Connaught and Earl of Ulster, was not able to expel them. In 1305, a legal inquiry was held at Castledermot, at the request of the Earl, respecting his title to a certain territory, containing two baronies and a half, in Outer Connaught, when it was found, by verdict of the jury, that "*if* those parts were *cleared of Irish*, their value would be 250 marks yearly; but that this expulsion could not be effected without a great power (*magno posse*) of the king's men, and incalculable expenses, exceeding the value of the said land, and principally because the said O'Conoghur is one of the five chieftains of the Irish."[c] As one of the five kings of the ancient national dynasties, O'Conor would have been supported by a large clannish and half-feudal force. So long as the Irish kept in their woods and fastnesses, they were safe enough; for it was only when they risked battle in the field that they were overcome by the more disciplined forces of their opponents, as at Athenry, where the Sil-Murray were nearly annihilated.

Let us here notice some English and Irish sylvan etymologies. "Field" signified originally cleared or *fell'd* ground. "Weald," a wild, or wilderness, equivalent to the Gaelic *fassagh*, is derived from the German *wald*, the root of our word, wood. *Gleann* is Irish for a glen, or wooded vale, equivalent to the English *dene*, Scottish *dean* (as in Hazeldean), and found in the name of the wood of Arden, in Warwickshire, and perhaps that of Ardennes, in Hainault.

During the reign of Elizabeth, when the Irish sword of state was no idle emblem in the hand of the governor, it was of deep political moment, as will be presently seen, that English axes should be busily at work in the woods. The historian of Tyrone's rebellion observes that "Ulster, and the western parts of Munster, yield *vast* woods, in which the rebels, cutting up trees, and

[c] West Connaught, p. 191.

casting them on heaps, used to stop the passages." It was perhaps a social evil of no less magnitude, that almost every large wooded glen bordering on the Englishry held a nest of human wasps, the Irish "wood-kerne," who lived by robbing the neighbouring colonists. The most cogent reasons, therefore, urged the destruction of woods. Still, even so recently as when the troops that entered Ireland under Cromwell, on being disbanded, settled down in districts over almost the entire island, many ancient woods remained in their pristine grandeur. To call up but a single witness;—Lady Fanshawe, who landed at Youghal, passed through the west, and sailed from Galway, having spent a year in this kingdom just before the usurper entered, observes, in her interesting *Memoirs*, that this country "exceeded in timber." The shock of the Restoration shook down many of those old woods. During the uncertainty felt by the Cromwellian settlers as to retaining their hold of the land, they realised what they could by stripping it of its feathers; and, subsequently, the vengeful dryads of the departed groves appeared to them in the shapes of "tories" and "rapparees." A similar political earthquake in 1688 caused the fall of many more thousands of tall trees. The trustees of the estates then forfeited, notice in their report "the general waste committed on the forfeited woods" by the grantees, on receiving possession; "particularly on those of Sir Valentine Browne," around the lakes of Killarney, "where to the value of £20,000 has been cut down and destroyed." The waste by simultaneously cutting down, and glutting the market with, the extensive woods in the late Earl of Clancarty's territory was computed at no less than £27,000. "So hasty," wrote the trustees, "have several of the grantees, or their agents, been in the disposition of the forfeited woods, that vast numbers of trees have been cut and sold for not above *six pence a-piece*." They add:—"The like waste is *still continuing* in many parts of this kingdom, and particularly on the lands of Feltrim, within six miles of Dublin, and the woods of O'Shaghnessy, in the county of Galway, purchased for about £2,500, which were valued to above £12,000." In 1616, Richard Milton obtained Letters Patent licensing him to cut timber, except such as had been marked by the king's officers for the use of the navy, for making pipe-staves, clap-boards, &c., and to export the same, for 21 years.

Dr. Boate, in his *Natural History of Ireland*, accounts for the diminution of timber "by the incredible quantity consumed in the iron works, and by the exportation of pipe-staves in whole ship-loads." Neither the English colonels whom Cromwell metamorphosed into Irish landlords, nor the Dutchmen whom William of Orange rewarded with Irish soil, regarded their new forests with much liking; even their successors do not seem to have looked on their woods as ancestral inheritances, since the same recklessness was common in the days of Swift, who remarks, in his 7th *Drapier's Letter*:—"I believe there is not another example in Europe of such a prodigious quantity of excellent timber cut down in so short a time, with so little advantage to the country either in shipping or building."—"Trees are an excrescence provided by

nature for the payment of debts," according to Sir Jonah Barrington, who quotes this saying as the sentiment of the great Irish landlords of his day. Obviously, there is no infallible preservative for the old timber of an estate during the lordships of several successive heirs, one of whom, however lofty his genealogic tree, may prove a—

"Foe to the dryads of his fathers' groves."

Perhaps it is not erroneous to believe that, whatever may have actuated Irish proprietors, a large majority of English and Scottish landlords, during the last fifty years, have been planters, and the cases of "cutters-down" but few: at least, one does not hear of such flagrant instances as are alluded to in the following passage in a letter from Walpole, the wit, to Mason:—"When the forests of our old barons were nothing but dens of thieves, the law in its wisdom made them unalienable. Its wisdom now thinks it very fitting that they should be cut down to pay debts at Almack's and Newmarket. I was saying this to the lawyer I carried down with me. He answered, 'The law hates a perpetuity.' 'Not all perpetuities,' said I; 'not those of lawsuits.'"

ULSTER.

Our province of Ulster, not the part of Ireland least civilised in Queen Victoria's days, was styled by statute in Queen Elizabeth's time, "the most perilous place in all the isle." Its fastnesses, which we shall presently enumerate and briefly describe, were peculiarly strong, consisting, for the most part, of islands, natural and artificial, in lakes—a species of fortress so special to our ancient province that we propose to devote some future paper to this particular subject. Primevally, using this term in its historic sense, the entire district now called Ulster was, without doubt, densely wooded. The name Uladh, *Scandinavicè* Ulster, was anciently confined to a very circumscribed part, namely, the present County of Down, of which *Machaire Uladh* was the plain or open country. It was in this "Maghery ground," to use the term employed by the Englishry of the Pale, that the colonists under Sir John de Courcy settled. At the time Shane O'Neill assumed his despotic sway, it was almost impossible, by reason of the danger, for an undisguised Englishman to enter the province by land. The natural strength of the territory was the principal cause that had enabled the native Gael to maintain their liberty so long. It was vulnerable, indeed, on three sides, by sea; but not until Drake and Randolph carried the flag of St. George around the northern shore, did soldiers bearing the red cross conquer the country once defended by the "Knights of the Red Branch." A glance at the map of Ireland will show the long and strong lines of waters that were natural and broad fosses of defence against southern invasion. Indeed, there were but two roads into Ulster, namely, the passage by Carrickmacross, thence called "the gap of the North," and the historically famous "Pass," by Magh-rath, or Moiry. From the former place to Belturbet, the country was nearly impassable, owing to its network of bogs, lakes, and mountains; while the river and lakes of the

Erne, compassed with great woods (as Moryson observed), formed a complete barrier as far as the Atlantic. Whenever English troops succeeded in penetrating to the centre of Ulster, they found it a jungle. In 1542, the Earl of Tyrone's country is described as not containing one single "castell," wherein any of the king's army might reside securely "in case the Earl were clearly banished;" "not yet one town walled, nor other hold; but full of wooddes, grete boggis, and waters, called here loughes, which be some of them twenty myles in length, so that hard it wold be to have the same inhabited, without great charge, and peril of those who should inhabit the same." The Earl, while yet bearing the title of the O'Neill, had consented, by articles, that "all and singular the thickets, groves, and woods, lying between his country and the bordering Englishry, should be cut down, and made plain land."[d] Axes were doubtless kept going all around the confines of O'Neill's country, and within them also, from that year, 1541, until a century afterwards, 1641; yet there is ample testimony to show that the least accessible parts, such as Glenconcan (in Derry) and Killultagh (in Down) remained, not indeed untouched, but with their woody nature as little extirpated as was the Irish race.

Sir George Carew gives the following brief note of:—

"WOODS AND FASTNES IN ULSTER.

Glenbrasell, by Lougheaugh, a great boggy and wooddy fastnes.

Glencan, a boggy and wooddy contry, environed with two rivers, viz., the Blackwater and the Ban.

Killultagh, a safe, boggy, and wooddy contry, upon Logh Eaugh.

Kilwarlen, the like bounden together.

Kilautrey, lying between Kilwarlen and Lecale.

Glanconkeyne, on the river Ban's side, in O'Chane's country, the chief fastnes and refuge of the Scotts."—

Clanbrassil and O'Neilland were woodlands in the time of Sir H. Bagenal; and formed the principal settlement and fastness of the O'Neills.

It was on the border of these marshes that Shane O'Neill formed his safest fastness, thus mentioned after his death in a letter from lord-treasurer Winchester to lord-deputy Sidney, congratulating the successful viceroy on the fierce chief being "delivered from his evil doings;" and adding, "you shall do verie well to see Shane's lodgeings in the fen, where *he built his lodging*, and kept his cattell and all his men." This stronghold seems to have been the insular artificial fort named *Fuat-na-Gall*, in the south-west of Lough Neagh, a description of which, with accounts of other celebrated Ulster fastnesses, would be very acceptable, and gratefully acknowledged.

Clancan was easily defended on account of its insular position.

Killultagh (*Coill-Ullach*, the wood of the Ulster men?), probably so called from being the abode of the Gaels of *Uladh*, when this name was confined to the country east of the Bann. In 1573 Lord Essex

[d] Printed S. P. vol. III., pp. 355, 377.

wrote that he was joined by "the Captain of Killulto," who, with his clan, "lay in the woods of Killulto;" and the earl describes the country as "a woodland and strong fastness." That this forest was at one period not merely the fastness, but one of the especial dwelling-places, of the eastern O'Neill's, appears from the statement in a recommendation of 1515, that fresh English colonists be sent into Ulster, in order that "all the noble issue of Hugh Boye Oneyll be avoyded clere and expulsed from the Greene Castell to the Bann, and be assygneyd and sufferyd to have ther habytation and dwelling in the greate forest Keylultagh and in the Pheux, whiche habytations and placeis they hathe, and *dwelleyth ofte before nowe by compulsion*." Sir G. Carew states, in another MS. (No. 617) that this forest had been let to the clan of Yellow Hugh, before the murder of the Earl of Ulster, for one hundred pounds a-year.

Kilwarlin, (or *Coill-warlin*,) with its strong island retreat, Innisloughan, was the fastness of McGennis; and, being joined to "the wood of the Ulster men," added much to the strength of this ancient native stronghold.

"Killoutrey" is *Coill-uachtrach*, the upper wood.

Gleneoncan, (or *Gleann-concadhain*,) a broad, deep, and beautiful vale, bounded on the south by the remarkable mountain of *Sliabh Callain*, or Sliav Gallion, and on the north by the Dungiven and Banagher mountains. Anciently, it was the best fastness in the north, being adjacent to the forest of *Coill-iochtrach*, or the lower wood, and to Sliav Gallion, the skirts of which were described as all rock and bog for a circuit of forty miles. Carew calls it the chief refuge of the Scots, because the McDonnells made it their retreat whenever military expeditions were undertaken by the viceroy to drive them out of Ireland. It belonged, however, more immediately to the O'Neills, and was the safest fastness of the Earl of Tyrone during his rebellion. Sir Henry Dockwra calls this district "the Glynns," and describes it as covered with thick wood for twenty miles in length and ten in breadth; and speaks of the earl as lying impenetrably encamped in it, "plasht all about with trees:" and Sir Josias Bodley speaks of the subsequent fighting with Tyrone in his woods of Gleneoncan. On the flight and attainder of the insurgent lord, and the sequestration of his estate, the intelligent Sir John Davys writes in 1608:—

> "From Dungannon we passed into the county of Colraine, through the Glinnes and woods of Clanconkeyn, where the wild inhabitants did as much wonder to see the lord deputy, as Virgil's ghosts did to see Æneas alive in hell. But his lordship's [the viceroy's] passing that way was of good importance two ways for his majesty's service; for both himself and all the officers of his army have discovered that unknown fastnes; and also the people of the country, knowing their fastnes to be discovered, will not trust so much therein as heretofore, which trust made them presume to commit so many thefts, murders, and rebellions:—for assuredly they presumed more upon our ignorance of their country than upon their own strength."

Davys then wrote to the English government to suggest that "the great forest of Glenconkeyn, well nigh as large as the New Forest in Hampshire, and stored with the best timber," should be re-

tained as a reserve for the royal navy. But as it was important to the peace of Ulster that this vast shelter for rebels and robbers should be destroyed, and more suitable that its oaks, in place of being used in building "wooden walls" for England, should be employed in erecting a town whose walls would prove a "chief fastness and refuge" to colonists in the North of Ireland, the king, in 1609, gave permission to cut down 50,000 oak-trees at 10s. a piece, 100,000 ash-trees at 5s., and 10,000 elms at 6s. 8d., for the purpose of building Londonderry. The total value of the timber cut, amounting to £53,033 6s. 8d., an enormous sum at that time, proves the great extent of valuable timber the forest contained.

Some other woods in Ulster require brief notice. The Dufferin [*Dubh-thrian*, the black third], was the woody part of the territory of the *Cinel-Artaigh*, belonging to McArtan, and also partly occupied in the 15th century by McQuillin, whose "creaght" was attacked here by O'Neill in 1433. It is therefore probable that it was here, rather than in the woods of Kilnasaggart, that Edward Bruce seized the creaghts of those chieftains, as mentioned by Barbour, the Scottish poet.

Old maps show a large wood near Omagh; and Dockwra describes the pass through it as being a mile long, having "high oaken timber" on either side, and as the scene of an engagement in which Sir Cahir O'Dogherty was knighted for loyal bravery. He also describes the country of the Sleught Art, a sept of the O'Neills, near Castle Derg, as being 16 miles long, and for the most part bog and wood. *Rossmore*, the great wood on the border of Lough Ross, in Monaghan, is remarkable as having been the retreat of Edward Bruce and his troops at the time the Earl of Ulster and Viceroy Butler were marching with two armies in search of those invaders, of whom the metrical narrator, Barbour, says:—

> "Till a gret forest come thai,
> Kylrose it hat [called] as Ik hard say."

The "Glens of Antrim," that singular district which, during the middle ages, was inhabited by alien races of Scandinavian Scots, who were frequently hired to fight in the civil wars throughout Ireland, must have then been densely clothed, throughout its vales, with wood. When the sons of John *Cahanach* McDonald, lord of the Isles, concealed themselves in these glens, their more powerful enemy, a chief of their name, "hearing of their hiding places, went to cut down the woods of those glens, in order to extirpate their whole race."[e]

The district of the "Phenx," (the *Fiodha*, or Fewes of Armagh,) bordering on the Pale, and inhabited by a sept of the O'Neills, (who, as Marshal Bagenal states, "were accustomed to live much on the spoile of the Pale,") were the dread of all English travellers into the North; as "the Passe" up to Newry lay through these woods, which were always infested by robbers. Moryson mentions "the Pass of Feldom." Shane O'Neill, at the outset of his usurpation of Ulster, took up his abode in these woods for the special purpose of preventing British subjects from passing northward. Under

[e] Note to Four Masters, p. 1[illegible]4

the well-known names of "Invermullane" and "the Moiry pass," the passage of these woods by armies during war is celebrated in history. These "Fewes" were the special resort of an Irish "Rob Roy," the renowned "Count Hanlon," to check whose highway exploits a barrack, capable of containing two companies of foot, was erected in them. Yet the bold Count contrived to make the military subservient to his purpose; for, having slain several of the soldiers, he put their uniforms on his men, and, until the trick became notorious, many a traveller suffered by it.

The ancient wood-kerne,—bands of outlaws and "guerillas," closely resembling the caterans of the Scottish Highlands,—"living," as stated by O'Flagherty, "in woods in a barbarous manner, and subsisting on depredations," the predecessors of tories, rapparees, and highwaymen, have been already mentioned; but it may be noted that those of Ulster were the most consummately wild and daring of the whole national fraternity. The northern Gaels are indeed well known to have surpassed the southern in warlike qualities. These outlawed banditti were "the wylde Irish," so dreaded by English colonists, and whose havoc and slaughterings almost paralysed the settlement in central Ulster prior to the outbreak in 1641. It may be said that every great glen or wooded vale throughout the kingdom was the heritable haunt of a *clann* or race, who were "the old evil children of the wood," as a marauding southern tribe was called. Indeed, to these wretched pariahs of a land, the noblest of whose Gaelic race gloried in making war on and despoiling the Saxon, and in which the arts of peace were almost altogether confined to the enemy, there was nothing left but to continue their hereditary course of life. The desperate recklessness of the wood-kerne robbers in this respect became proverbial in an antique Irish "rhyme," the gist of which is, that if their lives were lost in any excursion in quest of cattle, their children, "when their teeth grew," might betake themselves to the Glynns, as their fathers had done before them!

MUNSTER.

In the south-west of this province lay the five great forests that formed the natural fastnesses of the Earls of Desmond, those strongholds in which these lords so trusted; for it was the possession of these retreats, which they were confident were almost impregnable, that led to their frequent revolts against any superior authority. Glengarriff and Killarney, at one period the least accessible of these mountain holds, are now visited at ease by "the million," and reward connoisseurs of the picturesque, however far travelled, with a wild yet perfect beauty that may claim to be unsurpassed by any scenes to which these miniature ones may fairly be compared.

During the height of the last Earl of Desmond's rebellion, in 1579, Sir Warham St. Leger wrote to Lord Burleigh, that "the scope of the Geraldines' range includes the Great Wood, Aharlogh, Dromfynine, Glanmore, and Glanflesk, which are their chief fortresses;" and he proposed to employ a force of 4,000 English soldiers, besides the army already in the field under the Earl of Ormond,

to protect labourers in hewing down and burning these woods. Philip O'Sullevan mentions that the Irish troops, in retreating after the battle of Kinsale, weak with wounds and hunger, were actually attacked by wolves that issued out on them from the woods.

The following is a note by Sir George Carew of "the length and breadth of the Woodds and Fastnesses in Munster:—

Glangarriff, in O'Swilivan More's country, 4 miles long and 2 broad.
Glanrought, in Desmond, 3 long and 2 broad.
Leanmore, in do., 3 do. and 3 do.
Clenglas and Kilmore, in the co. Limerick, 12 do. and 7 do.
Dromfynine, in the co. Cork, on the Blackwater, 6 do. and 2 do.
Arlogh and Muskryquircke, in Tipperary, 9 do. and 3 do.
Killuggy, in Tipperary, bordering on Limerick, 10 do. and 7 do.
Glenflesk, 4 do. and 2 do."

Glengarriff [*Gleann-garbh*, the rough glen], the large rocky and wooded vale that opens into Bantry Bay, was, as the Gaelic annalists wrote, "one of O'Sullivan's most impregnable retreats." Surrounded by lofty and precipitous hills, save where the sea enters, forming an inland bay of winding shape and exquisite beauty, Glengariff, with its verdant glades, interspersed with masses of rock and groves of varied foliage, presents from its heights a scene that, uniting woods and rivers, and contrasting dark, steep, and rugged mountains with the calm, bright, island-studded bay and distant ocean, hardly yields to the finest view in Killarney.

Glanerough [the glen of the river Roughty], near Kenmare. The Englishry of Cork, in the time of Henry VI., when the Clan Carthy had repossessed themselves of the land round the very walls of the city, referred retrospectively in their letter to Edmond Plantagenet, Earl of Rutland and Cork, then lord chancellor of Ireland, to that period of triumph after the first conquest of Munster, when "all the Irishmen were driven into the great vallie called Glanehought, betwixt the two great mountains called Maccort [Mangerton] and the Leapers' Island, and there lived long on their white meats," until feuds between the conquering lords enabled them, as they gained in numbers and strength, to spread themselves once more over the fertile territories wrested from their ancestry.

Leanmore [the fastness of Loch Lean or lake of Killarney] derives its name from the *Leamhain* or Leune river, whence the lake, like Loch Leven in Scotland, was named. The woods on *Slier Torc* still abound in red deer; and the Gaelic name of the mountain designates that it was anciently famous for wild boars, as *Muck-ross* [the swine promontory] was for fattening the porcine breed on its acorns. Loch Lean was the best stronghold of M'Carthy-more, as Lochow, in the Highlands, of a yet more powerful chief, M'Allan-more. During grand stag-hunts, the Irish lord usually took his station on a rocky eminence on *Torc* mountain, near the gap of Dunlo, to enjoy the spectacle of the chase; and, when the deer made for the gap, as they generally did, he descended with his men, intercepted the stateliest quarries, and often struck them down with his spear. A daughter of one

of these chiefs, the Baroness of Kerry, is described by the annalists as, during the Geraldine rebellion, "passing her last days upon the lake, moving from one island to another," for fear of robbers.

The two sylvan districts of Clenglas and Kilmore formed a mass of wood which, with the exception of Glenconkeyn, was the largest forest in Ireland. *Claon-ghlais*, now anglicised Clonlish, a wild district in the south-west of Limerick, was, when dense with wood, the first gathering-place of James Fitz-Maurice in his outbreak of 1579; and here perished miserably his companion, Dr. Saunders, the papal legate. The name of "Jhon of the Grene Wode," which appears on the map of Ireland made in 1572 for Sir Thomas Smith, Colonel of the Ards, was probably that of John Fitz-Gerald, chief of a Geraldine clan that possessed Claenglais, "the green retreat."

Another chieftain of Geraldine race, John Fitz-Gibbon, was lord of *Coill-mhor* [the great wood], now Kilmore, a barony in the County of Cork, and in modern times a well-known haunt of insurgents.

Druim-Finghin [*i.e.* Fineen's ridge,] divides the two baronies of Decies. Gerald, the 16th Desmond, is described as, during his rebellion of 1582, passing and repassing from the shelter afforded by this wood to that of Aharlagh and Coill-an-choigidh, and from thence sending out his men to lay waste the lands of his enemy Ormond.

Gleann-Eatherlach is the Gaelic name of "Arlogh," now called "Harlow," the most renowned forest in the south, as having been the principal fastness of the western Geraldines during rebellion, and rendered famous from being frequently celebrated by Edmond Spenser. "Who knows not Arlohill?" asked the poet, declaring that it was—

"Of old the best and fairest hill
That was in all this Holy Island's hight:"

and that, whenever Diana visited Erin to chase the deer, her favourite resorts were—

"All those faire forrests about Arlo hid:
And all that mountaine, which doth overlooke
The richest champain that may else be rid."

In later ages, Mars and Mercury were the presiding deities. During the protracted war between James Fitzmaurice and the English forces, the wily chieftain, if overmastered by numbers, generally retreated with his men into this easily defended wood, and either fought a flying skirmish through it, or succeeded in daunting his pursuers from following him. The annalists describe his horse-troopers, after the sack of Kilmallock, in 1571, as being occupied for three days and nights in carrying the spoils of the town "to the woods and forests of Eatharlach," and then so completely destroying the town that it became the abode of wolves.

The following "description of Arlough wood" was given by Sir Warham St. Leger, lord president of Munster, in 1580, at the time this extensive tract was a vantage-ground to the rebel Desmonians:—"It conteyneth in length three miles, in breadth six miles, distant from Limerick,

south by est, sixteen miles; situated betwixt two mountains south and north; the south mountain being a marvelous high mountain called Slivegrote; the north mountain (being far lower) is called Slievenemuckigh. The lands invironing it on the south and west is the White Knight's countrie in the counties of Tipperary, Corck, and Lymerick; on the north the Burghe's countrie called Clainleame, in the county of Tipperary; on the est Muskrie Querck, also in the county of Tipperary: And as the same Arlough is altogether wood between the twoe mountains, so there is a ryver from the west to the est of the said wood, dividing them almost equallye in the middest of the vallye, untill the said river, through Muskrie Corck on the est, falleth into the river of Sure that leades to Waterford."

Gleann-Eatharlach seems to have owed its serviceableness as a fastness to its proximity to numerous lurking-places afforded by the ravines and caves of the surrounding mountains, and to the miry nature of the ground among its dense thickets, alluded to by Spenser when comparing it to his poetic "salvage wood" in "Astrophel:"—

> "So wide a forest and so waste as this.
> Nor famous Ardeyn, nor fowle Arlo, is."

In these hiding-places, the "*sugane*" Earl of Desmond long attempted to elude pursuit, shifting from one to another; but was at length taken in a cavern in Slieve Grot.

"Kilhuggy" [*Coill-an-choigidh*, the wood of the province], anglicised "Kilquegg," was the bleak place in which the 16th Geraldine Earl kept a cold Christmas in 1582. *Glenflesk*, the wooded valley of the river Flesk, was the country of O'Donoughue of the Glens, chief of a branch of the Clan-Carthy.

Besides the foregoing forests, Carew, in another document, enumerating the "Eyries of Hawks sequestered after Desmond's rebellion," notices other woods, viz., "Reynyss, in Kennale; Ross y-Donoughow," (now Lord Kenmare's seat, at Killarney); "Dungerott; Dunbekan, in Carbery;" Lord Condon's woods; and "Clanmaarice woods;" in all which there were eyries of those prized means of sport—falcons and goshawks. These substitutes for "fowling-pieces" were only part of the *deliciæ* afforded by our woods to the ancient sportsman; who, be it observed, if, like Chaucer's yeoman, "of wood-craft could he well all the usage," found in their deer, wolves, tree-birds, &c., plentiful objects for the indulgence of his manly pursuits.

After the destruction of the 16th Desmond, a document was presented to the Queen, giving a list of "such lands as have tymbre-trees fit for building of shipps, to be reserved for her majesty's use" in the grants of the forfeited estates of the Earl and his adherents, viz.:—

"The lands and castle of Strancally, standing towards the mouth of the brode water by Yoghall.
"The lands of Condon, adjoining to the brode water.
"The lands adjoining to Macollop, if any way they may belong to your majesty, and Macollop itself.
"The lands and woods called Lisfinnin, sometyme belonging to Sir John of Desmond and others.

"The lands and tymbre woods of Lismore, scituat nere the brode water, with all other woods lying within four miles of the said brode water, or uppon any of the branches of the said river, which shall be fitt to convey tymbre to the mouth of the same."

The "brode water" is, of course, the Blackwater, of which Spenser wrote—

"Allo hight—Broad water callèd farre."

Payne, the English "undertaker," stated in 1589 that there was much good timber in many places in this province, and that it was so straight and so easy to rive, that a woodsman with a brake-axe could easily cleave a great oak into boards, which, at 15 foot long and 14 inches broad, by 1 thick, were sold at the low rate of 2½d. each. In this year the value of the oak on the forfeited lands in Munster was again pressed on the notice of government; and it was recommended that a high steward should be appointed over the royal manors in Ireland, who should also be "wood-ward and chief forester" in this province. But neither this proposition, nor the recommendation of the foregoing state paper, (the original of which has some notes in the autograph of Lord Burleigh,) were attended to when the grants of the forfeited lands were made. Richard Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork, who is remarkable for having acquired a vast estate, (which was obtained, however, in a manner very different from that described by himself,) and who is justly celebrated for the great improvements he effected, bargained with Sir Walter Raleigh, at the time of the attainder of that chivalrous adventurer, to buy his grant of 12,000 acres for the inconsiderable price of £1,500, (of which only a third was paid,) and immediately began cutting down the woods; in imitation of a notorious English usurer of the day, who inveigled men into selling him their estates, and afterwards sold the timber so profitably that it paid for the land; making, as he said, "the feathers pay for the goose." Boyle joined in partnership with one Henry Pyne in purchasing the woods belonging to Lord Condon, the Anglo-Irish owner of a barony named from his family. These partners also bought the timber property of other native lords and chieftains, whose simplicity, or ignorance of the market, or perhaps, as in the cases of Raleigh and Condon, impending attainders, led them, as was said of similar sales, to part with what was worth thousands for a song. The attention of government in England had been frequently drawn to the public value of the vast quantity of oak then existing in Ireland; and in 1608 one Philip Cottingham was sent over to survey the woods, and report what amount of timber he found suitable to build ships for the royal navy. This surveyor does not seem to have inspected any woods beyond those in the counties of Waterford and Wexford; and, in September, he wrote to the secretary of state, from Mogeely Castle, stating that he had examined the woods belonging to Sir Richard Boyle, and that, although the best and most accessible timber had been cut down for pipe-staves and planks, there still remained much that was valuable for ship-building; and he adds that the woods called "Kilbarrow" and "Kilcorran," in the county of Waterford, were at that time being cut by Boyle, who had also purchased the forests of Glengarriff and Glenlawrence, in Desmond, with a view to their sale. The

destruction that was taking place in the principal forests in Ireland, in which noble oaks, fit to construct ships that would "carry Britain's thunder o'er the deep," were riven up to make barrels, aroused the attention of viceroy Chichester; and he drew up a despatch, setting forth in another public and unusual point of view, the ill effects of the purchases made by Boyle and his fellow speculators. After mentioning that a pretended right was advanced to certain woods in Dowallo, the country of O'Donoughue, by Sir Richard Boyle, (who was in such favour that the viceroy merely ventured to hint he was a grasper of lands,) and stating that fifty-six tons of Irish timber were about to be sent up the Thames as a specimen, though merchants would not then give 13s. 4d. a ton for it, the lord deputy concludes with this significant passage:—

"There are forests in this kingdom of many thousand acres, some principal ones of which ought to be reserved for the use of the Crown, and not wasted, as they now are, by private men, who purchase them for trifles, or assume them upon tricks and devices from the simple Irish, who perhaps have no good title to sell them, or at least know not what they sell. But, finding that private subjects, as mean or meaner than themselves, do for the most part make extraordinary profit of their folly, they oftentimes fall into discontent, and *from discontent into rebellion*, when the king must be at the charge of its suppression."

Dr. Boate, in his *Naturall History of Ireland*, in giving an account of the woods formerly flourishing in this country, notices the great havoc made of those in Munster by the first Earl of Cork.

CONNAUGHT.

This province does not seem at any time to have been remarkable for forests; their extended growth having probably been hindered by the mountainous nature of the country, and its proximity to the Atlantic. But in no other part of Ireland were the aborigines sheltered from attack by fastnesses rendered stronger by a complication of rivers, lakes, mountains, and bogs.

Under the year 1210, the *Four Masters* write of "the wilderness of Kinel-Dofa," the ancient name of a territory in Roscommon, which contained the largest woods in the province.

Sir George Carew's list is as follows:—

"WOODS AND FASTNESSES IN CONNAGHT.

The woods and boggs of Kilbigher.
Killeallon, in Mac William's contry.
Killaloa, in county of Leitrim.
The woods and boggs near the Corleus."

The first name cannot be traced. The second, probably, is the "Forest of Kellelon," figured on Lithe's map of Connaught (dated about 1572) as situated in the country of Mac William Burke, of Mayo. Besides this extended sylvan district, the map delineates several other forests in the province; as in Clancostello, Achill, Sligo, Leitrim, and near Roscommon. About this period the

Bourkes of Mayo and O'Flahertys of Connemara were declared to possess a stronger country than any other clan in Ireland. Their territories were indeed rendered secure by vast forests, numerous loughs, with their islands, and the river Shannon with its lakes, which encompassed them; while the ocean, with its many isles, presented itself as a last refuge, whither they might retire if overpowered. Such was the case in 1582, when, as the annalists state, the fierce governor of Connaught devastated Tirawley, and drove out the inhabitants so determinedly, that neither castles nor even woods and forest valleys proved any shelter against him.

Coill Conchobhair [or O'Conor's wood], in the barony of Boyle, County Roscommon, which gave McDermot Roe his title of "Lord of the Woods," as he was chief of the clan then inhabiting them, probably had more anciently been the fastness of O'Conor himself, when dispossessed of the plains of Connaught by the Englishry.

The *Feadha* or "Faes" of Athlone was the name of O'Naghton's country. O'Sullivan describes how the brave and patriotic chieftain, Donnell O'Sullivan-Beare, when endeavouring to effect a junction with the northern insurgent lords, concealed himself and his men in the thick woods near Ballinlough in Roscommon, which were so wide that an entire night was spent in marching through them. It is stated in the *Four Masters* that the Faes contained 30 quarters of land.

The "woods and boggs near the Corleus," named in the foregoing list, were the *Fasach-Coille*, or wilderness of wood, in the north of the County of Sligo. The woody and dangerous defile through the Curlew mountains is memorable for the defeat of Sir Conyers Clifford in 1598.

Our few notes on *the Woods and Fastnesses of Ireland, divided into Provinces*, must not close without reference to the marked historic fact, that the isolated and remote positions of the four principal fastnesses caused Erin of old to be quadriparted, and, subsequently, deprived the resistance made by the native provincial dynasties of all national character. This circumstance is somewhat illustrated by Chief Baron Finglas' list of "Dangerous Passes," *anno* 1529, which he gives thus, with a preliminary recommendation :—

"That the lord deputy be eight days in every summer cutting Passes in the Woods next adjoining to the king's subjects, which shall be thought most needfull.

The Passes names here ensueth :—

Downe, Callibre, the Newe Ditch, the Passes to Powerscourt, Glankey, Ballamore in Foderth going to Keurnes,[f] Le Roge, Strenantoragh, Pollemounty,[g] Branwallehangry, Morterston, two passes in Feemore in O'Morye's country, the passes in Ferneynobegane, Killemark, Kelly, Ballenowe, Togherneline, two passes in Reynalegh,[h] the passes going to Moill, two in Kalry, the passes of Brahon Juryne, Killkorky, the Lagha, and Ballatra, Karryconnell and Killaghmore, three passes in Orior, one by Donegall, another by Taghert, and the third by Omere, Ballaghkine and Ballaghner."

This suggestive catalogue of ancient military passes around the Pale has been given in the hope that some reader of it, who can elucidate its obscure names, will favour us with annotations; telling

[f] Ferns. (?) [g] Between Mt. Leinster and the Barrow. [h] Ranelagh.

us of the chivalry that was wont to charge through these defiles, and of the bravery with which they were defended, in times when many an Irish forest-road was so often strewn with helmet feathers as to be, like that where Essex was encountered by O'More, a "Pass of Plumes." For example, one of the passages mentioned as leading into Ranelagh is, probably, the glen still known as "the Deputy's pass;" but neither legend nor local tradition tell who the Lord Deputy was that first forced this *bearna baoghail*, or "gap of danger." Again, some resident near Ravensdale, the romantic seat of Lord Clermont, might oblige us with a description of the glen country between Carlingford and Newry, which comprises the most renowned historic passes in Ireland. Although we have refrained from much comment on the mere notes now strung together, we cannot quit our delightful theme—which embraces a period extending from pagan days, when Celtic kings of Connaught used to propitiate the god of victory, by clothing with their mantles a sacred oak at Bearnasmore, the grand defile among the Donegal mountains, (probably in traditional memory of the Scythian ceremony described by Herodotus,) down to the transformation of Irish woods, during the Commonwealth, into pipe-staves and beer-barrels—without making one concluding observation. We have made antiquarian pilgrimages to some of our most famous sylvan scenes—at one time to Carew's-Wood, where Henry the Fifth received his spurs of knighthood, and where the courtly and gallant Sir Peter Carew may have often stalked a stag, and recalled to mind the "three-men song" he used to sing with the jovial Harry the Eighth and the sentimental Surrey, commencing, "As I walked the wood so wild;"—thence turning our steps to Fairwood, we have searched for the site of Strafford's timber-palace, constructed within his "park of parks," as he fondly styled the land he enclosed from the wilderness of Shilelagh;—and, at other times, we have sought "the great wood of the Picts," near Tara, in which Robert Bruce bivouacked; and the spot in Glenaginta, once a wood in Kerry, notorious as the scene of the 16th Desmond's decapitation;—in all these once celebrated woodlands, we found small trace of goodly timber, and nothing worthy to be compared to the venerable trees and rich glades of Savernake, in Wiltshire, perhaps the finest forest in Great Britain, and which, together with Tottenham Chase, composes the most magnificent breadth of sylvan scenery she possesses. This stormy isle of ours is deficient in the deep soil and the constant shelter, physical and moral, indispensable to a luxuriant growth of trees, those feathery plumes of the land, lacking which we see but baldness. But "*non omnes arbusta juvant*;" so we must now take our literary walking-stick, and our leave, offering the trite remark, that since Irish oak is long in arriving at maturity, this should be a cogent reason, with all who love to enrich and adorn their native soil, to lose no time in following the dying laird's advice to his son—"Be aye planting a tree, Jock; it'll be growing while ye're sleeping!"

ANCIENT SEALS FOUND AT CARRICKFERGUS.

The seals, of which the above are engravings, have been found at different times, at Carrickfergus, by Mr. James Stannus, the present harbour-master of that ancient borough. The first (Fig. 1) was discovered by him in cleaning out a well in the keep of Carrickfergus Castle in June, 1843, which had been for a long period filled with rubbish. The well was sunk in the living rock, and, in a chink at the bottom of it, the seal was discovered. It is of yellow brass, oval in shape, and well engraved. It is in a state of perfect preservation, and had probably lain in its resting-place for centuries. It is not unlikely that it may have been brought over from Scotland by some of the monks who accompanied Edward Bruce to this country in 1315, when he besieged and took Carrickfergus Castle. St. Margaret being a Scottish saint, would strengthen this supposition. She is represented on the seal at full length, robed, and standing with her feet on a dragon, holding a cross in her right hand, the end of which is inserted in the dragon's mouth. Round the seal is engraved the legend, "Margareta, ora pro no[bis]." All but the three last letters of this inscription are perfectly legible.*

A few words respecting the history of this saint may not be unacceptable to our readers. There are six saints of the name in the Roman calendar. (See Butler's *Lives of the Saints.*)[a] The most

* Since the foregoing was set in type, the seal has been carefully cleaned and examined, and the indistinct letters now prove to be AB. (joined) RA. Our learned and ingenious friend Erigena, to whom we submitted the seal for inspection, has suggested what we consider the correct reading. ORA PRO NO[BIS]. AB[BATISSA] R[EGINA] MARGARETA. The asterisk before ORA indicates clearly that the inscription commences there. The *Crown* represented on the figure of the saint corroborates the idea that Queen Margaret of Scotland is intended.

[a] Five of them are as follows:—

Day.	Born.	Died.	
June 29	1243	1271	Princess of Hungary.
Feb. 22	1247	1297	Cortona.
June 10	1046	1093	Queen of Scotland.
July 20	——	——	Antioch.
Sept. 2	——	cir. 1230	Louvain.

celebrated is Margaret, the queen of Scotland, and wife of Malcolm. She is commemorated on June 10. There is also an eastern saint of this name, commemorated on July 20th. Several metrical legends of St. Margaret are extant; one is in the Vernon MSS. at Oxford, beginning—

"Seinte Margurete was an holi maid and good."

There is a representation of this virgin saint in stained glass, in the north aisle of Winchester Cathedral. She is there represented treading on a blue dragon, spotted yellow, under her feet. There is also a representation of her, in the same attitude, on the font, at Stoke Golding, Leicestershire. A life of the Scottish St. Margaret was published at Douay, in 1660, and reprinted in Paris in 1661, under the title of "The Idea of a perfect Princesse in the Life of S. Margaret, Queen of Scotland; with Elogiums on her children, David, King of Scotland, and Mathilda, Queen of England; also a Postscript clearly proving Charles II.'s right and title to the Crown of England." It is a small 8vo, and very rare. She and her husband, King Malcolm, were interred in the nave of the church of Dunfermline; and in 1250, on the finishing of the Eastern Church, their bodies were lifted and translated, by order of Alexander III., to the choir above the Lady Chapel, where their position is still marked by large blue plinth stones, with eight circular impressions of pillars for supporting the canopy. St. Margaret was canonised by order of Pope Innocent IV., in 1251.

The following extract from "*The Idea of a perfect Princesse*," mentioned above, will show in what veneration she was held in former days, when relics of saints received superstitious reverence:—

"The coffre, wherein was the head and hair of St. Margaret, was, in the year 1597, delivered into the hands of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, then Missioners in Scotland, who, seeing it was in danger to be lost, or prophaned, by the seditious Hereticks, transported it to Antwerp. The Lord John Malderus, bishop of that city, that he might know the truth of this relick, examined very diligently, and upon oath, the Fathers of the Society, and gave an authentick attestation, under the seal of his office, dated the fifth of September, 1620." This relic was afterwards preserved in the Chapel of the Scotch College, at Douay.[b] Another relic of St. Margaret is said to exist in the Escurial, in Spain.—

The other seal (Fig. 2) had a large wooden handle, and was found floating among the rocks at the foot of Carrickfergus Castle. This was probably a seal of the Custom-House, at the time when Carrickfergus was a port of considerable trade. In the centre is a three-masted ship, with her sails furled; above the main-mast is the Irish harp, on either side of which is an anchor; beneath is a serpent, with its head erect; above a leopard or lion's head, with the mane streaming down on either side; around the seal are inscribed the words, "PORT CARIKFERGVS." From this manner of spelling the name of the town, I infer that the seal is about two hundred years old.

Alfred T. Lee.

[b] For several of the above particulars, I am indebted to *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, vol. iv.

CINERARY URNS,

DISCOVERED NEAR DUNDRUM, COUNTY DOWN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY.

Dear Sir,—I send you for insertion in your journal particulars of an interesting discovery recently made near Dundrum, county Down, where the Marquis of Downshire is making a bridge to connect Keel point (said to be so named from the quantity of red ochreous clay found there, and called "keel" by the country people,) with the promontory of Murlough, upon which his Lordship is about to build a marine villa.

The workmen in cutting away a bank of shingly clay, so as to procure filling-up materials, came upon two graves, made of rough slabs of whin-stone, and containing human bones. As they were hastily broken up, and the stones themselves used in the work, their dimensions cannot now be given with certainty; but the foreman carpenter, Mr. William Greer, a most intelligent man, told me that one of the graves measured about 3½ feet long, 14 inches broad, and 18 inches deep.

In the same cutting were found, at the depth of 3 feet, ten cinerary urns of unbaked clay, standing 3 feet apart, and all but one turned bottom upwards, resting upon flags, and containing charred human bones. On being brought to light, between the exposure to the air and the roughness of the workmen, they all fell to pieces except two, a drawing of which I send you, one-fourth of the real size.

The larger of the two has a rich ornamental border round the mouth, about 2¾ inches deep, made evidently by pressing a cord upon the clay while in a soft state; for the marks of the fibre of the cord are still to be seen. This urn contained large pieces of charred bones, and a ring made of shale, a sketch of which (of the actual size) accompanies the drawing of the urns.

The smaller urn was found with its mouth upwards, and contained very small fragments of charred bones, mixed with charcoal in about the proportion of half and half.

These urns are now in the cabinet of Lady Downshire, at Hillsborough Castle.

George A. Carruthers.

Belfast, 19*th March*, 1858.

IRISH BARDISM IN 1561.

The following original and interesting account of the Bardic Orders, as they existed in Ireland at so recent a period as three centuries back, is transcribed from a document in the State Paper Office, dated 5th May, 1561, and entitled *Smyth's Information for Ireland.* It describes, with a degree of curious detail superior to Edmund Spenser's well-known account of the Irish Bards, those extraordinary members of society who flourished in the Green Isle down to that late period, under the names of Fileas, Rhymers, Racraidhes, Seanchaidhes, Carraghs, &c.

The writer was, it would seem, Thomas Smyth, who appears to have been the only English medical man of his time in Dublin, and who, though resident in the metropolis, and combining the sale of drugs with his practice, found his business so unremunerative that he was about to discontinue it, when the following unique provision was made to induce him to remain. By a *concordatum* dated 25th April, 1566, an annual stipend was settled on him, by which the Lord Deputy and the whole army agreed to give him *one day's pay,* and every councillor of state twenty shillings, yearly—"by reason" (as is stated in the document) "of his long contynuance here, and his often and chardgeable provisions of druggs and other apothecarie wares, which have from tyme to tyme layen and remained in manner for the most part unuttered, *for that the greater part of this contray byrthe ar wonted to use the mynisterie of their leeches and such lyke;* and neglecting the Apothecarie's science, the said Thomas therby hath been greatly hyndred, and in manner enforced to abandon that his faculty."[a]

All learned professionals of native race, whether physicians or poets, were, as might be expected, particularly obnoxious to any English of the same callings who settled in this country. The bards were especially odious, as *irritamenta malorum,* and exponents of national feeling; and the "leeches" or medicine-mongers were quarrelled with by any Saxon practitioner to the full extent to which doctors disagree. We can fancy that no two of a trade could be less cordial than, for example, the puritan apothecary, Thomas Smyth, who kept his little shop for the sale of mineral drugs under the shadow of Dublin castle, and a semi-heathen quack, some recusant Murtagh O'Leigh, the descendant of a hereditary race of *liagha,* i.e., physicians or "country leeches;" who, by gathering herbs, obtained his medicines *gratis;* who invoked the fairies, and consulted witches; and whose style of practice could be learnedly and brilliantly described by a distinguished member of our present metropolitan faculty, Dr. Wilde, an *ollav* both in archaic and modern medicine.

Spenser's severe comments on his contemporaries, the Irish bards, are accounted for, according to some critics, by professional rivalry. There could be little competition, however, between the illus-

[a] Original in S. P. O.

trious poet who addressed his gorgeous epic, *The Faerie Queene*, to the English court, and Irish country rhymers who sung Gaelic verses to a Celtic public. His lofty spirit was incapable of envy; and, in his *View of Ireland*, he has, while discriminating between native bards, bad and good, borne graceful testimony to the fancy and wit of their best effusions.

But our apothecary's paper, on a similar subject, bears evident marks of professional jealousy, as well as national antipathy: let it speak for itself.

"Their is in Irland four shepts [septs] in maner all Rimers. The firste of them is calleid the Brehounde, which in English is calleid the Judge; and, before they will geave judgement, they will have pawnes of both the parties, the which is callied in Irish *Ulieg*, and then will they geave judgement according to their one discresions. Theis men be neuters, and the Irishmen will not praie them. They have great pleantie of cattell, and they harbour many vacabons and ydell persons; and if their be anye reabell that moves any rebbellione ageinste the Prince, of theis people they ar chiflie mantayned; and if the English armye fortune to travell in that parte where they be, they will fle into mountains and woodes, by cause they wold not sucker them with vittalls and other * * *; and further they will take appon them to judge matters, and redresse causes, as well of inherytans as of other matters, although they are ignoraunt; they which is a greatte hinderans to the Queen's Majesties lawes, and hurtfull to the whole English Pale.

"The seconde sourte is the Shankee,[b] which is to saye in English, the petigrer. They have also great plaintye of cattell, wherewithall they do sucker the rebells. They make the ignoraunt men of the country to belyve that they be discended of Alexander the Great, or of Darius, or of Cæsar, or of some other notable prince; which makes the ignorant people to run madde, and cerieth not what they do; the which is very hurtfull to the realme.

"The thirde sorte is called the Æosdan,[c] which is to saye in English, the bards, or the rimine sepetes; and these people be very hurtfull to the comonwhealle, for they chifflie manyntayne the rebells; and, further, they do cause them that would be true, to be rebelious theves, extorcioners, murtherers, ravners, yea and worse if it were possible. Their furst practisse is, if they se anye younge man discended of the septs of *Ose* or *Max*, and have half a dowsen aboute him, then will they make him a Rime, wherein they will commend his father and his aunchetours, nowmbrying howe many heades they have cut of, howe many townes they have burned, and howe many virgins they have deflowred, howe many notable murthers they have done, and in the ende they will compare them to Aniball, or Scipio, or Hercules, or some other famous person; wherewithall the pore foole runs madde, and thinkes indede it is so. Then will he gather a sorte of rackells [rake-hells] to him, and other he most geat him a Proficer, [prophet], who shall tell him howe he shall spede (as he thinkes). Then will he geat him lurking to a syde of a woode, and ther keepith him close til morninge; and when it is daye light, then will they go to the poore vilages, not sparinge to distroye young infants, aged people; and if the women be ever so great withe childe, her they will kill; burninge the houses and corne, and ransackinge of the poore cottes [cottages]. They will then drive all the kine and plowe horses, with all other cattell, and drive them awaye. Then muste they have a bagpipe bloinge afore them; and if any of theis cattell fortune to waxe wearie or faynt, they will kill them, rather than it sholde do the honeur's [owners] goode. If they go by anye house of fryers or relygious house, they will geave them 2 or 3 beifs, [beeves,] and they will take them, and praie for them (yea) and prayes their doings, and saye his father was accustomed so to do;

[b] [illegible]

[c] [illegible]-dana, i.e., men of songs.

wharein he will rejoise; and when he is in a safe place, they will fall to the devision of the spoile, accordinge to the dyseresion of the captin. And the messingers that goithe of their errants cleamith the gottes for their parcell;—byeause it is an aunseient custome they will not break it. Now comes the Rymer that made the Ryme, with his Rakry. The Rakry is he that shall utter the ryme; and the Rymer himself sitts by with the captain verie proudlye. He brings with him also his Harper, who please all the while that the raker sings the ryme. Also he hath his Barde, which is a kinde of folise fellowe; who also must have a horse geven him; the harper must have a new safern [saffron-coloured] shurte, and a mantell, and a hacnaye; and the rakry muste have XX or XXX kine, and the Rymer himself horse and harnes [suit of armour] with a nag to ride on, a silver goblett, a pair of bedes of corall, with buttons of silver;—and this, with more, they loke for to have, for reduceinge distruxione of the Comenwealth, and to the blasfemye of God; and this is the best thinge that yͤ Rymers causith them to do.

"The fourth sort of Rymers is called Fillis,[d] which is to say in English, a Poete. Theis men have great store of cattell, and use all the trades of the others, with an adicion of prophecies. Theis are great mayntayners of whitches and other vile matters; to the great blasfemye of God, and to great impoverishinge of the comenwealthe. And, as I have saied of the foure secktes, ar devided in all places of the fowre partes of Irland, as Ulster, Launster, Munster, and Conet; and some in Methe; and some in the Ilands beyond Irland, as the land of Sainctes, the Ynce Bofine, Ynce Tirke, Ynce Mayne, and Ynce Clire. Thes Ilands are under the rule of Homaile,[e] and they are verie pleasaunt and fertile, plentie of woode, water, and arabell grounde and pastur and fishe, and a very temperate ayer.

"Their be many braunches belonging to the foure sortes; as the Gogathe, which is to say in English, the glutayne, for one of them will eate 2 or 3 galons of butter at a sitinge, halfe a mutton. And an other, called the Carruage;[f] he is much like the habram's man, and comenlye he goeth nakid, and carise dise and cardes with him; and he will play the heare off his head, and his eares; and theis be mantained by the Rymers.

"Ther is a sort of women that be calleid the goyng women; they be great blasphemers of God; and they rune from contry to contry, soynge sedicione amongst the people. They are comen to all men; and if any of them happen to be with childe, she will saye that it is the greatest Lorde adjoining, whereof the Lordes ar glad, and doth appoincte them to be nurysed.

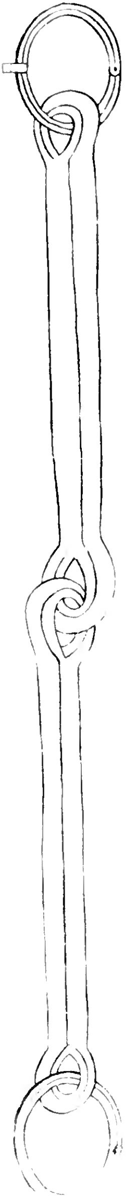
"Ther is one other sorte that is calleid the Mannigscoule. Ther order is for to singe; and the chyfest of them most have but one eye, and he is calleid Lucas; they do much harme.

"Their is other towe sortes that goithe about withe the Bachell of Jesus, as they call it. Theis run from contry to contry; and if they come to any house wheir a woman is with child, they will putt the same about her, and, wither she will or no, causithe her to geave them money. They will undertake that she shall have good delivery of her childe; to the great distruxione of the people conserninge ther soule's health. Others goith about with St. Patrike's croysur, and playse the like partes or worse; and no doubte as longe as theis bene usyed, the worde of God can never be knowne amongst them, nor the prince fearyed, nor the contry prosper.

"For the reddresse theirof it might be esaly holpen if your honours will geave care ther unto; and if it may stand with your pleasures that I should make any farther sertifycate how this nowghty people may be ponyste, and to cause them to leave their yle facions, I will, if it be your pleasurs, showe by what mayne they may be redressed. And as concerninge the fostering of the Irishe men's children, it needed as muche redress as any other matter thet can be moyved. The which I will showe your honours when it pleasith you."

To be Continued.

[d] Fileadh. [e] O'Mally. [f] Cearrbhach.



ANCIENT IRON FETTERS.

I herewith send a sketch of a pair of ancient fetters, found in this neighbourhood in the year 1848, which lately came into my possession. They were found in the remains of an old building, situated on an island in Port-Lough, on the main road from Derry to Letterkenny, about six miles from the former city.

About the year 1832, this lough having been lowered considerably by drainage, the island unexpectedly made its appearance, although I believe, for many years previous, a local tradition recorded that there was such an island submerged. Some years subsequent to 1832, there was a hard frost, which gave opportunity for examining the island more closely, when it was discovered that there was a building on it. This was minutely inspected by an intelligent person in the neighbourhood, who found that it was built of stone and lime, of an octagonal shape, each of the eight sides measuring 10 feet, and the walls about 4 feet high. There was no appearance at that height of any door; but iron hinges and hooks were found inside. In the year 1848, the fetters were found inside the building. They are 3 ft. 4 in. long, and about 10 lbs. weight, although much corroded from lying so long in the water. There was found along with them a piece of iron, which, although much corroded also, was evidently the head of a small hatchet. There were likewise some rude fragments of pottery, and bones of sheep or deer.

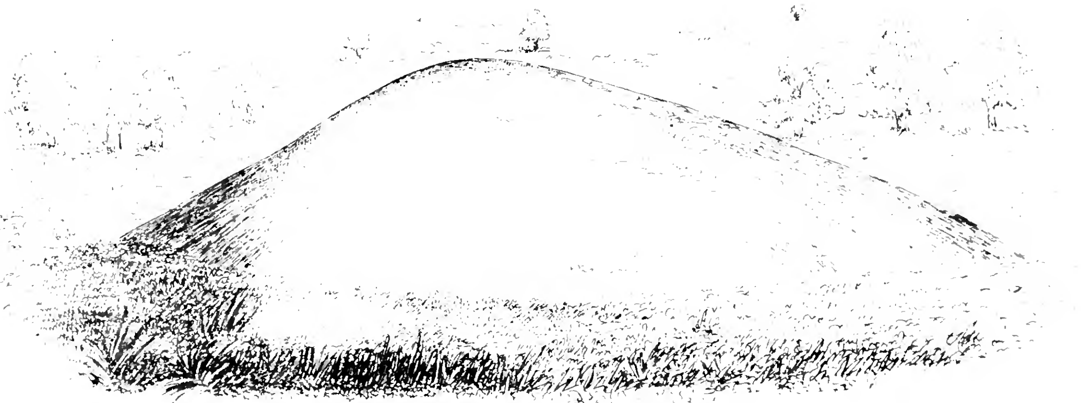
The island itself was formed altogether artificially; the foundation being composed of a platform of beams of wood (oak and willow), notched and pinned together. I think, from all these circumstances, there can be little doubt that this building was a stone *crannog*. But who built it?—by whom was it used? We find in the volume of the *Ordnance Survey of Derry*, published under the superintendence of Colonel Colby, (page 207,) that Port-Lough was formerly known as Lough Lappan, or O'Lappan's Lough. We also find, under the year 1011, in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, that Ængus O'Lappan was lord of Kinnel-Enda, or Tir-Enda, and died in that year. Tir-Enda comprised that district of country south of the peninsula of Ennishowen, and between the Foyle and Lough Swilly, consequently Port-Lough was included in the district; and there are still traces of the foundations of a large castle on the shore of the lough, just opposite the island. I think, therefore, we may reasonably suppose that our building was the state-prison of the O'Lappan; for we know that almost all Irish chiefs or princes built their *crannogs* on artificial islands in lakes, wherever they

were so situated as to have the opportunity of so doing. If that period be too early, it might be assigned to the O'Dohertys or the O'Donnells; as we find that, in the year 1440, O'Donnell took the castle of Cuil-mac-an-treoin from O'Doherty. The site of the castle is about half-a-mile to the north of the lake, and is now occupied by the mansion house of Castle Forward, the family seat attached to the Wicklow property in this county.

If any of the numerous readers of the *Journal* can throw any farther light on the history of this interesting building, I shall be glad to hear from them.

J. F.

Newton-Cunningham, Co. Derry.



OPENING OF A TUMULUS NEAR BELLA HILL, CARRICKFERGUS.

In the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus, several tumuli are to be found; none of which, that we are aware of, have, till lately, been examined. One is situated near St. Catherine's; another (the subject of this article) in what is commonly called the Moat Meadow, near Bella Hill; a third, a remarkably fine one, is in the demesne of Red Hall, near Ballycarry, the property of David S. Ker, Esq., of Montalto. The tradition of the neighbourhood assigns the erection of these tumuli to the time of the Danish invasion; but we are of opinion that some of them, at least, are far anterior to that period.

The tumulus at Bella Hill stands in a small plain, which is bounded by eminences of the same geological structure as the surrounding district; namely, chalk, capped with trap rock. Where the plain now is, there may have been a denudation, or else a hollow, on the sides of which the trap,

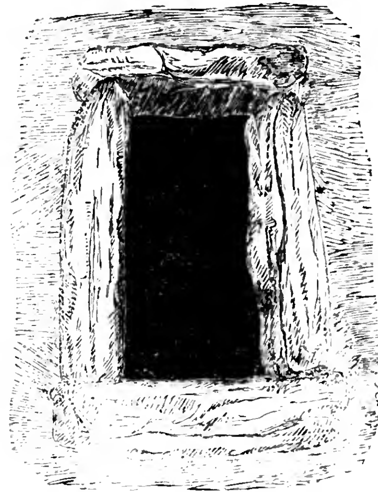
when in the state of lava, may have flowed in separate streams, and the bottom of which has evidently been covered with fresh water for a lengthened period. The clay, now covering the plain, conceals the rocky sub-stratum, which is probably a portion of the green-sand formation underlying the chalk. The occurrence of rolled fragments of trap, chalk, and flint, dispersed through this stratum of clay, is every where observable. The tumulus is nearly circular; at its greatest elevation not reaching higher than 7 feet, its diameter being 45 feet. The work of examination commenced on Thursday, January 28, 1858. A trench about three feet broad was dug, from east to west, commencing from the western extremity. On coming within a foot of the level of the field in which the tumulus stands, a few flat stones were found, underneath which lay a layer of fossil earth, interspersed with clay. This fossil earth, on being placed under the microscope, was found to contain about twenty different species of siliceous organisms *(Infusoria)*, such as are often found at the bottom of lakes; most of which species are common in fresh water, in this part of the country. Numerous fresh-water shells were also found mixed up with the *Infusoria*, the chief of which were those named by conchologists *Lymneus truncatulus* and *Planorbis vortex*, both common in fresh water. Along with these were mixed a few common land shells, viz., *Helix arbustorum*, *Helix rotundata*, *Clausilia nigricans*, and *Zua lubrica*. These are all species very likely to fall accidentally into streams or pools. The fossil earth was found to extend on the same level throughout the whole base of the tumulus, and it was in it that all the remains of animal bones which were discovered were found. Several flat stones, from two to three feet in length, were met with near the eastern end of the trench, placed on a line 3½ feet below the surface of the mound, and 5 feet from its eastern extremity. A few also were placed north and south.

When this trench had been completely examined, a deeper and broader one was made from north to south; and finally the whole of the eastern half of the tumulus was removed. Beneath the fossil earth lay a stratum of clay, underneath which was a thin layer of peat, about a foot in depth; beneath which, again, was a greyish clay, in which, as well as in the upper stratum of clay, numerous fragments of flint were found, all more or less bearing marks of having been artificially shaped in a rude manner by blunt instruments. Under this grey clay occurred another layer of peat, which was not penetrated.

Amongst the animal remains in the fossil earth, several bones of horses, oxen, pigs, and deer were found; some of the jaw-bones being perfect, with the teeth still in them. A quantity of bones belonging to some other animals, not determined, were also found, together with portions of the heads of the ox and goat.

On the 20th of February, on arriving at the level of the first layer of peat, exactly in the centre of the mound, four stones, placed in the form of a square (as seen in the accompanying sketch), and imbedded in the peat, were discovered. The inclosed space was filled with glutinous clay, mixed with ashes; at the bottom of which, at the depth of five inches, two semi-circular stones were found,

on which, in all probability, rested the sepulchral urn, in which the ashes of the chief to whose honour this tumulus was erected, were placed. Two or three feet to the north of this were found *twenty-seven amber beads*, of rude shapes, all pierced through the centre, and to all appearance formerly used as a necklace; the portion of the beads, where the apertures are, being much worn as if by the friction of a string. Several rude specimens of flint arrow-heads were also found in the clay, together with a number of globular stones, about the size of grape-shot, possibly used as sling-stones. No human remains were found, with the exception of a small bone, which has been pronounced, on competent authority, to be very like one of the small wrist-bones of the human body; but this alone would not be sufficient to determine the fact as to the existence of human remains in the tumulus.



The character of the remains discovered in this tumulus incline us to fix the date of its formation anterior to the Christian era. Its shape (much more flattened and less elevated than any other tumuli we have seen in this country,) may be accounted for by the continued action of the waters of the lake which probably surrounded it for centuries; the former existence of which is proved not only by the geological formation of the locality, but by the deposit of peat and the remains of fresh-water shells and lake *Infusoria* found in the sub-stratum on which the tumulus stands.

As the whole subject of the origin and date of the Irish tumuli is still enveloped in obscurity, I have thought it right to record the results, however unsatisfactory, of one examination of this kind, to afford to future explorers the means of comparison.

ALFRED T. LEE.

SIX HUNDRED GAELIC PROVERBS COLLECTED IN ULSTER.

By ROBERT MAC ADAM.

We have in Ireland, at the present moment, two distinct races of inhabitants, who differ totally from each other in language, and whose early thoughts have been trained in two very different schools. The remains of the old native clans, who still habitually employ the Irish tongue amongst themselves, are only able to hold an imperfect intercourse with their Anglicised neighbours in a language which they speak with difficulty. The native Irishman is obliged to address his landlord, or to sell his cow to his customer, in English (such as it is); but these persons have at present no interest in learning to understand his mother-tongue. Hence numberless instances occur daily in many parts of the country, in which it is found impossible to carry on a lengthened conversation between individuals of the two races. According to the last Government Census, the number of persons returned as still using the Irish language in this country was 1,524,286, or nearly one-fourth of the whole population; but even this large figure by no means indicates with accuracy the entire number of persons who understand it, or who have learned it in their infancy. It is well known that in various districts where the two languages co-exist, but where the English now largely predominates, numbers of individuals returned themselves as ignorant of the Irish language, either from a sort of false shame, or from a secret dread that the Government, in making this inquiry (for the first time), had some concealed motive, which could not be for their good. Their native shrewdness, therefore, dictated to them that their safest policy was to appear ignorant of the unfashionable language. For this reason, we may add very considerably to the number given by the Census.

Now all these individuals have obtained whatever intellectual cultivation they possess, and most of the rules which regulate their conduct and morality, through the medium of a tongue which is now proscribed, and which (even if they could avail themselves of it) possesses no published literature. Hence the early knowledge they have acquired from their mothers, their nurses, or their companions, has all been of a traditional kind; and we may feel assured that the old sayings of their forefathers have formed a large portion of their education. We, whose earliest years are associated with books and schools, cannot readily realise the condition of persons who have obtained all their education without them; and yet such is the case with the existing Gaelic-speaking population of Ireland. The children of the last ten years, indeed, in a great majority of districts, are reaping the advantages of our new English national schools; and in the localities where the English language far preponderates over the Irish, the change will be immediate, and we may expect

the young scholars to grow up with ideas like ourselves. But in those sections of the country where the Irish tongue still obstinately holds its ground (and they are many and large), this change will not take place in one generation; and in some places it would be hard to predict at what period the language will be extinct.

At all events, we have the great fact before us, that between a million-and-a-half and two millions of persons living amongst us now (a greater number, for instance, than the entire population of Norway,) speak a language of which we are most of us totally ignorant, have spoken it from their infancy, and have had no other medium for receiving their early instruction. Is it not worth while, then, to ascertain something of their manner of thinking, which must undoubtedly differ considerably from ours? One method of doing so will certainly be an examination of the popular sayings which, to a great extent, serve them as substitutes for books and literature. It will at least be curious to see in what forms the lessons of experience and common sense have embodied themselves among a race long secluded (intellectually) from the rest of the world, and confined to their own unaided genius.

The present collection of Irish proverbs, (amounting to six hundred,) though confined to the northern province, is the largest which has yet been published in Ireland, and still by no means comprises the whole of those extant in Ulster. They were written down by myself from the mouths of the people, during a series of years, when opportunities brought me sometimes into contact with the Gaelic-speaking population of various localities in the north. These opportunities have been more rare of late, or I am persuaded I could have extended the collection to several hundreds more. It will be seen, on comparison, that, with a very few exceptions, the proverbs in the present list differ entirely from all those already printed, and which may be found in Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*, the *Dublin Penny Journal*, and Bourke's *Irish Grammar*. In most of the cases where they agree in substance, various shades of difference will be noticed, occasioned by difference of dialect, or variety of figurative expression. Some proverbs seem to be special favourites, and are found in all parts of Ireland, familiar to everybody. Many are confined to certain localities, and contain local allusions which would not be understood elsewhere: of this kind, however, few are admitted into the present list. Some indicate a sentiment or an advice plainly; others in a figurative or an elliptical style, which is occasionally difficult to comprehend. Many present idiomatic expressions, or archaic forms, which are now uncommon in daily speech. Others, again, contain allusions to remote historical events or characters now nearly forgotten, or to customs now quite obsolete; and not a few embody traditional superstitions evidently handed down from Pagan times. Some of the specimens of these last classes which I possess are not published at present, because I have not yet satisfactorily traced out their exact meaning.

The subject, therefore, is properly an archæological one. Old proverbs are as much the fragmentary relics of the days gone by, as the ruined walls of our castles, or the moss-grown stones of our cromlechs; and it is as well worth while to record obsolete words or phrases in our old national

language, as to preserve descriptions or representations of material objects of antiquity still existing among us. We occasionally meet with words embalmed in proverbs which are only to be found in old manuscripts. To the archæologist these popular sayings have an additional value. It is among the lower classes of a community that we must look for traces of old customs; and frequently, when these customs themselves have ceased to exist, the vestiges of them are to be found retained in popular expressions which, in the course of time, have been turned into proverbs.

Nor is the subject one that can be considered as mere literary trifling. Proverbs in many countries (perhaps in all) are in such constant use among the masses of the people, particularly the uneducated, and so interwoven with their daily speech, that they may be looked upon as very correct indexes of the national mode of thought and tone of morality. Lord Bacon long ago observed that "the genius, wit, and spirit of a nation are discovered by their proverbs."—"I am convinced," says another writer, "that we may learn, from the proverbs current among a people, what is nearest and dearest to their hearts, how honour and dishonour are distributed among them, what is of good, what of evil report in their eyes, with very much more which it can never be unprofitable to know."[a] The difference between the English and French people, for instance, could scarcely be better expressed (certainly not more briefly) than by two of their very familiar proverbs, both recommending courteous behaviour, but each for a reason peculiarly national:—

English.—Civility costs no money:

French.—On attrape plus de mouches avec du miel qu' avec du vinaigre.

The present collection may therefore serve to throw some light on the character of the native Irish population of Ulster, comprising, as it does, their favourite sayings on a great variety of subjects.

Every civilised language possesses a large store of proverbs, the accumulated gatherings of the wit and homely wisdom of many generations. Numbers of these are identical, or nearly so, in all countries, seeming, as it were, to be citizens of the world. Many are of extreme antiquity, and appear to possess a perennial existence; being evidently so true to human nature that they are as applicable, at the present time, to human conduct and feelings, as on the first day they were uttered. But many are also of modern date; and the crop has not ceased to grow even yet. The poets have furnished not a few; and we almost forget already that it is to Young we owe "*Procrastination is the thief of time,*" and to Pope "*A little learning is a dangerous thing.*" The same has been the case at all periods, and in all countries where poetry exists; and where does it not? Horace and Juvenal have contributed many a pointed adage to the common stock, and so, no doubt, have our own Irish bards. Indeed, the qualities necessary to produce a good poet—imagination and force of expression—are often superlatively observable in proverbs;

[a] Trench on "*The Lessons in Proverbs,*" p. 48.

and it is by no means unlikely that a large proportion of them have at one time formed parts of poetic compositions.

The topics treated of in these popular sayings are of such various kinds that it is not easy to define correctly what a proverb actually is. It was Lord John Russell (I think) who said that a proverb is "the wisdom of many, and the wit of one;" a comprehensive enough definition, which will embrace most of the species. But there are many such popular phrases in all languages, which contain neither wisdom nor wit (so far as we can now see); and therefore we must content ourselves with a less brilliant definition. Proverbs (at least Irish proverbs) treat of the most miscellaneous subjects, in fact—*de omnibus rebus;* and perhaps, on the whole, the best name we can apply to them is the one given to them by the Irish themselves, namely, *Sean-Ràite*, "Old Sayings."

The four provinces of Ireland seem, from a very early period, to have been distinguished from each other by peculiarities of dialect. This was naturally to be expected in a country in which masses of population were separated from one another, in many places, by tracts of dense forest and impassable bog, and their intercourse impeded elsewhere by the want of roads. This separation was still further perpetuated by the manner in which the invading colonists, Norman and English, distributed themselves over the island; occupying the level and fertile grounds which compose the centre of Ireland, and thus cutting off the communication between the natives on all sides. Hence it is, that in each important division of the Irish-speaking population we not only observe marked differences of pronunciation and accent, but find whole sets of words and of grammatical forms preserved in one district which are unknown or forgotten in another. One very remarkable example of this is the *negative*—a part of speech so important and so constantly in use that, of all others, it would seem the most likely to remain uniform in every dialect of a language. It is nearly so in all the Scandinavian and Teutonic dialects (Danish, Swedish, Dutch, German, English, &c.), and in the Latin and its modern descendants, the French, Italian, and Spanish. But, strange to say, in the Gaelic of Ireland we find two totally distinct negatives; the one *(Ni)* employed by the natives of the three provinces, Leinster, Munster, and Connaught; the other *(Cha*[b]*)* used exclusively in Ulster, and likewise in the Highlands of Scotland and the Isle of Man, whose population have always been intimately connected with it. The geographical boundary of the northern negative in Ireland extends rather farther south than the limit of the present province of Ulster, embracing portions of the counties of Louth and Meath; in fact, bounded by the frontier of the old English "Pale:" but westward the boundary almost precisely coincides with the modern limit of the province; for, on passing a distance of only a single mile from the county of Donegal into that of Leitrim, we find every person using the negative *Ni*.[c] It is a curious coincidence that, in the earlier period of the history of France, we find the North and South of that country distinguished by the

[b] *Ch*, pronounced guttural, like the German *ch* in *noch*, or like the *gh* in our *lough*.

[c] *Ni* and *Cha* are used indiscriminately in the south-west of Donegal.

word employed for *yes*, which in the former was *Oui*, in the latter *Oc;* the two dialects being hence named the *Langue d' Oui* and the *Langue d' Oc.* The first of these appellations has long sunk into oblivion, as the northern dialect, being the language of the dominant race and of their metropolis, Paris, took the name of *La Langue Française;* but the other old designation still remains in the name of a southern province of France, *Languedoc.* In a similar manner, we might separate Gaelic Ireland into two great divisions, characterised by "the Language of *Cha*" and "the Language of *Ni.*"

The origin of the northern negative has not yet been satisfactorily traced, though some have supposed it to be the remains of a very ancient form, *Nocha.* But, be this as it may, the universal and exclusive use of this old negative in Ulster, and its frequent recurrence in speech, give a character to the northern dialect which is very strange and puzzling to a southern or western Irishman. It will be found a very marked feature in the collection of Ulster proverbs now given to the public; because I have thought it right to print these popular phrases precisely in the form in which they are spoken by the native Irish of this province, and not to substitute a word which, though now recognised as the more classic by our grammarians, is practically unknown in this part of Ireland. The negative *Cha* is employed exclusively, however, in all books printed in the Scottish Gaelic, though not hitherto to be met with in any Gaelic books printed in Ireland. It is necessary to add that the word takes the several forms, *cha, chan,* and *char,* according to certain grammatical rules, which need not be specified here, as they are familiar to all Gaelic scholars.

Some other peculiarities will be remarked by those familiar with the ordinary Irish of our printed books; though, as a whole, the language will be found perfectly intelligible to any one acquainted with the dialects of the other provinces. It will also be readily understood by a Scottish Highlander, although to him presenting some grammatical differences more striking. The language of Ulster, in fact, forms a connecting link between the two extreme divisions of the Gaelic, and possesses an interest from retaining some forms of words lost in both. As my present object, however, is not to enter into any examination of the dialects, I will pursue the subject no further here.

In order to facilitate future reference to the proverbs contained in the present collection, they are numbered consecutively; and, for further convenience, I have endeavoured to arrange a number of them under heads, where the subjects were similar; though many more, of course, admit of no kind of arrangement. It is interesting to compare together the proverbs of different nations, and to note the different modes in which similar ideas are expressed in various languages. Without attempting to institute anything like a general comparison of this kind, I have occasionally illustrated an Irish proverb by some similar one employed in another country. Various other examples will occur to any reader familiar with the subject. I have also thought it desirable to add, to

many of these phrases, notes explanatory of their origin, or of the allusions they contain, which are frequently not quite obvious at first sight, as they refer to local or national customs and events. Half the wit and point of a proverb consists in its apt application; and the Irish, as might be expected, are often peculiarly happy in this. I have occasionally given examples such as I have myself met with; but these are not to be taken as by any means the best; for many of the proverbs (especially those expressed in a figurative manner) are capable of an endless variety of applications, both directly and ironically; and there is no mode more frequently employed by an Irishman for displaying his well-known propensity to fun and humour, than the witty application of a proverb. In this peculiarity he resembles the Spaniard, perhaps, more than any other.—I have only further to remark that a number of these proverbs are in verse; the rhyme being indicated by the agreement of vowels, as is usual in all Irish poetry, and not by that of consonants.

"Pareceme, Sancho, que no hay refran que no sea verdadero, porque todos son sentencias sacadas de la misma esperiencia, madre de las ciencias todas."—[" I am of opinion, Sancho, that there is no Proverb which is not true, because they are all sentences drawn from experience itself, the Mother of all the Sciences."]—*Don Quixote*, part 1, cap. 21.

Foresight, Caution, Thrift, Prudence.

1. An tè cheanglas, 's è shiubhlas. [He that binds travels (best).]
   i.e., He who ties his burden properly will get along without stoppages.
2. An tè nach g-cuireann 'sa n-earrach, cha bhaineann se san fhoghmhar. [He that does not sow in the spring-time will not reap in the harvest-time.]—and
3. An tè chuireas, 'sè bhaineas. [He that sows will reap.]
4. Amharc romhad sul a d-tabhraidh tu do leum. [Look before you give a leap.]
5. Sèid sul a n-deòchaidh tu. [Blow before you drink.]
   Alluding to hot broth, which may burn your mouth if you eat it incautiously: or to a drink, lest insects should be floating on the top: and applied as a warning against over-haste in anything.
6. An tè nach g-caomhnaigh beagan, cha bhiann mòran aige. [He that will not spare the little, will not have the much.]
7. An tè nach g-cuiridh snaim, caillidh se a cheud ghreim [He that does not tie a knot will lose his first stitch.]

8. Gearr an gad is foisge do'n sgòrnach. [Cut the gad nearest to the throat.]

   This refers to a time when criminals or prisoners in this country were hanged by a twisted *gad* (or withe) made of willow rods, before hemp ropes were used; and probably meant that. if we wished to save the life of a culprit, we should cut the gad nearest his throat. Or, if a horse had fallen, entangled in this primitive harness, and was in danger of being strangled. the same advice would suggest itself. It now signifies, "Do the thing first that is of the most pressing need."

9. An tè nach g-cleachtann marcaigheacht, dearmadann se na spuir. [He that is not in the habit of riding forgets the spurs.]

   This has many applications. Sometimes it means—A man not used to good company is at a loss how to behave.

10. Cuireann duine snaim le n-a theangaidh nach bh-fuasglochaidh 'fhiacla. [A man ties a knot with his tongue that his teeth will not loosen.]

    That is, when a man marries.

11. Fanann duine sona le sèun, agus bheir duine dona dubh-lèum. [The lucky man waits for prosperity, but the unlucky man gives a blind leap.]

12. Cha n-diolaidh si a cearc a riamh 'sa là fhliuch. [She never sells her hen on a wet day.]

    A hen with wet feathers looks much smaller than when dry. The proverb recommends us to be cautious of having dealings with such knowing people.

13. Is fearr pilleadh as làr an atha nà bathadh 'sa tuile. [It is better to turn back from the middle of the ford than to be drowned in the flood.]

    Better stop in time than lose all. Said when any one repents a thing, and draws back at the last moment: as in the case of a marriage, when the couple are in the priest's house. Several Irish proverbs refer to fords in rivers, which were very important places before bridges were built.

14. Is searbh d'a ìoc an fìon ma's milis d'a òl. [Wine is sweet in the drinking but bitter in the paying.]

    Spanish. *Al comer de los tocinos, cantan padres y hijos, al pagar sus à llorar.* [Whilst they eat the bacon, fathers and sons are merry, but when they pay for it they are sad.]

15. Is còir nidh a thaisgidh le h-aghaidh na coise galair. [It is right to lay by something for a sore foot.]

16. Is mairg a leigeas a rùn le cloidh. [Wo to the man that entrusts his secret to a ditch.]

    English. *Walls have ears.* Spanish. *Tras pared ni tras seto, no digas en segreto.* [Do not tell your secrets behind a wall or a hedge.]

17. Nà cuir an t-uisge salach a mach, go d-tiobhraidh tu an t-uisge glan a steach. [Do not throw out the dirty water until you have brought in the clean.]

18. Is iomad tuisleadh o'n làimh go d-ti an bèul. [There is many a slip from the hand to the mouth.]

    Spanish. *De la mano à la boca si pierdi la sopa.* [From the hand to the mouth the soup is lost.]

19. Salachaidh aon chaora chlamhach sreùd.[d] [A single scabby sheep will infect a flock.]

Latin. *Grex totus in agris unius scabie cadit.*—JUVENAL.

20. Is fearr aithreach agus fuireach nà aithreach agus imtheacht. [It is better to be sorry and stay than sorry and go away.]

Scotch. *Better rue sit nor rue flit;* also, *Fools are fain o' flittin' and wise men o' sittin'.*

21. Rinne se an fèur, fad a's bhi an ghrian suas. [He made hay while the sun was up.]

22. An tè fhanas a bhfad a muigh, fuaramn a chuid air. [The man that stays out long, his dinner cools.]

Applied to any one who stays too long from home: for instance, to O'Rourke, who was on a pilgrimage when his wife ran away with Dermod McMurrough, and caused the English invasion of Ireland.

23. Cuid an taisgeàir aig an g-caithteàir.[e] [The spender gets the property of the hoarder.]

English. *Fools build houses and wise men live in them.* Latin. *Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes.*

24. Chan fhuair an madadh ruadh teachdaire a riamh a b'fhearr nà è fèin. [The fox never found a better messenger than himself.]

25. Is maith dhà òrus a bheith air do chuigeal. [It is good to have two stricks of flax on your distaff.]

English. *It is well to have two strings to your bow.* Latin. *Duabus ancoris fultus.*

26. As a cionn a bhlichtear an bhò. [Out of her head the cow is milked.]

Signifying that, according to the manner a cow is fed, she gives better or worse milk. You may expect to be served by a man according as you treat him.

27. 'Nuair a chrionas slat, is deacair a sniomhadh. [When a rod withers, it is hard to twist.]

28. Is breàllan an tè nach nglacfadh airgead a d'fhuralochadh air. [He is a fool that will not take money that is offered to him.]

29. Is maith an sèideadh sròine do dhuine, smug fhaiceal air dhuine eile. [It is a good nose-blowing to a man to see snot on the nose of another.]

A very homely way of recommending people to take example by the faults or misfortunes of others. Latin. *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.*

30. Ni'l brigh 'san luibh nach bh-faghthar a n-àm. [There is no virtue in the herb that is not got in time.]

31. Nà caill caora le luach pighine de tharra. [Do not lose a sheep for the sake of a pennyworth of tar.]

32. Is fusa sgapadh nà cruinninghadh. [It is easier to scatter than to gather.]

33. Cha n-è là na gaoithe là na sgolba. [The windy day is not the day for fastening the thatch.]

The thatch on an Irish cottage is fastened down by a number of wattles or pointed rods of willow, called *sgolb*. The proverb signifies that a windy day is not the proper time for such work. It is applied in all cases where fore-sight is necessary

[d] The word usually given in Irish dictionaries for "a flock" is *tread;* but *sreud* is what I have always heard used in Ulster. O'Reilly gives *sreud.*

[e] All the masculine nouns which end in *óir* in other parts of Ireland, are here pronounced *àir.*

34. Nà dean crò a roimhe na h-arcaibh. [Do not build the sty before the litter comes.]

35. Nà beannuigh an t-iasg go d-tiocaidh se a d-tìr. [Do not bless the fish till it gets to the land.]

36. Mur rinne tu do leabaidh, luidh uirrthi. [As you have made your bed, lie on it.]

Applied, for instance, to a bad marriage.

37. Sin ag cur muinighne a g-claidheamh briste. [That is putting trust in a broken sword.]

38. Is beag a t-èibheall a lasas teine mhòr. [It is a small lighted coal that will kindle a great fire.]

Spanish. *De pequena centella, gran hoguera.* [A small spark makes a great fire.] Scotch. *A sma' spark breeds meikle wark.*

39. Ma cheannaigheann tu droch-nidh, ceannochaidh tu a rìst go h-aithghearr. [If you buy a bad thing, you will soon buy again.]

Spanish. *Comprar lo que no hàs menester, y venderàs lo que podràs escusar.* [Buy what you do not want, and you will sell what you cannot spare.] Latin. *Si inutilia emas, necessaria vendes.*

40. Ni'l ò mheud[f] an phràinn nach lughaide na gnothuidhe. [The greater the hurry the less the work.]

41. Ma shìneann tu le do làimh, cuairteochaidh tu le do chois. [If you stretch out with your hand, you will seek out with your foot.]

If you are too lavish with your hand, you may be driven to walk the road as a beggar.

42. Ma's milis a mhil, nà ligh-sa de'n drèasoig ì. [Though honey is sweet, do not lick it off a briar.]

43, Nà cuntais na sicìnidh no go m-beidh siad leigthe. [Do not count your chickens until they are hatched.]

Latin. *Ante victoriam ne canas triumphum.*

44. Ni sgèul rùin è, ò chluinneas triùir è. [It is no secret when three persons have heard it.]

45. Thainig a tòn chun talamh eadar a dhà sdòl. [The backside came to the ground between two stools.]

46. Faghann na h-eich bàs, fhad a's bhios a fèur a' fàs; or, Gheibh na h-eich bás, &c. [The horses die while the grass is growing.]

English. *Live, horse, and you'll get grass.*

47. Tarruing do lamh comh reidh a's thig leat as bèul a mhadaidh. [Draw your hand out of the dog's mouth as easily as you can.]

48. Sgèul a chuala mi-se, a's chuir me a m-briotal faoi dhò,
Go n-dean a beach dò fèin teach anns a g-ciùin ghrian-lò.
[A story that I heard, and I committed it to memory twice,
That the bee makes a house for itself on the sunshiny day.]

49. Ni gheabhar an cù go n-imthigh an fiadh. [The hound is not found until the deer is gone.]

i.e., When one thing is found another is not forthcoming.

[f] In other parts of Ireland *da mheud*: and so in other similar phrases, as *da laighiod*, &c.

50. Sabhàlann greim a n-àm dhà ghreim. [A stitch in time saves two stitches.]

51. Is sleamhuin leac dorus tigh mòir. [The door-step of a great house is slippery.]

Alluding to the uncertainty of great men's favour.

52. Is farsuing bèul a bhothain. [Wide is the door of the little cottage.]

i.e., No house can be kept without expense. Said sometimes to deter from an imprudent marriage.

Industry, Perseverance, Activity, Energy, Patience, and their opposites.

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53. Cuidigheann Dia leis a tè a chuidigheas leis fèin. [God helps him who helps himself.]

French. *Aide-toi et Dieu t'aidera.*

54. Is fearr lùbadh nà briseadh. [It is better to bend than break.]

55. Ma's fada an là, thig an oidche fa dheireadh. [Long as the day may be, the night comes at last.]

Italian. *Non vien di, che non venga sera.* English. *The longest day will have an end.*

56. Buail an t-iarann fad a's ta se teith. [Strike the iron while it is hot.]

57. Is fearr mall nà go brath. [Better late than never.]

58. Cha ghabhann dorn druidte seabhac. [A shut fist will not catch a hawk.]

59. Chan fhaghthar saill gan saothar. [Fat is not to be had without labour.]

French. *Nul pain sans peine.*

60. 'Sè an t-èun maidne a gheabhas a phèisdeog. [It is the morning bird that catches the worm.]

61. Is trian de'n obair, tùs a chur. [Making a beginning is the one-third of the work.]

English. *What is well begun is half ended.* French. *Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coute.*
Spanish. *Barba bien remojada, medio rapada.* [A beard well lathered is half shaved.]

62. Luidh le h-uan, a's èirigh le h-èun,
O fhaiceas tu cleath agus fear 'n a dèigh,
Go bh-feicidh tu cruacha mònadh a's cocaidh fèir.
[Lie down with the lamb, and rise with the bird,
From the time you see a harrow and a man behind it,
Until you see stacks of turf and cocks of hay.]

i.e., From harrowing-time to hay-harvest.

63. Dean sin mur a bheidheadh teine air do chraiciomn. [Do it as if there were fire on your skin.]

64. An tè is luaithe lamh, biòdh aige an gadhar bàn 's a fiadh. [He that has the quickest hand, let him have the white hound and the deer.]

English. *First come first served.* The Irish proverb seems to refer to some incident in the old hunting expeditions of the Irish chiefs.

65. Is fearr èirigh moch nà suidhe mall. [Early rising is better than sitting up late.]

66. Char fhag se cloch gan tionta. [He left no stone unturned.]

67. Sgìste ghiolla an ghobha, ò na builg chun na h-inneora. [The leisure of the smith's helper, (that is) from the bellows to the anvil.]

68. Ma's gasta an gearr-fhiadh, beirthear fa dheireadh air. [Though the hare is swift she is caught at last.]

69. Is minic a bhi cù mall sona, a's cù dona 'n a rith. [A slow hound has often luck when a swift hound has not.]

Alluding to dogs coursing a hare. Sometimes the hare, by a sudden turn, causes the foremost hound to run past her, when she is caught by a slower dog. It signifies that—"Often he who plods steadily at home succeeds as well as one who roams about looking for business or profit." Italian. *Chi va piano va sano, chi va forte va alla morte.* English. *The more haste the worse speed.*

70. Is minic a rug fear a deich air a dà fhichid. [Many a time the man with the ten has overtaken the man with the forty.]

This proverb refers to card-playing. One of the usual Irish games is won by marking forty-five. A player, who at the commencement of a deal has only marked ten, while his opponent has marked forty, may still overtake him and win the game. The proverb is intended as an encouragement to persons engaged in any business.

71. A n-dèigh a chèile tògthar na caislèain. [By degrees the castles are built.]

A proverb which, no doubt, took its rise when the Irish, to their cost, saw the Anglo-Norman castles rising one after another round the English Pale.

72. Is èigin do leanabh lamhachan sul ma siubhlaidh se. [A child must creep before he walks.]

73. Cha chruinnigheann cloch chasaidh caonach. [A rolling stone gathers no moss.]

Spanish. *Piedra movediza nunca moho la cobija.* This is a proverb found in almost all languages.

74. Gheibh bèathach cheithre g-cos tuisleadh. [A four-footed beast will stumble.]

75. Fagheann iarraidh iarraidh eile. [The seeking for one thing will find another.]

76. Mu'r* robh gnothuighe a mach acu, [illegible] a sàith gnothuighe a bhaile acu. [If they had no business abroad they have plenty of business at home.]

Said of persons idling their time, or going where they have no errand.

77. Da m-beidheadh aon ribe air do chuigeal, cha deantà sin. [You would not do that if you had any flax on your distaff.]

Said of a woman spending her time foolishly.

78. Is ionmhuin leis a chat iasg, acht ni h-àill leis a chrùba fhliuchadh. [The cat likes fish, but does not like to wet her paws.]

79. Is [illegible] a saoghal è ma mhaireann se a bh-fad. [It is a very good time if it lasts.]

Addressed to a giddy thoughtless person.

80. 'S cuid an t-searraigh de 'n chliath a ta agad-sa. [You have the foal's share of the harrow.]

[illegible] "You are an idle spectator;" because, while the mare is drawing the harrow, the foal is beside her doing nothing.

* The common abbreviation for *Muna*

81. Ta uallach mhic lèisge ort. [You have the burden of the son of laziness on you.]

82. Lèisge luidhe agus lèisge ag èirigh, sin mallachd Choluim-chille. [Laziness in lying, and laziness when risen, this is the curse of Columb-kille.]

83. Is trom an t-uallach an fhallsachd. [Laziness is a heavy burden.]

84. Ghnidh codladh fada tòn lom. [Long sleep makes a bare back.]

85. Budh mhaith an teachdaire le cur a g-coinne an bhàis thu. [You would be a good messenger to send for Death.]

Because you would delay so long on the road.

86. Eisd le tuile na h-amhna, a's gabhaidh tu breac. [Listen for the flood of the river, and you'll catch a trout.]

Wait patiently, and you will see the result.

87. Eisd le gaoith na m-beann go d-traoghthaidh na h-uisgidh. [Listen to the wind of the moun_tains until the waters ebb.]

Let the storm blow by.

88. Ni fiù an sògh an tè nach bh-fulaingidh an-ndòigh tamull. [He that will not bear adversity for a while does not deserve prosperity.]

Latin. *Dulcia non meruit qui non gustabit amara.*

89. Is fada an ròd nach m-biann casadh ann:—and, Is direach an bothar nach m-biann càsadh ann. [It is a long road (or a straight road) that has no turn in it.]

90. Is faide go bràth nà go bealtuinn. [It is longer to the day of judgment than to May-day.]

i.e., There is time enough yet.

91. Is subhailce an fhoighid nach d-tugann nàire. [Patience is a virtue that causes no shame.]

92. An nidh nach fèadar a lèigheas, is èigin 'fhulaing. [What cannot be cured must be borne.

93. Is ole an ghaoith nach sèididh go maith do dhuine èigin. [It is a bad wind that does not blow well for somebody.]

94. Chn 'uil* tuile ò mheud nach d-traoghann. [However great the flood, it will ebb.]

Or, more poetically expressed:—*Ni 'l tuile da mhèud nach d-tèid seall tamaill a d-tràigh.*

95. Nachar leòr do dhuine dhona a dhichioll a dheanamh. [Is it not enough for a poor man to do his best?]

96. Cha bhiann imirce gan chaill. [There is no removal without loss.]

English. *Three removes are as bad as a fire*:—and,

I never saw an oft-removed tree,
Nor yet an oft-removed family,
That throve so well as those that settled be.

(To be continued.)

* Universally employed instead of the *Ni'l* of the other provinces.

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

The remarks of your correspondent, Mr. A. Hume [vol. vi., p. 54], respecting the preservation in Ireland of old forms and pronunciations of English words, is deserving of much attention. In Scotland, in several of the provincial parts of England, and in America, many of the local peculiarities are nothing but the primitive English idioms, which have in the modern language been superseded by recent innovations. By attending to these peculiarities, we may often determine from what precise parts of England particular portions of Ireland were colonized. Thus, there is a striking resemblance between the dialect of Devonshire and the English spoken in the county of Cork: *e.g.*, such words as "boat" are pronounced in two syllables—"bo-at." There is one word used in Cork, the origin of which I have sought in vain in dictionaries. A "shed" (called in Ulster a "shade") is there named a "linny." Now, in Devonshire they call it a "linhaye." This word may perhaps be connected with the French "haye," a hedge or fence. In Exeter, two streets near the cathedral are called "Northern Haye" and "Southern Haye." May not "linhaye" be from "*ligne de la haye*," a pent-house erected *along a hedge?*—I may observe that the resemblance between the Cork Anglo-Irish and the natives of Devon and Somerset extends beyond their manner of speaking, and is very obvious in their appearance and manners. Hermes.

Among the instances of early English pronunciation remaining as provincialisms in Ireland, may be noticed the word "patron," pronounced "pattern," and used to signify the festival of a patron saint. The modern English word "pattern" is merely a corruption of the French "*patron*," the word for a model. The model used by a founder, in casting a statue, was probably called the "*patron*," as being the likeness either of the patron saint or of the employer [*patronus*] meant to be represented. Hermes.

The characters engraved on the stone found in the subterranean chamber at Connor (co. Antrim), and figured in your last number [p. 100], are clearly not an Ogham inscription. They are more probably Runic. We know from Olaus Wormius that Runic letters were inscribed by the old Scandinavians in every variety of situation, apparently as charms for protecting their persons or property. They had them on the hilts of their swords, the sterns of their ships, their seats, drinking cups, and other domestic utensils. The letter N especially figures as a charm of this kind on many occasions; and this letter is the one most distinctly shown in the Connor inscrip-

tion. If we could be certain that the marks on the stone are really the remains of letters, I should have little hesitation in considering them as Runic, and therefore the cave as Scandinavian.

SITRIC.

I do not know anything that would be more generally interesting than copies of old topographical maps of the Irish provinces and counties. Such are often necessary for understanding accounts of military movements, battles, &c., in former times. For instance, was "Mountjoy Fort," which figures so prominently in the war of 1641, placed where Charlemont now is, or where else? T. H. P.

ANCIENT IRISH COOKERY. [Notes and Queries, vol. 6, p. 101.]—Mention is made by your correspondent ANGLICUS, of the burnt stones found in quantities in parts of the County Cork. Keating refers to this mode of cooking in his *History of Ireland*. He says the ancient Irish were in the habit of digging two large pits, the one of which was for washing, the other for cooking. Stones heated red hot were thrown in, and upon these was laid the meat, bound up in green sedges or bulrushes. On this again was placed another layer of hot stones, then more meat, and so on till the required quantity was disposed of. The name given to such old spots in the South of Ireland by the people is *Falachda na Feine*. EIRIONNACH.

BYE-LAW.—We are constantly using terms in our ordinary speech, into the origin of which we never think of inquiring. The expression *Bye-Law* is one of these. Spelman says (after referring to the government of German towns, as described by Cæsar and Tacitus):—"These laws the Goths, the Swedes, the Danes, and Saxons, called *Bi-lagines;* from *By*, which in all these languages signifies 'a town,' and *Lagh*, or *Laghne*, which signifies 'laws,' as Gravius, Suecus, and our Saxon authors testify." We still see this old word, *By*, preserved in the names of innumerable towns and villages in England, such as Derby, Whitby, Selby, &c.

H. P.

IRISH NAMES OF TOWNLANDS.—Every townland in Ireland has its designation. Many, if we refer to old deeds and charters, have several names, besides that which they now bear. In common (if I am not mistaken) with many other owners of land, I must plead guilty to great ignorance of the meaning of these ancient names. An inquiry into this matter might probably be not considered foreign to the objects of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology;* and it strikes me that it could not fail to be generally interesting, while in many cases it might be of much utility.

Gosford Castle, Markethill. GOSFORD.

When passing through the South of Ireland a few years ago, I met a negro gentleman (Mr. Bartels) who had travelled very extensively; in fact, there was scarcely any country that he did not appear to have visited. He seemed an admirable linguist, and, in conversation, he mentioned to me that, having travelled across Central Africa, and become acquainted with the dialects there, he was able, when shown some Irish manuscripts in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, from his knowledge of these dialects, to translate several portions of them.

I am aware many words in the Irish language are derived from the Latin; but, if not mistaken,

most, if not all of these, are either connected with "the Church," or refer to circumstances and events with which our country could only have become acquainted through the Romans. But how are we to account for an affinity between this language and the dialects of Central Africa?

Belfast. THOMAS HENRY PURDON.

SACRED NUMBERS.—In the paper on the Shamrock [Journal, vol. 5, p. 12], and the notes appended, there are references to the Egyptian superstitions respecting the sanctity of the number *three*. Whoever takes the trouble to wade through Plutarch's treatise on Isis and Osiris, and the doctrines of the Pythagorean philosophy, will find some wonderful properties and virtues ascribed to almost *every* number. Certain arithmetical or geometrical peculiarities are usually assigned as reasons for such especial reverence. Without detailing all the dogmas, it may suffice to notice that the beneficent divinity Oromasdes was designated by the *unit*, the malignant deity Arimanius by *two*, and Mithras, the mediator, by *three*. This ascribing of evil to the number *two* seems to have given rise to the idea of ill-luck in that throw with the dice. Hence, too, the Prince of Darkness is among ourselves popularly called "the *Deuce*."—Again, the number *one* was assigned to Apollo, *two* to Diana, and *three* to Minerva. Plutarch adds:—"The number *two* [implies] strife and audacity, but the number *three*, justice." He also notices *thirty-six* as a most holy number. Orosmades is likewise said to have created *six* gods, and Areimanius *six* antagonist divinities.

At the same time, in Plutarch's treatise "Concerning the EI in Delphi," sundry sage reasons are given for the consecration of the number *five*, as being made up of *two* and *three*—as it were, wedded together. Connected with this idea, he has some remarks on the form of the Trefoil and the fig-leaf, and ivy-leaf, which do not well bear quotation.

Now, it strikes me that, if we suppose the Druidical superstition to be more or less identical with these Oriental fancies, some light may be thrown on their practice. One of the Egyptian rites consisted in pounding in a mortar a certain plant called *Omomi*, and casting it, mixed with the blood of a wolf, into a place inaccessible to sun-shine, invoking *Hades* and darkness. Could this plant have been the *mistletoe*, or any plant having, like it, its leaves in pairs? The Egyptians held some plants sacred to the good god and some to the evil one. The number *two*, we have seen, was devoted to the latter; and what time was more fit for invoking darkness than the winter solstice? In your editorial notes to the paper on the Shamrock, you remark the etymological resemblance of the original name of this plant to that of the Sun; and we have observed that the number *two* was sacred to Diana, or the moon. All this seems to point to some early religious dogma, now lost in the obscurity of the past.

Among the arithmetical whims of the Pythagoreans was a dislike to the number *seventeen*, while holding *sixteen* and *eighteen* in estimation. I beg to suggest to Mr. Samuel Lover, that this would furnish as valid a reason as the one assigned in his humorous song for the 17th of March being the birth-day of St. Patrick, the destroyer of Irish Druidism. The festival of

Osiris was held at the time of the new moon, next the vernal equinox. The full moon, in a lunar month, falls about the *seventeenth* day, according to Plutarch's reckoning. Can the 17th of March have had any reference to the Paschal full moon?—A great many other strange theories, arithmetical, geometrical, and musical, are given by Plutarch, in his treatise "On the Generation of the Soul." TRISMEGISTUS.

THE SCOTCH IN IRELAND.—A few days past, when looking over a very miscellaneous collection of papers, relating to commerce, colonies, &c., formerly belonging to Abraham Hill, a fellow and treasurer of the Royal Society, and one of the first commissioners of the Board of Trade when it was instituted in 1696, I found the following memoranda, which may not be altogether devoid of interest to the readers of this *Journal*; as they happily illustrate an observation of Dr. Hume, in one of his valuable and interesting papers on Ulster ethnology, to the effect—I quote from memory—that Belfast, though originally an English town, in course of time became practically a Scottish one; and they also show, what many writers, by the way, are apt to forget, that, previous to the Scottish union, the English and Irish people regarded Scotland as a foreign state; which, indeed, commercially, and, I may almost add, politically speaking, it really was. I send the paper just as I found it, without either date or signature; but it is bound up with papers of 1697, and its own internal evidence declares it to be of that period. W. PINKERTON.

"Query. If true.

1. That the Scots have gott into their hands two thirds of the trade of Ireland.

2. That the money they gott by the English Armyes landing in the North, first putt them in Stock. That they presently traded to furnish the Armyes, & thenceforth went boldly into France, & had, for many years, connivance for all they imported, as it brought help & increase to the Publick Revenue.

3. That the seat of the Warr being in the 3 other Provinces, all the plunder of black cattle was sent & driven into the North for Security, where they had plenty before: soe as the Markett went from thence to all other Parts, when the Warr was over.

4. That the greatest Destruction falling on the sheep, & England refusing to lett any goe over,[a] (as in 1651 had been allowed, & for 3 years after that Warr), these Merchants gott from Scotland to the value of 300 thousand pounds in Scotch sheep, which served for eating, till the remaynes of the better stock could multiply.

5. That the last yeares want of Corne in Scotland brought over not lesse than 20 thousand poore, & not lesse than 30 thousand before, since ye Revolution.

6. That altho' Belfast is now counted the second place of Trade in Ireland, yett the Scotch Merchants are spread into all other the Trading Townes of that Kingdom, & are made Magistrates in their Turnes. They are generally frugal, industrious, very [illegible], & very helpful to each other against any Third.

7. That this Temper is the same in their Gentry, who have gotten great authority in the Armye, & in the Parliament of that Kingdom.

Whether this growing wealth & power, if found true, will center at last in England or in Scotland, is worth Consideration."

[a] For fear of [illegible] in [illegible] manufactures

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

USE OF THE PRONOUN "ME." [vol. iii., p. 323,] —The query proposed by MR. EVANS would have been long since answered, but that I doubted if the querist, or any other well-informed person, could really have been ignorant that the insertion of the pronoun "me," in such passages as he refers to in old English writers, was *expletive*, and had no separate meaning;—merely giving *intensity* to the assertions by showing that the speaker's personal feelings were interested in the matter. Instances of this are abundant. A like idiom is familiar in Greek.

T. H. P.

"SURVENDIBLE" [Queries, vol. v., p. 352].—The inquirer is in error respecting the form of this word. It is "*servendible*," without an *r*. I once knew a fisherman at Newcastle, in the Co. Down, give his son a severe beating, and an old man describing the act, said, "He tuk the wee fella be the scruff o' the nack, and bleeched him most *servendibly*." The word is apparently "*seven-double*," that is, "seven-fold," and the adverb is formed regularly from the adjective. Many English words, like "double," take a secondary meaning in Ireland, which is purely provincial; thus, we say an old man is bent "two double;" but a cart rope is "three double," and a rustic whip-lash is "four double." The well-known expression of Dr. Barrett sounds rational enough to a middle or lower class man in Ireland, though it tickles English ears:—"All Gaul is *quartered* into *three halves*." Nebuchadnezzar, who was a Babylonish king, gave orders to heat the burning fiery furnace "*one seven times more* than it was wont to be heated:" had he been a county Down man he would have simply said, "Heat it most *servendibly*."

A. H.

OLD NICK. [Queries, vol. v., p. 352; and vol. vi., p. 107.]—Names of this kind are usually jocular or provincial at first, but, for the sake of convenience, they become expressive in a much wider circuit. St. Nicholas was the patron of sailors, and, until within the last two centuries, offerings to him were not unusual, before going to sea, in the maritime towns of England. A part of the same custom was the sending out of ships on a Sunday, "after they had received the prayers of the church." In such circumstances, it was easy to confound "Old Nick" with "the prince of the power of the air," especially as every unusual fact in meteorology or navigation was then ascribed to supernatural causes. I have somewhere heard or read that the name "Old Harry," originated in the early part of the 16th century; the opponents of Henry VIII. identifying him with a supposed fiend. The name "Davy Jones," used by sailors, is a satirical allusion to the Welsh; and the allusion to his "locker" is explained by the second line in a nursery-rhyme descriptive of "Taffy."—"Hornie" and "Clootie" are names derived from the supposed personal appearance of Satan; the English popular idea during the middle ages

being apparently taken in part from the notion of a Saracen or Moor, and, in fact, from that of the Greek "Pan." In a Scottish poem, the Evil One is called "Old Ringan," a name evidently corrupted from Saint "Ninian;" but why, I do not know. Perhaps the functions of this saint were similar to those of St. Nicholas. A. H.

Old Nick.—This name for the Devil is not confined to English. The word, with slight variations, is found in all the Northern languages; Danish *Nöcke*, Swedish *Neck*, Flemish *Necker*, Finnish *Naki*, German *Nicks*. In the Icelandic *Edda*, he is called *Nikur*, and seems to have been the water-deity or Neptune of the Scandinavian mythology. Hence the derivation hinted at by your correspondent Quisquis [vol. 6, p. 107,] is merely fanciful. The name is older than he supposes. Senex.

Caves. [Queries, vol. v., p. 165.]—Please inform R. L. that I can show him, in the county of Derry, dozens of what are called *Danes' Forts*, containing artificial caves. J. F.

O'Neill's Stuchan. [Queries, vol. 6, p. 108.]—There is a townland, a little north of New-Mills (County Tyrone), the old name of which was *Stuchan*. Its position seems to answer to that marked in Speed's map. Hermes.

To Strike a Bargain. [Queries, vol. 5, 258.]—The custom of ratifying a bargain or agreement by a blow of the hand seems to have been quite usual among various ancient nations. The Romans had a great many ways of expressing the making of a bargain, and all of them allude to the blow or touch of the hand. Thus "*Fidem sancire dextrâ*" is used by Livy; and we continually meet with the expressions "*pangere* fœdus, *percutere* fœdus," and "*ferire* fœdus." This last idiom we know refers to a custom, when making a treaty, of striking a pig. ["Jupiter populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hodie feriam."—*Liv.* lib. I.] We meet also the expressions "*icere* fœdus" and "*icere* pactum." The words *pactum* and *pactio* themselves, signifying "a bargain or agreement," are derived from *pango*, "to strike a blow." We have ourselves the word *compact* in English, and *paction* in Scotch, ["They made a *paction* 'tween them twa."] And we say, "to drive a bargain." There is a quaint old phrase used in a letter of the duke of Ormond's, dated 1593, (quoted in this *Journal*, vol. 5, p. 202,) which I do not recollect to have seen before, but which is very expressive, and seems to refer to some similar custom:—"Promise being made by Jas. M'Sorley, &c. * * but the other did not *keep touch* as he had promised." The Latin word *polliceo*, "to promise," has never been satisfactorily explained. May it not be derived from *pollex*, "the thumb," and have reference to some old custom, now unknown, of indicating, by a peculiar touch of the hand, that an agreement was solemnly made.

Senex.

Clap-trap. [Queries, vol. v., p. 166.]—The inquiry as to the origin of this phrase is easily answered. Clapping with the hands is a usual mode of applauding public speakers; and "clap-trap" accordingly means a trap to catch applause. This is mentioned in one of the published letters of Southey; not explained, but alluded to as being known. J. J. M

QUERIES.

Are there, among our relics of antiquity, any remains of chariots? Are there any distinct proofs of their use recorded in ancient Irish poems or MSS.? How was it possible to employ them in a country so overspread with wood, and latterly with bogs, and badly provided with roads? T. H. P.

Is it true that frogs are not indigenous in Ireland? O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary gives the word "*losgan*" as the name of the frog, and McCurtin's dictionary gives another word "*cnadan*" for the same. These words do not seem to be borrowed from any other language, and would therefore prove that the animal was known to the ancient Irish. Are these names for the frog still in use among the Irish-speaking population? RUSTICUS.

In the "Epistle Dedicatory" to Boate's *Ireland's Naturall History*, published in 1652, the following passage occurs:—"I lookt also somewhat upon the hopefull appearance of replanting Ireland shortly, not only by the Adventurers, but happily by the calling in of exiled *Bohemians* and other Protestants also, and happily by the invitation of some well-affected out of the Low Countries."—Can any of your readers inform me what were the Bohemians here referred to, and whether any of them came to Ireland? SENEX.

I have never met with a satisfactory derivation for the word "Tory," as applied to a political party. Perhaps your correspondents may be able to enlighten me. QUISQUIS.

What is the origin of the word "bon-fire?" Johnson, in his dictionary, makes it a compound of the French *bon*, good, and the English *fire;* but besides the improbability of such a combination, when it would be as short and as easy to say "good-fire" as "bon-fire," I can see no good reason for this derivation. CURIOSUS.

The use of *mead* as a beverage seems to have been universal in ancient Ireland. Is it known at what period it was last used? I am not aware that even the mode of making it is now known in any part of the country. ANGLICUS.

I am anxious to know where I can find a satisfactory account of the popular notions regarding the *Banshee*, and of the origin of that singular superstition. Most of the notices of the subject which I have met with are vague and superficial. G. McL.

What is the actual legend of the "Bloody Hand," adopted as the arms of Ulster? And where is the original to be found? A. H.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ANCIENT IRISH.

By JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL.D.,

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF BERLIN

It is now universally admitted by the learned, that the *Gaeidhil*—or ancient inhabitants of Ireland and of the Highlands of Scotland—and the Cymri or ancient Britons are the descendants of the Celtæ of Gaul, and retain dialects flowing from the language of that people. But the invariable tradition of the Gaedhil themselves is that they came from Spain to Ireland; and it is highly probable that the Milesian Irish were a colony from Celtiberia.

The earliest writer who mentions the Celtæ is Herodotus, who flourished about 413 years before Christ. He states that the Celtæ and Cynetæ dwelt in the remotest quarters of Europe, towards the setting sun, near the source of the Ister and the City (rather, mountain,) of Pyrene; but the most copious and valuable account of them which has descended to us, is contained in Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic war, written about 44 years before the birth of Christ. In this work they are described as a numerous and warlike people, who occupied nearly one-half of Gallia or France: their territories were bounded on the south by the river Garumna (now the *Garonne*); on the north by the Sequana (the *Seine*) and Matrona (the *Marne*): on the east by Mount Jura; and on the west by the Atlantic ocean.

A colony of the same people occupied a great part of the north of Spain, where they were called Celtiberi. They had crossed the Pyrenees from Gaul, and settled at first on the river Iberus (the *Ebro*), from which they were called Celt-Iberi. These, who were probably the ancestors of the Celtæ, or Gaedhil, or Milesians, of Ireland, are described as the most powerful and warlike of all the tribes or nations of Spain.

In the first chapter of the first book of the Commentaries of the Gallic war, Cæsar remarks that the people called *Celtæ* in their own language, were styled *Galli* in the Roman or Latin tongue, but nothing is to be found in the Commentaries to throw any light upon this difference of name. The probability, however, is, that the Romans called them *Galli*, i.e. cocks, from their pomposity and courage, though some are of opinion that Galli was but the Romanized pronunciation of *Celtæ*. At the present day the Welsh call the Irish and Highlanders *Gwydhill*, and the two latter now style themselves *Gaoidhil* or *Gaedhil*, suppressing the *dh* in the present pronunciation, as the English do their *gh*, though it is probable that they pronounced the *dh* originally, as the Welsh do at present.

The identity of the race of the Celtæ of Gaul with that of the ancient inhabitants of Britain and Ireland has been argued from the same work, [lib. iii. c. 13,] where it is stated that the great school of the Druids of Gaul was in Britain.[a] The next authority relied on in proof of this identity is Tacitus, who, in his Life of Agricola, [c. xi.,] states that "there is very little difference between the soil and climate, the religious worship, and dispositions of the inhabitants of Ireland and those of Britain."

Of the language of the Celtæ of Gaul we have no undoubted specimen to shew its grammatical construction; but there are various detached words of it preserved by the classical writers, which afford strong ground for believing that it was a kindred tongue with the original dialects of the British islands. A curious list of the words so preserved was published at *Lipsia* in 1736, by Joannes Augustinus Egenolf, who seems not to have known that they bore any affinity to the Welsh or Gaelic of the British isles. In this list I find *aber*, a harbour or mouth of a river; *alp*, a mountain; *arden*, a wood; *barr*, loud singing or shouting; *bardi*, poets; *baril*, a barrel; *baro* or *varo*, a soldier; *bod*, earth; *bracchæ*, femoralia; *brenn* or *bryn*, a helmet; *brog* or *brug*, a district; *bron*, the breast; *bulga*, a leather bag; *cad*, a battle; *carn*, a rock; *celia*, beer; *cucullus*, a Gallic cowl or covering for the head, mentioned by Martial; *derw*, an oak; *dunum*, a city; *garw*, rough, fierce; *glas*, green; *læna*, a Gallic covering or shirt of linen, mentioned by Strabo; *lug*, light; *maer*, a superintendant; *mar*, a horse; *mor*, the sea; *pyren*, beer; *vargi*, robbers.

Pinkerton, in whose time Vallancey and others carried their ideas of the ancient civilisation of the Celts beyond due bounds, attempts to counteract the influence of their writings by assertions equally bold, and more groundless than anything they had advanced. "The real Celtic," he asserts, "is as remote from the Greek as the Hottentot from the Lapponic. The mythology of the Celtæ resembled, in all probability, that of the Hottentots, or others of the rudest savages, as the Celtæ[b] anciently were, and are little better at present, being incapable of making any progress in society."

Now, without wishing to indulge in any of that Celto-mania which characterises the writings of the Irish and Welsh antiquaries of the last century, I may remark that Pinkerton has here calculated too much on the thoughtlessness or ignorance of his readers, for neither he nor any one else knew or knows a word of the ancient history of the *Celtæ*, except what is contained in the classical authors, and especially in the sixth book of Cæsar's Commentaries; from which it is clear that the Celtæ of Gaul had made considerable progress in civilization; that they had an order of priests

[a] "Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Gallium translata esse existimatur: et nunc qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur."

[b] The name *Celtæ* is here applied to the Irish by Pinkerton. The earlier calumniators knew nothing of the word *Celtæ*, as applied to the Irish. It was never applied to them before the 17th century. They never assumed the name themselves, but always understood it to be that of the ancient inhabitants of France. "Scoti sumus non Galli."—"We are Gaels, not Galls."—*Vit. Malachiæ*. But as soon as the writers who wished to favour them had succeeded in making the literary public believe that the ancient Irish were *Celtæ*, then their enemies endeavoured, with all their might, to prove that their ancestors of Gaul were mere savages!

called Druids, who believed in and inculcated the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and of the metempsychosis; that they offered various sacrifices; that they worshipped Mercury as their favourite god, because they believed that he was the inventor of all the arts, and the promoter of mercantile affairs, and of the acquisition of money; that next after Mercury they worshipped Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva, of whom they had nearly the same notions as other nations, viz. that Apollo cured diseases; that Minerva gave origin to works and arts; that Jupiter ruled the gods; that Mars presided over wars, and that they were wont to offer him whatever they took in war.[e]

Cæsar says, on the other hand, of the Germans, that they had no Druids to preside over religious affairs, and that they paid no attention to sacrifices; that they only worshipped those gods whom they see with their own eyes, and by whose power they are manifestly benefited, such as the Sun, Fire, and the Moon. In these passages, the true line of distinction between the Teutonic and Celtic races is drawn by this great Roman general and statesman, a distinction which nearly holds good to the present day, after the lapse of nineteen centuries, and the varied admixture of the two races.

As to whether the Celtic race is capable of making any progress in society, it would take more than mere assertion to decide the question. The ancient Irish people (who were, in reality, the Celts whom Pinkerton had in view) were the teachers of letters and religion to the Saxons in Britain, and to various other Teutonic people, as we shall presently see; but this question has been lately so well considered by Dr. Pritchard, and other distinguished men of the Celtic race, that I do not think it necessary to dwell upon the wild theories and prejudiced conclusions of this champion of the Goths. I shall proceed to lay before the reader certain facts regarding the ancient moral and physical condition of the Gaeidhil, of which the writers on both sides—the Celto-maniac and Anti Celtic—have taken but slight notice.

Many of the customs of the pagan Irish have unquestionably been totally obliterated by Christianity, as can be directly proved; for example, no reference to cremation is found in any fragment of ancient Irish history now known to exist; and still it is clear, from many unquestionably pagan sepultures recently examined, that the pagan Irish were wont to burn their dead, and deposited the ashes in urns of considerable beauty. The Celtæ of Gaul not only burned the chieftain himself, but also threw into the fire such things as had been dear to him during life, such as favourite animals, and, before Cæsar's time, favourite slaves and faithful followers.

One custom which prevailed among the Gauls in Cæsar's time was preserved in Ireland till the reign of James I., namely, that the son was not publicly brought before the father till he was fit to bear arms.[f]

[e] Cæsar, [illegible] lib. [illegible]

[f] "In reliquis vitæ institutis [illegible] munus militiæ sustinere possint, palam ad se adire non patiuntur; filiumque puerili ætate, in publico, in conspectu patris assistere, turpe ducunt."—lib. vi. c. 18.

Another point of agreement between the Celtæ of Gaul and Gaedhil of Ireland is the belief of both in the transmigration of souls. Of this belief the most ancient traditional Irish stories furnish many instances, as the legend of *Fintan*, the Methusalem of Irish tradition, who is said to have survived the deluge, and to have lived down to the sixth century, when he conversed with St. Finian of Movilla.

Another argument, on which I beg here to emphatically dwell, may fairly be deduced from the great stature of the Celtæ of Gaul and Gaedhil of Ireland. In the 30th chapter of the second book of the Commentaries, Cæsar makes the following allusion to the great stature of the Aduatici, in comparison with the short stature of the Romans:—

"And on the first arrival of our army, they made frequent sallies from the town, and contended in small battles with our men. Afterwards—having fortified themselves with a rampart twelve feet in height, and fifteen thousand feet in ambit, and with numerous castles—they kept within the town. When the mantlets were advanced and a mound constructed, they saw a tower being erected at a distance, they began first to mock from the wall, and to upbraid the Romans by speeches: saying, to what purpose was such a machine set up, at such a distance. With what hands, or with what force, did they expect to bring forward a turret of such a bulk to the walls, especially as they were men of such small stature (for our short stature is a matter of derision to most Gaulish men, in comparison with the magnitude of their own bodies.")[e]

These were the Aduatici, who were Belgæ; but the observation in parentheses alludes to the great stature of the Gauls *in general*. That the ancient Gaedhil or Scoti of Ireland were remarkable for their great stature, vigour, and valour, we have various authorities to prove.

The first important notice of the valour of the inhabitants of Ierne, or Ireland, is found in the poet Claudian, who describes the success of Stilicho in repelling them. "By him," says this poet, speaking in the person of Britannia, "was I protected when the Scot moved all Ierne against me, and the sea foamed with hostile oars."[f] From another of this poet's eulogies it appears that the fame of that Roman legion, which had guarded the frontier of Britain against the invading Scots and Picts, procured for it the distinction of being one of those summoned to the banner of Stilicho, when the Goths threatened Rome:—

> "Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
> Quæ Scoto dat frœna truci, ferroque notatas
> Perlegit exanimes Picto moriente figuras."[g]

The Scot here referred to by Claudian was no other than the celebrated Irish monarch, Dathi, who,

[e] "Ac, primo adventu exercitûs nostri crebras ex oppido excursiones faciebant, parvulisque præliis cum nostris contendebant: postea vallo pedum xii in circuitu xv millium, crebrisque castellis cirummuniti oppido sese continebant. Ubi vineis actis aggere exstructo turrim, procul constitui viderunt, primùm irridere ex muro, atque increpitare vocibus, quo tanta machinatio ab tanto spatio instituerctur? quibusnam manibus aut quibus viribus, præsertim homines tantulæ staturæ (nam plerisque hominibus Gallis, præ magnitudine corporum suorum, brevitas nostra contemptui est) tanti oneris turrim in muros collocare confiderent?"

[f] "Totam cum Scotus Iernen
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys."

[g] "There arrived also the legion spread over the furthermost Britons,
Which bridles the ferocious Scot, and examines on the dying Pict
The hideous figures punctured by the steel."

according to the Irish annals, succeeded Niall of the Nine Hostages on the throne of Tara in the year 406, and was slain in Gaul in the year 429.

A very remarkable reference is made to the great stature of two Scotic ecclesiastics residing at Rome about the year 387, by St. Jerome, in his *Demonstratio quod Christus sit Deus.* The one was Celestius, a follower of the heresiarch Pelagius, and the other Albinus, his disciple. He calls the one "*Scotorum pultibus prægravatus,*" and the other, "*Albinum, canem grandem et corpulentum, et qui calcibus magis possit sævire quam dentibus.* Habet enim progeniem *Scoticæ gentis de Britannorum viciniâ.*[h]

Some have thought that by "*Scotorum pultibus,*" i.e., Scottic stirabout, St. Jerome meant the Pelagian heresy; but *prægravatus* evidently applies to his corpulency. It is much more reasonable to believe that he alluded to the national food of the Scoti, which remains the national diet to this day among the Scots of North Britain, and had been much used and valued by the Scoti of Ireland until the potato supplanted it, to the great multiplication but deterioration of the race. But *prægravatus* is evidently applied to describe the corpulency of a huge debater, "who could argue better with KICKS than SYLLOGISMS,"—qui calcibus magis possit *sævire* quam DENTIBUS—who could kick better than he could argue with his teeth. The figure is not very correct, but it is good enough for an old gentleman who was flogged by an angel for reading Cicero, and who saw the Scoti or Attacoti in Gallia eat the thighs and *nates* of boys, and the breasts of girls.

Passing over some fabulous accounts of the gigantic stature of the ancient Irish, quoted by Ussher and others,[i] we find the following most important and interesting description of the stature and personal appearance of the ancient Irish race at the period of the English invasion, before they had received any admixture of Saxon or Norman blood. Giraldus Cambrensis, who came over to Ire-

[h] "Over-fatted with Scottish stirabout; and the other Albinus, a huge and corpulent dog, and one better qualified to argue with kicks than words, for he derives his origin from the Scotic nation in the neighbourhood of Britain."

[i] In the year 1157, it is stated in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise and of the Four Masters,* that the head of Eochy Mac Luchta, who was king of North Munster in the first century, was, this year, taken out of the earth, at Fincorey. It was of such wonderful bigness that it might be compared to a large cauldron. The largest goose might easily pass through the two holes of his eyes, and through the hole of the spinal marrow.—In the oldest lives of the Irish Apostle, St Patrick, it is said that he resuscitated a giant, Glas Mac Cas, who was 120 feet high!

In the *Annals of Clonmacnoise,* it is recorded that Muirchertach More Mac Erca, monarch of Ireland in the sixth century, was fifteen feet high!

Entries of this description are, however, only records of the credulity of our ancestors. Nearly in a similar light I view all our poetical stories about the stature and unmatched valour of the heroes of the Red Branch in Ulster, in the first century: and of Finn Mac Cumhaill and his heroes, towards the middle of the third. Traditions of this nature exist among all ancient nations; but they prove nothing but the tendency in the human mind to exaggeration, and the respect which men have had, at all times, for great stature and valour.

Stories of this kind are found in the histories of every country in the world, even the most civilised, and coming down to a comparatively recent period. "In the year 1501 (as we are gravely informed), a countryman digging deep into the earth, near Rome, discovered a tomb of stone, wherein lay a body, so tall, that, being placed erect, it overtopped the walls of that city, and was as entire as if newly buried, having a very large wound on the breast, and a lamp burning at the head, which could neither be extinguished by wind nor water; so that they were forced to perforate the bottom of the lamp, and by that means put out the flame. This was said to be the body of Pallas, slain by Turnus, the following verses being inscribed on the outside of the sepulchre:—

"Filius Evandri Pallas, quem lancea Turni
Militis occidit; more suo jacet hic."

land first about the year 1183; and again in 1185, as tutor to John, Earl of Morton, afterwards king of England, wrote a series of chapters on the topography, history, manners and customs of the Irish. In his *Topographia Hiberniæ* (Dist. i., c. xix.), where he treats "*De feris earumque naturis*," he says that all the animals of Ireland were smaller than those he had seen elsewhere, and that *man alone retained his majesty of stature.*[j]

Again, in the same work (Dist. iii., c. x), where he treats "*De Gentis istius naturâ moribus et cultu*," he states that the Irish knew nothing of artificial nursing, but that they nevertheless grew up by nature into most beautiful, tall, symmetrical, and strong persons, of well-formed and well-coloured faces.[k]

The only Irishman whose person he describes in particular is Dermot Mac Morrough, king of Leinster; and this, coupled with his general description of the Irish as a race, is sufficient to satisfy any man that the Gaedhil of Ireland, in the 12th century, were as tall as the Celtæ of Gaul were in Cæsar's time. Giraldus says that Dermicius was a man "of grand stature, of very large body, a man bold and warlike. From his continual shouting in war his voice was hoarse; he had rather be feared than loved by all; he was an oppressor of the nobles, an exalter of the humble," &c.[l]

We find no other particular reference to the stature or physical capabilities of the ancient Irish race till the reign of Richard II., A.D. 1399, when the seventh in descent from this Dermot (Art, son of Art, son of Murtough, son of Maurice, son of Murtough, son of Donnell, son of Donnell Kavanagh, son of the Dermot above mentioned by Giraldus) is thus described by the author of the *Histoire du Roy d'Angleterre, Richard*,[m] who was himself an eye-witness of the scene:—

"Among the gentlemen, I was one that went with the Earl of Gloucester to see Mac Murrough, his behaviour, estate, and forces, &c. From a mountain, between two woods, not far from the sea, we saw Mac Murrough descending, accompanied by multitudes of the Irish, and mounted upon a horse without a saddle, which cost him, it was reported, 400 cows. His horse was fair, and, in his descent from the hill to us, ran as swift as any stag, hare, or the swiftest beast I have ever seen. In his right hand he bore a long spear, which, when near the spot where he was to meet the earl,

[j] "Ut autem breviter complectar: omnium animalium ferarumque, et avium corpora hic quam alibi suo in genere minora reperies: solis hominibus suam retinentibus majestatem."

[k] "Non in cunabulis aptantur. Non fasciis alligantur, non frequentibus in balneis tenera membra vel foventur vel artis juvamine componuntur, &c. Sed sola natura, quos edidit artus, præter artis cujuslibet adminicula pro sui arbitrio et componit et disponit. Tanquam itaque probans quid per se valeat fingere, *non cessat et* figurare quousque in robur perfectum, pulcherrimis et proceris corporibus, et coloratissimis vultibus homines istos provehat et producat."

[l] "Erat autem Dermicius *vir staturæ grandis* et corpore peramplo: vir bellicosus et audax in gente sua: ex crebro continuoque belli clamore voce raucisona. Timeri a cunctis quam diligi malens: nobilium oppressor, humilium erector, infestus suis, exosus alienis," &c.—*Hib. Expug.*, lib. i., c. vi.

[m] The writer of the *Histoire du Roy d'Angleterre, Richard*, gives an account in French metre of the four or five last months of Richard II.'s reign. Of this very curious tract there exist two MSS., one of which is in the British Museum, and the other in the library at Lambeth Palace. A translation of that portion of the story which relates to Ireland was made by Sir George Carew, President of Munster in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, and published by Harris in his *Hibernica*, pp. 49 to 58. But the entire narrative has been recently translated, and published in the twentieth volume of the *Archæologia*, by the Rev. J. Webb.

he cast from him with much dexterity. [Here see the appearance that he made exactly pourtrayed.[n]] The crowd that followed him then remained behind, while he advanced to meet the earl, near a small brook. He was tall of stature, well composed, strong and active; his countenance fierce and cruel."

"Entre deux bois assex loing de la mer
Macquemore la montaigne avaler
Vy, et dirloiz, que pars ne s-cay nombrer
Y ot foison.
Un cheval ot sans sele ne arçon
Qui lui avoit couste, ce disoit on,
Quatreces vaches tant estoit bel et bon.
Deulx deux fut la lassemblee faite
Pres dun ruissel.
La se maintin Macquemore: asselz bel
Grans homs estoit, a marveillez ysnel.
A vous dueil sembloit fort fier et fel.
Et homs de fait."—*Archæologia*, vol. xx., p. 40.

Speaking of his men, he writes that Mac Murrough's army consisted of 3000 stout men, such as, it appeared to him, the English marvelled to behold,—

"They assailed us often both in the van and rear, casting their darts with such might, as no habergeon, or coat of mail, were of sufficient proof to resist their force, their darts piercing them through both sides. Our foragers, that strayed from their fellows, were often murdered [killed] by the Irish; for they were so nimble and swift of foot, that, like unto stags, they ran over mountains and valleys, whereby we received great annoyance and damage."

A general description of the vigour and fleetness of the Irish in the same reign is given by the French chronicler, Froissart, who received his information from an English gentleman, named Henry Castide, who had been married to an Irishwoman, and who was appointed by Richard II., on his first visit to Ireland in 1394, to instruct the Irish kings and chieftains in the dress, ceremonies, and manner of behaviour, which would be required of them at court. From his dictation Froissart writes:—

"But I shewe you bycause ye should knowe the truth. Ireland is one of the yvell countreis of the world to make warre upon, or to bring under subjection, for it is closed strongely and wydely with high forests and great waters and maresshes and places [un] inhabytable; it is hard to entre to do them of the country anie domage. . . . . For a man of arms beyng never so well horsed, and *ron as fast* as he can, the Yrisshemen wyll ryn afote as faste as he, and overtake hym, yea, and leap up upon his horse behynde him, and drawe hym from his horse."—*Froissart*, Johne's translation.

Henry Castide, from whose dictation Froissart wrote the above passage, had been himself taken

[n] The figure of Mac Murrough, which is given in the MS. in the British Museum, is engraved as a vignette in the third volume of this *J*[illegible], p. 55.

prisoner in a skirmish in Leinster, by an Irish chieftain, whose daughter he married, and with whom he lived for many years in the country. He was well acquainted with the Irish language, and was, therefore, employed by King Richard to instruct the native chieftains, as already mentioned. The manner of his capture is thus described by the French chronicler:—

"It chanced that in this pursuit my horse took fright, and ran away with me, in spite of all my efforts, into the midst of the enemy. My friends could never overtake me; and in passing through the Irish, one of them, by a great feat of agility, leaped on the back of my horse, and held me tight with both his arms, but did me no harm with lance or knife. . . . He seemed much rejoiced to have made me his prisoner, and carried me to his house, which was strong, and in a town surrounded with wood, palisades, and stagnant water. The gentleman who had taken me was called Brin Casteret, a very handsome man. I have frequently made inquiries after him, and hear that he is still alive, but very old. This Brian Casteret kept me with him seven years, and gave me his daughter in marriage, by whom I have two girls."—*Froissart*, Johne's translation.

The next curious reference to the warlike vigour and courage of the ancient Irish is found in a letter written to King Henry VIII. by the Lord Deputy St. Leger, from Maynooth, on the 6th of April, 1543. In this letter, St. Leger goes on to state that he had heard a report that "his Majestie was about to go to war with France or Scotland, and requests to know his Majesty's pleasure if he should raise a body of native Irish soldiers to attend him in the invasion of France;" and he then proceeds as follows:—

"But in case your Majestie will use their service into Fraunce, your Highnes must then be at some charges with them; ffor yt ys not in their possibilitie to take that journey without your helpe; for ther ys no horseman of this lande but he hathe his horse and his two boyes, and two hackeneys, or one hackeney and two chieffe horse, at the leste, whose wages must be according; and of themselffes they have no ryches to ffurnyshe the same. And, assuredly, I think that for ther ffeate of warre, whiche ys for light scoores, ther ar no properer horsemen in Christen ground, nor more hardie, nor yet that can better indure hardeness. I thinke your Majestie may well have of them ffyve hundred, and leave your Englishe Pale well ffurnysshed. And as to ther ffootemen they have one sort whiche be harnessed in mayle and bassenettes, having every of them his weapon called a sparre, moche like the axe of the Towre, and they be named Galloglasse; and for the more part ther boyes beare for them thre darts a peice, whiche dartes they throw er they come to the hande stripe: these sort of men be those that doo not lightly abandon the ffeilde, *but byde the brunt to the deathe*. The other sorte callid kerne ar *naked men*, but onely their sherts and small coates; and many tymes whan they come to the bycker, but bare nakyd saving ther shurts to hyde ther prevyties: and those have dartes and shorte bowes: whiche sorte of people be bothe hardy and elyver to serche woddes or morasses, in the which they be harde to be beaten. And if your Maestie will convert them to Morespikes and hand-gonnes I thinke they wolde in that ffeate, with

small instructions, doo your Highnes great service; ffor as for gonners ther be no better in no land then they be, for the nomber they have, whiche be more than I wolde wishe they had, onles yt wer to serve your Majestie. And also these two sortes of people be of suche hardeness that ther ys no man that ever I sawe that will or can endure the paynes and evill ffare that they will sustayne; ffor in the sommer, when corne ys nere rype, they seke none other meate in tyme of nede, but to scorke or swyll the eares of wheat, and eate the same, and water to ther drinke; and with this they passe ther lyves; and at all tymes they eate such meate as ffew other could lyve with. And in case your pleasure be, to have them in readynes to serve your Majestie in any these sortes, yt may then please the same, as well to signifie your pleasure therein, as also what wages I shall trayne them unto. And so, having knowledge of your pleasure therein, I shall endeavour myselffe, according my most bounden duetie, to accomplishe the same. The sooner I shall have knowledge of your pleasure in that behaffe, the better I shal be hable to perform it.

From your Majestie's castell of Maynothe,
the 6th of April, 1543.

ANTONY SENTLEGER.

[See *State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 3, p. 444. London, 1834.]

In the February following, this lord deputy was recalled to give the king an account of his administration of affairs in Ireland; and Sir William Brabazon was sworn lord justice in his stead. He sent the king one thousand native Irish troops to Calais, under the command of three Anglo-Irish Captains, Poer, Butler, and Skurlock, the two former being nephews of the Earl of Ormond. A curious list of these men is preserved in the State Paper Office, London.

The praises bestowed on the daring valour of this Irish corps at the siege of Boulogne is scarcely credible. Holingshed writes that they were very serviceable to the king at the siege of Boulogne, and did much mischief; for being light of foot, they would often range twenty or thirty miles into the country, and as they returned, would burn and spoil wherever they came. "They had a pretty trick to get a prey; which was to tie a bull to a stake, and set fire about him, and as the fire scorched him, the bull would bellow, and thereupon all the cattle within hearing of him would flock that way, and so were taken. These Irishmen would never give quarter; and therefore, whensoever the Frenchmen took any of them, they gelded them, and otherwise tormented them exceedingly. After the surrender of Bulloign, a large Frenchman, on the other side of the haven, braved and defied the English army; whereupon one Nicholas did swim over the river, and cut off the Frenchman's head, and brought it back over the river in his mouth, for which bold action he was bountifully rewarded."—[*See Hollingshed's Chronicle*, *p.* 103; *and Cox's Hibernia Anglicana*, *p.* 277.] At these and other wild feats of courage performed by the Irish kerne, the French, astonished, sent an ambassador to inquire of King Henry, "whether he had brought with him *men or devils*."—[*Ibid.*]

The next notice of the personal appearance of the ancient Irish is found in a *History of Ireland,* written in the year 1567, by the celebrated Jesuit, Edmund Campion, who writes in his *Historie of Ireland,* (chap. vi.):—"Cleare men they are of skinn and hue, but of themselves careless and bestiall. Their women are well-favoured, clear-coloured, fair-handed, bigge and large, suffered from their infancie to grow at will, nothing curious of their feature and proportion of body." And again:—"Their ladies are trimmed rather with massie jewells then with garish apparell; it is counted a beauty in them to be tall, round, and fat."—[*Ibid.*]

The next writer who notices the stature of the native Irish is the poet Spenser, who, in his *View of the State of Ireland,* written in the year 1596, has the following remark upon the Irish horseman:—"I have heard some great warriours say, that in all the services which they had seene abroade in foreigne countreyes, they never saw a more comely man than the Irish man, nor that cometh on more bravely to his charge; neither is his manner of mounting unseemly, though he lacke stirruppes, but more ready than with stirruppes, for in his getting up his horse is still going.—[*Dub. Ed. p.* 116.] Again, "Yet sure they are very valiaunt and hardie, for the most part great indurers of colde, labours, hunger, and all hardnesse; very active and strong of hand; very swift of foot; very vigilant and circumspect in their enterprises, very present in perils, very great scorners of death."—[*p.* 119.]

The next author who mentions this subject is Fynes Moryson, who was secretary to the Lord Mountjoy, 1599-1603. Speaking of the smallness of the Irish cattle, he writes in his *Description of the State of Ireland:*—"By this abundance of cattle, the Irish have a frequent though somewhat poor traffick for their hides, the cattle being in general very *little* (small), *and only the men and the greyhounds are of great stature.*" He remarks more than once that the Irish were firmer on foot, and had a stronger push of the spear than either the English or Spaniards.

The next writer who notices the stature and characteristics of the native Irish is John Dymoke, who wrote about the year 1599. His words are:—"The people are of nature vain-glorious, francke, irefull, goode horsemen, able to endure great paynes, delighted in warr; great hospitallitye; of religion for the most parte Papists; great gluttons, and of a sensuall and vitious lyfe; deep dissemblers, secret in displeasure, of a crewell revenginge minde, and irreconsiliable. Of witt they are quicke and capable; kinde-hearted where they take, and of exceedinge love towardes their foster-brethren. Of complexion they are cleare and well-favored, both men and weomen; *tall* and *corpulent bodies,* and of themselves careless and bestiall."—[*See Tracts relating to Ireland, printed for the Irish Archæological Society, vol.* ii. *p.* 6.]

These historical passages can never be obliterated, but must remain as evidences of the great stature and valour of the native Irish race as long as this world shall last.

I could adduce various instances of individual Irishmen of the Gaelic race who have been described by their contemporaries as of gigantic frame, such as Florence MacCarthy, who was born in

1554, and who is described by Sir George Carew as taller by the head and shoulders than his followers; and Morgan Kavanagh, governor of Prague in 1766, described by contemporary writers as the largest man in Europe; some of whose relatives are still extant in Germany, and were described by Professor Neimann, of Vienna, in 1844, as the tallest men in Germany: they are the descendants of Brian *na-stroicè* Kavanagh, who was the largest man in King James the II.'s army. Big Magrath, whose skeleton is preserved in the anatomical museum of Trinity College, Dublin; and John O'Neill of Banville, in the county of Down, who is described by Dr. Stuart, in his *History of Armagh*, as "a man most remarkable for prodigious strength, majestic form, princely deportment, affable manners, and unbounded benevolence."—[*pp.* 130, 630.]

I shall conclude by a few quotations more from persons who are still living or recently dead. One from Sir Richard Musgrave, who, describing the family of O'Dowda in Lower Connaught, says, in his *Memoirs of the different Rebellions in Ireland*,—"This family counted twenty-four castles on their extensive estate, many of which are still in existence, and they have a burying place appropriated to them in the abbey of Moyne, where may be seen the gigantic bones of some of them who have been remarkable for their great stature, as one of them having exceeded seven feet in height."

The late O'Driscoll (William, son of Denis, son of Florence), who died at Stoke, near Plymouth, in the year 1851, is described by his son William Henry, the present O'Driscoll, as a magnificent specimen of the old Milesian Irish race:—"mighty of limb and strong of sinew, very tall, and broad in proportion; of noble countenance, and in pitch of body like a giant."

Richard Donovan, Esq., Clerk of the Crown for the County of Cork, describes the characteristics of the last two famous O'Driscolls of the County of Cork, in a letter to myself, written in 1849, as follows:—

"The late Alexander O'Driscoll, Esq., J.P., of Norton Cottage, Skibbereen, was the son of Timothy O'Driscoll, who was, in appearance, far beyond the ordinary run of men, being remarkably handsome, tall, and athletic, appearing like the son of a giant. This Timothy was, no doubt, of ancient respectable descent, but nothing seems to have been known in the country of his pedigree. He acquired considerable property, as a middle man, and was a magistrate of no ordinary capacity. He was a jovial companion, had a good head, and was a kind of sense-carrier to several of his aristocratic neighbours, who had no time for anything but drinking and hunting. His son, Alexander, succeeded to a considerable property in land and tythes. This Alexander may be considered as the last celebrated man of the O'Driscolls, in the O'Driscoll territory. He was a remarkably fine-looking man—he looked, in fact, like a prince: hunted well; rode well; drank well; his hospitality was boundless to all. Being, in politics, a high conservative, his popularity lay with the aristocracy, who repaid him for his hospitality by giving him all those posts of honor which gentry sigh for, and which cost nothing. He was of overbearing disposition; despised all popular institutions; was severe to the peasantry, and no favourite with the Roman Catholic clergy, although a Roman

Catholic himself. His end was most melancholy. In the Summer Assizes of 1849, he served on the County Grand Jury, although his embarrassments were notorious; and, instead of proceeding homewards, after the duties of a grand juror were over, he remained in the city of Cork, and was arrested by a wine merchant. He applied for his discharge on the score of being on duty as a grand juror: but the application was refused, and he was confined in the city gaol. The cholera then prevailing very severely, he was seized with it and died."

Another very remarkable man of the old Irish race, whose sons, Nicholas, Michael, and William, I remember, was Mr. William Gaffrey, *alias* O'Gamhna, of Glenmore, in the barony of Ida, County Kilkenny. He stood six feet four inches in height, and was robust, strong, and athletic in proportion. He was so dexterous a swimmer that it was believed he could "walk on the water" from New Ross to Waterford. He commanded a party of eighty thousand rebels, in 1798, at Ballyverneen Hill, when Major-General Jackson defended the town of New Ross. Mr. Gaffney was executed, and his body thrown into a pit with several other bodies. But the nurse-tender and mid-wife of the district, commonly called "Mary of the Ring," who was much attached to him and his family, came at night, alone, by the light of the moon, and opening the pit, threw up all the bodies on the bank, and examining them one by one, recognised that of Mr. Gaffney by its vast proportions and noble features. She returned the other carcasses, which were covered with fresh lime, to the pit, and carried the body of Mr. Gaffney to the church-yard of Kilbride, where she buried it in the tomb of his ancestors; exhibiting a specimen of female heroism which Plutarch would have handed down to immortality.

IRISH BARDISM IN 1561.

(Continued from page 167.)

Thomas Smyth was, doubtless, identical with the Sheriff of Dublin of the same name in 1576, and Mayor in 1591. This surname is so common, being now equivalent to no name at all, that it is vague to suggest that he was nearly related to Thomas, natural son of Sir Thomas Smyth, or Smith, who, in 1572, formed a colony at "Smith's Castle," in the Ards (county of Down); and the present writer has already suggested [*Journal*, vol. ii. 219,] that this Dublin druggist was brother of the notorious John, called "Bottle-Smith," for his attempt to assassinate Shane Dymas by means of a bottle of poisoned drink. One of this family had his hand stricken off, probably in

vengeance, by Piers Butler, the "rash younger son" of the first Viscount Mountgarrett.[a] The curious grant we have mentioned as made in 1566, to the "pothecarye," was conceded upon his "humble sute," complaining how his drugs and wares were unsaleable because of the superior competition of the country "leeches and such lyke;" whence his evident jealousy of superstitious practices, which trenched on the art of physic, and which he so strongly reprobates. Since the period when old Chaucer penned his sarcastic sketch of "a Doctour of Physike," the science of "magike naturel," as ancillary to homœopathology, had gone much out of vogue. Our authority of 1561, indeed, was different in another marked respect from the older poetic type, whose "studie was but litel on the Bible;" whereas, on the contrary, the curious and remarkable document already laid before our readers, is written in a reverential and pious spirit.

Proposing to treat the interesting topic of THE IRISH BARDS archæologically in our future pages, we will, for the present, confine our comments to some passages in *Smyth's Information for Ireland*, which was, it should have been mentioned, drawn up for the information of the lords of the queen's privy council, to whom it is addressed. If the author was Mr. Thomas Smith, he was at that time about erecting a mint in Dublin. We are curious to ascertain his relationship to the adventurous gentleman of the same name who effected the first Elizabethan settlement in this province, and who (as well as his father, Sir Thomas, one of her Majesty's secretaries) was created "colonel of the Ards and Clandeboy," and who was himself slain in 1573. The secretary is author of a treatise on Roman coinage. However, we imagine that it was the apothecary who wrote this notice of the bards, since it bears more marks of an obstetric than a martial hand. From the primitive time of the *Tuatha De Danaan*, noted for their scientific knowledge, the healing art was greatly respected in Ireland. Derrick, in his photographic description of the feast of a chieftain of woodkerne, places the surgeon next in precedence to the priest, to whom a seat of honour, probably anciently occupied by his predecessor, the druidic priest of Baal, was assigned. The old Irish leeches, who probably derived their knowledge traditionally from the druids, had great faith in astronomic influence on the human frame; and some of the charms and spells still used by our peasantry, usually in verse, are manifestly relics of druidic paganism or demon-worship.

As to the "Brehon," the first functionary noticed by Smyth, we may refer to our previous article on *Irish Brehons and their Laws*; merely remarking, that for these men to "take upon themselves to judge in matters and causes of inheritance," was a sore offence in the eyes of the Government, whose object was to induce the Irish to abandon their old and pernicious laws of gavel-kind and tanistry, which were fraught with social evils.

The second personage noticed is that formerly important functionary, the *Seanchaidhe*, "petigrer,"

a Carew MS. 635.

or repository of pedigrees, a whole Heralds' College in himself—nay, more, an embodied reference in questions of inheritance. However ridiculous the value anciently attached by clan-races to genealogy may appear to us now, we should bear in mind that, as every free-born clansman had a common right of inheritance, the preservation of his pedigree was a means of establishing his claim to the occupation of land, and, eventually, perhaps, to the rank and rents of senior of his particular sept. Prior, therefore, to the use of records, the sennachies of a tribe were the referees in all disputed cases as to lineage—questions of primary importance among the Irish Gael, involving legitimacy of birth, and traditional superiority of rank according to seniority.

The families holding the hereditary office of bards seem to have been wealthy in cattle, owing to their freedom from rent and taxes; to the fees or donations they received; and to their sacred character, and consequent immunity from plunder—an immunity religiously observed by even the royal English forces in earlier times. One of the charges on which Lord Leonard Gray was executed, was that "he had spoiled and depredated the rhymers by the mountayne's side, who served the king's army with victual; by which spoil ensued not only reproach and infamy, but scarcity and dearth." They frequently, however, as Smyth complains, supported "rebels," or such of the natives as, being always at enmity with the Saxonry, were usually at war with them, and disobedient to the government.

Smyth's remark, that the sennachies filled the ignorant popular leaders with a mad pride, by comparing them to classic heroes, is borne out by much concurrent testimony; among others, by the annalist Dowling, who says that Rory Oge O'More, the dispossessed and fierce chieftain of Leix, whose eighteen years of continuous commotion were closed by his being killed in 1577, and who, having latterly burnt the towns of Naas, Athy, Carlow, and Leighlin, was extolled by the rhymers "*like him that burnt Diana's temple.*" For ourselves, we must say this simile wears the semblance of an Irish bull, since we not only are unaware that Erostratus was ever extolled, but do not see the resemblance between his act of mere villany, done to perpetuate his name, and the very intelligible vengeance of the dispossessed lord of Leix. A sennachie's most dire offence was that, by his "holding their pedigrees and genealogies, ever to prove their descents from the ancient barbarous kings that were before the English conquest,"[b] he kept up and cherished among the chieftains a bitter and galling memory of loss and injury, which, during five centuries, formed the political key-note to which the bard tuned his harp, and a sort of whet-stone on which the Gael sharpened his pike. When the stirring *rosg-catha* of an Irish Timotheus inculcated incendiarism with all the power of music, the Celtic "Alexander" rose hot from the feast, drunk with song and usquebaugh, and inflamed with fierce passions, which he forthwith carried into execution. Music, saith the muse, hath charms to soothe the savage breast; but some

[b] Letter of Capt. Dawtrey, S.P.O.

bards employed it to make the savage bosom more ferocious. So few of these fiery effusions have survived, that we are only able to take up one or two of their extinguished torches, such as the "Lament of O'Gnive," bard to the Clandeboy O'Neills, in which he apostrophises Nial-naoi-giallach and Conn-cead-cathach, exclaiming:—

> "Let the long grass still sigh undisturb'd o'er their sleep;
> Arise not to shame us, awake not to weep!"

and concludes:—

> "Degraded and lost ones, no Hector is nigh,
> To lead you to freedom, or teach you to die!"*

Some odes composed by bards who lived under the protection of Fiach O'Byrne, "the wild hawk of Glenmalure," still remain in a small vellum MS. in the British Museum; and of these, the address to the clans of Wicklow, translated by Mr. Ferguson, is really fine; commencing, in his version, thus:—

> "God be with the Irish host, never be their battle lost!
> For in battle never yet have they basely earn'd defeat.
> Host of armour, red and bright, may ye fight a valiant fight,
> For the green spot of the earth, for the land that gave you birth!
> Who in Erin's cause would stand, brother of th' avenging band,
> He must wed immortal quarrel, pain and sweat, and bloody peril;
> On the mountain bare and steep, snatching short but pleasant sleep;
> Then, ere sunrise, from his eyrie, swooping on the Saxon quarry."

The Gaelic term, *Aes-dàn*, employed by Smyth to designate the several orders of poets, is peculiarly appropriate, having been in use by the Irish and Scotch, and signifying the people or men professing the art of *dàn*, or poetry. McFirbis styles Tuathal O'Higgin, who died in 1450, "chief master of the *Aes-dàna* of Ireland." *Dàn*, signifying in more modern times a panegyrical poem, seems originally to have included all arts, such as were taught by the Tuatha De Danaan, who seem to have been members of the druidic orders expelled from Britain by the Romans.

Master Smyth's descriptive power rises when he pourtrays, in nervous style and indignant phrase, the terrible and destructive effects of a *rosg-catha* upon a likely sprig of clan nobility. The vivid sketch he has thus bequeathed us, of an episode in the life of a leader of wood-kerne, is filled up by Derrick's description of the northern variety of these wild depredators; besides which, the latter's antique full-lengths are illustrated by highly curious engravings. Take a single sketch from his "*Image of Ireland*" in 1578. Having versified a plundering expedition

* This spirited versification is by J. J. Callanan. A prose translation may be found in Walker's *Irish Bards*, I. 201.

made by a troop of insurgent foresters, and described their ensuing feast, the doggerel poet continues :—

> "Now when their gutts be full, then comes the pastime in;
> The Barde and Harper mellodie unto them doe beginne.
> This Barde, he doth reporte the noble conquestes done;
> And eke in rimes shewes forthe at large their glorie thereby wonne.
> Thus he at random roameth; he prickes the rebells on;
> And shewes, by such externall deeds, their honour lyes upon.
> And then the more to stir them up, to prosecute their ill;
> What great renown their fathers gotte, he shews by rhyming skill;
> And thei most gladsome are, to heare of parents' name,
> As how, by spoiling honest menne, thei wonne such endless fame.
> Wherefore, like graceless graftes, sprong from a wicked tree,
> Thei grow, through daily exercise, to all iniquitie.
> And more t' augment the flame, & rancour of their harte," &c.

The "Piper," described by Smyth as preceding a troop of kernes setting out on a *creach* or foray, is admirably pourtrayed in an engraving in Derrick. In a government letter, dated 7th December, 1572, it is mentioned that those spoilers of the Pale, the fierce Fiagh O'Byrne, Rory Oge O'More, &c., were accustomed to come by daylight with bag-pipes, and by night with torch-light, on their plundering incursions.

The "Messenger," mentioned by our writer, performed so active and useful a part in old Gaelic social life, that his services seem but meagrely rewarded by the offal which all records agree was his share of a feast. Captain Riche, who was quartered at Coleraine, and printed his quaint *Description of Ireland* in 1610, observes that "every great man in the country hath his rymer, his harper, and his knowne messenger, to run about the country with letters." The Gaelic names for one of these couriers were *eaclach*, and *gilli-cosh*. The latter word signifies "lad of the foot;" and we must here correct an error fallen into in our article on *Gaelic Domestics*, in translating the word "jester."

The "Rakry," also mentioned, was the *racraidhe*, or singer to the *cruit*, or harp, who recited the poet's compositions, as also stated by Spenser. Lord Justice Fitzwilliam writes to Sir W. Cecil (Lord Burleigh), 14th April, 1562, that "rhymers set forth the most bestlyest and owdyus parts of men's ansestors' doings, and their own lycke wyse for whom the rymes are made. Such," he adds, "be charessed and defendyd, even with their prysts; and rewarded with garments, till they leve themselves nackyd; besyds the best pece of plate in the howse, and chefest horse away with them: not all together departyng empty handyd when they come among the Erles and other the nobylite of Inglysh race." Spenser mentions an instance of as many as forty cows (misprinted

crowns) having been presented by a man of high degree in return for a eulogistic *dàn*, or ode. As the value of these useful animals must have, comparatively, been nearly the same as now, the *honorarium* given to the well-paid bard was worth about £200! Yet, the English poet who records this liberality could hardly obtain half as much for himself from Lord Burleigh upon the Queen's order!

The paragraph in Smyth's account, stating that the *Fileas* added the prophecy-business to their other trades, is curious evidence of the professional descent of this order, (originally prophetic bards,) from the druidic times; and it so completely carries down the chain, that we perceive the "prophecy-men," who still haunt our cabins, to be representatives of pseudo-inspired Druids! The "second sight" of the Scottish Highlanders may, in like manner, be a relic of their supposed power of fore-seeing and foretelling. One of the finest pieces of poetry in any language—Gray's ode, *The Bard*—is founded on the knowledge of the future assumed by the Gaelic bards. Gerald Barry, King John's secretary in this kingdom, and a firm believer in prophetic pretensions, constantly refers to the predictions of Merlin, and quotes those of native bardic saints, such as Columbkille, &c., both for explanations of past events in the conquest of Ireland, and for conclusions as to the future. Any curiosity our readers may entertain on this latter question we may as well gratify by stating, that, according to the unanimous agreement of all prophets, Ireland will not be fully conquered much "before doomsday!"[c] The extraordinary belief reposed by the Celtic people of the British Islands in prophecies, is a matter of history. This superstitious feeling shows its earliest trace among the Canaanites, whose priests of Baal were false prophets, and among whom witchcraft was profession. In the old Irish poem entitled *The Battle of Magh-rath*, the druids of the Pictish king of Ulster are represented as "making true magical predictions for him." Down to so late a period as the 17th century, the Irish chiefs were accustomed to encourage their troops, prior to an engagement, by assuring them that such or such a saint had foretold victory. Moryson mentions the accomplishment of two prophecies, in the battle of Kinsale and the destruction of the three northern Hughs. The former one is circumstantially referred to in *Pacata Hibernia*; and Story, in his *Wars of Ireland*, has a curious page giving "an account of some Irish prophecies." In times when tradition filled the place of the printing-press, nothing could be easier than to invent prophecies suitable to coming and past events.

The "Ollav Filea" was the poet, and an eminent man. The "Bard" was merely a versifier, or "rhymer." This inferior class were scoffed at by the Fileas as "prattling Bards." "It is not," wrote the author of the curious *Book of Rights*, "the right of a Bard, but of a Filea, to know the

[c] Cambrensis writes:—"The Irish people are said to have foure men whom they account to be great prophets, and whom they have in great veneration and credit, Merlin, Bracton, Patrike, and Columkill, whose books and prophecies they have among themselves in their own language; and all they, intreating and speaking of the conquest of their land, doo affirme that the same shall be assailed with often warres, the strifes shall be continuall, and the slaughters great. But yet they do not assure nor warrant anie perfect or full conquest unto the English nation not much before Doomsdaie."

rights of each king." In the title of "Fileadh" there was indeed much more implied than a mere poet or verse-maker. The learned author of *Ogygia*, after stating that Amergin was the first druid who entered Erin, adds: "Sub fratribus suis supremus *vates* fuit;" and further explains, that "by this name was denoted not only a poet, but also such as were well versed in other sciences." Every one knows that the Latin *vates* signified a vaticinal, or prophetic poet. The annalist Firbis speaks of "poet-philosophers;" a class whom the author of *Hudibras* had, no doubt, in his mind's eye when he described his hero as—

> "A deep occult philosopher,
> As learned as the *wild Irish* are."

In the *Book of the Cruithne* (or Picts), contained in the Irish *Nennius*, the following vivid account of the pagan druids occurs:—

> "There remained behind them in Ealga [Ireland],
> With many artificers and warriors,
> Who settled in Breagh-magh,
> Six god-like Druids;
> Divination, and idolatry, and mystical learning,
> In a fair and well-walled house,
> Plundering in ships, bright poems
> By them were taught;
> The observance of sneezings and omens,
> Choice of weather, lucky times,
> The watching of the voices of birds [augury],
> They practised without disguise;
> Hills and rocks they prepared for the plough.
> Among their sons were no thieves."

To have become an adept in these several sciences must have demanded as clear an intellect as the study of an equal number of modern "ologies," inclusive even of Mesmerism and Spirit-rapping. *The Book of Rights* mentions the lucky times for certain *creachs* or forays; and, no doubt, those fortunate seasons were religiously observed. In that ancient tale, *The Banquet of Dùn na Ngedh*, the king of Ulidia's "sage and poet" is also styled a "seer and distinguished druid;" a character he may easily have gained by his supposed power of predicting conjunctions and eclipses of the heavenly bodies. It was, of course, to obtain the tremendous power acquired by such predictions that the druidic orders studied astrology. The learned editor of the tale just mentioned has appended a curious note on the subject of the prophetic powers of the pagan poets. Magic, systematically employed by the druids, descended traditionally, and, perhaps, scripturally, to their successors, the Fileas, who also retained other heathen attributes of the more ancient order, in their pretension

of possessing the gift of prophecy, and as "maintainers of witches." No one, in our day, need marvel at the prevalence of superstition three centuries ago among the excitable and imaginative natives of the "Island of Destiny," since the limits between the unreal and real, the natural and supernatural, have never yet been clearly defined, as regards either time, spirit, or visibility; and since the columns of the *Times*, this very year, prove the existence of grossly superstitious practices in England. With regard to "witches," Captain Barnabe Riche has the following passage in his *Description of Ireland*, 4to, 1610, in the chapter on "Superstitions:"—"The Irish are wonderfully addicted to give credit and beliefe, not onely to the fabulous fictions of their lying Poets, but also to the prognostications of Soothsayers and Witches; like our husbandmen of the countrey, that doe draw all their knowledge from the counsell of a Kalendar. And if any of their wise men, or wise women (as they call them) do prognosticate either good or evill fortune, they doe more relie on their presagements than they do on the foure Evangelists." Stanihurst writes that, in his time, there were "manie sorcerers" among the mere Irish; and he himself became, on his departure for the Continent, an alchymist, a searcher for the philosopher's stone, and a physician. The council-book of Henry VIII. (*Addit. MS. Brit. Mus.*, 4790) contains a note of "a letter to Charles fitz Arthur for sending a witche to the lord deputie to be examined," anno 1542. This Charles was Cahir mac Art, chief of the Kavanaghs, created Baron of Ballyan by Queen Mary. Cox relates that Sir Wm. Drury, in October 1578, caused certain criminals to be executed at Kilkenny, among whom were "two witches, who were condemned by the law of nature, for there was *no positive law* against witchcraft in those days." To remedy such an oversight, the act of 1585, "against witchcraft and sorcery," was passed by the legislature. There is a note in Dr. Hanmer's collection (the first volume of Irish MSS. in the State Paper Office), at page 739, of "Tyrone his witch, the which he hanged." Another note (at page 700, in the portion entitled "*Mores Gentium*,") specifies, among certain "wicked customs and observances," that the Irish "upon Maie Eve drive their cattell, &c., upon their next neighbour's corne, to eate the same. They were wont to begin from the East. Onless they do so upon Maie daie the witch hath power upon their catell all the year following." Allusion is made to this superstition by Higden in his *Polychronicon*, printed in 1527, in his chapter "Of the manners of the inhabitants of Ireland," an "Hond" in which he declares there "be many grysly wondres and marvaylles;" adding that "in this lond, and in Wales, olde wyves and wymmen were wonte, and ben, as men sayen, ofte for to shape themselfes in lykenesse of hares for to mylke theyre neyghbour's kyen or stele her mylke." It is stated in the curious account of the Irish people in Camden's *History*, that "the cast-off wives" of the chiefs resorted to witches, who were believed by those ladies to be able to afflict their cruel husbands with personal calamities. A similar (supposed) power was possessed by the Fileas. [See note, Statute of Kilkenny, *Arch. Tracts*, p. 55.] Reginald Scot, in his *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, says, "the Irishmen will not sticke to affirm that they can rime either man or beast to death." The Filea was believed to be able to

perform "poetical miracles" by the force of satire, so far even as to cause the death of his victim. It is unfortunate that the superstitions of the Gael in the "Isle of Saints" receive but brief notice from the great author of the *Dialogue between Eudoxus and Irenæus,* and that he failed to perform his tantalizing promise of writing on the antiquities of old Erin.

"The Land of Sainctes," which Smyth refers to was, probably, that fabulous "iland beyond Irlande," commonly known as "I-Brazil, the Isle of the Blest," some account of which was given in our former article, "*Notes on old Irish Maps.*"

"O'Maylly, strong in galleys and seamen," as Sir Henry Sidney wrote, was chieftain over the western islands, which formed at that period, as we may believe, the *ultima Thule* of barbarism. Giraldus Cambrensis states that there were, in his time, districts in the west and south where people were to be found who had never been baptised; and that certain islanders had been discovered on the western coast clad in skins, or peltry, (the first clothing of savages,) and who had never heard the name of Christ.

Of those "idle losels, the brotherhood of Carrowes, that professe to play cards all the year long, and make it their only occupation," Campion and Spenser give strange accounts.

We have not met elsewhere with the name *Gogathe,* as applied to the Irish glutton; the ordinary name for this professional exhibitor of a special talent having been *Ciocrach,* derived from the adjective, signifying greedy, or ravenous.

The "Abraham," or "Sham-Abraham," was an English vagrant, whose peculiar ways are described by Captain Grose, and who seems to have been a mendicant of the gipsy caste, an aged man, with a hoary patriarchal beard, and sufficiently nude to have formed a good study for painters. The bishop of Cork writes, in 1596, to Lord Hunsdon concerning the enormities and abuses at that time existing in Ireland, desiring among other points to be considered, that "some strict order be taken for idle persons, as *carraghes,* hazards, rimers, bards, and harpers, which run about the country, eating the labours of the poor, carrying news and intelligences to the rebels, and bruiting false tales. Also the rithmers make songs in commendation and prayse of the treasons, rebellions, spoilings, preyings, and thievings made. They flock," he says, "to the *cuddies,* or night-suppers;" for it was during these nocturnal feasts that they poured forth their effusions.

One of the personal characteristics of the rather indefinite sort of person called a *hazard* is explained in another State Paper of 1575, which abuses "stout beggars, idle vagabonds, *naked hazards,* shameless flattering slaves, as bards, *owlers,* &c., nourished by the lords."

Spenser mentiones the "wandering women, called Mona-Shull." The name means "travelling women," [*mna siubhail.*] These vagrant unfortunates, fully described in Derrick's *Image of Ireland,* seem to have abounded in Queen Elizabeth's time, as the Dublin council-book of that period has a proclamation "against Women and Doggs;" this latter denomination manifestly designating the greyhounds that ran at the heels of the native idel-men, or men of edel or noble birth, in

times when an Irish "gentleman-sportsman" was known by these four-footed attendants. The word "Mannigscoule," used by Smyth, is, manifestly, a corruption of *Mona-shula*, who would seem to have been also ballad singers. Why their chief should have but one eye, and be called "Lucas," are archaic mysteries which some of our readers may be able to throw light on. These wandering or "going" women may have been the "caifs" described in the reign of Henry IV., as dispersed, with nurses, and children, throughout the Irish countries, "spying, by day and night, all the roads and fortresses, whence the greatest possible mischief might hereafter arise."[d] *Aeshala* seems to have been the name of ballad-singers, called "ishallyn" in records. But we beg to repeat a hope that our columns of "Notes and Queries" may become a vehicle for elucidating the topic of archaic *caifs*, and Gaelic glee-maidens, with their one-eyed leader.

With regard to the *Bachul Jesu* mentioned in the foregoing account, the name seems, according to Campion and a note of Dr. O'Donovan to his excellent edition of the *Four Masters*, to have been a name for St. Patrick's staff. A full account of the *Baculus Jesu*, or Staff of Jesus, is given in the introduction to *The Obits of Christ Church*, published by the Irish Archæological Society. This highly-venerated relic was burnt at the period of the Reformation. Counterfeits, or copies, may, however, have been fabricated, to be used in the manner mentioned by our apothecary. It is probable that the order of medical vagrants called *Bacagh*, who still stroll about, performing cures, and carrying a professional *baculus*, or staff, derive their appellation from having anciently carried such *Bachuls* as Smyth mentions.

The fostering of children noticed by Smyth was objectionable to the English on account of its constant result, viz., that the child imbibed strong Irish affections. On the subject of the extraordinary love between foster-brethren, and on the primary object of putting children out to be fostered, see notes by the Hon. A. Herbert to *Nennius*.

On the whole, this original "State Paper"—*Smyth's Information for Ireland*—bids fair to rank as one of the most curious pictures of those remarkable people, the bardic castes of Ireland. Indeed, we know no *pendant* to it, save Spenser's, and no parallel monograph by a native bard; and we believe, after having verified its details by testimonies of contemporary witnesses, that it does not err much on the side of caricature. The Irish correspondence in the State Paper Office certainly contains the fullest materials, and perhaps, the most trustworthy, for elucidating the singular social history of the Irish Gael. Flattery was the technical sin—*la spécialité*—of their poets, whose statements require, therefore, to be corrected by reference to less friendly sources, such as will satisfy modern archaeologists, who, unlike a *Filea*, do not calculate on gaining cows, or goblets, by adulating chieftains, but look simply to the truth as it then was, though assuredly with regret, whenever its revelations are little favourable to mankind of old, and the state of civilization at that period. As we propose entering fully, in future papers, on the History of the Irish Bards, we

[d] Shirley's *Farney*, p. 21

shall then have an opportunity of examining the information to be elicited from our mediæval minstrelsy, and of bringing its illustrations to bear on history. Little progress, unfortunately, has been made in collecting and publishing the remains of the many oral poetic appeals, which once roused so powerfully the passions of our ancient countrymen. On this subject, the editor of *The Ballad Poetry of Ireland* makes a just remark, which we will now repeat and extend. When all our stores are gathered and arranged—when we can read every Ossianic tale and poem—understand the native ideas as expressed in verse and prose, from the Danish times to the Jacobite struggles, and compare them with the later ballads sung in the farm-houses of the colonist yeomanry—then "shall we have insights into the heart of history which a tower-full of State Papers would not afford." At the same time, be it remembered, these State Papers afford assistance of inestimable value to the scrutinizing historian. The great pulsations of the Irish heart, the electric shocks of insurrection that frequently agitated the stormy atmosphere, and those tempests of human violence that often terminated in deluges of blood, are all recorded in the English registry of State, and that, too, by the hands of men whose wounds were rankling, and whose hearts were aching, while they wrote.

HERBERT F. HORE.

PLOUGHING BY THE HORSE'S TAIL.

Several queries and remarks having appeared in this *Journal* * respecting this once general but now, it is to be hoped, totally obsolete practice, I have been induced to put together the following notes, which may serve to throw some light on the subject.

In 1613, when a number of Irish noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, "shewed themselves before the king" with their grievances, the tenth grievance—under the heading of *Divers Disorders in the Kingdom of Ireland, committed by Martiall Men*—was as follows :—

"In the Northern Counties, the sheriffs, governors, marshals, & others do take, for permitting the inhabitants to use their short ploughs, after the rate of 10s. by the year for every plough, which is now come to be an exact revenue of extraordinary great value to these officers, to the great grief & impoverishment of the people, who have neither the skill nor means to use other ploughs; & until in those places the people were of more ability, this might be forborne, there being no law against that kind of ploughing.[a]

Besides being grievances, which were submitted to the king on this occasion, (and, indeed, several of them deserve the name,) the student of Irish history knows that they were also charges of misgovernment against Arthur, Lord Chichester, then Lord Deputy, amounting to something more

* Vol. iii., 254; vol. iv., 171, 275; vol. v., 164, 257, 348; vol. vi., 134, 135.

[a] *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica.*

than a mere expression of want of confidence in him as Vice-roy of Ireland. So Chichester, in his refutation, when replying to the above-quoted particular grievance, writes thus to the King:—

"There is nothing taken by these officers for permitting the people to use the short ploughs, as is alleged; but the truth is that, upon consideration had of the barbarous custom of drawing with their beasts by the rumps, whereby many hundreds are killed & maimed yearly, a proclamation was published about 7 years since, prohibiting that custom, which was a garran out of every plough so drawn, & if they drew their short ploughs with traces of ropes or withes, nothing was to be demanded. But this penalty was never levied according to the proclamation; but seeing the people had no care to alter that uncivil & disprofitable custom, thereunto animated, as it seems, by the justification of the complainants to keep them still barbarous, I gave orders to the sheriffs & other officers, about two years since, to take ten shillings out of every plough so drawn."[b]

Seven years later, in the spring of 1620, the Irish people appointed "Agents," as they were termed, to wait on the King, and acquaint him with their most pressing grievances. These agents were three in number—namely, the Lord of Devlin, Sir Christopher Plunkett, and Mr. Dongan, the Recorder of Dublin. The grievances were five, and merit enumeration. The first was the licensing system being applied to ale-houses; the second was the registry of marriages, christenings, and burials;[c] the third was a license being required for the manufacture and sale of aqua-vitæ; the fourth was the imposition of a fine for *ploughing by the horse's tail*; and the fifth was the registry of horses, a measure introduced to abate the then very prevalent crime of horse-stealing. These five judicious measures, evidently passed for the benefit of the country, being innovations, were most distasteful to the Irish people. Moreover, the fees and penalties severally connected with each, were farmed out, by letters patent, to hungry court favourites, who—regarding the acquisition of money more than the carrying out of the law—by compounding with some and overcharging others, managed to squeeze large annual incomes out of the impoverished Irish; while the measures themselves, as respects their restringent and useful purposes, remained mere dead letters on the records of the Council Chamber.

The King, in a letter of instructions to Sir Oliver St. John, then Lord Deputy, (dated June, 1620,) states that he had heard the "Agents" with his "accustomed patience," and then, proceeding to deal with the grievances *seriatim*, he says:—

"The barbarous custome commonly used in the Northerne parts was the cause of the grant of the penaltie for plowing with horses by the tailes, and our chiefest end thereby was the reformacion of that abuse, which we were then assured would with few yeares be brought to passe, & we did presently see a good effect thereof in some parts of that country. But now, being informed by

[b] Ibid.

[c] In the Yorkshire rebellion of 1536, one of the proclaimed grievances of the 40,000 insurgents, headed by Makarel, Abbott of Burlings, who assumed the more democratic name of Captain Cobler, was, that orders had been given for the registering of marriages, christenings, and burials.

the Agents that such as are employed under our Patentee, more respecting their owne proffit than our intention, have by way of contract drawne downe the 10^{s} on every plough to 2^{s} & 6^{d}, & soe by lessening the punnishment, opened a way for that rude & hatefull custome to spread it selfe: This we would have you to examine, & if it shall appear unto you that any such course hath been held, soe far differing from our Royal purpose, we shall upon notice thereof, call in the said graunt, & take some sharper course for the most speedy reduceing of the offenders into better forme."[d]

In March, 1621, the King appointed a number of Commissioners to enquire and report on the state of Ireland. One branch of their inquiries was directed to "*the general grievances suffered by patents, granted under the Crown or otherwise;*" and under this head, in the following June, they report as follows:—

"The grant of the penaltie of 10^{s}, to be imposed upon every man that should plough with his Horses by the Tayles, was to reforme a barbarous Custome, too frequently used in that kingdome, & your Ma$^{tie's}$ chiefest end thereby was to take away that abuse. The Agents complained of that as a grievance, but the reasons for it" [for it being a grievance] "we do not finde, more than that the assignees of the Patentee (as they alledged) had contracted with the offenders for a lesser Summe. And so the ill Custome was thereby rather continued than taken away. To this your Matie. was pleased to answere, that if the allegacion could be proved before your Deputie & Councell, you would call in the Patent, & reforme that lewd Custome by some sharper course. This, for ought we knowe, the Agents could not prove, & soe the Grant remaines as formerly it did. Which we cannot present as a general Grievance, being an Imposition laid onely upon some particular men for the Reformacion of an Abuse. At which, if your people doe repine, it is rather because the Penaltie doth goe to a private hand, than for any other cause. Your Matie. may therefore be pleased, by giving some reasonable consideracion to the Patentee for his Interest, to convert the profits ariseing out of that Grant to your own use, soe long as that barbarous Custome shall continue. Which, being collected by your own Officers, & for the encrease of your Revenue, will be less offensive to the people than now it is."[e]

The English Council Chamber appended the following *postill* or note to the preceding report:—

"The Patentee for this Imposition is to be compounded with for his Grant, & the King to take the profit of it into his own hands, who (by suing the Penalties) may either reforme that Barbarous Custome in few years, or much encrease his Revenue thereby."

It appears, however, that the patentee was not compounded with in the exact manner proposed. He paid £100 per year for his grant, and the first year he held it (1612), it produced a gross sum of £870. In all probability then he would be wealthy, and, according to the corrupt custom of the period, might hold his patent as long as he chose to pay well for it. And that an arrangement

[d] Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 4756. [e] Ibid.

of this kind was made, there can be little doubt; for the Irish Commissioners, in a subsequent report to the King, write as follows:—

"The barbarous use of Ploughing with Garrons tyed by the Tailes was restrained by the Councell here. Afterwards the same was permitted, & a Mulct imposed of 10s for every short Plough, which forfeiture in Anno 1612 was granted to Sir William Udale, whose Patent is still in force. And where it was directed that the Patentee should be compounded with, & the same taken in to your owne hands, we find noething done in that kinde; but, by a Letter from the Lords of the Councell in England, yor. Matie. requires the Deputie to give warrant to the Patentee to levy the Penalties as before: by which means this barbarous Custome of ploughing with Horses tyed by the Tailes is still continued in many places, for restraint whereof we find noe Law or Statute here in force.

"And the Countrie hath renewed their Complaints that this annual execucion of 10s for every short Plough hath, in many places, hurt and impoverished the Country; & by colour thereof, of some have been taken & extorted Money for their Harrowes (as we are informed); & of some of less abillitie, composicion made at less rates than the penaltie of 10s appointed (as was directly proved). So that the use of this Patent lends more to a private Gaine than to a Reformacion: In regard whereof, & the due Consideration of the now scarcity of Corne, & the Poverty of this People, we conceive it fitt, that short Ploughs be tollerated till the first of Aprill & no longer; that in the meanetime Men may furnish themselves with such Ploughs as are in use in England, or learn to use their short Ploughs, setting their Garrons three or four Horses affront, which is free from unseemliness, & fitter for some mountaines & boggish grounds than the long Plough, as is now begun & practized in the Barony of Clankie, in the Countie of Cavan, which we rather advise; because we have received credible Informacion that the Earle of Antrim, in the Countie of Antrim, where he hath diverse Baronies, hath bannished that barbarous Custome, by holding all his Tennants to the fashion of English plowing, & Sir George Hamilton hath already reformed his Tenants, & so others. And your Matie's ayme appeareing by all the Acts to tend to Reformacion of the Abuse, & to remove the barbarous Practise, Wee offer to your Matie's. consideracion, whether it were not fitt, that your Royal pleasure shall by a Proclamacion be published, inhibiting all your Subiects here, after the ffirst day of Aprill next, from ploughing with Garrons or Bullocks tied by the Tayles, upon paine of your high displeasure, & such as shall offend, to be bound to their good behaviours till they reforme."[f]

In January 1623, Lord Deputy Falkland petitioned the English Privy Council to permit Udale, the patentee, to continue to collect fines for ploughing by the tail, and on the 8th March of the same year, he acknowledges the receipt of letters permitting fines to be continued.[g]

On the 4th May, 1628, Falkland, writing from Dublin to Viscount Conway, says:—"We abound in wants and calamities of all sorts. Noe fortifficacions in state of defence: noe armes, noe munitions, noe armye; an infinite mortalitie of cattle, dearth of corne presently sustayned, famine and pestilence threatened to ensue." And further tells us that he had issued a proclamation commanding every one to fast one whole day in every week for two months![h] At this juncture, the Irish people again sent over Lord Killeen, Lord Poer, and others, as agents to petition relief from several oppressive laws. Charles received them graciously, ordered their expenses to be paid by the nation, and granted or relaxed the whole fifty-one articles of complaint of the Irish people, which

[f] Ibid. [g] Irish Papers—State Paper Office. [h] Ibid.

then and since have been technically termed "the fifty-one Graces." One of those articles of complaint was the fine for ploughing by the tail, and Charles in his private letters to the Lord Deputy thus alludes to it:—"For reforming of the barbarous abuse of the short ploughs, wee are pleased that the penalty now imposed thereon shall be presently taken away; and that hereafter an Act of Parliament shall pass for the restrayning of the said abuse upon such penalty as shall be thought fitt."[i]

In 1634 an act was passed by the Irish parliament prohibiting ploughing by the tail, and another custom of pulling the wool off live sheep, instead of shearing them; and subsequently, in the same session, another act was passed prohibiting the use of the "fiery flail," as it was termed, or in other words, burning the straw instead of threshing out the corn. The preamble to the first mentioned act recites as follows:—"Whereas in many places of this Kingdom, there hath been a long time used a barbarous custom of Plowing, Harrowing, Drawing, and Working with Horses, Mares, Geldings, Garrans, and Colts, by the Taile, wherebye (besides the cruelty used to the Beasts) the Breed of Horses is much impaired in this Kingdom, to the prejudice thereof, &c."[j]

Acts of Parliament, however, merely relating to industrial and social progress, have but little effect among people utterly destitute of the simplest elements of material or intellectual civilisation. In 1777, Young found the three barbarous and unprofitable practices—plucking the wool, ploughing by the tail, and burning the straw—the common practice in the county of Mayo. In Cavan, Young says:—"They very commonly plough and harrow with their horses drawing by the tail; it is done every season. Nothing can put them beside this, and they insist that, take a horse tired in traces, and put him to work by the tail, he will draw better; quite fresh again. Indignant reader, this is no jest of mine, but cruel, stubborn, barbarous truth! It is so all over Cavan."[k]

The practice was common as late as the earlier part of the present century. Wakefield, who travelled in Ireland in 1809, says:—"In Roscommon I heard of horses being yoked to the plough by the tail, but I had not an opportunity of seeing this curious practice. I was, however, assured by Dean French, that it is still common with two-year-old colts in the spring. And the Rev. Mr. Elliot, a clergyman of the Established Church in Ireland, who has a living at Pettigo, in the county of Fermanagh, said he had seen it in his parish in the spring of 1808."[l]

From the above, and numerous other notices of ploughing and harrowing by the tail, in Scotland as well as in Ireland, there can be no doubt that the practice existed in both countries from time immemorial down to, comparatively speaking, a very late period. Indeed, for myself, I have, when young, heard three persons at least, all of unimpeachable veracity, speak of having witnessed the barbarous practice.*

[i] S.P.O.
[j] *Collection of Acts and Statutes at large*. Dublin: 1684.
[k] *A Tour in Ireland*. London: 1780.
[l] *Account of Ireland*. London: 1812.

* The practice of drawing by the horse's tail still exists in some parts of Ireland, or did about a dozen years ago, when Otway published his tours in Connaught. In his *Sketches in Erris and Tyrawley*, (1845,) he gives the

With respect to the furrows on the tops of hills, noticed by Mr. O'KEEFE, in this *Journal*, [vol. v. p. 164,] I cannot for a moment suppose they had been caused by a plough; and I also must dissent from Mr. O'Keefe's assertion that the Irish race of horses was a fine one, although there may be many passages in Irish literature and the Brehon laws, descriptive of a good horse. The goodness of horses, like that of every thing else, is merely comparative. What might have been considered a very fine horse in Ireland, might have been esteemed a very inferior one in England. The English, in Elizabeth's time, did not condescend to give the name of horse to the Irish and Scottish specimens of the equine race, but contemptuously termed the former "hobbies," and the latter "prickers." And speaking of Scottish horses reminds me that, according to a passage in the works of Æneas Sylvius—Papal Nuncio to the courts of James I. and II. of Scotland, and subsequently Pope himself, under the title of Pius II.—the Scotch, in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, *had not acquired the art of riding*, and, having no wheeled vehicles, merely used their horses to carry small loads upon their backs. The English, from their contiguity to the Continent, had ampler means of improving their horses, by crossing with foreign breeds; and the necessity of having strong animals to carry men clothed in the heavy armour of the mediæval period, caused the English not only to increase and improve, but also to keep their horses to themselves as much as possible. As early as the reign of Athelstan, horses were forbidden to be exported to foreign countries. The statute-book is full of laws for improving the breed, and restraining the exportation of English horses. In the time of Henry VIII. an act was passed forbidding any man, whose position in society allowed his wife to wear a velvet bonnet, from riding a horse under fifteen hands in height. By another act, all "unlikely tits" (unpromising foals) were to be killed. And even as late as the reign of Elizabeth, a law was passed making it felony, without benefit of clergy, to take an English horse into Scotland, for the purpose of selling it. So it is highly probable that the steed

following letter from a resident in Erris, who had for many successive years witnessed the practice:—

"In justice to those who continue the practice of *harrowing by the tail*, I beg to observe that, as far as cruelty is concerned, I really can see no objection to it; for, if you gave the animals any pain, I do not think they would submit to it so quietly as they do: indeed there are people who assert it to be the most *humane* way of doing the work! In proof of which I need only relate the following anecdote. I was on my way to dine with a worthy old gentleman, who resided here on my first arrival (now seventeen years ago), when I first observed the practice, and, as was natural for a foreigner, could not find words sufficiently strong to express my feelings at the cruelty of the thing. 'I beg your pardon,' said my host, 'you are quite mistaken, for I assert, and I feel I will force you to agree with me in opinion, that it is the most humane way of working the beast; for this reason, that he harrows with less exertion.' 'Impossible!' replied I. 'I will prove it to a sailor with ease,' answered the gentleman:—'pray, when you anchor your ships why do you give them a long scope of cable when it blows hard?' 'Because,' said I, 'the hold the anchor has of the ground is in an increased ratio to the sine of the arc the cable makes with the ground.' 'I know nothing about your *sines*,' replied the old gentleman, laughing, 'though I believe I understand what you mean. Now, if you give a long scope of cable to increase the resistance, does it not stand to reason that a short scope must have a contrary effect? And therefore, must not harrowing by the tail be easier to the animal, inasmuch as the harrow-rope is shortened by the whole length of the horse?' My host chuckled with delight, and seemed to consider this argument a 'floorer;' and my 'But, my dear Sir, there is a vast difference between securing a cable to the "*bits*," and making it fast to the "*rudder-pintles*,"' neither diminished his glee, nor induced him to change his opinion. He continued the practice to the day of his death; and up to last year (18[illegible]) it *was*, and next year, I feel assured, it *will be* followed. It is hard to break a custom attended with no expense.' [EDIT.]

which M'Murrough rode, [*Journal*, vol. v. 164,] was an English horse, smuggled out of England, or sold to him by some of the pale's-men; and its high price (400 cows), instead of shewing the goodness of Irish horses, proves, on the contrary, the extreme rarity of good horses in Ireland. Again, Mr. O'Keeffe also errs when he values an Irish cow in McMurrough's time at three pounds. I have before me an account of the seizure, appraisement, and sale, by the sheriff of Fermanagh, at Enniskillen, in 1622, of sixteen Irish cows, which fetched only nine pounds: at the same time, however, English cows, that is of the breed introduced by the "planters" of Ulster, sold for three pounds each. This very high price, for the period, was caused merely by the rarity of the breed; for in 1642, when the English breed had increased and multiplied, I find in the treaty made between the Marquis of Ormond and the Commissioners authorised by the Council of Kilkenny, that a sum of £7000 was to be paid to Charles I. in good beeves, at the value of £30 per score. By good beeves none other could be meant than the English breed, and even then they were worth only thirty shillings each. Indeed, I question if the Irish, or "Kerry" cow, as it is now termed (for, having lost its general appellation, it has acquired a local one,) was ever at any period worth three pounds, except as a curiosity.

Another correspondent, under the name of GEORGE [*Journal*, vol. iv. 98] asks if the Irish at an early period shod their horses? I reply that they did not; for people without either roads or wheeled carriages have no necessity for horse-shoes. On the pampas and prairies of the new world, and on the steppes of Central Asia, horse-shoes are unknown, simply because not required. The ancient Greeks did not shoe their horses. Homer, indeed, describes the horses of the car of Neptune as being "brazen-footed;" but that is merely a poetical epithet, like "brazen-lunged," or "brazen-faced." Xenophon, in his treatise on the management of the horse, says nothing about a shoe, though he gives minute directions for taking care of the horse's foot, and for preserving and hardening the natural hoof. The Romans, however, used shoes, or rather a kind of leather socks, faced with iron, which were fastened round the legs of the horse with cords made of a species of *spartum* or broom, supposed to be the *stipa tenacissima* of modern botanists. These shoes were used only in rough places, and could be taken off or put on by any person in a very short time, and with very little trouble, as we learn from a curious passage in Suetonius' life of Vespasian.[m] At what period the modern shoe, that is nailed to the hoof, came into use is unknown; the earliest specimen of it is one found in the coffin of Childeric of France, who died in 481.[n] The Normans introduced the horse-shoe to England. The Scotch first began to shoe their horses about 1480.

According to the records of the Guild of Hammermen of Edinburgh, the essay, or trial of skill, which every candidate for the honours of membership had to perform, was, in 1584, to make "ane

[m] Mulionem in itinere quodam suspicatus a calciandas mulas desiliisse, ut adeunti litigatori spatium moramque præberet: interrogavit quanti calciasset: pactusque est lucri partem.

[n] Montfaucon. *Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise.*

horse shoe & sax nailes thereto."[9] From this we may reasonably draw two inferences. First, that horse-shoes were but seldom made in Scotland at that time; and secondly, that the Scotch horse was then much smaller than it is now, when eight nails are required to fasten the shoe. The practice of shoeing horses did not come into general use in Scotland till the last century.

I had thought my task was over, but the welcome arrival of the last number of this *Journal* induces me to say a few words more. I see that Dr. O'Donovan holds it impossible that even six horses could draw a plough, if yoked by their tails. I can see no difficulty in the matter; and I believe that the Irish generally used but one or, at most, two horses for ploughing with, and fastened by their tails alone. The question is not, as Dr. O'Donovan says, "what ploughing by the tail means;" this, I think, has been sufficiently shown in the present paper; but the question is, how was it managed? and to that I can only give a speculative answer, but one however, probably not far from the truth.

It will be observed that the penalty, though inflicted on ploughing by the tail, was imposed on the *short* or *Irish* plough, thereby implying that that mode of ploughing could not be effected by the *long* or *English* plough. Still, as we see from the Lord Deputy's letter, "if they drew their short ploughs with traces of ropes or withes, no penalty was demanded." What, then, was the short plough like? Who knows? I do not. But as there is a strong general resemblance among the agricultural implements of all primitive races, if we can find a plough used from the earliest antiquity down to the present day, by various peoples in different and widely separated parts of the world—a plough, too, that could be drawn without any other gear or harness than merely being fastened to the horse's tail, we may conclude that we have fallen on an implement differing little from the "short plough" of the Irish. Now such a plough, used by the ancient Egyptians some 3000 years ago, is depicted on the tombs of Beni Hassan and the catacombs of Thebes; and an exactly similar plough, used by the Romano-Britons, is represented by a bronze found at Piercefield, in Yorkshire, and now in the collection of Lord Londesborough.

The most familiar description I can verbally give of this ancient and general type of plough, is simply this. Let the reader imagine a large pick axe, with one arm of the pick (to which the share is attached) stuck in the ground; while the other or upper arm of the pick, bent slightly back, forms the handle of the plough. The handle of the pick elongated forms a draught-pole, which, passing between two oxen, was fastened to the yoke,—and thus no traces or harness whatever were required.

But besides the bronze statuette above alluded to, we have Virgil's description, in his first *Georgic*, of the Roman plough:—

"Continuo in silvis magna vi flexa domatur
In burim, et curvi formam accipit ulmus [illegible]

[illegible]

> Huic à stirpe pedes temo protentus in octo,
> Binæ aures, duplici aptantur dentalia dorso.
> Cæditur et tilia ante jugo levis, altaque fagus,
> Stivaque, quæ currus à tergo torqueat imos;
> Et suspensa focis explorat robora fumus."

Which may be briefly translated thus:—An elm tree, bent with great force, is formed into a *buris* (the lower arm of the imaginary pick-axe), and receives the shape of the crooked plough; to it are fitted the *temo* (draught-pole, or handle of pick-axe), stretched out eight feet, the two *aures* and the *dentalia* (share and mould-boards), with the double back and the *stiva* (handle of the plough, or upper arm of the pick), which bends the lower part of the plough behind.—There can be no doubt about the respective positions of those parts of the Roman plough. Varro tells us that when the *buris* was broken, the share was left in the field.[p] Valerius Maximus relates how, when Attilius Serranus laid down the rod, he was not ashamed to grasp the *stiva* or handle of the plough.[q] Varro also derives *stiva* from *stando*, and says that a small cross-bar, called the *manicula*, passed through it, which the ploughman held in his hand;[r] and the same author also deduces *temo* from *tenendo*, because it held the yoke.[s]

An implement so light as the ancient plough, required great care and exertion on the part of the ploughman, who was compelled, by leaning on it, to load it with his own weight, so as to prevent its being pulled out of the ground altogether; and thus gave origin to the Roman adage, recorded by Pliny:—*Arator nisi incurvus prævaricatur*. I have not the original by me, but quaint old Philemon Holland translates the passage thus:—"The ploughman, unless he bend and stoop forward with his body, must needs make sleight worke, and leave much undone as it ought to be; a fault which in Latin we terme Prevarication: and this term appropriate to Husbandrie, is borrowed from thence by Lawyers, and translated by them into their courts and halls of pleas: if it be then a reproachful crime for lawyers to abuse their clients by way of collusion, we ought to take heed how we deceive and mock the ground."

In this sense, the Irish decidedly "deceived and mocked" the ground. As late as the beginning of the present century, the people of Cork believed that much or deep ploughing *weakened* the land;[t] and even then they still carried out their old practice of sowing barley, oats, and wheat "under the plough," (as they termed it,) that was, scattering the seed on the untilled ground previous to ploughing; a practice of the highest antiquity, for, in the Egyptian paintings already referred to, we see the sower in advance scattering the seed, followed by the ploughman turning over the soil.

[p] "Terram boves proscindere nisi magnis viribus non possunt, et sæpe fracta bura reliquunt vomeres in arvo." *De Re Rustica.*

[q] "Nec fuit in rubori eburneo scipione deposito, agrestem stivam aratri repetere."

[r] "Supra id regula quæ stat, stiva a stando, et in ea transversa regula, manicula, quod manu bubulci tenetur, qui quasi est temo inter boves."—*De Lingua Latina.* Lib. iv.

[s] "Temo dictus a tenendo, is enim continet jugum."—*De Lingua Latina.* See also last note.

[t] *Townsend's General and Statistical Survey of the County of Cork.*

But, I may be asked, how were horses guided when ploughing by the tail?—and this is scarcely the least strange or least barbarous part of the matter. A man armed with a stick walked backwards before the horses, and directed their movements by *beating them on the head.* Young, when speaking of ploughing by the tail in Mayo, says:—"The fellow who leads the horses of a plough, walks backwards before them the whole day long, and *strikes them in the face.*"[u] Mr. Robertson, in *Observations and Facts on the Breed of Horses in Scotland*, published in the *Transactions of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries*, in 1792, coolly alludes (as if nothing uncommon) to "the awkward custom of yoking horses by the tail, and the driver of harrows walking backwards, with his face directly turned to the horses." In 1809, when ploughing by the tail was almost obsolete, the old custom of directing horses was still kept up. Wakefield saw, in Sligo, a harrow drawn by four horses abreast, directed by a man walking backwards, who kept continually beating them on their heads. It is clear, too, that when ploughing by the tail, the wretched animals were ranged abreast, their tails being fastened to a cross-bar placed at the end of the draught-pole.

W. PINKERTON.

NOTES ON THE HUMAN REMAINS DISCOVERED WITHIN THE ROUND TOWERS OF ULSTER, &c., &c.

BY JOHN GRATTAN.

(Continued from page 37.)

"'Tis time to observe occurrences, and let nothing remarkable escape us; the supinity of elder times hath left so much in silence, or time hath so martyred the records."—SIR THOMAS BROWNE, *on Urn-Burial.*

"The question of the fixity of all or any of the characters by which the races of mankind are at present distinguished from each other, requires for its solution a comparison of the present with the past. No valid proof of their permanence can be drawn from the limited experience of a few generations; and no evidence of change can be reasonably looked for, except under the long-continued agency of modifying causes."—CARPENTER, *on the Varieties of Mankind.*

DRUMBO.

The circumstances connected with the examination of the round tower of Drumbo having been fully detailed by Mr. Getty in a previous number of this *Journal* (vol. 3, p. 113), it is unnecessary to recapitulate them here. It will be sufficient to state that, at a depth of seven feet from the surface of the material which filled up the base of the tower, and embedded, "*fossil-like,*" in the natural soil upon which the tower stood, the greater portion of a human skeleton was

discovered, so situated as to leave no doubt upon the minds of the observers that it must have been deposited therein when the building was in course of erection. The skeleton lay in the direction of east and west, its several bones occupying their proper relative positions, and the head being towards the west. The bones of the right arm and of both the lower extremities were absent, whether in consequence of the body having been partially dismembered previous to its interment, or owing to subsequent decay, it was impossible accurately to determine; although appearances seemed, rather of the two, to favour the former supposition, as the condition of the remaining bones rendered it scarcely probable that so large an amount, and such important portions, of the skeleton could have been so completely destroyed by decomposition as to leave no trace of their having existed. The remainder of the skeleton, more or less decayed according to the original density of the several bones, bore testimony to its having belonged to a man of large and powerful frame, probably from 6 feet to 6 feet 2 inches in height: the head and trunk, measured *in situ*, being 2 feet 5 inches long, and the femur, or thigh-bone, 1 foot 10 inches; giving 4 feet 3 inches as the length from the crown of the head to the extremity of the knee; to which 1 foot 10 inches or 1 foot 11 inches may be added as the proportionate length of the leg and heel. The skull, considering the great length of time it must have been in the earth, was in a singular state of preservation. The nasal and turbinated bones, the interior and inferior walls of the orbits, and almost the entire of the zygomatic arches had been destroyed; not in consequence of decay, but apparently, from injury inflicted during its disinterment, the bones of the face having been separated from their attachments, and requiring to be artificially replaced and secured. The front teeth of the upper jaw had likewise been displaced by violence, their alveolar sockets broken away, and 4 of them lost—only 11 remaining, whilst but one appeared to have been removed during life. The lower jaw was partially decayed in some places, but otherwise uninjured, and contained its full complement of teeth. These were much worn down by attrition, particularly the molars or grinders, one of which was more than half destroyed by *caries*. For the remainder of the skull, (the *calvarium*, or brain-box proper,) it retained all the characteristics of recent bone, not having parted with any of its gelatinous constituents; and continued to exhibit, particularly in the frontal region, a more than usual hardness and density—the sutures being almost entirely consolidated by osseous union, but not so obliterated as to prevent their position being accurately determined. The state of the teeth and skull, conjointly, justify the conclusion that the individual to whom they belonged must have lived to an advanced age, probably 70, or thereabouts; whilst the condition of the skull itself countenances the inference that it had been tenanted to the last by an active and vigorous brain. The following are its principal measurements:—

	Inches.
Cubic capacity, - - - - - - -	96
Greatest length from 10 degrees, - - - -	7.5
,, breadth, - - - - - - -	6.2
Circumference, - - - - - - -	21.6

	Inches.
Frontal arch,	5.5
Parietal „	5.1
Occipital,	4.9
Sum of do., or Occipito-frontal,	15 5
Mastoidal,	16.0
Proportional length and breadth,	1.0 × .83

The remainder of the proportional measurements are given in Table 1, at the end of this article.

If the reader will now so far anticipate our inquiry as to turn to those Tables, he will there find what, most probably, will appear to be, at first sight, a confused and incomprehensible array of figures, but which, nevertheless, when classified, and reduced into proper tabular forms, yield the following demonstrable general results:—1stly, that amongst the 104 skulls therein recorded, whose length and breadth have been accurately measured, individual specimens are to be found, of every variety of length, from $6\frac{6}{10}$ inches, the lowest, up to $8\frac{2}{10}$ inches, the highest;—that, in like manner, their breadths vary from $5\frac{1}{10}$ inches to $6\frac{2}{10}$ inches; and that these varieties are not thrown confusedly together, in irregular quantities, but appear to group themselves in obedience to some controlling law or order of arrangement, which will more fully develop itself as we proceed;—and that, of 50 skulls whose cubic capacity has been ascertained, a similar divergence, subject to similar control, may be observed within the limits of 75 and 107 cubic inches:—2ndly, that, of 26 skulls, whose proportional measurements have been carefully determined, upon the plan propounded in the introductory portion of this article (page 33 *et seq.*) the culminating point of each, measuring from the auditory axis, is at 90 degrees from the naso-frontal suture, with three exceptions only [see the table of proportional measurements in the present number, and the previous one at page 38], which, as the difference in each exception amounts to .005 only, or the $\frac{1}{200}$th part of their respective long diameters, can scarcely be considered to affect the general rule;—that this radial line, which constitutes, therefore, the true index of the height of the head, ranges from 60 to 73 one-hundredths of the long diameter of the several skulls;—and consequently, that, as the other perpendiculars of the skull, within certain limits, approximate towards or depart from this standard, so will its respective portions be relatively high or low:—lastly, that from these numerical data are deducible various numerical averages, which can be employed as standards of comparison, by whose aid the hitherto vague and indefinite terms of *large* and *small*, *long* and *short*, *broad* and *narrow*, *high* and *low*, acquire, in relation to this particular subject of investigation, a more precise and intelligible meaning.

Tested by these criteria, the Drumbo skull proves to be one of very considerable size. In cubic capacity, it is only 4 inches below that of Spurzheim;[a] and, though it does not approach within

[a] At the instance of Edmund A. Grattan, Esq., her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Boston, U.S., the writer has been favoured with the following communication from Dr. J. Mason Warren, of that city, in consequence of which he has been enabled to fill up the blanks left in the column of measurements, under the head of Spurzheim, at page 32; and he avails himself of this opportunity to tender to each of these gentlemen his respectful

11 inches of our Celtic extreme, it exceeds the Celtic average by $6\frac{6}{10}$ inches. It is *absolutely* long, being only one-tenth of an inch shorter than Spurzheim's; whilst it exceeds the European average of Professor Van der Hoeven[b] by 0.46 inches, and the Celtic average by 0.24 inches, although the Celtic extreme exceeds it by 0.5 inches. Its breadth is very great, for, though inferior to Spurzheim's by 0.2 inches, it exceeds the European average by 0.73 inches, and the Celtic average by 0.75 inches; whilst its proportional length and breadth (1.0 x .825) place it upon the proportional scale .015 above the highest, .073 above the average, and .175 above the lowest of the Celtic group; and it exceeds the European average by .035. It is scarcely of average height, being only .65 of our scale,[c] which elevation it nearly attains at 40 degrees, and carries with it to 90 degrees, giving a full regular curve to the crown of the head, the transverse curves of which, however, are rather low and flat. Anteriorly to 40 degrees, the frontal bone is broader, but not more prominent than the average; and posteriorly to 90 degrees, the parietal and occipital bones keep throughout rather within the average.

The temporal bones, however, are remarkably prominent, the whole temporal zone projecting far beyond the juxta-temporal, so as to give to the entire head a well-marked globular form, which clearly and unmistakeably characterises it as *non-Celtic*—a circumstance of considerable ethnological interest, when considered in connexion with the date and character of the building in which it was

acknowledgments, for their very obliging and prompt compliance with his request:—

"Boston, February 18, 1858.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. E. A. Grattan has conveyed to me your request in regard to the measurements of the head of Dr. Spurzheim, which is in my possession. There has been some delay in doing this, owing to the skull being with my anatomical collection and not at my house, and more particularly from its having been, for the sake of preservation, very carefully mounted and enclosed in a glass-case, from which it has been necessary to displace it. The head had also been sawed through, not only horizontally but also vertically, making it a somewhat hazardous matter, for fear of injuring it, to fill it with shot. This, however, I have safely accomplished by first burying it in sand, tightly packing it down, and then pouring in the shot. Even in this way, I found much care necessary to prevent it from opening, and the shot escaping through the points of junction. I send a specimen of the shot used, also the weight of the shot in avoirdupois. The cubic capacity has also been measured by an instrument belonging to our Society of Natural History, invented by Dr. Shortliffe, who made the cast which you have.

It will afford me great pleasure to give you any farther information which lies in my power.

I am, very truly, &c.,

J. MASON WARREN."

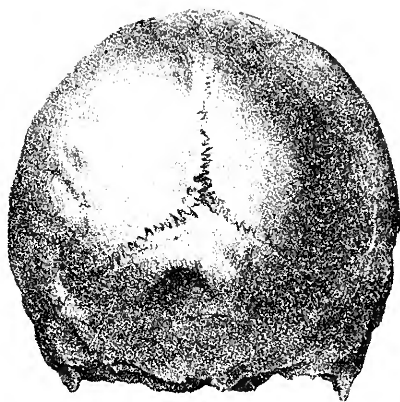
JOHN GRATTAN, ESQ.
Belfast.

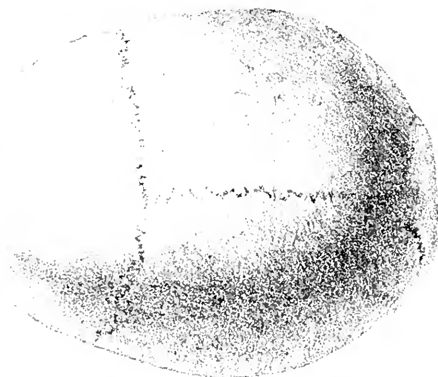
From the information thus obtained, the following blanks can now be filled up:—

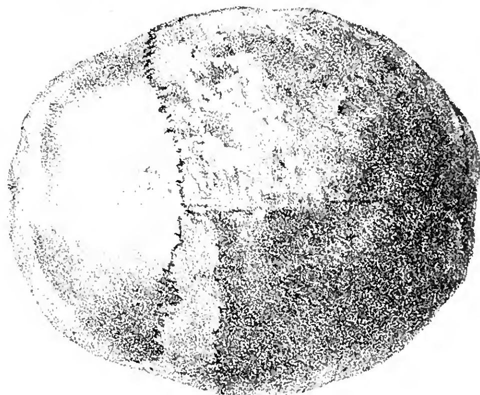
	Inches.
Cubic capacity,	100
Occipital arch,	4.7
Occipito-frontal do.,	15.5
Mastoidal do.,	16.0
Long diameter of Foramen Magnum,	1.6
Transverse do.,	1.3
Angular position of do.,	180°

[b] This is quoted from Dr. Carpenter's article upon the varieties of mankind—*Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology*, page 131. The dimensions there given, upon the authority of Professor Van der Hoeven, of Leyden, as the average of the European skull, are 7.04 inches by 5.47 inches, which would be equivalent to 1.0 X .79 upon our proportional scale. As the average has been deduced, however, from only 20 skulls, without any intimation of the races they represent, it cannot be accepted without considerable caution, inasmuch as, even in our Celtic group of 75 skulls, we find the length to range between the extremes of 6.9 and 8.0 inches. Twenty specimens, therefore, could not possibly furnish a correct criterion of the average of the complicated population of Europe, nor, indeed, contain even one representative of each.

[c] It may be well to remind the reader, that the proportional scale here referred to, is, as explained at page 33, the long diameter of each skull, divided into 100 equal parts—by employing which, the subordinate measurements of every skull are expressed in decimal subdivisions of its actual length.







WILSON

DRUMBO

discovered. For this reason, and as it exhibits strong typical peculiarities, three views of it, reduced to one-third lineal measurement, are given in plate 1.

In Dr. Petrie's work upon the Round Towers of Ireland, these structures are proved by him to be of Christian and ecclesiastical origin, and to have been erected at various periods between the fifth and thirteenth centuries; and at page 398, the architectural peculiarities of Drumbo are thus specially referred to, as indicating it to have been one of the very earliest erected :—"The oldest towers are obviously those constructed of spawled masonry and large hammered stones, and which present simple quadrangular and semi-circular arched door-ways, with sloping jambs, and little or no ornament, perfectly similar to the door-ways of the earliest churches. As an example of the quadrangular door-way, with inclined jambs and large lintel, I have given on the preceding page an illustration of the door-way of the Round Tower of Drumbo, in the county Down." If such be the case—and that it is so, appears to be now determined beyond all reasonable doubt—it follows that the cotemporaneous skeleton discovered within its walls, legitimately lays claim to an antiquity approaching to fourteen hundred years: a step backwards into the past which brings us to something near the time when England, deserted by her Roman masters, was struggling in vain to stem the torrent of Saxon invasion, pre-destined to exercise so large an influence upon her subsequent career; and to some six or seven hundred years before the first Anglo-Norman invaders, under Fitz-stephen, had set foot upon our Irish soil :—circumstances which invest with exceeding interest this time-consecrated relic of mortality, thus authentically identified with so remote a period of our country's history.

The question has indeed been raised by some, even amongst those who admit the validity of Dr. Petrie's evidence and the soundness of his archæological inferences, as to whether the human remains discovered within the Round Towers are coeval with them, or have been subsequently introduced; and Dr. Wilde, too high an authority in such matters to permit of his opinion being passed over in silence, thus discusses the subject in his *Beauties of the Boyne and Blackwater*, page 235 :—

"Mr. GETTY of Belfast has been very industrious in the collection of ancient Irish remains; and the Belfast Museum at present contains several specimens of old Irish heads. This leads to another locality in which bones of the ancient Irish people are said to have been found. We allude to the Round Towers, particularly to that lately excavated at Drumbo, in the county of Down, beneath which some bones were found. Interest was excited by this discovery, from the supposition that these human remains would offer some clue as to the origin and uses of these monuments, or assist in determining the probable era of their erection. The enchanted palace of the Irish round tower has, however, been opened for our inspection, and therefore all theorizing on the subject is at an end. We were presented at the time of the examination with a very beautiful cast of the skull found within the round tower of Drumbo; and the moment we saw it we felt convinced that, if it was of a cotemporaneous age with the structure beneath which it was found, then the Irish round tower was not the ancient building it is usually supposed to be; for, compared with the other Irish heads, that skull is of comparatively modern date. Now, nearly all the round towers are in connection with ancient burial-places, and that one in particular

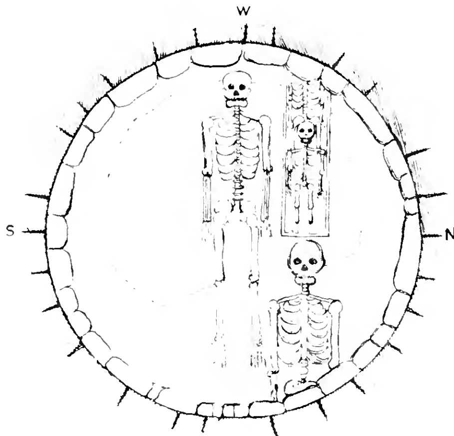
is so, and one need only dig around and without it to find many similar remains. We hear that the skeleton was found at full length imbedded in the clay, within the ancient structure. Now, if the round tower was erected as a monument over the person whose skeleton was found within, the body certainly would not have been buried thus in the simple earth, without a vault or stone chamber, such as the enlightened architects who built the tower would be thoroughly competent to construct. Moreover, we do not believe that a skull thus placed loosely in the earth, without any surrounding chamber, would have remained thus perfect for the length of time which even the most modernizing antiquaries assign as the date of the round tower.

If the writer might presume to express, with considerable diffidence, an opinion upon a disquisition which his limited attainments only enable him partially to appreciate, he would entirely agree with Dr. Wilde as to the conclusiveness of Dr. Petrie's researches, and the complete removal, by the publication of his work upon the "Round Towers of Ireland," of all room for further speculation upon their origin and uses. To a great extent, likewise, he must coincide with Dr. Wilde himself as to the archæological inference to be drawn from the fact of such a skull as the one discovered within the round tower of Drumbo being proved to be cotemporaneous with the building in which it was found. Here, however, he must stop. So far from skulls similar in size and form being common in all ancient burial-places, it has rarely fallen to his lot to meet with one of similar character in any of the numerous examinations he has made in search of cranial remains; nor can he admit that the unusually sound condition of the bones is, by any means, to be considered as affording unquestionable evidence of the skull being so recent as Dr. Wilde would infer. The ability of bone to resist the disintegrating action of long continued exposure to moisture is largely influenced by its density, and by the amount of earthy constituents which enter into its composition. Now these differ materially, not only in the different bones of the body, but in the same bones at different periods of life; and are subject to be modified by disease, or by the preternatural conditions of the adjoining tissues. Thus the earthy components of the vertebræ do not exceed 53.7 parts in 100, whilst in the occipital bone they amount to 68.1; there being, at the same time, during life, a gradual diminution in the proportion of animal matter, and a corresponding increase in the proportion of the earthy components. Dr. Carpenter, however, whom we quote as our authority for these facts, [*Human Physiology, p.* 261,] does not consider this to be nearly so great as is usually supposed, and attributes the greater solidity of the bones of old persons chiefly to the circumstance, that their cavities are progressively contracted by the addition of new bony matter. Be that as it may, the increased density of the bones in old persons is an admitted fact;—and the more perfectly their interstitial cavities become consolidated, by bony deposit or otherwise, the less permeable do they become to moisture, and the more tenaciously do they protect and retain the animal matter which is essential to their integrity. Furthermore, the bones of the cranium, in which we are more especially interested, are materially affected by the condition of the brain and its membranes, independent of the effects of age. In long continued cerebral disease, accompanied with increased vascularity, the bones of the cranium frequently become as dense and solid as ivory; to

such an extent, that Spurzheim was generally able to determine whether the head which he was engaged in opening came from the Bicêtre and the Salpétrière, or some other hospital, by the force which it opposed to the saw or hammer! [*Gall, vol.* 3, *p.* 56.] An analogous condition has been observed in individuals of intensely energetic temperament; thus, the skull of Lord Byron is reported to have been "excessively hard, without the slightest sign of suture, like that of an octogenarian; and might almost have been said to consist of a single bone, without diploe." [*Phren. Jour. vol.* 1, *p.* 609.] Hence not only does the temperament of the individual, and the condition of the brain, largely determine the osseous character of the skull, but its physical characteristics reflexly become, in turn, no unimportant index to the original quality of the brain which it contained, as we have ventured to interpret them in this very instance. Indeed, to this cause alone can be attributed the unequal capability of resisting external influences exhibited by different skulls when placed under precisely similar circumstances. In the sepulchral mound at Mount Wilson, for example, which originally could not have contained less than forty skeletons, and which has furnished eight skulls to our collection, the greatest diversity of appearance was manifest among the crania, some being scarcely more decayed than that of Drumbo, whilst others were reduced to such a crumbling pulp as to render it impossible to remove them, even in moderate sized fragments; yet none of them had ever had any other covering than the soil in which they were imbedded: and they must have been so exposed for even a greater period of time than we feel disposed to assign to that of Drumbo, which, for many ages of its long entombment, had been protected by the sheltering walls of its lofty sepulchre. Indeed, in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy are two primeval skulls, of whose extreme antiquity no doubt whatever exists, and yet they are quite as perfect as that of Drumbo;—certainly they were inclosed in a chamber, not imbedded in the earth; but the continuous damp of thousands of years reduces even skulls thus protected to fragile ruins, unless its effects be counteracted by other influences, among which a more than ordinary density of the bone is one;—a phenomenon equally observable in these skulls also.* Further, with the utmost deference for Dr. Wilde's admitted judgment and experience, we confess we cannot believe that the individuals who were present at the discovery of the skeleton, and personally cognisant of all the circumstances connected with the examination,—gentlemen, moreover, accustomed by scientific pursuits and cultivated habits of mind, to close and exact observation,—were not in a better position to observe, and more likely to arrive at correct conclusions on a simple matter of fact, than any one, no matter who, compelled, of necessity, to receive his information at second hand. But if any shadow of doubt could have remained as to the Round Towers and the deposits beneath their *lime floors* being cotemporaneous, the subsequent examination of the Round

* In the notices in the Athenæum [Nos. 1320 and 1344] of the tombs excavated at Cumæ in 1853, only two skulls are mentioned; and, of these, one is described as having been reduced to decayed fragments, the other as being uninjured, and exhibiting an unusual bony excresence upon the forehead.

Tower of St. Canice, in Kilkenny, must have completely dispelled it; a condensed notice of which, from Graves & Prim's *History and Antiquities of St. Canice,* we here subjoin. The Tower, as therein stated, is 100 feet high, its circumference at base above plinth, 46 feet, 6 inches; diameter at base, 15 feet, 6 inches; at top story, 11 feet, 2 inches; battering off, consequently, 2 feet, 2 inches. In 1846, on removing the earth from the base, externally, a plinth 6 inches wide, and but 2 feet deep, formed the only foundation; and this plinth "rested, not on the grave, but *on* a *black* and *yielding mould,* from which protruded human bones in an East and West direction, a fact in the architectural history of the Tower, afterwards fully confirmed by a careful examination of its interior base." In July, 1847, the Dean of Ossory excavated the interior. The first stratum, 4 feet, 6 inches deep, consisted of the Guano of birds, and was so rich that it sold for £5; mixed with it were some human bones, and various bones of other animals.—"The human bones, amongst which was a skull of singularly idiotic conformation, occurred near the surface, and had evidently been thrown into the tower from time to time."—The next stratum was about 18 inches thick, its upper portion consisting of calcined clay, containing fragments of burned human and other bones; its lower, of rich loam, mixed with some calcined clay, small fragments of burned and unburned bones, and charcoal. Next came a stratum of rich black earth, 1 foot 7 inches thick, in which were fragments of bone, both human and belonging to the lower animals, the former predominating; spawls of dolomite, partially used in the construction of the tower; tusks of a large boar, and two pieces of copper; some of the bones and stones exhibiting the marks of fire. Underneath these lay—we now quote the words of the writers—"a wide layer of stones, resembling a pavement, extending over a considerable portion of the area of the tower; it ranged with the internal set-off, on a level with the external base course. About two feet in breadth of this pavement remained at the East side, and a strip of it extended all round the wall. The dotted lines in the annexed diagram represent the boundary of the void or unpaved portion of the area of the tower. The pavement was covered by a coating of mortar, one inch in thickness. This pavement having been removed, the excavation was cautiously continued, and on the West side, close to the foundation, the skull of an adult male was exposed, and this skull was found to form a portion of a perfect human skeleton which had been buried in the usual Christian position, with the feet to the East; no trace of coffin or case, of wood or stone, presenting itself. Having cleared a trench about 3 feet wide, and 1 foot, 9 inches deep, across the centre of the area,



and collected all the bones of this skeleton, the writer proceeded to move carefully, with his own hands, the clay towards the North, when the crumbling remains of timber, apparently oak, presented themselves, and the ribs and vertebræ of a child were found. The upper portion of this skeleton, which lay parallel to the adult one just described, was covered by the western foundation of the tower, and over the ileum lay the skull of another child's skeleton, the extremities of which also extended towards the East; but the most extraordinary circumstance connected with these children's skeletons, and one that, were we not only an eye-witness, but also the actual excavators ourselves, would almost seem incredible, was the evident occurrence of a timber coffin, about an inch in thickness above, below, and, as far as followed, around the skeletons. The remains of the upper and lower planks were brought at some points nearly into contact, by the superincumbent pressure, but where the larger bones intervened, they were more widely separated. The traces of timber extended under the foundation of the tower, along with the upper portion of the first described child's skeleton, and that in such a way that it could not have been placed there after the tower was built. The timber, although quite pulpy from decay, exhibited the grain of oak: no nails were found." A second skull was found near the end of the child's coffin; the lower extremities, from the hips down, being concealed beneath the foundation of the tower. On sinking still deeper the bones of another adult skeleton presented themselves; but a regard for the safety of the tower precluded further examination, the earth having been already removed to a considerable distance below its foundation. The summit of the tower, when plumbed, was found to overhang its base by 2 inches; and as the wall was originally built to a batter of 26 inches, this would indicate a considerable subsidence at the point of least resistance, which was exactly over the lower extremities of one of the skeletons. [See diagram.]

It is thus abundantly manifest, from this and the previous investigations of Mr. Getty in other towers, that the builders of the Round Towers, by whatever motives influenced, were occasionally accustomed either to deposit within their walls, or to suffer to remain undisturbed beneath their foundations, the remains of their cotemporary fellow beings; and consequently we have every reasonable ground for believing that the skeleton discovered within the Round Tower of Drumbo, cannot certainly be less ancient than the tower itself.

CLONES.

From Mr. Getty's comprehensive notice of this place, it appears that there is historical evidence of its having been the site of an ecclesiastical establishment in the early part of the sixth century; as, according to the *Four Masters*, and the *Annals of Ulster*, quoted by him, A.D. 548, St. Tighernach, who founded its monastery, died, or, as it is figuratively expressed, "rested" there in that

year. Of course, it must have been built some time prior to that date; and, in all probability, the Round Tower was of still earlier origin, since it exhibits the same architectural peculiarities observable at Drumbo—the spawled masonry, with large hammered stones, and the rectangular doorway, covered with a flat lintel, consisting of a single large stone. We cannot err much, therefore, in assigning as its date either the close of the fifth, or the very commencement of the sixth century; in which case the human remains found therein may be presumed to have been nearly cotemporaneous with the skeleton discovered at Drumbo. That they were as ancient as the tower itself is manifest from the several facts observed during their disinterment; and, as the writer was not only present at all the preliminary operations, but, as soon as the lime floor was reached, excavated with his own hands whatever bones were procured, he can with the greater confidence vouch for the accuracy with which the proceedings have been recorded. There is just one little discrepancy between Mr. Getty's notice and the notes made at the time by the present writer, as regards the lime floor, which did not, in itself, offer any difficulty to the operators. The writer's notes state: —"At this depth an internal offset, upon the same level as the first external one, was reached. The horizontal surface of this offset was covered with a thin coating of lime mortar, which extended completely across the tower, making another distinct and well-defined floor. This having been carefully uncovered by the throwing out of the floor which overlay it, an operation attended with considerable delay and difficulty, in consequence of the tenacity of the material, &c." So that the lime floor, in this instance, did not, in any respect, differ from those observed in the other towers, although the contrary might possibly be inferred from the difficulty stated by Mr. Getty to have been experienced in removing it, which he has evidently confounded with the difficulty actually encountered in removing the floor above it.

The entire number of skulls discovered was six, circumstanced as is fully described at pages 68 and 69 of this *Journal*, vol. iv. and occupying the positions there laid down upon the diagram. It was thus quite apparent that the body of one adult had been deposited entire shortly after death, but that all the other bones discovered had been removed from some prior place of interment, thrown in without any method or regularity, and covered up along with the body. The whole of the crania were in so frail and softened a condition that it was impossible to remove them except in almost hopeless fragments. The greater number of these were preserved, but, unfortunately, not all; no idea being entertained at the time that they could have been so satisfactorily put together as was subsequently done. By carefully saturating them with thin glue, cementing them together, and strengthening them with plaster of Paris, four of them have been tolerably well restored, and now admit of being measured with considerable accuracy. The group includes, so far as can be predicated from an inspection of the skulls alone, one female and three male crania. There is, besides, the posterior portion of the skull of a child, not exceeding 5 or 6 years of age, because, though the first permanent molars are considerably advanced, the permanent incisors still remain

entirely enclosed in the jaw. The sixth skull was so irreparably injured that no portion of it remains, except a fragment of the lower jaw. The measurements of the four more perfect skulls are given at large in Table No. 1, and need not therefore be repeated here.

Before proceeding further, however, it is only proper to observe that casts, and skulls restored in the manner described, cannot furnish, in some particulars, more than approximate measurements; and that it is of the first importance to derive our data, to the utmost possible extent, from perfect skulls alone. In such a case as the present, this, of course, is manifestly impossible; and yet such cases are precisely those in which it is most desirable to have correct measurements, in order that we may be enabled satisfactorily to compare the present with the past. Where the continuity of the cranial bones is tolerably well preserved, and the temporal bones remain, or even when one of them remains correctly attached to the adjoining bones, the outline of the skull can be determined with little difficulty, though there may be occasional defects or gaps in its surface; and, in this way, the external measurements of these four skulls are, with very trifling exceptions, quite reliable. Their cubic capacity, however, can only be considered as having been determined in a roughly approximative manner: as, in consequence of it having been found necessary for their preservation to consolidate their walls internally with plaster of Paris, the measuring of them upon Morton's plan, by filling them with shot, was clearly impossible. The method employed, therefore, for arriving at some probable estimate of their original capacity was this:—a square water-tight box, open at top, and having an overflow pipe about an inch below its surface, was filled with water until it flowed over through the pipe. When it had ceased to flow, and had arrived at a state of complete repose, skulls, whose sound condition admitted of their internal capacity being accurately ascertained by filling them with water and measuring it in Morton's cylinder by means of a float and graduated stem, were successively depressed in the water in the box, until it reached the superciliary ridge in front and the posterior margin of the Foramen Magnum behind; the ear openings, and any openings which would have permitted the water to penetrate the skull, being closed with a stiff paste made of linseed meal and water. The water thus displaced, when measured, gave the external volume of each skull, and the difference between that and its internal capacity the volume of its walls; which, on an average of four skulls, amounted to about one-fifth of the external volume. In this manner it has been attempted to form a probable conjecture as to the cubic capacity of five Round-Tower skulls and of four casts, which furnished no other means of determining it. The capacity of all the other skulls has been ascertained by actual admeasurement of their interiors with shot, as recommended by Morton. This method of determining external volume is a slight modification of one devised by the late Mr. Stratton, of Aberdeen. [*Contributions to the Mathematics of Phrenology*, page 5.]

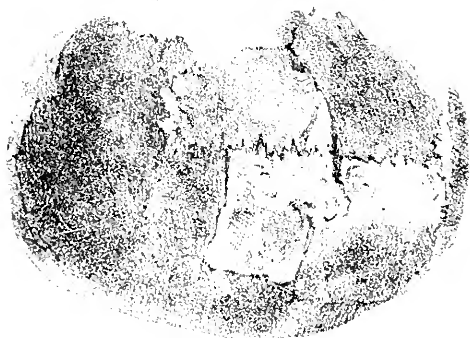
If we now turn to Table No. 1, we cannot fail to be struck with the very marked contrast existing, in several particulars, between the skulls from Clones and the skull from Drumbo. In

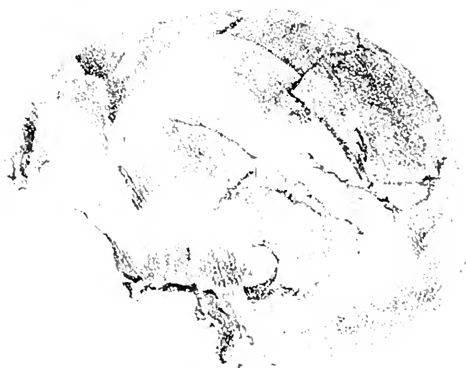
absolute size, one of them appears to be fully as large as the latter, the other three considerably smaller. In absolute length, there is very little difference. One is precisely the same; two a mere shade (the $\frac{1}{200}$th of their length) shorter; and the other as much larger. In breadth, however, their difference is very great, the highest being $\frac{5}{10}$ths of an inch, the lowest $\frac{7}{10}$ths, and the average of the four $\frac{6}{10}$ths, under that of Drumbo. In the proportional measurements of their profile sections, some well-marked distinctions are also observable. Nos. 1, 2, and 4, at 90 degrees, are either identical in height with the Drumbo skull, or the merest shade above or below it; but with this difference, that whereas the Drumbo skull attains its full elevation at 40 degrees, and retains it till it passes 90 degrees, in the others there is a more or less progressive ascent from zero to 90 degrees, the radii anterior thereto being generally somewhat shorter, and those posterior to it somewhat longer than the same radii in the Drumbo skull. For example:—

LENGTH OF RADII AT ANGULAR INTERVALS OF TEN DEGREES.

Degrees	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180
Drumbo	.51	.56	.59	.63	.65	.65	.65	.65	.65	.65	.64	.61	.58	.56	.53	.49	44	.33	.25
Clones, No. 4	.48	.52	.55	.59	.60	.61	.61	.62	.64	.66	.66	.63	.61	.59	.57	.53	.48	.34	.27
,, ,, 3	.48	.54	-54	.60	.60	.60	.60	.60	.60	.60	.60	.60	.58	.56	.54	.52	.47	.34	.26

But this, it will be perceived, does not hold good with regard to the fourth Clones skull (No. 3), which is singularly low, being only .60 at 90 degrees, an elevation which it attains at 30 degrees, and retains uninterruptedly until it reaches 110 degrees; thus differing largely, in this particular feature, not only from the Drumbo skull, but also from its own congeners. It is in their transverse diameters, however, that the greatest difference is perceptible; for, whereas in the Drumbo skull the whole temporal zone is excessively bulging and protuberant, giving to the entire head, as already remarked, a strikingly globular character, the same region in the Clones skulls projects but little beyond the juxta-temporal, imparting to the sides of the head a somewhat flattened contour:—the transverse coronal arches, except in No. 3, where they are particularly low and flat, rising abruptly with an irregular keel-shaped outline—features recognisable at a glance in the accompanying plates. Judging from what remains of their several lower jaws, No. 1 would appear to have been a man of middle age; No. 2, a young man of 18 or 20; No. 3, a female from 25 to 30; No. 4, from the very worn condition of the teeth—which, curiously enough, are only 14 in number, and exhibit no traces of wisdom-teeth, either in progress of being developed or as having been removed—a man somewhat beyond the prime of life; No. 6, whose skull was unfortunately destroyed, still more aged; and finally, as already observed, No. 5, a child of five or six: consti-





tuting, in all probability, a family group, several members of which, for some, as yet unexplained reason, had been removed from their previous place of sepulture, to be deposited along with a recently deceased relative in this, their newer sepulchre.

ARMOY.

Next in order of the Round-Tower crania is the one discovered at Armoy, near Ballycastle, in the northern extremity of the county of Antrim [*Journal*, page 175, vol. iv]. It is worthy of remark that, in this case, no bones of the skeleton, except the three first cervical vertebræ, had been interred along with the skull, and these were found occupying their proper relative positions; proving indubitably that it must have been deposited there *as a head*, with its integuments attached, the decapitated trunk having been otherwise disposed of.

The references on this subject [vol. iii., p. 360, and vol. iv. p. 175] show that it was no unusual practice for the early Irish (a practice by no means confined to them, but common alike to all rude nations) to decapitate their slaughtered enemies from a spirit of revenge, and, when unsuccessful, their own fallen chieftains, to prevent their bodies being subjected to a like indignity at the hands of their opponents; hence, it is more than probable that this Armoy skull represents some person of repute and station, who had fallen in battle, and whose head, rescued from outrage by friendly hands, was deposited within the tower, just then in course of erection.

It is a skull of moderate size, having a cubic capacity of 82 inches or thereabouts, being 7 inches below the Celtic average. Its length and breadth are very nearly the Celtic average, being 7.25 x 5.5, equal to 1.0 x. 77 of the proportional scale. Its profile section is superior to that of Clones, No. 4, attaining its full elevation at 30 degrees, and maintaining it to 90 degrees. Though *absolutely* lower than the Drumbo skull at 90 degrees by 0.15 inch, it *absolutely* exceeds it at 10 degrees and 20 degrees by the same amount, and from 110 to 150 degrees falls short by amounts varying from 0.2 to 0.4 inches. Their proportional measurements are as follow:—

LENGTH OF RADII AT ANGULAR INTERVALS OF TEN DEGREES.

Degrees	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180
Drumbo	.51	.56	.59	.63	.65	.65	.65	.65	.65	.65	.64	.61	.58	.56	.53	.49	.41	.33	.25
Armoy	.54	.60	.64	.66	.66	.66	.66	.65	.66	.66	.65	.61	.58	.55	.50	.45	.34	.22	.19

Thus, though 12 or 14 inches inferior in cubic capacity to the Drumbo skull, its proportional profile measurements anterior to 90 degrees exceed it throughout, but especially from 0 to 30 degrees, giving to it a less perpendicular, but much more prominent forehead; from 40 to 100 degrees they

preserve the same relative difference; are exactly the same at 110 and 120 degrees; thence to 180 degrees they diverge again, the difference at 160 degrees amounting to .10, indicating a much less prominent occiput. It is in their transverse diameters, however, that the greatest contrast is exhibited, their temporal zones exhibiting an immense dissimilarity, not observable at all in the juxta-temporal. Thus, their respective proportional diameters are :—

DIAMETER OF		TEMPORAL ZONE.						JUXTA-TEMPORAL ZONE.					
At	Degrees	10	30	60	90	120	150	10	30	60	90	120	150
Drumbo ..	.. ..	.65	.72	.80	.83	.80	.72	50	.62	.72	.73	.68	.52
Armoy ..	.. ..	?	.70	.74	.76	.72	.69	?	.63	.70	.72	.61	.51

The perpendicular parietal, and the rapidly narrowing occipital bones of the latter, contrasting remarkably with their full and spherical contour in the former. The bones of the cranium are in too decomposed a condition to furnish any information as to the probable age of the individual; but the appearance of the teeth still remaining, would seem to indicate that he could not have been young. To what particular era the building of the tower is to be referred, is also a matter of some doubt. Upon the authority of Dr. Reeves, it appears that the church was founded A.D. 474, and we might naturally conclude the tower to have had as early an origin; but the semi-circular head of its door-way, cut out of a single stone, while it places it within Dr. Petrie's definition of the oldest towers, seems, nevertheless, to associate it closely, in architectural peculiarities, with the towers of Kilmacduagh and Glendalough, of whose door-ways he gives drawings at page 401 of his work, and which he pronounces to be "undoubtedly" erections of the early part of the seventh century. It may, without any risk of error, therefore, be considered as not being of later date than the commencement of the seventh century—a date which, at the lowest calculation, gives to the tower and its contents an antiquity exceeding 1200 years.

DRUMLANE.

The last tolerably perfect cranium obtained by Mr. Getty from the interior of any of the Ulster Round Towers, was that discovered at Drumlane, in the county Cavan [see page 110, vol. v]. Unfortunately, the interior of the tower had been previously disturbed in search of treasure; and, though what remains of the skull procured there, is remarkably sound and dense, being manifestly

that of a very old person,[g] both the temporal bones are wanting; rendering it impossible, in consequence, to determine accurately its true height and breadth. Its absolute length is very great, being 8.2 inches, or $\frac{7}{10}$ths longer than the Drumbo skull; $\frac{9}{10}$ths above the Celtic average; $\frac{2}{10}$ths above the one extreme of the Celtic range; and 1 inch $\frac{6}{10}$ths above the other. Its breadth above the temporal region is only 5.5 inches, but it is more than probable that, upon the temporal bone itself, it would have somewhat exceeded that diameter; so that its proportional measurements 1.0 x .675 must, to some extent, undervalue its original breadth. In other respects, its general features so closely ally it with the Celtic group, that its extreme length is most probably to be attributed to a mere exceptional deviation from the typical standard, such as is occasionally to be met with in every department of organic nature; instead of indicating, as might hastily be inferred, any true typical modification.

DEVENISH AND DOWNPATRICK.

Besides the skulls obtained from the interior of several of the Round Towers of Ulster, of which we have just treated, two others were procured in ecclesiastical structures of a different character, but of similar antiquity;—one within the stone-roofed chapel at Devenish, the other within the ancient portion of the present cathedral of Downpatrick. The circumstances connected with the examination of the ruins on the Island of Devenish have already been detailed by Mr. Getty [vol. iv., page 179]. Those relating to the discovery of the skeleton at Downpatrick may be briefly narrated here. The fruitless search after the remains of a Round Tower at Downpatrick in Sept., 1842 [vol. iv., page 129], had the good effect of drawing public attention to such inquiries; and, in consequence, in February, 1845, the Right Rev. Dr. Denvir, R.C. Bishop of Down and Connor, (to whom the writer is indebted for much valuable assistance on several other occasions also,) informed him that a very ancient grave had just been discovered in the cathedral of Downpatrick. On proceeding to the spot, it was ascertained that, in lowering the floor to re-flag it, and to allow of a large bed of broken stones being placed under the flags as a safeguard against damp, a considerable quantity of material had to be carted away. When the excavation had been carried to a few inches below the level of the foundation of the walls, the pick-axe struck upon some hard substance, which, upon examination, proved to be the covering of a grave, containing a human skeleton, much of it in good preservation. The grave was about 6 feet long and 12 inches deep, and had been excavated entirely out of the original or undisturbed soil, upon which the foundation of the

[g] This is inferred from the great thickness of portions of the frontal bone, which in some places measured six-tenths of an inch, and in others not more than three—the consequence of a gradual deposition of bony matter internally, to supply the place of the shrinking and receding of the brain, which takes place in extreme old age.—See *Gall*, vol. iii., page 30.

cathedral rested; its sides and ends being lined with coarse flag-stones, from 2 to 3 inches thick, placed on edge. It lay due east and west in the southern aisle, at about 5 feet from the western pillar; and within it were two blocks of chiselled red sandstone, one at either end, upon the western one of which the skull rested. The whole had been covered over with flat stones, similar to those with which the grave was lined, their upper surface being about 8 or 9 inches below the level of the foundation of the building, which, at this point, did not appear to be more than a foot beneath the surface of the present floor.[h] The abbey, founded by St. Patrick, who was buried there in 493, is considered to have been the first cathedral of the see of Down. It appears to have been a most unfortunate structure, having been six times plundered by the Danes between the years 940 and 1111. It was rebuilt by Malachy O'Morgair, primate of Ireland, in 1135; in 1315 it was burned by Edward Bruce; it was again repaired in 1412; and, in 1538, burnt once more by Lord Leonard de Grey: in 1663, it was in so ruinous a condition that Charles II., in that year, erected the church of Lisburn into a cathedral and bishop's see, for the diocese of Down and Connor. From that date until 1790, it remained in ruins, its interior having been used as a place of interment for many generations. In the year last named, its restoration was recommenced. It was opened for divine worship in 1817, and its tower was completed in 1829. During the progress of its restoration, not only were the materials accumulated within it in the course of ages, from human interments and other causes, completely carried away, but, externally, a portion of the old burial ground was also removed; the hill, in order to construct a more convenient approach, having been cut down considerably below the level of the original graves, as was quite apparent from a section observable at one place, in which a stratum of undisturbed earth, 3 feet deep, underlay another stratum of equal depth, composed altogether of dark mould and human bones, covered at top with a rich coating of green sward. Now, as it is very unlikely that, in making so sweeping a change, anything above the original floor would have been allowed to remain, and as no trace of any interment upon that level was met with, either in the northern aisle or the remainder of the southern one, there can be no doubt that the grave must date back as far as the original erection of the building, which, as it was of sufficient importance to tempt the cupidity of the Danes in 940, must have been, at least, some considerable time anterior to that date: but how long, for want of further evidence, can only be matter of conjecture; since, if even any vestige of the original structure should chance to remain, the many vicissitudes to which it was subjected, can have left no portion of it in a condition sufficiently perfect for determining its architectural era. All that can safely be pronounced, therefore, respecting the skull thus discovered within its walls, is that it must certainly be above 900 years old, and may possibly be two or three hundred years

[h] At the time of our visit, the stones which lined the grave had been removed, and the grave itself filled up; but the Rev. Dr. Macauley, P.P., had obligingly preserved the skull, and caused the grave to be cleared out for our inspection. The particulars detailed were furnished by the contractor for the work.

more. The skull from "St. Molaisi's house," Devenish, judging from the facts adduced by Mr. Getty, must be older still; both, therefore, though probably inferior in age to some of those procured within the Round Towers, are not deficient in interest, dating, as they do, from a period long prior to the English invasion, and even to the first predatory incursion of the Danes, of which we have historical evidence.

The Devenish skull is scarcely of average dimensions, its cubic capacity being only 86 inches, its length 7, and its breadth 5.85 inches. Its proportional length and breadth are 1.0 by .835. It has not suffered any injury from its long interment, and the condition of the bones would indicate it to have belonged to an individual possessed of a remarkably active brain, of a character more refined than vigorous. They are thin, dense, of very close texture, and in places translucent. The sutures, including even the frontal one, which is usually obliterated in early life, are perfect, delicate, free from coarseness, and exhibit no vestiges of triquetral bones. It is clearly *non-Celtic;* its measurements allying it closely with the Drumbo skull, exhibiting the same protuberant temporal zone, but counterpoised, however, by a far superior frontal development. The teeth are much worn down; but the condition of the skull, in other respects, does not warrant the inference that it belonged to a person who had lived to an extreme old age, but rather to an individual past the prime of life, whose brain and mental energies had preserved their activity unimpaired. When first discovered, there was attached to the occipital bone, somewhat behind, and to the side of the left condyle, a bony projection $\frac{7}{10}$ths of an inch long, having an irregular oval base $\frac{5}{10}$ths by $\frac{4}{10}$ths of an inch, and terminating in a well-marked, but narrow, articulating surface, which would appear to have largely usurped the office of the adjoining condyle—as the latter was much less developed longitudinally, but more prominent than the one upon the opposite side, whilst its surface, with the exception of a very small portion posteriorly, exhibited an uneven irregular appearance, incompatible with the perfect action of the part. Unfortunately, this abnormal process has had its extremity accidentally broken off, and, none of the vertebræ having been obtained, the exact nature of the articulation cannot now be determined; but that it must have occasioned, during life, some lateral displacement of the head, can scarcely admit of doubt.

The Downpatrick skull is evidently similar in type to those from Drumbo and Devenish, as a comparison of their proportional measurements will prove; but it is very small, its capacity being only 77 cubic inches, its length 6.7 inches, and its breadth 5.6 inches. Its proportional length and breadth are 1.0 by .835. The bones are of moderate thickness, and in good preservation; but, though enclosed in a chamber, have been more acted upon than was the case with either of the others which were buried in the earth, possibly in consequence of original inferiority of temperament. The teeth are sound, considerably worn down upon the right side, much less upon the left—the sutures well-defined and perfect; the whole leading to the con-

clusion that the age of the individual could scarcely have exceeded 35 or 40. The temporal regions are very prominent, the frontal one rather narrow, the occipital large and unsymmetrical; the whole head, irrespective of absolute size, being inferior in the disposition of its parts to the Drumbo and Devenish skulls. The measurements of these three, and of Donatus, first Danish archbishop of Dublin, are given in parallel columns in the first table, but, for facility of comparison, the chief proportional measurements are repeated here:—

Degrees	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180
Donatus	.48	.55	.56	.61	.62	.62	.62	.62	.62	62	.61	59	.58	.57	.54	.50	.44	.35	,22
Drumbo	.51	.56	.59	.63	.65	65	.65	.65	.65	.65	.64	.61	.58	.56	.53	.49	.44	.33	,25
Devenish	.51	.56	.61	.65	.65	.65	.65	.64	.65	.65	64	63	.58	.56	.52	.49	.44	.32	,24
Downpatrick	.51	.56	.60	.64	.65	.66	.66	.66	.66	.66	.64	.61	.59	.56	.53	.49	.40	.34	.28

TRANSVERSE DIAMETERS.

		TEMPORAL ZONE.						JUXTA-TEMPORAL ZONE.					
At	Degrees	10	30	60	90	120	150	10	30	60	90	120	150
Donatus ..	.. ..	,63	.72	.84	.84	,79	.72	.53	.64	.72	.78	.71	.58
Drumbo ..	.. ..	.65	.72	.80	,83	,80	.72	.50	.62	.72	.73	.68	.52
Devenish .	.. ..	,64	.70	,80	.83	.75	.68	.54	.67	.72	.75	.66	.55
Downpatrick	.. ..	,65	,72	,80	,83	.79	.71	.54	.62	.71	.77	.69	.57

The general coincidence here is quite remarkable. The skull of Donatus is, indeed, inferior to the other three in vertical elevation, but it preserves the same relative proportions from 40 to 90 degrees, and has this inferiority counterpoised by its superior diameter; the head exhibiting the appearance of being somewhat abnormally flattened upon the vertex and protuberant at the base—the transverse diameter of the Foramen Magnum actually exceeding its antero-posterior diameter. At 30 degrees the vertical elevation of the Devenish skull exceeds all the others. Upon the same radius its temporal diameter is less, and its juxta-temporal considerably more, indicating a smaller basal and a more voluminous anterior and superior development of the frontal region; this preponderance being further enhanced by a corresponding diminution in the dimensions of the skull posterior to 120 degrees. Other differences, coincident with individual peculiarities, may be observed in them all; but the general correspondence is so very great as to render it more than probable that they belong to one common type.

With the skull from Downpatrick concludes the series of crania actually found within the Round Towers of Ulster by Mr. Getty, and of those apparently associated with them in date and locality. Before proceeding, therefore, to comment upon their ethnological bearing, it may be as well, perhaps, to examine, in this place, how far the monumental hypothesis, which originated the inquiry, is affected by the results.

That the towers could never have been erected exclusively for sepulchral purposes, is proved beyond dispute by the Round Tower of Devenish, one of the most perfect and beautiful of them all, in which no human remains were found, or had ever been deposited. On the other hand, that several of them were *designedly* so employed, is quite as well an established fact, not only from the numerous skeletons discovered within them, but from the circumstance also of a sepulchral cist having been specially constructed for the skeleton found beneath the tower of Trummery. How, then, are these admitted anomalies to be reconciled? It is matter of history that a vast number of our early ecclesiastical buildings were erected at the cost of private individuals, actuated either by pious zeal or a desire to compound with heaven for the perpetration of some offence against religion; and, as Mr. Getty has already well remarked, these structures, though not erected for sepulchral purposes, were, and to this day still are, in some cases, used as places of sepulture. It is far from unlikely, therefore, that chieftains or petty kings, influenced by similar feelings, may have erected, or contributed towards the erection of, the towers, essential for the security of the church property; and, at the same time, have taken advantage of the opportunity to have interred within their sacred precincts the honoured remains of their departed kindred. Such a view of the matter is strongly confirmed by the annexed quotation from the Registry of Clonmacnoise, a document of the fourteenth century, quoted by Dr. Petrie [page 388]:—

"And the same O'Ruairk, of his devotion towards ye church, undertook to repair those churches, and keep them in reparation during his life upon his own chardges, and to make a causey or Tocher, from ye place called Cruan na Feadh to Iubhar Conaire, and from Iubhar to the Loch; and the said Fergal did perform it, together with all other promises that he made to Cluain, and the repayring of that number of chapels or cells, and the making of that causey, or Togher, and hath for a monument built a small steep castle or steeple, commonly called in Irish 'Claicthough,' in Cluain, as a memorial of his own part of that Cemetarie; and the said Fergal hath made all those cells before specified in mortmain for him and his heirs to Cluain; and thus was the sepulture of the O'Ruairk's bought."

It is to be observed, however, that Dr. Petrie expresses some doubt as to the authenticity of the document [page 265], though he acknowledges that Archbishop Ussher states it to have been in existence in his time, and that an autograph translation of it by the celebrated Irish antiquary,

Duald Mac Firbis, is preserved among Ware's manuscripts in the British Museum. Upon some such supposition only as that now suggested can we reasonably account for the interment of a recent body with the fleshless skeletons of a whole family, as observed at Clones; or explain the almost incredible anomaly of such a ponderous structure as the tower of St. Canice having been erected upon so insecure and compressible a foundation as decaying bodies and an oaken coffin. Assuredly, the architect who planned that building would never have imperilled its stability, as he did, or have compromised his own reputation, out of respect for *common bones:* much more likely is it that he thus acted contrary to his own judgment, in obedience to the wishes of some person of more than ordinary weight and influence, unwilling to have the bodies of his children and relatives disturbed, and yet desirous of having the tower erected within his portion of the cemetery. Whilst the investigation, therefore, has brought nothing to light in the smallest degree subversive of Dr. Petrie's conclusions as to the "origin and uses of the Round Towers of Ireland," it has proved most clearly that both he and the members of the South Munster Antiquarian Society have been in error—the one in dogmatically pronouncing the towers to be nothing but sepulchral structures, the other in denying, quite as dogmatically, that they had ever been employed by their original founders for sepulchral purposes.

Having already encroached upon the limits of this *Journal* to an extent not originally contemplated, a summary analysis of the remaining ethnological materials at our command is all that can be further attempted; the full details, however important, would be too voluminous, and must be reserved for some more appropriate channel of communication.

The number of skulls derived from Irish sources to which we have had access, and of which either the originals or casts of them are in our possession, amounts to 54. We had, besides, permission from the Very Rev. Dr. Spratt to take ample measurements and tracings of the skull of Donatus, already referred to in this *Journal* [vol. 1, page 203]; and through the kindness of the Rev. C. Buckley, P.P. of Buttevant, we were not only enabled to add to our collection the seven skulls obtained from that locality, but had also the opportunity of measuring the length and breadth of 50 others; the number, indeed, being only limited by the time at our disposal, as, at a rough estimate, the mass of human remains collected in the vault of the old abbey could scarcely have measured less than 16 feet by 10, and must have been four or five feet high. In order to base our observations upon as broad and general a foundation as possible, the modern crania, as will be perceived, have been procured from very widely separated portions of the kingdom; and, as it happens, even the more ancient prove, in several instances, to be from districts sufficiently remote from each other to render it highly improbable that they represent mere local varieties. The whole collection, as a cursory survey will render apparent, resolves itself naturally into chronological groups, and may with propriety be classified as follows:—

CHRONOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION OF SKULLS, AND CASTS OF SKULLS, FROM VARIOUS IRISH SOURCES.

Number of

7 *Primeval or Pre-Historic, viz.:—*

2 from large tumulus, Phœnix Park, Dublin.
1 ,, small do. do.
1 ,, sepulchral chamber, county Tyrone.
2 ,, Ballynchatty, Giant's Ring, county Down.
1 ,, railway cutting (?)

7.—Of which five permit of their cubic capacity being actually or approximatively determined, and the whole admit of the other principal measurements being accurately taken.

22 *Remote, but not Primeval, viz.:—*

8 from sepulchral mound, Mount Wilson, King's County.
9 ,, Round Towers in Ulster, and other ecclesiastical buildings.
1 ,, Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin (Donatus).
1 ,, the ancient foundation of the old Castle of Belfast.
3 ,, the bed of the Blackwater, Blackwatertown, county Armagh.

22.—Of which 19 permit of their capacity being actually or approximatively determined, and 21 admit of the other principal measurements being accurately taken. Of this group, 18 appear to be *Celtic*, 3 to be *non-Celtic*, and 1 is *Danish*.

25 *Modern or Comparatively Modern, viz.:—*

1 Cast of reputed skull of Carolan, the Irish bard.
1 Skull from Old Poor-house burial ground, Belfast.
1 ,, burial-ground, county Wicklow.
5 ,, Cathedral burial-ground, Armagh.
3 ,, Inniskeen church-yard, county Monaghan.
7 ,, ossuary at Buttevant, county Cork.
4 ,, Aghadoe church-yard, near Killarney, county Kerry.
2 ,, Western Isles of Arran, county Galway.
1 ,, Rock of Cashel, county Tipperary.

54 25.—The whole of this group is *Celtic*, and, with one or two exceptions, permits of all the measurements being accurately determined.

50 *Modern Celtic*, examined at Buttevant, but only the length and breadth of which were determined by actual measurement.

Total, 104

Most of the measurements of the foregoing, so far as they have been completed, are given in No. 1 of the annexed Tables, and in the Table of Measurements, previously given at page 38 of the present volume. Of these Tables, it will now be desirable to offer some explanation. No. 1 is simply a tabular arrangement of the several measurements of each skull, in the order in which they are taken. It constitutes the basis of the other Tables, and, when the measurement of the whole collection shall have been completed, it is intended to arrange them in groups of ten each, by means of which each group will be complete in itself, and will admit of ready comparison with the other groups, or with any group of similar extent which may be subsequently added; thereby materially facilitating the operation of deducing general results from the data which they will supply. No. 2 is a numerical analysis of the several chronological groups, giving the highest, lowest, and average dimensions, under their respective heads, of the various measurements of volume, not only of the whole group, but also of the local sub-sections of each group. The first, or primeval group, is, unfortunately, very small at present, but, it is hoped, may form a centre round which, in course of time, fresh additions may accumulate. Limited as it is, however, it affords some very instructive information. It clearly contains two well-defined typical varieties, of which the skull from Donaghmore represents one, and the remainder of the group the other. At the meeting of the British Association in Belfast in 1852, Mr. Bell, of Dungannon, exhibited a skull, of which he permitted the writer to take a cast. The circumstances connected with its discovery will best be given in the following communication, with which he has obligingly favoured us:—

"DUNGANNON, 1st June, 1858.

"DEAR SIR,—The skeleton of which you had the skull from me, during the meeting of the British Association at Belfast in 1852, was discovered in a cist-vaen on the side of a fort or mount, called Shane-maghery, near Donaghmore, in this county (Tyrone). The cist was laid open by some labourers, in removing gravel in order to repair a road. In the small rectangular chamber, formed of rude stones, and covered at top by one of larger dimensions, the skeleton was placed in a sitting posture, with the head leaning to one side. The thing which had moved with life in a remote age, seemed now thoughtfully contemplating the few of the present race which curiosity had summoned to gaze on its structure. A body of police with an officer, the coroner of this county, and several other medical gentlemen, were about to hold an inquest on the remains; but they relinquished their purpose on learning that the person whose bones were before them, might have died fifteen hundred or two thousand years ago! The skeleton did not seem to have undergone calcination. The ornamented urn which lay alongside of it, contained a small portion of what seemed to be turf mould. No implement of stone, bone, or metal, was found in the square chamber, nor were any traces of spiral curves or zigzags, resembling tattooing, discernible on the interior surfaces of the cist slabs. No fragments of charred wood were found with the skeleton.

I am, dear sir, yours respectfully, JOHN BELL.

"John Grattan, Esq., Belfast."

The skull thus brought to light, though, from its compact form, it may appear small to the eye, exceeds the Celtic average by four cubic inches. Its length is $\frac{3}{10}$ths of an inch below the Celtic average, and its breadth the same amount above it: its proportional breadth .83, placing it nearly on a par with the crania of our 2nd group. There is this distinction between them, however—that

instead of its temporal region being protuberant like theirs, its parietal walls are flattened and perpendicular; whilst its vertical elevation is very considerable, being .71 at 90 degrees, the average being only about .66—this superiority, moreover, being maintained throughout from 20 to 120 degrees. At a meeting of the British Association in Birmingham, Professor Retzius read a valuable paper upon some skulls and casts of skulls which had been sent to him from the British Islands, with the object of showing that several of them were of a type quite different from the Celtic; and he gives, as one of his illustrations, the skull from the small tumulus in the Phœnix Park in Dublin, which, in almost every particular, agrees with that from Donaghmore. In Dr. Wilde's work, already referred to, there is also (page 232) an excellent drawing, on a reduced scale, of a similar skull, discovered in a small stone chamber on the south side of the Rock of Dunamase, in the Queen's County. The specimens, therefore, are too numerous, and have extended over too wide an area, to permit of their being considered as mere varieties—especially as a similar form of skull is to be met with amongst the aboriginal remains found in England, and over a large portion of the Continent of Europe. Retzius is disposed to consider them of "Turanic" origin, to have preceded the Celtic population, and to have their living representatives in the Fins or Laplanders. The remainder of the group exhibits the long narrow form of skull with flattened sides, the proportional breadth varying from .80 to .74, the average being .77; and it is particularly worthy of observation, that the two *extremes* are to be found in the *two* specimens discovered within the large tumulus in the Phœnix Park, Dublin:—proving, beyond all dispute, that the commonly received notion of cranial forms becoming more and more stereotyped the further back we penetrate into the obscurity of the past, is not countenanced by exact and accurate observation; variety, within prescribed limits, appearing to be the law and not the exception, as might have been anticipated by any one accustomed to watch, with an observant eye, the countless varieties of mental combination exhibited by every race, and to recognise, in the human brain, the material instrument of the human mind. A description of the tumulus in which these skulls were discovered will be found in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* [vol. i, page 186]. There was found with them a fibula of *bone*, a *flint* knife or arrow-head, and the remains of a *necklace of shells*, of which a restored sketch is given in Wilde's *Catalogue* of the antiquities in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy, page 183. All their concomitants, therefore, prove them to be the relics of a people upon whom the first dawn of civilisation had not as yet broken; and their occupancy of a common tomb would imply that they were not only cotemporaneous, but of kindred blood. Whether we consider, therefore, their close relationship to each other, as regards race or consanguinity, their extreme remoteness from us in point of time, and their consequent protection from the various modifying influences exercised by long-continued civilising agencies and international communication, no more favourable specimens could have been selected for testing the assumption already referred to, or the doctrine, which we hope to establish in another Table, that conformity of type admits, as in other departments of

nature, of considerable divergence from the typical standard. From the numerical superiority of the "long-headed race" in the primeval specimens hitherto brought to light, and from the universal predominance of the same form amongst our existing population, we are disposed to accept as correct the opinion of Retzius, that the Turanic form of head preceded the Celtic, though both must have occupied these islands at a period antecedent to its earliest civilization.

The 2nd, or *Non-Celtic* group, has already been largely noticed when treating of its three first members in their regular order. In the absence of any authentic standard of the Scandinavian head with which to compare them, our inferences can be nothing more than conjectural. There is, however, in some important particulars, so close a resemblance between them and the skulls of Donatus, an undoubted Dane of the 10th century; of Spurzheim, a modern of Teutonic origin; and of King Robert Bruce of Scotland, whose pedigree included two Danish, nine Norwegian, and two Norman ancestors in twenty generations [*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. i., page 240], that it appears by no means improbable that some intermixture of Teutonic or Scandinavian blood may have obtained a friendly footing in the North of Ireland prior to the fifth century. Certainly, the skulls referred to are not Celtic, and the localities in which they were interred preclude the idea of their being of hostile introduction.

The 3rd group includes the remainder of the skulls already described, and, with the exception of the *sub-group* from Mount Wilson, will not require any comment. In it are several well-marked modifications of head; all, with the exception of No. 3, exhibiting the peculiarities of extreme proportional length, with a tendency to vertical, instead of lateral development. No. 3, however, so closely approaches in form to the type of head of which the skull from Donaghmore is an example, as to lead to the conclusion that, at the date of the Mount Wilson interments, which must have been very many centuries subsequent to the interment of the skeleton at Donaghmore, the race to which the latter belonged, had not become extinct altogether, but continued to linger amongst, and perhaps contributed to modify, the more numerous population which surrounded it. In No. 2, on the other hand, of which three reduced drawings are given in Plate 1, we have an illustration of the extent to which the vertical dimensions of the cranium may be developed. It is truly a noble skull, and noble must have been the aspirations of the mind of which it was once the tabernacle. Even though the intellect should fail to appreciate their moral and intellectual import, the eye instinctively recognises the beauty and symmetry of its proportions, the impressive dignity of its lofty profile, and the graceful curvature of its transverse coronal arches. Though its cubic capacity exceeds Spurzheim's by 5 inches, and the Celtic average by upwards of 15 inches, its length is $\frac{3}{10}$ths, and its breadth $\frac{8}{10}$ths of an inch less than Spurzheim's. Compared with the Celtic average, its length is precisely the same (7.25 inches), and its breadth a little above it. Its proportional length and breadth being 1.0 x .77—the Celtic average 1.0 x .75; the entire preponderance in volume, therefore, depends upon its greater coronal elevation, which at 90 degrees is .73,

the average being under .67. The texture of the bone, too, is quite in keeping with the other features of the skull, being exceedingly thin, fine, and delicately regular upon its surface,—circumstances which would almost induce the belief that it has been the representative of some family where originally high endowments had been hereditarily improved by moral and intellectual culture; in which case, it would require no great stretch of imagination to conceive that its owner may, in his day, have been some Brehon of distinguished reputation, and have discharged, with honour to himself, and benefit to his race, the duty of interpreting and administering those very Laws which are now in course of publication. Indeed, even in this small group, the tenants of one common tomb, and the apparent victims of some common calamity, we have modifications of cranial forms and magnitudes which exhibit irrefragable cranial evidence that, however remote their date, there existed, then as now, gradations of moral and intellectual endowments, in consequence whereof some are destined to be governors and teachers, whilst others require to be governed and taught; to that extent demonstrating that difference of rank and station are an inevitable law of our nature.—A notice of the examination of the sepulchral mound at Mount Wilson will be found in this *Journal*, [vol. i., pp. 276 *et seq.*] As the 4th or modern group sufficiently explains itself, we may pass on to Table 3.

In this Table the cubic capacity, the absolute length and breadth, and the proportional length and breadth of the whole are re-grouped in accordance with their dimensional relations, exhibiting at one view, the point towards which they gravitate, so to say, and the limits within which they are permitted to oscillate.

From the 2nd Table we learn that the average cubic capacity of the 4th group of 25 Celtic skulls is 89.4 inches, and its extremes 107 and 75 inches. By referring to Table 3, it will be seen that 13 are below the average, and 12 above it; 14 of the whole ranging between 84 and 92 inches: these, therefore, constitute the prevailing sizes, the outlying ones being fewer and more scattered. Turning again to Table 2, we find the average length of 75 Celtic skulls to be 7.26 inches, the extremes 8.2 and 6.6 inches—61 of the whole number, however, are included between 7 and 7.6 inches, and 27 of the 61 between 7.2 and 7.3 inches, the average. In like manner, their breadth fluctuates between 5.1 and 5.9 inches, the chief preponderance being from 5.3 to 5.6 inches, and the average 5.45 inches. But, as neither the length nor the breadth, considered independently, can furnish a true criterion of the proportionate length or breadth of a skull,—since a long head may be very broad, and a short head be very narrow,—it becomes necessary to reduce them to their proportional values, (that is, their breadth expressed in decimal subdivisions of their length,) in order that the beauty and harmony of the law, in obedience to which they arrange themselves, may become fully apparent. Thus the proportional average breadth of the whole 75 is .75, or more exactly .753, a result easily arrived at by dividing the average length 7.26 inches, into the average breadth 5.45 inches; but this only imperfectly expresses the fact. If we turn again to Table 3,

under the head of proportional breadth, we shall find that not only is .75 the average, but that it occupies the point of highest numerical value in the table, the numbers progressively decreasing, as we depart from it in either direction; 67 of the whole group being comprised within the limits of .71 and .79: proving to a demonstration that, while a wide margin is allowed upon either side for individual development, the permanency of the type is carefully provided for by the preponderance of the mass. And, accordingly, we find in our modern group, individual specimens resembling their remote predecessors of the primeval period, considerably more closely even than the specimens from the large tumulus in the Phœnix Park resemble each other. Nor is this all,—it proves, so far as cranial testimony alone can do, that the Celtic population of Ireland, no matter by how many immigrations introduced, must be originally *from one parent stock;* else, if the long and short headed specimens occasionally to be met with were truly typical, instead of being exceptional varieties, we should have *two centres* of aggregation, shading gradually off into each other, instead of one only as is the case*; and this conclusion is further confirmed by the very pertinent philological observation made by Dr. Wilde [*Beauties of the Boyne and Blackwater*, page 223:]—"It is a fact, curious, but generally overlooked by Irish historians, who bring hither colonies of different nations, that there are but the remains of *one* language known in manuscripts or spoken amongst us."—The purport of the 4th Table is to show the manner in which the other proportional measurements may also be calculated; but as that part of our enquiry has not yet been fully completed, it would be premature to enter upon it here: neither is this the time, nor would it be the place, to discuss the Phrenological bearing of the structural peculiarities which it has been our endeavour to record: the indulgence of the reader has already been more than sufficiently trespassed upon. We shall, therefore, so far as this Journal is concerned, take leave of the subject, pleading our justification for having adventured upon it at all, in the language of the same quaint old author, whose suggestive words adorn our introductory chapter:—"Time, which antiquates antiquities, and hath an art to make dust of all things, hath yet spared these minor monuments. In vain we hope to be known by open and visible conservatories, when to be unknown was the means of their continuation, and obscurity their protection....Now, since these dead bones have already out-lasted the living ones of Methuselah, and, in a yard underground and thin walls of clay, out-worn all the strong and specious buildings above them, and quietly rested under the drums and tramplings of three conquests; we were very unwilling they should die again, and be buried twice among us."

No. I TABULATED MEASUREMENTS OF 16 SKULLS.

NO. IN CATALOGUE.		2	3	4		18	27	28	19	20	21	22	24	25	44	46	57
NAME OF SKULL, or Locality from whence obtained.		Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone.	Phœnix Park, No. 1.	Phœnix Park, No. 2.	Donatus.	Drumbo.	Devenish.	Down-patrick.	Clones, No. 1.	Clones, No. 2.	Clones, No. 3.	Clones, No. 4.	Drumlane.	Armoy.	Armagh.	Inniskeen, No. 1.	Aghadoe, Co. Kerry, No. 1.
General Measurements, *In Inches and Tenths.*		PRIMEVAL.			NON-CELTIC.				CELTIC.—ANCIENT AND MODERN.								
Cubic Capacity,		93	93	88	90	96	86	77	96 ?	83 ?	82 ?	89 ?	?	82 ?	92	107	100
Length from 10° to 145°,		6.95	7.6	7.1	7.2	7.5	7.0	6.7	7.6	7.4	7.4	7.5	8.2	7.25	7.4	7.5	7.5
Breadth,		5.8	5.65	5.65	6.05	6.2	5.85	5.6	5.6	5.7	5.7	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.7	5.7
Circumference,		20.4	21.1	20.2	19.9	21.6	20.4	19.5	21.0	20.8	20.7	20.7	22.0	20.3	20.6	21.5	21.4
Frontal Arch,		—	5.2	5.0	5.0	5.5	4.9	4.8	5.4	5.0	5.5 ?	5.4	5.9	—	5.4	5.4	5.5
Parietal do.		—	5.0	5.0	4.7	5.1	5.0	4.2	5.1	4.5	5.0	5.0	5.2	—	4.9	4.8	5.0
Occipital do.		4.7	4.9	4.5	4.8	4.9	4.5	4.4	4.8	5.2	4.5	4.0	5.2	4.4	4.7	5.3	5.0
Sum of do. or Occipto frontal,		14.5	15.1	14.5	14.5	15.5	14.4	13.4	15.3	14.7	15 0	14.4	16.3	14.1	15.0	15.5	15.5
Mastoidal do.		15.2	14.9	14.8	14.6	16.0	14.1	13 9	15.1	14.6	14.0	15.4	—	14.6	15.0	14.9	15.4
Proportional Measurements, *In Hundredths of Long Diameter.*																	
Length,		1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Breadth,		.83*	.71*	.80	.84	.83	.83*	.83*	.74	.77	.77	.74*	.67*	.77	.74*	.76	.76
RADIAL OR PROFILE.																	
	0	.51*	.50*	.54	.48	.51	.51	.51	.50	.56	.48*	.48	Imperfect.	.54	.51*	.47*	.48
	10	.57	.57	.58*	.55	.56	.56	.56	.55	.55	.54*	.52*		.60	.58*	.53*	.52*
	20	.63	.60*	.62	.58	.59	.61	.60	.60*	.59	.58	.55*		.64	.61*	.59	.57
	30	.67	.62*	.65	.61	.63	.65	.64*	.63	.61	.60	.59		.66	.64*	.61	.60
At	40	.67*	.63	.66	.62	.65	.65*	.65*	.63	.61*	.60	.60*		.66*	.65	.62*	.61*
	50	.68	.62*	.67	.62	.65*	.65*	.66	.63	.62	.60	.61		.66	.64*	.63	.62*
Angular	60	.68*	.62*	.68	.62	.65	.65	.66*	.63	.62*	.60	.61*		.65*	.64*	.63*	.63
	70	.69*	.63	.68	.62	.65*	.64*	.66*	.65	.64	.60	.62*		.66	.64*	.64	.63
Intervals	80	.71	.64	.68*	.62	.65*	.65*	.66*	.66	.65	.60	.64*		.66	.65*	.65*	.64
	90	.71*	.64*	.68*	.62	.65*	.65*	.66	.65*	.65	.60*	.66		.66*	.66	.66	.65*
of	100	.69*	.64*	.66	.61	.64*	.64*	.64*	.63	.64	.61	.66		.65*	.63	.66	.66
	110	.65	.62	.63*	.59	.61*	.63	.61*	.60*	.62	.60	.63*		.61*	.60*	.64	.63

160	.42	.39*	.35	.44*	.44	.44	.40	.40	.37	.47	.48		.34	.44	.47	.48
170	.36*	.30	.29*	.35	.33*	.32*	.34	.33	.29	.34	.34		.22	.25	.36	.35
180	.32	.17	.23	.22	.25	.24	.28	.27	.24*	.26	.27		.19	.16	.26	.28
To front edge of Incisors	—	.55	.60	—	.58	.57	.59	—	—	—	—		—	.55*	—	—
To Symphysis Menti	—	.63*	—	—	.68	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—
TRANSVERSE DIAMETERS.																
Mastoidal	—	.61*	.70	.64	.71	.63	.67	.65	.66	—	Imperfect.	Imperfect.	.66	.69	.66	.64
Meatorial	.76	.69*	.73	.73*	.77	.72*	.72	.67	.70	—			.72	.68	.71	.70
Temporal A Zone at 10°	.61*	.58	.62	.63*	.65	.64	.65	.58	.64	.60			?	.57	.60*	.56
30°	.72	.64	.68*	.72	.72	.70	.72	.65	.69	.69			.70	.63	.66*	.63
60°	.82	.71*	.75	.84	.80	.80	.80	.71	.75	.74			.74	.69	.73	.72
90°	.83	.73*	.79*	.84	.83	.83*	.83*	.74	.77	.76			.76	.73*	.77	.76
120°	.79	.69*	.74*	.79	.80	.75	.79	.70	.73	.75			.72	.69*	.75*	.73
150°	.74	.65*	.70*	.72*	.72	.68	.71	.65	.68	.65			.69	.68	.66	.69
Juxta-Temporal B Zone at 10°	.56	.51	.62	.53	.50	.54*	.54	.47	.53	.56?			?	.46*	.51	.50
30°	.65	.62	.68*	.64	.62	.67	.62	.59	.62	.63			.63	.48*	.62	.60
60°	.74	.68	.75	.72*	.72	.72*	.71	.68	.68	.67			.70	.66	.67*	.67
90°	.79	.72	.76*	.78	.73*	.75	.77	.71	.71	.71			.72	.70	.71	.73
120°	.69	.63	.64*	.71	.68	.66*	.69	.63	.63	.66			.61	.64	.66	.68*
150°	.59	.54*	.57	.58	.52	.55	.57	.49	.53	.51			.51	.48	.51	.52
Zygomatic	.74	.74	.77	.71	.71	.74	—	—	—	—			—	.68	.71	—
Inter-Malar	.67	.60*	.63	.60	.71	.67	—	—	—	—			—	.61*	.61	—
Lower-Maxillary	—	.59	—	—	.56*	—	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—
MISCELLANEOUS.																
Long diam. of Foramen Mag.	—	.20	.20	.18*	.19	.20	.19	—	—	—	—		—	.18	.20	?
Transverse do	—	.16*	.18*	.19*	.18*	.18	.17	—	—	—	—		—	.16*	.17	?
Length of Face	—	.68	—	—	.72	—	—	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—
Occipital depress. below 150	.17*	.11*	.12*	.11*	.13	.12*	.14	.15	.12*	.14	17?		.10	.09	.14	.18
ANGULAR POSITION OF																
Coronal Suture	67°	63°	60°	64°	63°	62°	63°	62°	64°		68°	Imperfect.	—	62°	65°	67°
Lambdoidal do.	124°	120°	120°	124°	127°	123°	118°	123°	121°		127°		117°	126°	121°	126°
Foramen Magnum	185°	182°	182°	181°	186°	183°	184°	188°	182°		?		176°	175°	187°	?
Front Edge of Incisors	—	50	46	—	52°	48°	—	—	—		—		—	45°	—	—
Symphysis Menti	—	72	—	—	73°	—	—	—	—		—		—	—	—	—

No. 2. TABULAR CLASSIFICATION (

LOCALITY FROM WHENCE PROCURED.	No. of Crania	Cubic Capacity, in inches and tenths.			Length, in inches and tenths.			Breadth, in inches and tenths.		
		Highest	Lowest	Average	Highest	Lowest	Average	Highest	Lowest	Average
GROUP 1.-										
Phœnix Park, No. 1	1	...	...	91	...	...	7.1	...	...	5.6
Donaghmore.........	1	...	...	93	...	...	6.95	...	...	5.8
Phœnix Park, 3 & 4	2	93	88	90.5	7.6	7.1	7.35	5.65	5.65	5.65
Railway cutting	1	...	...	...	...	...	7.6	...	..	5.7
Ballynehatty	2	...	...	77	7.25	7.1	7.17	5.4	5.35	5.37
Whole Group	7	93	77	88.4	7.6	6.95	7.25	5.8	5.35	5.6
GROUP 2.—ANCIENT BUT										
Drumbo..............	1	...	...	96	...	...	7.5	...	...	6.2
Devenish............	1	...	...	86	...	...	7.0	...	...	5.85
Downpatrick	1	...	...	77	...	...	6.7	...	...	5.6
Donatus	1	...	...	90	...	...	7.2	...	...	6.05
Whole Group........	4	96	77	87.2	7.5	6.7	7.1	6.2	5.6	5.9
GROUP 3.—ANCIENT BU										
Mount Wilson	8	105	79	90.85	7.55	7.1	7.24	5.8	5.35	5.53
Clones	4	96	82	92.5	7.6	7.4	7.47	5.7	5.5	5.6
Drumlane............	1	...	...	...	...	..	8.2	...	...	5.5
Armoy	1	...	...	82.0	...	...	7.25	...	...	5.5
Old Castle, Belfast	1	...	...	87.0	...	...	7.5	...	...	5.4
Blackwater..........	2	102	87	94.5	7.35	7.1	7.22	6.0	5.6	5.8
Do. imperfect......	1	...	...	...	...	...	7.0	...	...	5.5
Whole Group........	18	105	79	89.6	8.2	7.0	7.34	6.0	5.4	5.57
GROUP 4.—MO										
Carolan ?............	1	...	...	85	...	...	7.3	...	...	5.25
Co. Wicklow	1	...	...	80	...	...	7.1	...	...	5.2
Armagh..............	5	98	84	91.4	7.6	7.1	7.3	5.8	5.4	5.5
Inniskeen............	3	107	87	93.6	7.5	7.1	7.3	5.7	5.6	5.63
Buttevant............	7	95	75	86.1	7.6	6.9	7.2	5.7	5.3	5.5
Aghadoe	3	100	81	93.3	7.8	7.2	7.5	5.7	5.3	5.5
Do. abnormal	1	...	...	94.0	...	...	8.0	...	...	5.2
Cashel	1	...	...	90.0	...	...	7.3	...	...	5.5
Arran, Co. Galway	2	92	84	88.0	7.4	7.3	7.3	5.5	5.5	5.5
Belfast	1	...	...	88.0	...	...	7.5	...	...	5.5
Whole Group........	25	107	75	89.4	8.0	6.9	7.3	5.9	5.2	5.5
Buttevant............	50	...	...	...	7.8	6.6	7.23	5.8	5.1	5.42
Total of......	75	...	...	...	8.0	6.6	7.26	5.9	5.1	5.45

GENERAL MEASUREMENTS.

Circumference, in inches and tenths.			Occipito-Frontal Arch, in inches and tenths.			Mastoidal Arch, in inches and tenths.			Proportional Breadth, in decimal subdivisions of length.		
Highest	Lowest	Average	Highest	Lowest	Average	Highest	Lowest	Average	Highest	Lowest	Average
IMEVAL.											
...	...	20.5	...	...	14.5	...	...	15.4	...	...	.79
...	...	20.4	...	...	14.5	...	...	15.2	...	...	.83
21.1	20.2	20.65	15.1	14.5	14.8	14.9	14.8	14.85	.80	.74*	.77
...	...	21.4	...	...	15.4	...	...	15.6	...	...	.75
20.1	19.9	20.0	14.1	...	14.1	13.0	...	13.0	.75*	.75*	.75
21.4	19.9	20.5	15.4	14.1	14.7	15.6	13.0	14.95	.83	.74*	.77
PRIMEVAL.—NON-CELTIC.											
...	...	21.6	...	...	15.5	...	...	16.0	...	...	.83
...	...	20.4	...	...	14.4	...	...	14.1	...	...	.83*
...	...	19.5	...	...	13.4	...	...	13.9	...	...	.83*
...	...	19.9	...	...	14.5	...	...	14.6	...	...	.84
21.6	19.5	20.35	15.5	13.4	14.45	16.0	13.9	14.65	.84	.83	.83*
OT PRIMEVAL.—CELTIC.											
20.9	20.0	20.45	16.2	14.0	14.9	16.0	13.8	15.0	.81	.73	.77
21.0	20.7	20.8	15.3	14.4	14.85	15.4	14.0	14.77	.77*	.74	.75*
...	...	22.0	...	...	16.3	...	...	...	...	...	.67*
...	...	20.3	...	...	14.1	...	...	14.6	...	...	.77
...	...	20.5	...	...	15.1	...	...	15.0	...	...	.72
21.4	20.4	20.95	14.8	14.5	14.65	15.6	14.0	14.8	.82*	.79	.80*
...	...	20.0	...	...	14.3	...	...	...	...	...	.79
22.0	20.0	20.6	16.3	14.1	14.85	15.4	14.0	15.55	.82*	.72	.76*
RN.—CELTIC.											
...	...	20.6	...	...	15.2	...	...	15.2	...	...	.72
...	...	19.9	...	...	14.6	...	...	14.1	...	...	.73*
21.3	20.1	20.7	15.5	14.6	15.0	15.6	14.1	14.9	.81	.74	.76
21.5	20.5	20.9	15.5	14.6	15.0	15.4	14.9	14.96	.79	.76	.77
22.0	19.8	20.6	15.5	13.9	14.8	15.0	14.0	14.5	.78	.74*	.76
22.0	21.0	21.4	16.0	14.8	15.1	15.4	14.9	15.1	.76	.72	.74
...	...	21.7	...	...	16.5	...	...	14.0	...	...	.65
...	...	20.8	...	...	14.5	...	...	14.1	...	...	.75*
20.6	20.6	20.6	14.9	14.7	14.8	15.1	14.5	14.8	.75*	.74*	.75
...	...	20.9	...	...	15.5	...	...	14.4	...	...	.74
21.7	19.8	20.78	16.5	13.9	15.04	15.6	14.0	14.68	.81	.65	.75
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.81	.69	.75
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.81	.65	.75

REMARKS ON THE EARLY ARCHITECTURE OF IRELAND.

"Ireland possesses what may properly be called a Celtic style of architecture, which is as interesting in itself as any of the minor local styles of any part of the world, and, so far as at present known, is quite peculiar to the island. None of the buildings of this style are large, though the ornaments of many of them are of great beauty and elegance. Their chief interest lies in their singularly local character, and in their age, which probably extends from the 5th or 6th century to the time of the English conquest in 1176. They consist chiefly of churches and round towers." . . . "No Irish church of this period, now remaining, is perhaps even 60 feet in length, and generally they are very much smaller, the most common dimensions being from 20 to 40 feet. Increase of magnificence was sought to be attained more by extending the number than by augmenting the size. The favourite number for a complete ecclesiastical establishment was 7, as in Greece, this number being identical with that of the 7 Apocalyptic churches of Asia. Thus, there are 7 at Glendalough, 7 at Cashel, and the same sacred number is found at several other places, and generally two or three, at least, are found grouped together.

"No church is known to have existed in Ireland before the Norman conquest that can be called a basilica, none of them being divided into aisles either by stone or wooden pillars, or possessing an apse, and no circular church has yet been found; nothing, in short, that would lead us to believe that Ireland obtained her architecture direct from Rome: while everything, on the contrary, tends to confirm the belief of an intimate connection with the farther East, and that her early Christianity and religious forms were derived from Greece by some of the more southerly commercial routes which at that period seem to have abutted on Ireland.

"Both in Greece and in Ireland, the smallness of the churches is remarkable. They never were, in fact, basilicas for the assembly of large congregations of worshippers, but oratories, where the priest could celebrate the divine mysteries for the benefit of the laity. It is not only at Mount Athos, and other places in Europe, but also in Asia Minor, that we find the method of grouping a large number of small churches together, seven being the favourite number, and one often attained." . . . .

"There is still another class of antiquities in Ireland, older perhaps than even these round towers, and certainly older than the churches to which they are attached. These are the circular domical dwellings, found in the west of the island, constructed of loose stones in horizontal layers, like the so-called treasuries of the Greeks, or the domes of the Jains in India."

The foregoing extracts are from Fergusson's *Illustrated Handbook of Architecture.*

The roofs of the round towers are constructed in the same way as those of the domical or bee-hive

structures, mentioned in the last quoted paragraph; that is to say, of stone in horizontal courses, with every course projecting a little beyond that below it, so that they are at last near enough to permit the arch to be closed with a single flat key-stone or cap-stone. This method of constructing arches and domes has the peculiarity that all the pressure is vertical: there is no lateral thrust. It is much weaker than the way in which we construct our arches, and, consequently, does not admit of a wide span; but for domes of small diameter, like the roofs of the round towers, it is by far the best possible construction, as the absence of lateral thrust both saves expense and promotes the durability of the building. This, however, does not apply to the arches of door-ways and windows, for their thrust is much less than that of a dome, and is besides, in general, sufficiently borne by the wall.

This method of roofing is common to Ireland and the East, as has been hinted in the last paragraph extracted from Mr. Fergusson's work. It is employed in the so-called Treasury of Atreus, which is the most remarkable pre-historic monument of Greece, or perhaps of Europe; and it was the national style of India before the Mahommedan conquest, for both domes and arches. I do not know, however, of any evidence of its employment in either classical or Christian Greece; so that we cannot connect its use in Greece with its use in Ireland: and, as it is a much more obvious, and less scientific invention than the true arch and dome, it may have been invented by different nations independently of each other. The kind of roof characteristic of the small churches contemporaneous with the round towers, is different from that of the towers themselves, being a tunnel vault, covered with a pitched roof. Both these roofs, and those of the round towers, are entirely of stone—no timber is used: a very uncommon peculiarity in European buildings.

A writer quoted in vol. i., page 17, of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, says positively that the origin of the round towers is from the Eastern Church, and that the pillar of St. Simeon Stylites was a round tower. I do not know of any certain evidence of this, but it is highly probable; for the use of towers, as symbolical ornaments attached to places of worship, is unknown to heathenism, but common to the Christian and Mahommedan nations. The Mahommedan *minaret*, the Italian *campanile*, the Gothic steeple-crowned tower, and our own Irish round towers, are all evidently members of the same family, alike both in position and purpose; for the *muezzin* who stands on the *minaret*, and calls the Mahommedans to prayer, performs the same office as our bells. This similarity argues a common origin; and where can this have been but in the architecture of the Christianised Roman Empire, which was the origin of all the Mahommedan styles on the one hand, and all the Gothic on the other? The Irish round towers resemble the Italian campaniles, (of which the leaning tower of Pisa is a good example,) in being detached buildings, though situated near the churches. The Gothic church towers, on the contrary, and I believe the Eastern minarets also, form part of the main buildings, out of which they rise.

The established fact that the Irish round towers were belfries, and attached to churches, goes far to prove that they have no connection with the *Noraghe* of the island of Sardinia, the *Pyrgi* of the

Greek Islands, or the circular tombs of Etruria and Asia Minor. The latter belong to the early heathen period. The Noraghe and the Pyrgi are of unknown date, but there is nothing to give them an ecclesiastical character; and they are lower, wider, and more nearly drum-shaped than the Irish towers, and, consequently, were not belfries. Some of the Pyrgi, according to Colonel Leake, were, from their position, evidently built for fortresses. [See vol. i., pages 29 and 30 of this *Journal.*]

The round towers, and the churches to which they belong, unquestionably form a link in the chain of Romanesque[a] styles of architecture, that extends, geographically, from the Bosphorus to the Atlantic, and chronologically, from the extinction of the classical Græco-Roman art, to the rise of the various Mahommedan and Gothic styles. Romanesque architecture is distinguished from the classical Roman by the absence of the column and entablature; and from Gothic and Mahommedan architecture by the semi-circular form of the arches,[b] which are generally pointed in the Gothic and the Eastern styles, and of the "horse-shoe" shape in that of Moorish Spain. It includes, as subordinate classes, the Byzantine; some of the Italian and French styles, to which the name of Romanesque is generally restricted; the early style of Western Germany; the Norman-English; and the Celtic-Irish.

There are some curious resemblances between Irish and Norman art, which appear to show an influence of the former on the latter. One of these is the existence of a few round towers, like the Irish ones, in very old English churches, but forming part of the church, according to the English method—not detached, as in Ireland. One of these is figured and described in this *Journal*, vol. i., page 27. The fact mentioned there, that its roof, as well as its walls, are of rubble, almost proves that its builder must have been an Irishman, or, at least, one who had studied the Irish buildings; for this implies that it is not arched, but built in horizontal courses, with each course projecting beyond the one below it, as I described when speaking of the Irish towers.

There is a kind of ornament common in Norman buildings, consisting of interlacing bands, like the style which is so characteristic of ancient Irish art, alike in the illuminations of manuscripts, in jewellery, and on the stone crosses. Two specimens of this are figured in the fifth edition of Rickman's *English Architecture*. One of these is a font, the designs on which are very like some of those given in Mr. O'Neill's lithographed *Illustrations of the Stone Crosses of Ireland;* the other is a pillar, and appears to show a debased variety of the style. This kind of ornament appears to be of Irish origin. Specimens of it are found on flat stones throughout Scotland. It exists in old churches in Scandinavia, and, as we have seen, in England; it is sometimes called *Runic;* but I believe the oldest, and also the best, examples are Irish.

J. J. M.

[a] The word may be objected to: but Byzantine is no better, and "round-arched" does not exclude the classical Roman.

[b] The semi-circular arch is generally characteristic of the Romanesque style and the pointed arch of the Gothic: but every one who has ever attempted a classification of works, either of nature or art, knows that it is often quite impossible to frame definitions that will fit all the facts. There are some buildings in England, belonging probably to a period of transition, which contain pointed arches, and yet are proved by the mouldings of those arches to be Norman: for it is now certain that the mouldings are a much better criterion of the date and the style of a building than the larger features.

SIX HUNDRED GAELIC PROVERBS COLLECTED IN ULSTER.

By ROBERT MAC ADAM.

(Continued from page 183.)

Content, Moderation.

97. Foghnaidh go leòr comh maith le fèusda. [Enough serves as well as a feast.]

98. Is fearr teine bheag a ghoras nà teine mhòr a losgas. [A little fire that warms is better that a large fire that burns.]

99. Is fearr leith-bhuilin nà a bheith falamh gan aran. [Half a loaf is better than being entirely without bread.]

100. Is fearr pèire maith bonn nà dhà phèire uachdar. [One good pair of soles is better than two pair of upper leathers.]

101. Is beag a rud nach fearr nà diùltadh. [It is a small thing that is not better than refusal.

102. An ùair is gainne an meas 's è is fearr a bhlas. [When the fruit is scarcest, its taste is sweetest.]

    Italian. *In tempo di carestìa è buono il pan vecciato.*

103. Is maith an t-annlann an t-ocras. [Hunger is a good condiment.]

    Latin. *Optimum condimentum fames:*—and, *Jejunus raró stomachus vulgaria temnit.*
    Italian. *Appetito non vuol salsa.* Spanish. *A la hambre no hay pan malo.* English. *Hungry dogs will eat dirty puddings.*

104. Is fearr marcaigheachd air ghabhar nà coisigheacht ò fheabhas. [Riding on a goat is better than the best walking.]

105. Is fearr diomhaineach nà ag obair a n-asgaidh. [Better be idle than working for nothing.]

106. Is fearr fuigheall nà bheith air easbhuidh. [Better have the leavings than nothing at all.]

107. Is fearr 'na aonar nà bheith a n-droch-chuideachd. [It is better to be alone than in bad company.]

108. Nà dean beagan de do mhèis.
Gan fios nach pèisd a bheidheadh d'a meas;
Ni fearr an mhas mhèith
Nà 'n mhas rèidh a d-tiocar leis.

[Do not make little of your dish,
For it may be an ignorant person who judges it;
The richest food is no better
Than the ready dish which suits one's purpose.]

109. Cha n-è gach aon n-duine d'ar òrduigh Dia sponòg airgid ann a bhèul. [It is not every one that God ordained should have a silver spoon in his mouth.]

110. Cha lugha do mhaoin nà do mhuirighin. [Your means are not less than your family.]
i.e., Though you are poor, your family is small.

111. Is fearr an t-slàinte bhocht nà na tàinte air chnoc. [Better is health with poverty, than whole herds of cattle on the hills.]
English. *Health is better than wealth.*

112. Is fearr paiste nà poll, [Better a patch than a hole;
Is fearr lom nà lèun, Better be bare than utterly destitute;
Is fearr maol nà bheith gan cheann, Better be bald than without a head,—
A's diabhal ann acht sin fèin, But the devil a much more than that!]
Scotch. *Better a clout nor a hole out.*

113. Ma's dona maol, is mìle measa mallog. [If baldness is bad, a scald head is a thousand times worse,]

114. Is fearr suidhe gearr nà seasamh fada. [A short sitting is better than a long standing.]

115. Iomarcaidh d'aon nidh, 's ionann sin 's gan aon nidh. [Too much of one thing is the same as nothing.]
Latin. *Ne quid nimis:* and, *Est modus in rebus.* Scotch. *Ower meikle water droon'd the miller.*

116. Is fearr teacht a n-deireadh cuirme nà a d-toiseach troda. [Better to come at the end of a feast than the beginning of a fight.]

117. Is maith an gearran nach m-baineann tuisle ùair èigin dò. [It is a good horse that does not stumble sometimes.]
English. *'Tis a good horse that never stumbles.*
And a good wife that never grumbles.

118. Sùil le cùitiughadh a mhilleas a cearbhach. [It is the hope of recompense that ruins the card-player.]

119. Is fearr fuighleach madaidh nà fuighleach mogaidhe. [Better the leavings of a dog than the leavings of a mocker.]

120. Cha d-tuigear feum an tobair no go d-tèid se a d-tràigh. [The value of the well is not known till it dries up.]
——————"*For it so falls out,*
That what we have we prize not to the worth
Whilst we enjoy it; but, being lack'd and lost,
Why then we rate the value."—SHAKSPEARE.

121. Beagan sìl de'n athruigh chòir [A little seed of the right sort,
A's beagan bò a bh-fèur maith A few cows on good pasture,
Beagan càirde a d-tigh an òil And a few friends in the tavern:
Sin na trì bheagain is fearr air bith. These are three best little things in the world.]

122. Cùradh mo chroidhe ort, a bhothain,
'S tù nach m-biann a choidch' acht a g-cothan;
Acht càil bheag bhuideach de do shochar
Moch no mall a thigim
Gur b'ionnad is fusa damh mo chosa 'shìneadh.

[The plague of my heart on you, little cottage
It is you that are constantly in disorder;
But one little advantage you have,—
No matter how late or how early I come,
It is in you I can easiest stretch my legs.]

English. *There's no place like home.* Italian. *Ad ogni uccello il suo nido è bello.*

123. Is fearr falamh nà droch-sgeul. [Better (come) empty than with bad news.]

Discretion, Prudence, Self-Restraint.

124. An tè nach ngabhaidh comhairle, glacaidh se comhrac. [He who will not take advice will take a quarrel.]

125. Lèig dò fuaradh 'sa g-craiceann a'r theith se ann. [Let him cool in the skin that he warmed in.]

i.e., Let an angry man cool before you reply.

126. Nà taisbean do fhiacal 's an àit nach d-tig leat greim a bhaint a mach. [Do not show your teeth where you cannot give a bite.]

127. Ma's maith leat sìochaint, cairdeas, a's moladh,
Eisd, faic, is fan balbh.

[If you wish for peace, friendship, and praise,
Listen, look, and be dumb.]

Latin. *Audi, vide, tace; si vis vivere in pace.*
French. *Oye, vois, et te taise*
Si tu veux vivre en paix.
Spanish. *Ver, Oir, y callar.*

128. Nà labhair gach nidh do b'àill leat, le h-eagal go g-cluinfeà nidh nar bh'àill leat. [Do not say everything you like, lest you hear a thing you would not like.]

129. Da fhaide a's bheidheas tu a muigh, nà beir droch-sgèul a bhaile ort fèin. [As long as you are from home, never bring back a bad story about yourself.]

130. Thèid focal le gaoith, a's thèid buille le cnàimh. [A word goes to the winds, but a blow goes to the bones.]

English. *Soft words break no bones.*

131. Chan sgèul rùin a chluinneas triùir. [A story that three people hear is no secret.]

Spanish. *Puridad de dos, puridad de Dios:*
Puridad de tres, de todos es. [A secret between two is God's secret; a secret between three is everybody's.]

132. Cha deanann balbhan brèug. [A dumb man tells no lies.]

Spanish. *En boca cerrada no entra mosca.* [Into a shut mouth flies do not enter]—and, *Oveja que bala bocada pierde.* [The sheep loses a mouthful when it bleats.]

133. Is olc nach ngabhaidh comhairle, acht is míle measa a ghabhas gach uile chomhairle. [He is bad that will not take advice, but he is a thousand times worse who takes every advice.]

134. Is furas beagan cainte a leasughadh. [It is easy to mend little talk.]

Latin. *Non unquam tacuisse nocet.*

135. Is binn beul 'n a thosd. [A silent mouth sounds sweetly.]

136. Nà bi 'g 'ul eadar a craiceann 's a crann. [Do not go between the tree and its bark.]

i.e., Do not intermeddle between near relations, such as man and wife, &c.

137. Is fearrde do'n m-brò a bhreacadh gan a bhriseadh. [The mill-stone is the better of being picked, but not broken.]

It is better to mend a thing than throw it away: or, you ought not to go about a business too violently.

138. Nà luadh gach nidh do chífear duit, [Do not talk of every thing you may see,
Is beag an dioghbhàil a ghní an tochd; 'Tis little harm that silence does;
Eisd le comhairle dhuine ghlic, Listen to the advice of a wise man—
Tuig, a's lèig mòran tharad. Understand, but let much pass you, (without remark.)]

139. Bíann marbhadh duine eadar dhà fhocal. [The killing of a man may be between two words.]

The mistake of a single word may produce serious consequences.

Procrastination.

140. Is éasgaidhe nóin ná maidin. [Evening is more active than morning.]

i.e., Do the thing at once, for in the morning some obstacle may arise. Latin. *Carpe diem.*

141. Is mithid a bheith bogadh na ngad. [It is time for you to be softening the *gads.*]

It is time to prepare for departure.

142. Nà cuir do ghnothaighe ó 'n-diugh go d-ti a màireach. [Do not put off your business from to-day till to-morrow.]

143. Thainig tu an là a n-dèigh an aonaigh. [You have come the day after the fair.]

Latin. *Post festum venisti.*

144. 'Sè triall na g-cearc ag 'ul go h-Albainn. [That is (like) the intended journey of the hens to Scotland.]

The children, when they hear the hens cackling at night, say they are talking about going back to Scotland, where they came from. There is an old Irish tune called "*Triall na g-cearc go h-Albainn.*" This proverb is applied to persons who are continually talking of doing a thing, but never do it

145. Fàl fa'n ngort a n-dèigh na fòghala. [Putting a fence round the field after the robbery.]

Italian. *Serrar la stalla quando s'han perduti i buovi.* Spanish. *Despues de vendimias cuèvanos.* [After the vintage, the baskets to gather the grapes.] *Para el mal que hoy acaba, no es remedio el de manana.* [The remedy of to-morrow will not serve for the evil of to-day.] *La casa quemada, acudir con el agua.* [When the house is burnt, to have recourse to water.]

146. A n-dèigh 'aimhleis do chithear a leas do'n Eirionnach. [After misfortune the Irishman sees his profit.]

i.e., He sees what he ought to have done, when too late.

Experience, Knowledge.

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147. Is maith an t-eòlaidhe deireadh an lae. [The end of the day is a good director.]

148. Fa choin-fheasgar aithnighear fear. [About evening a man is known.]

i.e., After he has done his day's work.

149. Is fearr an chiall cheannaighthe nà a faghail a n-asgaidh. [Sense that is bought is better than what is got for nothing ;]—and

150. 'Si an chiall cheannaighthe is fearr. [Bought sense is the best.]

151. Is a g-cionn na bliadhna innsidheas iasgaire a thàbhachd. [It is at the end of the year that the fisherman can tell his profits.]

152. Biann eagla na teine air a leanabh dòithte. [A burnt child fears the fire.]

Spanish. *El gato escaldado del agua fria huye.* [The scalded cat flies from cold water.]

153. Is mall gach cos air chasan gan eòlus. [On an unknown path every foot is slow.]

154. Moladh gach duine an t-ath mur gheabhaidh se è. [Let every man praise the ford as he finds it,]

Spanish. *Cada uno cuenta de la feria, come le va en ella.* [Every one speaks of the fair as he finds it.]

155. Mol a dheireadh. [Praise the end of it.]

i.e., See how it ends before you say anything. Latin. *Exitus acta probat.* Spanish. *Nadie se alabe, hasta que acabe.* [Let no one boast until he has finished.] English. *Don't halloo till you are out of the wood.*

156. Is maith a sgèulaidhe an aimsir. [Time is a good historian.]

English. *Time will tell.* Latin. *Tempus omnia revelat.*

157. Is fear eòlus an uile nà an t-ole gan eòlus. [Better is knowledge of evil than evil without knowledge.]

He who knows what is wrong is more likely to avoid doing it.

158. Cha ghabhar sean-èun le càbh. [An old bird is not to be caught with chaff.]

Latin. *Annosa vulpes haud capitur laqueo.*

159. Mol do ghad, 's na mol do shlat; oir is iomadh slat àluinn nach snìomhann. [Praise your *gad* and not your rod; for many a beautiful rod will not twist.]

Another allusion to the general use of willow rods for a variety of purposes.

160. Is trom an t-uallach aineòlas. [Ignorance is a heavy burden.]

161. Cruthughadh na putòige a h-ithe. [The proof of a pudding is the eating of it.]

162. Is àrd gèim bò air a h-aineòlas. [The lowing of a cow is loud in a strange place.]

Latin. *Bos alienus subinde prospectat foras.* [The strange ox looks frequently to the door.] Spanish. *El buey bravo, en tierra agena, se hace manso.* [The fierce ox becomes tame on strange land.]

Hope, Reliance on Providence.

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163. Char òrduigh Dia bèul gan biadh. [God never ordained a mouth to be without food.]

Said sometimes to persons who complain of having too many children.

164. Char dùnadh dorus a rìamh nar fosgladh dorus eile. [There was never a door shut but there was another opened.]

Spanish. *Quando una puerta se cierra, ciento se abren.* [When one door shuts, a hundred open.]

165. Char dhruid Dia bearn a rìamh nach bh-fosgoladh se bearn eile. [God never closed one gap, that he did not open another one.]

Spanish. *Dios que da la llaga, da la medecina.* [God who gives the wound, gives the cure.]

166. Char naith na madaidh deireadh na bliadhna go fòill. [The dogs have not eaten up the end of the year yet.]

i.e., Have patience, you have still time enough.

167. Is fearr muinighin mhaith nà droch-aigneadh. [Good hope is better than bad intention.]

168. Ta iasg 's a bh-fairge ni's fearr nà gabhadh a rìamh. [There is a fish in the sea better than ever was caught yet.]

169. An ùair a thig cabhair, thig dhà chabhair. [When help comes, two helps come.]

English. *It never rains but it pours.*

170. Is breitheamh mall Dia, [God is a slow judge,
Nach dearna 'riamh acht an choir; Who never did anything but justice;
Chuir se Cormac a mach 's a t-sliabh, He put Cormac out on the mountain,
A's léig se an diabhal le n-a thòin. And let the devil at his back.]

Said on the downfall of a bad man; or when any one who has long practised villainy with impunity, at last meets his deserts. Who the Cormac was, that is named in the proverb, is not known.

171. Cha bhiann Dia le mi-rùn daoine. [God takes no part in the bad designs of men.]

172. Is maith Dia go là, a's ni fearr nà go brath. [God is good until day, and yet no better than he is until the day of judgment.]

i.e., God's providence watches over us at all times. "*Trust in God, and keep your powder dry.*"—Oliver Cromwell. The Spaniards have a proverb something like this last: —*Adios rezando, y con el mazo dando.* [Praying to God, and working with the hammer.]

173. An nidh nach iththear a's nach ngoiditear, gheabhar é. [The thing that is not eaten, and not stolen, will be found.]

174. Is farsaing Dia 's a g-cumhanglach. [In the narrow strait God's providence is wide.]

175. Is minic a bhi dubhach mòr air bheagan fearthana. ['Tis often there has been great darkness with little rain.]

Honour, Disgrace, Shame.

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176. Is beò duine a n-deigh a dhaoine, acht ni beò é a n-déigh an naire. [A man may live after his kindred, but not after his shame.]

177. Is uaisle onoir nà òr. [Honour is more noble than gold.]

178. Is fearr paiste nà poll, acht is onoraigh poll nà paiste. [A patch is better than a hole, but a hole is more honourable than a patch.]

179. Is beag a rud a shalaigheas brighiste, agus ni lugha a thuilleas diomadh. [It is a little thing that dirties a pair of breeches, but not less than what deserves reproach.]

180. Glacaidh gach dath dubh, acht ni ghlacaidh an dubh dath. [Every colour will take black, but black will take no colour.]

181. Lan duirn de shògh, agus lán baile de naire. [The full of a fist of gain, and the full of a village of shame.]

For example, when a single egg is stolen.

182. Ma's mòr do chliù, cha mhaith. [Though your fame is great, it is not good.]

183. Is buaine cliù nà saoghal. [Reputation is more lasting than life.]

184. Is fearr diol tnu nà diol truaighe. [It is better (to be) an object of envy than an object of pity.]

Humility.

185. Is fàlta duine a g-clùid dhuine eile. [A man is shy in another man's corner.]
186. Ghnidh suidhe ìsioll goradh àrd. [A low seat makes a high warming.]
187. Is minic a fagadh an tè bu mhò mheisneach, a's thainig a deireòil saor. [Many a time the most confident person has been left in the lurch, when the humble one has got off safe.]

As in battle, where the strong man may be slain, and the weak escape. "*The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.*"—BIBLE.

188. 'Sì an dìas is truime is ìsle chromas a cionn. [The heaviest ear of corn is the one that lowliest bends its head.]

A beautiful metaphor, implying that the man who has most knowledge is always the most modest.

189. Fear falamh a bheidheas gan nidh, [He that has nothing,
Suidheadh sìos a bh-fad o chàch; Let him sit far below the rest (of the company);
O mheud a maise bhios 'n a chorp, Be he ever so handsome in his person,
Is iomadh lochd a chithear 'n a làr. Many a fault will be seen in him.]

Courage, Confidence, Self-Reliance.

190. Nà biodh do theangaidh fa do chrios. [Do not keep your tongue under your belt.]

i.e., Speak out boldly.

191. Nà seachain a's nà h-agair an cath. [Do not either shun or provoke a fight.]

——————"*Beware*
Of entrance to a quarrel, but being in
Bear it, that th' opposer may beware of thee."—SHAKSPEARE.

192. Beidh nidh ag an sàrachan, 'n ùair a bhios an nàireachan falamh. [The pertinacious man will get something when the shame-faced will go empty.]

Latin. *Audaces fortuna juvat timidosque repellat.* Spanish. *Al hombre osado la fortuna da la mano.* [To the bold man fortune gives her hand.] English. *Faint heart never won fair lady.*

Truth, Sincerity, and the reverse.

193. Is fearrde a dhearcas brèug fiadhnuise. [A lie looks the better of having a witness.]
194. Biann an fhìrinne searbh go minic. [Truth is often bitter.]

195. An lus nach bh-fuighthear, 'sè 'fhòireas. [The herb that cannot be got is the one that suits.]

Applied to persons who offer to give or lend a thing, but unluckily it cannot be found.

196. Cha deanann bodach brèug 's a chlann a lathair. [A clown does not tell lies when his children are present.]

Because they might contradict him.

197. Cha deachaidh se air sgath an tuir leis. [He did not go behind the bush with him.]

i.e., He spoke out bluntly.

198. Meallann a fear brèugach a fear sanntach. [The liar deceives the greedy man.]

199. Ni fiù sgèul gan ughdar èisdeachd. [A story without an author is not worth listening to.]

200. Mhionnochadh se poll thrìd chlàr. [He would swear a hole through a plank.]

Honesty, Justice.

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201. Nà bain leis an nidh nach m-baineann duit (or, leat). [Do not meddle with what does not concern you.]

202. Ghoideadh se an ubh o'n chorr, a's a chorr fèin fa dheireadh. [He would steal the egg from the crane, and the crane herself at last.]

The crane is said to be remarkable for her vigilance.

203. Saoileann gaduidhe na g-cruach gur sladaidibh an sluagh. [The man that steals stacks thinks all the world thieves.]

A thorough thief believes no one to be honest.

204. Eugcòir os cionn gach eugcòir, eugcòir a dheanamh air dhuine mhaith. [Injustice beyond all injustice, wronging the good man.]

205. An uair a thuiteas rògairidh a mach, tiocaidh duine macanta air a chuid fèin. [When rogues fall out, an honest man will get his own.]

206. Is beag a ta eadar an chòir a's an eugcòir. [There is but little between justice and injustice.]

i.e., It is as easy to do a just as an unjust action.

207. Cuir an ceart 'roimh an bh-fèile, [Put justice before generosity.]

208. Cuntas glan fhagas càirde buidheach [Clear accounts leave friends thankful;
A charas Criosd, cuir a nall an fheòirlin. So, gossip, hand me over the farthing.]

Italian. *Conti chiari, amici cari.* [Clear accounts make dear friends.] Scotch. *Aft countin' keeps frien's lang thegither.* English. *Short accounts make long friends.* French. *A vieux comptes, nouvelles disputes.*

Pride, Self-Sufficiency, Boastfulness, Selfishness, Wilfulness.

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209. Saoileann gach èun gur b'è a chlann fèin is deise air a g-coill. [Every bird thinks her own young ones the handsomest in the wood.]
    Latin. *Suum cuique pulchrum;* and, *Sua quisque laudat.* Spanish. *Cada buhonero alaba sus agujas.* [Every pedlar praises his needles.]

210. Is teann gach madadh air a charnan féin. [The dog is bold on his own little heap.]
    French. *Chien sur son fumier est hardi.* Scotch. *A cock is crouse on his ain midden.*
    Spanish. *Cada gallo canta en su mulador.*

211. Is teann an madadh gearr a n-àit a m-biann a thathaigh. [The cur is bold in the place where he is well known.]

212. Ni aithnigheann a mhuc a bhios 'sa chrò a mhuc a bhios dul a ròd. [The pig in the sty does not recognize the pig going along the road.]

213. Sin ag deanamh sglèipe os cionn sglàmhaireachd. [Putting on show over meanness.]
    Said when a poor farmer puts on fine clothes.

214. Ni thuigeann an sàthach an seang. [The satiated man does not understand (the feelings of) the hungry man.]

215. Biann duilleabhar àluinn a's toradh searbh air chrann na sgèimhe. [The tree of beauty has handsome foliage and bitter fruit.]

216. 'N uair a bhios bolg a chait làn, ghnidh se crònan. [When the cat's belly is full, she purrs:]—and

217. Is mur gheall air fèin a ghnidheas a cat crònan. [It is on her own account the cat purrs.]
    Spanish. *Halaga la cola el can, non por ti, sino per el pan.* [The dog wags his tail, not for you but for the bread.]

218. Cha chuimhnigheann a fear ciocrach a chù go m-beidh a bhrù fèin làn. [The hungry man does not remember his hound till his own belly is full.]

219. Seòl do shean-mhathair lachanaidh a bhleaghan. [Teach your grandmother to milk ducks.]
    Latin. *Delphinum natare doces, vel aquilam volare.*

220. Gach duine a' tarruing uisge air a mhuileann fèin. [Every man drawing the water to his own mill.]

221. Is mian leis a chlèireach mias mhèith comh maith leis an t-sagart. [The clerk likes a fat dish as well as the priest.]
    Spanish. *Quando el abad lame el cuchillo, mal para el monacillo.* [When the curate licks the knife, it is bad for the clerk.]

222. Is maith fa sheòladh an bhothair an tè a bhios olc fa aoidheachda. [He who is bad at giving lodging is good at showing the road.]

223. Is maighistreas a luchog air a thigh fèin. [The mouse is mistress in her own house.]

224. 'Si a chneadh fèin is luaithe mhothuigheas gach duine. [It is his own wound that every man feels the soonest.]

225. Is mòr an caolach a bhi air do bheagan arbha. [There was a great deal of rubbish in your small quantity of corn.]

226. Molaidh an gniomh è fèin. [The deed will praise itself.]

Italian. *Dal detto al fatto, v' è un gran tratto.*

227. Torann mòr air bheagan ola. [Much noise for little wool.]

English. *Much cry and little wool, as the devil said when shearing the pig.* Scotch. *Mair whustle nor woo', as the souter said when shearin' the soo.* Spanish. *Cacarear y no poner huevo.* [To cackle and lay no egg.]

228. Leig fad an aghastair leis. [Let him have the length of the halter.]—or, Teilg an t-aghastar fa n-a chionn. [Throw the halter over his head.]

i.e., Let him take his full swing. English. *Give him rope enough, and he will hang himself.*

229. Saoileann se gur b'è fèin an chloch a caitheadh leis a g-caislean. [He thinks that he himself is the very stone that was hurled at the castle.]

i.e., He was the one who bore the brunt. This proverb seems to allude to the stone cannon-balls used for artillery in the 15th and 16th centuries.

230. Is binn gach èun ann a dhoire fèin. [Every bird is melodious in his own grove.]

231. Chan ùaisle mac righ nà a chuid. [The son of a king is not nobler than his food.]

Often said by a person who happens to come in unexpectedly on another who is in the act of cooking his own food; as much as to say, "You need not be ashamed." The saying took its origin in an anecdote which is told of one of the O'Neills, the Ulster chieftains. A bard on one occasion having entered a room without ceremony, discovered the chief toasting a cake for himself. O'Neill looked ashamed of his occupation; but the bard instantly addressed him in these *impromptu* lines:—

Is tu-sa an tighearna O'Nèill,
A's mi-se mac t-sèin mhic Cuirc;
Tiontamaois a t-sudog air aon,
Chan uaisle mac righ nà a chuid.

Italian. *A tavola non bisogna aver vergogna.* [At table one need not be ashamed.]

Against Trusting to Appearances.

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232. Biann adharca mòra air bhà a bh-fad ò bhaile. [Cows far from home have long horns.]

We value things at a distance, or out of our reach, more than they deserve. English. *Far away birds have fine feathers.* Latin. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico est.*

233. Is glas na cnuic a bh-fad uainn. [Distant hills appear green.]

234. Cha deanann aon àilleog samhradh. [One swallow does not make a summer.]

235. Suaire an taobh a muigh agus duaire an taobh a stigh. [Civil outside and churlish inside.]

236. Is minic gràna greannmhar, a's èadan deas air mhìsteàir. [Often an ugly person is agreeable, and a mischievous one has a handsome face.]

237. Troid chaoracha maola. [A fight between hornless sheep.]

i.e., A mock-fight; said of persons appearing to be very angry with each other, but not so in reality.

238. Ma's olc a dath, is maith a dreach. [Though the complexion is bad, the countenance is good.]

239. Taisbean an laogh biadhta, acht nà taisbean an nidh a bhiadhtaigh è. [Show the fatted calf, and not the thing that fattened him.]

240. Ghnidh aran cam bolg díreach. [Crooked bread makes a straight belly.]

Alluding to oaten cakes, which become crooked when toasted at the fire on the "*maide aràin.*" Many a person or thing, though rough and unsightiy, is good notwithstanding.

241. Cha chluinnean se an nidh nach binn leis. [He does not hear what is not pleasing to him.]

242. Is anamh bhios teangaidh mhilis gan gath ann a bun. [A sweet tongue is seldom without a sting at its root.]

243. Blichtear na bà buidhe, a's òltar a g-cuid boinne,
Agus thèid na bà bàna gan sàl chun a bhaile.

[The yellow cows are milked, and their milk is drunk;
While the white cows come back from the fair, and no bid for them.]

Yellow cows are said to give better milk than white cows, and therefore sell better in the fair. The proverb is applied to women, and hints that a girl with an uninviting exterior may make a better wife than a handsome one.

244. Biann borb faoi sgèimh. [A violent disposition may be under a beautiful form.]

245. Biann cluanaidhe a n-deagh-chulaidh. [A deceiver may be dressed in fine clothes.]

246. Cionn circeòige air shean-cheirc. [A pullet's head on an old hen.]

A hen's age can never be told by her head. The proverb is applied to an elderly woman dressing herself with a showy cap, more suitable for a young one.

247. Ainm gan tàbhacht. [The name without the substance.]

248. Is maith an sgeul (or, an greann) a lionas bolg. [It is a good story (or, jest) that fills the belly]

Scotch. *It's good game that fills the wame.*

249. Cha liontar an bolg le caint. [The belly is not filled by talking.]

English. *Fair words butter no parsnips;* and, *Many words will not fill a bushel.*

Latin. *Fabulis venter non expletur.*

250. Beiridh cearc dhubh ubh bhàn. [A black hen lays a white egg.]

Spanish. *Tierra negra buen pan lleva.* [Black land produces good bread.]

Sobriety.

251. An uair a bhios an deoch a stigh, biann a chiall a muigh. [When drink is in, sense is out.]
Italian. *Vino dentro, senno fuora.* Spanish. *Do entra beber, sale sober.* [When drink enters wisdom departs.]
252. Is cuma liom cumann bean leanna. [I do not care for the friendship of an ale-wife.]
253. Is giorra deoch na sgeul. [A drink is shorter than a story.]

Poverty.

254. Is iomad gron a chithear air a duine bhocht. [Many a defect is seen in the poor man.]
255. Milleann a bhoichtineacht a choingeall. [Poverty destroys punctuality.]
256. Ta gob a phòcain air a chapàn aige. [He has the mouth of his poke on the baking dish.]
Equivalent to the next proverb, "He is from hand to mouth." The *capan* is the wooden dish or bowl in which poor people knead their bread. The proverb says that the mouth of the beggar's "poke" (*i.e.*, the last of the meal) is always in the dish.
257. Chan'uil aige acht o'n làimh go d-ti an beul. [He has nothing but from hand to mouth.]
258. Is ball buan do'n donas an nàire. [Shame is a constant accompaniment of poverty.]
259. Brosnuigheann aire intleacht. [Necessity urges invention.]
260. Is iomad sift a dheanas duine bocht sul a sgabadh se tigh. [Many a shift the poor man makes before he will give up his house.]
261. Is buidh le bocht a bh-faghann. [The poor are thankful for what they get.]
262. Is baile bocht, baile gan toit gan teine. [It is a poor village that has neither smoke nor fire.]
Spanish. *Casa sin chiminea, de muger pobre o yerma.* [A house without a chimney is either inhabited by a poor woman, or empty.
263. Is ionmhuin le Dia duine bocht sùgach, acht ni lugha air an diabhal nà duine bocht lùbach. [God loves a cheerful poor man, but he hates like the devil a dishonest poor man.]
Spanish. *Pobrete pero alegrete.* [Poor but merry.]
264. Millidh an ainnis an t-iasacht. [Poverty spoils borrowing.]
English. *Poverty parts good company.*
265. An tè a bhios sìos buailtear clòch air, a's an tè a bhios sùas òltar deòch air. [The man that is down has a stone thrown at him, and the man that is up has his health drunk.]
266. Cha seasann sac falamh. [An empty sack does not stand upright.]
267. Ni baoghal do'n m-bacach an gaduidhe. [The beggar is in no danger from the robber.]
Latin. *Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator.*

Character, Disposition, Mental Qualifications.

268. Cha robh se air faghail, 'n ùair a bhi an chiall da roinn. [He was not forthcoming when sense was distributed.]

    Spanish. *Salamon pasó por su puerto quando nació, mas no entró dentro.* [When he was born, Solomon passed by his door and would not go in.]

269. Cha robh se go maith, o rinne slat còta dò. [He was never good since the time that a yard (of cloth) made a coat for him.]

    i.e., He never was good since he was a boy.

270. Falaigheann gradh gràin, agus chi fùath a làn. [Love conceals ugliness, and hate sees many faults.]

271. 'Sè an t-uisge is èadomhuine is mo tormàn. [It is the shallowest water that makes the greatest noise.]

    Spanish. *Do va mas hondo el rio, hace menos ruido.* [Where the river runs deepest it makes least noise.]

272. Is beag a ghaoith nach ngluaisidh guaigìn. [It is a little wind that will not move a giddy-headed person.]

273. Chaithfeadh an tè gheabhas sùas leis eirigh go mòch. [The man who will overtake him must rise early.]

274. Is trèise an dùchas nà an oileamhuin. [A hereditary disposition is stronger than education.]

275. Is bùaine an buinneàn maoith nà an crann bromanta. [The soft twig is more durable than the stubborn tree.]

276. Is iomadh taod a thig ann a là earraigh. [Many a sudden change takes place in a spring day.]

    A pleasing metaphor, applied to the fickleness of youth.

277. Is mian le h-amadan imircc. [A fool is fond of removing.]

278. Is minic a fuaras comhairle ghlic ò amadan. ['Tis often a good advice has been got from a fool.]

279. Gach cat a n-dèigh a chineàil. [Every cat after its kind.]

280. An ùair a ghlaodhas a sean choileach, foghlumaidh an t-òg. [When the old cock crows, the young one learns.]

281. Ta gò a n-aghaidh gò, agus camadh a n-aghaidh caim, agus casadh a n-aghaidh na gangaide. [There is deceit against deceit, and crook against crook, and twist against the screw.]

    Said of any person more than usually "crooked" in his disposition.

282. Ta nios mò nà a phaidireacha aige. [He knows more than his Pater-noster;]—and

283. Ta nios mò nà mìola ann a cheann. [He has more than lice in his head.]

284. Ta fios aige ca mheùd gràinne pònair a ghnidh cùig. [He knows how many beans make five.]

    Spanish. *Saber quantas puas tiene un peyne.* [To know how many teeth there are in a comb.]

285. Briseann an dùchas tre shùilibh a chait. [The natural disposition of a cat bursts out through her eyes.]

286. Thug se ò dhùchas è, mur thug a mhuc a rùtail. [He got it from nature, as the pig got the rooting in the ground.]

He inherits the quality, or vice, from his parents.

287. Aithnigh cù gèur a lòcht. [A sharp hound knows his fault.]

Most people are aware of their own faults. Spanish. *Cada uno sabe donde le aprieta el zapato.* [Every one knows where the shoe pinches him.]

288. Guid è dheanadh mac a chait acht luchòg a ghabhàil? [What would the son of a cat do but catch a mouse?]

Italian. *Chi da gatta nasce sorici piglia.*

289. Gach eùn mur oiltear è, ars' an chuach a' dul 's a neanntàig. [Every bird as he has been reared, said the cuckoo, as she went into the nettle.]

290. Gach eùn mur oiltear è, a's an uiseag chun na mòna. [Every bird as he has been reared, and the lark to the moor.]

Latin. *Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem*
Testa diu.

291. Budh dual do laogh an fhiaidh, rith a bheith aige. [It is natural for the fawn of a deer to have fleetness.]

292. An rud fhàsas 's a g-cnàimh, ni fèadar a dhìbirt as a bh-feòil. [The thing that grows in the bone is hard to drive out of the flesh.]

Latin. *Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurrat.*—Horat.

293. Chan 'uil amadan air bith is measa nà sean-amadan. [There is no fool worse than an old fool.]

294. An tè is mò fhosglas a bhèul, 'sè is lugha fhosglas a sporàn. [The man that opens his mouth the most, opens his purse the least.]

295. Da d-treabhadh se an tìr, chaithfeadh se an rìoghachda. [Though he would plough a whole country, he would spend a whole kingdom.]

i.e., A hard worker, but as great a spender.

296. 'Sè an carr falamh is mò a ghnì toran. [It is the empty car that makes the most noise.]

297. 'Sè an t-uisge ciuin is doimhne a ritheas. [It is the smooth water that flows the deepest.]

Spanish. *Del agua mansa me libre Dios, que de la recia me guardaré yo.* [From the smooth water, Lord deliver me; from the rough I shall guard myself.]

298. Bèul eidhnàin, a's croidhe cuilinn. [A mouth of ivy, and a heart of holly.]

299. Bìann a donas a m-bun na stiocaireacht. [Bad luck attends stinginess.]

300. An Laighneach laoigheach, [The Leinster-man is sprightly,
An Mumhaineach spleaghach, The Munster-man boastful,
An Conachtach bèul-bhinn, The Connaught-man sweet-tongued,
'S an t-Ultach beadaidh. And the Ulster-man impudent.]

301. Tabhartus Ui-Néill, 's a dhà shùil 'n a dhèigh. [O'Neill's gift, and his two eyes looking after it.]

Said when any one unhandsomely reminds another of an obligation conferred by himself.

302. Roinn mur do dhaoine, a's nà fag thu fèin falamh. [Share as your family do, so as not to leave yourself empty.]

i.e., Your people always took good care of themselves.

303. Da g-cuirinn gruaig mo chinn faoi n-a chosa, cha sàsochadh se è. [If I were even to put the hair of my head under his feet, it would not satisfy him.]

304. Is fiata feargach gach lag-neartmhar. [Every feeble man is irritable.]

305. An tè d'uaith an fheòil, òladh se an brot. [He that has eaten the flesh-meat may drink the broth too.]

Said when the leavings of anything are offered.

306. An tè a bhualadh mo mhadadh, bhualadh se mè fèin. [He that would beat my dog would beat myself.]

Manners, Behaviour, Civility.

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307. Cha mhilleann deagh-ghlòr fiacal. [A sweet voice does not injure the teeth.]

French. *Douces paroles n'écorchent pas la langue.*

308. Chan fhaghann fear mogaidh modh. [A mocker is never respected.]

309. Cùairt go h-anamh go tigh do charaid, a's fanach gearr goirid ann. [Pay visits to your friend's house seldom, and stay but a short time there.]

Spanish. *A casa de tu tia, mas no cada dia.* [Go to your aunt's house, but not every day.]
and, *El huesped y el pece à tres dias hiede.* [A guest and a fish stink on the third day.]

310. Aidigheann a tosdach. [The silent man confesses.]

311. Cha n-è an tè 'chomhnuidheas a d-tigh gloine, is còir a cheud chloch a chaitheadh. [He that lives in a glass house is not the one who ought to throw the first stone.]

Spanish. *El que tiene tejado de vidrio, no tire piedras al de su vicino.* [He whose house is tiled with glass must not throw stones at his neighbour's.]

312. Thig se gan iarraidh mur thig a dò-aimsir. [He comes like the bad weather, uninvited.]

313. Nà cuir do chorran a ngort gan iarraidh. [Do not bring your reaping-hook to a field without being asked.]

314. Ta sneag an cheapaire nar uaith tu ort. [You have got the hiccup from bread and butter that you never ate.]

i.e., You are meddling with what does not concern you:—or, you are taking offence at a thing not intended for you.

315. Cha robh tu a riamh gan Diarmaid agad. [You were never without Dermot along with you.]

There is always something going astray with you. Also said to a person who has a habit of doing or saying a particular thing on all occasions.

316. Nà cuir do ghob a g-cuideachta gan iarraidh. [Never thrust your beak into company without invitation.]

Spanish. *A boda ni bautizado, no vayas sin ser llamado.* [Do not go to a wedding nor a christening unless you are invited.]

317. Cha d-tainig fear an eadarsgàin saor a rìamh. [The intermeddler never came off safe.]

318. An tè is measa beàirt a's bèusa
Is lia bheir tò-bhèum do gach aon neach;
Is lèur dò locht gach duine ann 'èudan
'S nì lèur dò an làn-locht a n-damantar è fèin thrid.
[The man who himself is the worst in deeds and disposition,
Is the very one who calumniates everybody;
He sees each man's fault plainly in his countenance,
But he cannot perceive the greater fault that condemns himself.]

319. A ghreideàl a' tabhairt tòn dubh air a b-pota. [The griddle calling the pot "black bottom."]

320. Comhairle charaid gan a h-iarraidh, chan fhuair si a rìamh an meas budh chòir di. [A friend's advice not asked for, was never valued as it deserved.]

Latin. *Ad consilium ne accesseris antequam voceris.* Scotch. *Come na to the council unca'd.*

321. An tè a bhios 'n a mhaighistear, aithneochar è. [The man who is the master is (easily) known.]

Friendship, Choice of Companions.

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322. An tè a luidheas leis na madraidh, èireochaidh se leis na dearnadaidh. [He that lies down with the dogs will rise up with the fleas.]

He that touches pitch shall be defiled therewith.—ECCLESIASTICUS. *Evil communications corrupt good manners.*—ST. PAUL.

323. Is maith an sgathan sùil charad. [The eye of a friend is a good looking-glass.]

324. A n-am na ciorra aithnighear an charaid. [In time of need the friend is known.]

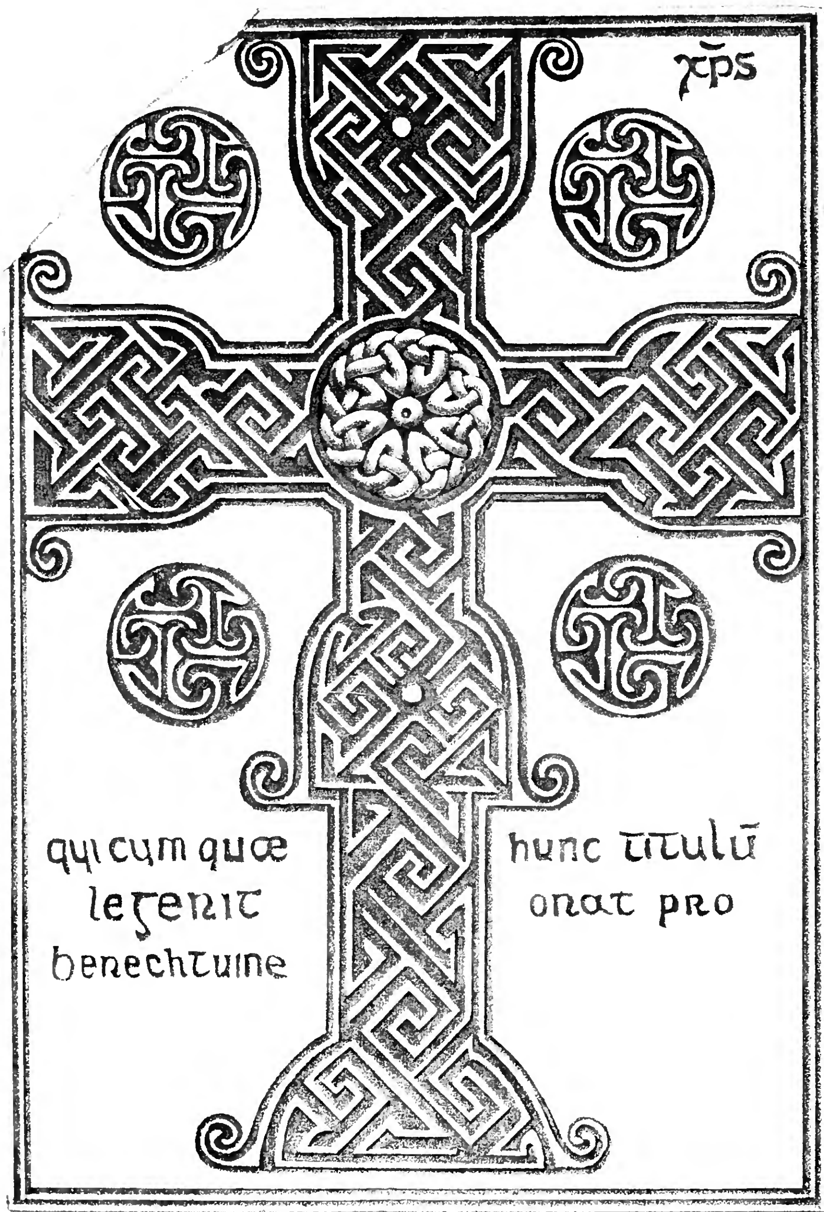
English. *A friend in need is a friend indeed.* Spanish. *Amigo del buen tiempo, mudase con el viento.* [A friend in prosperity changes with the wind.]—and, *Ahora que tengo oveja y borrego, todos me dicen en hora buena estèis Pedro.* [Now that I have got a ewe and a lamb, everybody wishes me "Good day, Peter."] Latin. *Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur.*—CICERO:—and, *Ubi opes, ibi amici.*

325. Bain le ruinein, a's bainidh an ruinein leat. [Meddle with the peevish man, and he will meddle with you.]

326. Théid gach eun le n' alt fein. [Every bird goes along with its own flock;]—and

327. Eunlaith an aon eite a n-èinfheacht ag eitiollaigh. [Birds of one feather flying together.]

Latin. *Similis simili in delectat.* Spanish. *Cada oveja con su pareja.*


xp̄s
qui cum quæ
legerit
benechtuine
hunc titulū
orat pro

328. Bog a bodach a's bain beum as; òl a ghloine a's bi reidh leis. [Humour the clown, and take your turn out of him; drink his glass, and have done with him.]

329. Cha robh caora chlamhach air a t-srèud a riamh, nar mhaith leithi comràda bheith aici. [There never was a scabby sheep in a flock that did not like to have a comrade.]

330. Ni h-eòlus gan iontuigheas. [There is no knowing a person without living in the same house with him.]

Latin. *Homini ne fidas, nisi cum quo modium salis absumpseris.*

331. Na trèig do charaid air do chuid. [Do not desert your friend for your meat.]

332. Bhearaidh aon mhadadh a mhàin air mhadaidh an bhaile tafann. [A single dog will set all the dogs in the village a-barking.]

(To be continued.)

ST. BERETCHERT OF TULLYLEASE.

By W. REEVES, D. D.

The ecclesiastic whose memory is held in highest esteem in that part of the north-west of the county of Cork which forms the barony of Duhallow, is St. Beretchert of the Irish calendar, or St. Benjamin as he is vulgarly called in modern times. His festival is properly the 6th of December, at which day he is commemorated in the calendars of Marian Gorman and of Donegall as *Beretchert Tulcha-leis*, 'Beretchert of Tulach-leas.' He is not noticed in the more ancient calendar, called the Feilire of Ængus the Culdee; and the omission is an argument in favour of the early date of that remarkable poem, whose author is supposed to have flourished about the year 800; while the obit of the saint is assigned by the Four Masters to the year 839, in these words—*Berichtir Tulcha-leis décc 6 December*, 'Berichter of Tulach-leis died on the 6th of December.' This date, if correct, will help to fix the age of St. Gerald of Mayo, who was his brother, but whose death is placed by the same annalists[a] at the year 726. According to the life of this saint, he, Balan, Berikert, Hubritan, and a sister Segresia, were the children of Cusperius, a Saxon prince, and Berniciа his wife. They are represented as leaving England after the defeat of Colman, bishop of Lindisfarne, at the synod of Whitby,[b] and as coming over to Ireland with a great many followers. They first landed in Connaught, at the mouth of the Shannon; afterwards they proceeded to the river Moy; and finally obtained a settlement in Mayo, where they erected a new monastery, or extended the existing one. St. Gerald,[c] though not the founder, became in time the patron saint of Mayo, which

[a] They, as all writers since, seem to have mistaken the words of Tighernach at 732, and of the Annals of Ulster at 731, *Pontifex Maigi Eu Saxonum Garailt obiit.* See Reeves's Adamnan, p. liv.

[b] Held in the year 664. According to the Annals of Ulster, Colman (or *Columbanus*, as they call him) sailed to Ireland in 667, and died in 675.

[c] His Life is given by Colgan, at his day, the 13th of March. (Act SS. pp. 599-606.) It is a miserable composition, full of anachronisms and blunders.

was styled "Magheo-Saxonum of Gerald."[d] Balan, called *Ballon* in the calendar of Marian Gorman, was the founder and patron of *Teach-Saxon,*—that is, 'House of Saxons,'—a church giving name to the prebend of Taghsaxan, in the cathedral of Tuam, and now called Templegal, in the parish of Athenry.[e] His day is the 3rd of September. Hubritan, or Uildbrit or Huiltbrith as he is called in the calendars of Tallaght and Marian Gorman, was commemorated on the 24th of April.

The name of the other brother, being a Saxon one, is variously written in Irish authorities. The calendars call it *Beretchert;* St. Gerald's Life, *Berikert;* the Four Masters, *Berichtir;* and the inscription on his tombstone, *Berechtuine.* In a modern inscription at Tullylease, the name is written *Bericheart*, and in composition it appears in the form *Kilberrihert, Kilberehert,* pronounced *Kilberrahurth.*[f] The name seems allied to Beret, and Ecgberct, and Brechtrid of Annal. Ult. 697. The local tradition about him is that he came to Tullylease from Cullen, a parish lying south-west in the same barony, where he had been some time in the society of three sisters, one of whom was called *Lassar*, and another *Ingen Buidhe.*[g] The foundations of his house and church are shown there. Near the church is marked in the Ordnance Survey *St. Laserian's Well,*[h] and it is said that stations used to be held here on the 24th of July, although St. Lassar's day is entered in the calendar at the 23rd, instead of the 24th. In the adjoining parish of Kilmeen, is the townland of *Killasseragh*, called from the same saint. The story is that the brother and three sisters composed a little conventual society, and that in their nocturnal studies or devotions, when fire was wanted to kindle a light, St. Lassar used to go to a neighbouring forge, and bring home the "seeds of flame" in her apron. But at length, happening to require a new pair of shoes, she went to a shoemaker, who did not disguise his admiration of the beauty of her foot, and thus ministered to her vanity, which being a sinful emotion, her apron lost its asbestic property, and the next time she went to carry embers, a hole was immediately burned therein. This was interpreted by St. Berecheart as a signal for his departure and greater seclusion; so he proceeded on his way, and journeying to the north-east, he placed his abode at Tulach-Leas, 'the hill of the huts,' now known as Tullylease, a parish at the north-west border of the county of Cork and diocese of Cloyne.[i] The peasantry have a derivation for the name Berecheart, which is founded on a legend similar to that of St. Benen or Benignus of Armagh. They say that, on arriving at Tullylease, our Saint engaged in a public controversy with a druid who sought to hinder the conversion of the people; and it was finally agreed upon, that both should enter a hut built of inflammable materials, whereupon it was

[d] His church was called *Tempull Garailt.* See Petrie's Round Towers, p. 142.

[e] Ord. Survey of Galway, sheet 95, north-east angle. There is also a *Tisaxon,* near Kinsale, in the county of Cork.

[f] For the places so called, see further on.

[g] About six miles north of Tullylease, in the parish of Monagay, county of Limerick, is an ancient church, called after her, *Teampoll Inghin Buidhe.*

[h] Lasre, Laisre, Laisren, Laisrean, Lasserian, Mo-Laissi, are mere modifications of one name, which was a *male's;* but Lassar is the *female* form.

[i] In the synod of Rathbreasal, which was the first attempt at defining the Irish bishoprics, *Tulach-Leas* was assigned as one of the southern boundaries of the diocese of Limerick: which it continues to be, its adjoining parish on the North being Killagholehane, in the diocese and county of Limerick.

to be closed upon them and set on fire, and that the survivor of this ordeal should be considered the just claimant upon the popular regard. The legends of Benen and Berecheart thus coinciding, and furnishing a familiar etymology for the latter name, the real subject of the story seems, in later days, to have supplanted, or at least modified our saint's name; for, among the peasantry, and the crowds from all parts of Limerick and Cork who come annually to visit his "*patron*," he is known by no other name than *St. Benjamin !*

The legend of St. Benen, as given by Muirchu in the *Book of Armagh*, will prepare the reader for the local tradition of St. Berecheart. "His autem omnibus in conspectu regis inter Magum Patriciumque ait rex, Illos libros vestros in aquam mittite, et illum cujus libri inlessi evasserunt adorabimus. Respondit Patricius, Faciam ego; et dixit Magus, Nolo ego ad judicium aquæ venire cum isto; aqua enim deum habet certe: audivit baptisma per aquam a Patricio datum. Et respondens rex ait, Permitte per ignem. Et ait Patricius, Prumptus sum; at Magus nolens dixit, Hic homo versa vice in alternos annos nunc aquam nunc ignem deum veneratur. Et ait Sanctus, Non sic, sed tu ipse ibis, et unus ex meis pueris ibi tecum, in separatam et conclaussam domum, et meum erga te, et tuum erga me vestimentum, et sic simul incendemini. Et hoc consilium insedit, et aedificata est eis domus cujus dimedium ex materia viridi, et alterum dimedium ex arida facta est; et missus est Magus in illam domum in partem ejus viridem; et unus ex pueris sancti Patricii, *Bineus* nomine, cum veste magica, in partem domus. Conclussa itaque extrinsecus domus coram omni turba incensa est. Et factum est in illa hora, orante Patricio, ut consumeret flamma ignis Magum cum demedia domu viridi, permanente cassula sancti Patricii tantum intacta, quam ignis non tetigit. Felix autem Benineus e contrario cum demedia domu arida, secundum quod de Tribus Pueris dictum est, non tetigit eum ignis, neque contristatus est, nec quicquam molesti intulit, cassula tantum Magi quæ erga eum fuerat non sine Dei nutu exusta."[k] [But after the performance of all these things in the presence of the king, between the Druid and Patrick, the king said, Cast those books of yours into the fire, and him whose books shall escape uninjured, we will revere. Patrick answered, I will do so. But the Druid said, I am unwilling to enter into the trial by water with him; for the water is undoubtedly tenanted by a deity, (he had heard of baptism administered with water by Patrick.) Then the king answering said, Try it by fire. And Patrick said, I am ready. But the Druid was unwilling, and said, This man, every second year, turn about, worships either the water or the fire as a deity. And the saint said, It shall not be thus, but you yourself shall go, and one of my disciples with you, into a detached and closed-up house, with my garment on you, and your garment on him, and thus ye shall be both set on fire. And the proposal was agreed to, and a house was built for them, half of which was constructed of wet material, and the other half of dry. And the Druid was placed in that part of the

[k] Liber Ardmachæ, folio 5 *ba*. The learned reader will observe in this extract the peculiar orthography of the Irish scribe. See also the same in substance in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, lib. I. cap. 65. (Colgan Trias Thaum. p. 127 *b*.)

house which was moist, and one of the disciples of Saint Patrick, named Bineus, having on the Druid's garment, in the other part. The house was then secured outside, and set on fire in the presence of the whole multitude. And it came to pass, in the self-same hour, through the prayer of Patrick, that the flame of fire consumed the Druid with the moist half of the house, Saint Patrick's cowl alone remaining intact, for the fire did not affect it. But Benineus, an the other hand, came off safe, with the dry half of the house, according to what is written of the Three Holy Children. The fire did not touch him, neither was he hurt, nor did he feel any unpleasantness; only the cowl of the Druid, which had been on him, was, by the will of God, burnt up.]

This is a very ancient legend; its writer flourished about the year 700, and it is in a book which was written before the year 807.

St. Berecheart's counterpart is as follows:—

As cruadh an cunradh ar a reithiodar:
Duine o'n n-duine do chur ann ein-tigh;
Dha cheann an tighe lasadh ann ein-fheacht:
'Sa te nach doithfidhe da Dhia-san geilleadh.
D'eagla geasa do bheith 'nna c-cuid eadaigh,
Seansalaid brait re na cheile:
Doitheadh an Draoi, 'snior dhearg air Bheinin:
Is ann sin do tugadh breith cheart naemtha.

Hard was the test on which they settled:
A person from [each] person to put into one house;
Both ends of the house to set on fire at the same instant,
And he who was not burned, his God they were to worship.
Lest charms should be in their clothes,
They exchanged garments with each other;
Burned was the Druid, and it lighted not over Benin:
And then was given a *judgment, righteous*, holy.[1]

On this story, probably, is built the vulgar belief, that stones picked out of the wall of what is called the 'Saint's House' possess the virtue of securing the bearer against fire and storm; and as a natural consequence, the little structure has nearly disappeared, for there is scarcely a cabin in the

[1] These lines are given in John O'Connell's poem on the antiquities of Ireland, lately reprinted by Martin A. O'Brennan, pp. 118 119. According to the etymology contained in the last line, Berecheart is *quasi* Breith-cheart, "righteous judgment." Locally the derivation is thus given:—
Do doighheadh an Draoi, agus nior dheargaidh beim air,
A's is as sin do tugadh air Beir a'cheart naomtha.—
The Druid was burned, and not a spot was reddened on him.
And hence he was called *Beir-a-cheart* (i.e. Carry-the-right.
Or, in metre—*He* was not burnt,
But the Druid was, quite;
And hence he was term'd
St. Carry-the-right.

neighbourhood into the walls of which a stone from the sacred edifice has not been built as a religious 'policy of insurance' against fire; and no emigrant thinks of leaving the country for a distant region without first providing himself with St. Berechert's life-preserver!

Every male child who is born on St. Berechert's day is called by his name, which is regarded as the Irish for Benjamin! But the Saint's day has been unaccountably transferred from the 6th of December to the 18th of February.[m] It could not have been owing to the employment of St. Benen's day, as of his legend, for his festival falls on the 9th of November.

The other places where St. Berechert's name is preserved are the following:—

I.—KILBERRIHERT, a townland in Knocktemple, the parish adjoining Tullylease on the south-east, also in the barony of Duhallow. The name signifies 'Berechert's church,' but there are no vestiges of such now remaining.[n]

II.—KILBERRIHERT, a townland in the parish of Aghabulloge, barony of Muskerry East, situate to the south of the last. In the Ordnance map[o] "Kilberrihert burying-ground" is marked in the demesne a little south of Kilberrihert House, and west of the Roman Catholic chapel. This old cemetery is now only used for the interment of unbaptized children. It contains no ruins or monumental stones. In another direction there is a holy well, which the peasantry call *Tubber Berrihert*, and sometimes *St. Bernard's Well*. St. Olan[p] is the patron of the parish church.

III.—KILBERCHERT, a townland in the parish of Ballincuslane, where the barony of Trughanacmy adjoins that of Duhallow in the county of Cork.

All these, however, were but inconsiderable stations in comparison with Tullylease, which was the principal church of the saint. O'Brien, in his Irish dictionary, calls it "St. Brendan's church of Tullaleis."[q] But this is clearly another *alias* for Berechert, like the *Benjamin* and *Bernard* already mentioned. He is correct, however, in stating that the "O'Nunans were hereditary wardens or protectors of the church of Tullaleis in the county of Cork, and proprietors of the lands of Tullaleis and Castle-Lysin, under obligation of repairs and all other expenses attending the divine service of that church, to which these lands had originally been given as an allodial endowment by its founder." These lands, now the two townlands of Tullylease and Castlelishen (*Caislen-a-lishin*),[r] have become secularised, and are held, the former by the Rev. Crosbie Morgan, and the latter by John Gibbings, Esq. and Sir J. Fitzgerald. But the Noonans, though they have ceased to be proprietors, are still numerous in the parish, and claim the chancel of the old church as their burying-ground; and one of the family still prides himself on possessing the guardianship of the edifice. Another Noonan,

[m] On this day multitudes of people assemble from all parts of the counties of Cork and Limerick, at the Station; and Mass used formerly to be celebrated on the occasion, but it has been discontinued. There is no memory of any other day for the saint's festival, and the change must be a very remote one.

[n] Ordnance Survey, Cork, sheet 15.

[o] Ordnance Survey, Cork, sheet 61.

[p] This name seems to be [illegible]. In that parish of C[illegible] which is in Kinalea, are [illegible] and [illegible].

[q] Note on [illegible] p. [illegible], ed. Dublin, 1832.

[r] The townland of Castleishen is in the adjoining parish of Kilbolane.

seeing a clergyman of the neighbourhood searching in the chancel for a piece of St. Berechert's tombstone, sent him word that if he disturbed his father's grave, he would shoot him! And there was a time when this preliminary message would have been dispensed with. But the name Noonan is a strange corruption from *Ua Inmainen*, its ancient and correct form. Of this we have proof in an interesting notice of Tullylease preserved in the Annals of Inisfallen, in which, at the year 1042, is recorded—*Dunadach hua Inmaineain airchinneach Tulcha-leis quievit*, "Dunadhach O'Inmainen, herenach of Tulach-leis, rested:'[s] a curious process—*Ua Inmainen* becoming *Noonan!* This is the only notice of Tullylease which the writer of this paper has been able to discover in the Irish annals, besides the obit of St. Berichter in the Four Masters: for it is a mistake to suppose that the entry in these annals at 804, where it is related that "Dunchu, abbot of Tulach-lias was slain," has reference to *this* church, as the learned editor supposed.[t] The sequel, "the plundering of *Ulidia* by Aedh Oirdnidhe, the king, in revenge for the profanation of the shrine of Patrick, against *Dunchu*," shows that the county of Down was the scene of the transaction, and points to *Tullylish*, a parish in the diocese of Dromore, the *Tulach-lis in Ui Eachach*, 'Tullylish in Iveagh,' of the calendars at the 12th of May, where a reliquary called the shrine of Patrick seems to have been preserved.

According to Ware,[u] a priory of Regular Canons of St. Augustin was founded here, at an unknown date, by Matthew FitzGriffin; but it seems to have existed as such only for a short period, having been annexed to the great priory of Kells in Ossory before the fifteenth century; for in 1412, Henry the IVth confirmed the possessions of that house, and among them the "Ecclesia de Tyllaghlesche et terra sanctuariæ."[v] The rectorial tithes are now impropriate. The benefice is a vicarage in the diocese of Cloyne, and in the patronage of the bishop.

The old church, which stands in the parish church-yard, is in ruins. It consisted of a nave and chancel, the former 51 feet 8 inches by 30 feet wide, the latter 35 feet 4 inches by 23 feet. A window in the south side of chancel, and door-ways on the same side of chancel and nave, indicate the 13th century as the date of the building. At the western extremity of the nave, there are evidences of a habitation having been attached to the church, in the form of a loft or upper room. The door was on the south side, about two-thirds of the way towards the west angle. From this door to the angle there are putlock-holes in the north and south walls where the joists formerly rested; and on the south side are the remains of the window which lit the chamber, high up above the other windows of the building. Leaning against the inside of the east wall, at the north side of where the altar stood, is the sculptured slab which is represented in the illustration that accompanies this paper. The old people of the neighbourhood believe it to have been the shelf of the

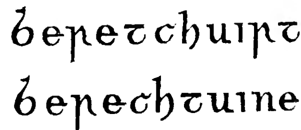
[s] O'Conor, Rev. Hib. Script. vol. ii., part ii., p. 71. In the Pipa Colmani, or Pipe Roll of Cloyne, the tenant is called *Donold O'Henwonhan*, which is evidently a form of Inmainen.

[t] O'Donovan's Four Masters, p. 414 *b*, note [c].

[u] Works, Harris's ed. vol. ii. p. 266; Archdall, Monasticon, pp. 80, 365.

[v] Calend. Rot. Cancellar. Hib. p. 199 *b*, n. 53.

ancient altar; but this is clearly an error. For, though more decorated than the generality of ancient Irish tomb-stones, its monumental character cannot be mistaken. It is a plain flag of sandstone, measuring three feet in length, and two feet in breadth. It is elaborately finished, and the edges well defined. Unfortunately, the upper corner at the right side has been broken off, and though the most careful search was made for it by the accomplished and zealous curate of the parish, it could not be found, and the only result was the discovery of some fragments of stone, having circular patterns of very great age, similar to those in the angles of the slab. There can be no doubt that it contained the letters IHS *Jesus*, as a counterpart to XPS *Christus*, which occupies the other angle. The legend below is in a rude form of Irish letter—QUI CUM QUÆ HUNC TITULUM LEGERIT ORAT PRO BERECHTUINE. The use of *quæ* for *que*, and *orat* for *oret*, is agreeable to the barbarous orthography found in Hiberno-Latin records, where the vowels are written according to their value in the native pronunciation.[w] Of the form *orat* we have an appropriate example in the colophon of an ancient MS. of the Irish school; and it may be remarked here, that the present legend possesses more of the style of a scribe's subscription to a book, than of the monumental formulas in use among the Irish. The colophon to the gospels of Mac Regol is—*Quicumque legerit et intellegeret istam narrationem* ORAT *pro Mac Reguil scriptori*.[x] The form of the saint's name, Berechtuine, is peculiar, and is probably the result of unskilful carving. It might easily, in the hands of an ignorant stone-cutter, arise out of the correct form, as may be judged by the juxtaposition of the words in Irish character,



A rough drawing on stone of this monument was printed, for private circulation, in 1851, by Mr. John Windele, on a single sheet of letter paper; who, in the November of that year, kindly sent a copy to the present writer; and he having occasion to visit his birth-place, Charleville, in 1853, took an opportunity of going over to Tullylease to examine this interesting stone. He made a careful rubbing of it on the occasion, and having afterwards put it in the hands of his valued friend, J. Huband Smith, Esq. obtained a positive drawing, from which the accompanying lithograph has been reduced, with a considerable amount of artistic skill. From it the reader will be able to form a very good idea of this remarkable stone, which, though probably not so old as some of those represented in Dr. Petrie's *Round Towers*, is more ornate, and more historically interesting.

[w] Thus in the Book of Armagh we find *ado, agissent, apiscopus, avanguelium*. And in the Reichenau MS. of Adamnan, *difficillimæ*. See Reeve's Adamnan, pp. xvi., xvii.

[x] O'Conor, Rer. Hib. SS. vol. i., Epist. Nuncup. page ccxxx.

Leaning against the same wall, in the middle, is another slab, on which is a coffin-shaped frame in relief, inside which stands out a figure of a man having a curled head of hair, a swallow-tailed dress coat, breeches, and boots, under which is engraved in modern letters,

Bericheart[y]

The face is perfectly flat,[z] from the repeated osculation[a] it has undergone by the mouths of pilgrims and devotees; and thus serves as an index of the amount of veneration which is rendered to the saint, for the stone is hard and close-grained, and is not more than twenty years in its present position, the figure having been made by a stone-cutter of Charleville, about twenty years ago.

The church-yard, it should be observed, is situate at an angle of the road, on its east side. In a field at the opposite side, about 100 yards distant on the north-west, is the *Tobar Berecheart*, or 'Well of Berechert,' having an old thorn-tree overhanging, covered with votive rags. This well is supposed to possess great virtues in curing diseases, and all around it are little crocks of ablutions, and other indications of pharmaceutical appliances. The writer visited the place on a broiling hot day, and being very thirsty, was about to drink from the well, when he received the timely hint that there was scarcely a disease, from itch to cancer, which had not its deposits in the pool. Close to the margin of the well, on the south side, are the traces of a small angular building, standing east and west, measuring about 28 by 18 feet in the clear. This is what is called *Tigh Berecheart*, or 'The Saint's House:' from its walls all the charmed stones have been supplied, and from its foundation grows the ancient thorn which overhangs the well. On the same side of the road as the church, and about 120 yards north, is the *Tobar Muire*, 'Mary's Well,' where the people go their rounds before visiting St. Berechert's well. It is cased inside with blocks of oak, about three feet deep, rudely squared; and it is believed to have been formerly lined with lead. This well is called by the common people, *Poll-a-mheir*, i.e. 'the pool of the finger,' and it gives the name of *Poulavare* to the townland in which it is situate. The name is accounted for by the story that a certain sacrilegious person, having stolen the sheeting of lead which lined the well, was punished by the saint, who caused his finger to drop off into the water!

In a field lying to the south-west of the church, is a rude stone called *Cloch na h-eilite*, 'the hind's stone.' It has a basin-shaped cavity, with a small hole passing through underneath. There is a legend that a deer used to fill the cavity every morning with milk for the use of the workmen employed in building the church, but being watched by some inquisitive person, she kicked the hole in the vessel, and left the workmen to drink for the future out of the holy well.

[y] To add a new *alias* for Bericheart, we may quote the solemn account of this stone in Lewis's Topogr. Dict. where it is described as "a stone effigy, supposed to be that of *St. Barnabas*, the patron saint!!

[z] What the Irish used to style *Clairineach*, "tabulata facies."

[a] An intelligent friend told me of a piece of carved stone in a church-yard, in the county of Limerick, which was regarded with profound veneration by the peasantry. Seeing a woman kissing it on her knees with great fervour, he examined it on her departure, and found it to be a fragment of the monumental escutcheon of the family of Smith!!

A few yards from the burial-ground stood, in former times, a building called the *Comharbach*, i.e. 'belonging to the Coarb,' the trace of which is discernible, but only that, for the stones of the walls were removed some time ago by the present occupant of the land. It was probably the abode of the *Coarb*, or hereditary tenant of the church property, who was generally a cleric of some order.

All these religious spots seem to have been originally on glebe-land (though it is now alienated), and to have been enclosed by a circular fence, having the church nearly as centre. Tradition represents it as about 18 acres in extent; but the Down Survey (No. 26 B.M. of the county of Cork,—Record Office, Custom House, Dublin,) sets it out as 15 acres, 2 roods. The outline of nearly half the circle has been lately traced, and in some places the rampart is nearly perfect.

[For many of the foregoing particulars, the writer is indebted to the Rev. Thomas Olden, curate of Tullylease, through whose exertions, and partly on whose pecuniary responsibility, a new parish church, at a cost of £640, has been lately built in Tullylease.]

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Tumulus near Carrickfergus.—The present brief communication has reference to the account of the Bellahill tumulus which appeared in the last number of this *Journal* [p. 169.] I am not qualified to discuss the subject as an antiquarian, but I think that the conclusions given, as founded on Geological and Natural-Historical data, should not be allowed to pass without remark.

It appears that the form of the tumulus was somewhat different from the ordinary outline of such mounds, "being more flattened and less elevated;" the writer seems to have considered it necessary to attempt some explanation of this. Supposing that man had never meddled with the mound, and superstitious feelings might have prevented this, its great age and its exposure to the war of the elements for centuries would likely give rise to its partial abrasion, just as rocks and eminences crumble down and become 'weathered.'

Mr. Grattan (of Belfast) first directed attention to the nature of some of the material dug from the foundation of the tumulus; having recognised it as one of those deposits called "fossil earths," now known to be of very general occurrence. In company with James Mac Adam, Esq., F.G.S., I visited the locality, and conjointly we furnished Mr. Lee with a few notes on the geology of the district, and a list of the *Mollusca* found among the fossil earth.

Respecting the shape of the tumulus, Mr. Lee says:—"This may be accounted for by the continued action of the waters of the lake, which probably surrounded it for centuries; the former existence of which is proved, not only by the geological formation of the locality, but by the remains of fresh-water shells and lake *Infusoria* found in the substratum on which the tumulus stands."

Respecting this inference, I would remark that it is totally at variance with the facts. It is obvious that such a structure could not have existed for any length of time, exposed to the action of water more or less liable to agitation by winds and floods. But supposing the tumulus capable of resisting the action of water for "centuries," how could *peat* be found beneath it, and how could the siliceous *Infusoria* have lived and propagated in the very heart of it, and much less the fresh-water *Mollusca*? It is obvious, moreover, that the shells of the terrestrial *Mollusca*, accidentally mixed, could not possibly have been driven into such a position as the base or foundation of a heap of mould, 7 feet in height and 45 in diameter. My friend Mr. James Mac Adam and I never doubted that this sepulchral mound had been raised, long after the lake had been drained. Mr. Lee states that "the character of the remains discovered in this tumulus incline us to fix the date of its formation anterior to the Christian era." Long previous to this epoch, the waters had disappeared, and the physical condition of the place had been

completely altered. There is no reason to conclude that, since the uprearing of this rude monument, at a time when the level of the field was accessible, there had been two such important changes as would be implied by the formation of a lake upwards of 7 feet in depth, and of considerable size, and the subsequent drainage of the same.

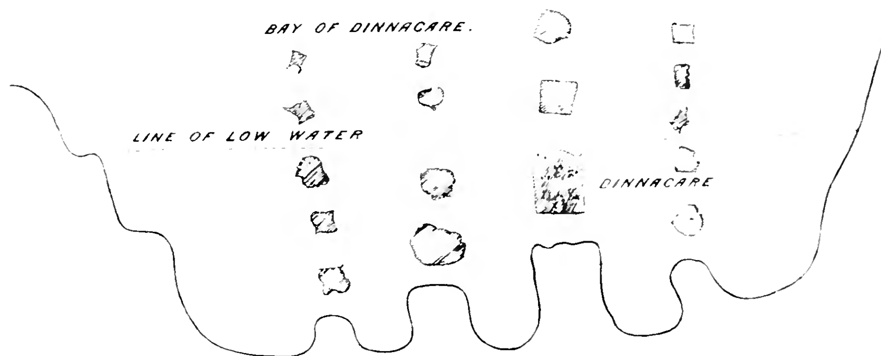
In contrast with the preceding observations, I may embrace this opportunity of introducing a case in which antiquarian researches have aided in elucidating the former geological conditions and relations of a locality.

On the E. coast of Scotland, in the county of Kincardine, and near the famed ruins of Dunnoton Castle, there exists an isolated pinnacle or islet called "Dinnacare," composed of conglomerate rock; it is 100 to 120 feet in elevation, 200 in length, and 30 to 40 wide; its sides are perpendicular and partly overhanging, so that the top is accessible only by the most experienced cragsman.

At a recent meeting of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, A. Thomson, Esq., of Banchory, described several stones with figures representing a fish and triangle, &c.; they were found in a low wall, bounding part of the top of "Dinnacare." The nature of the locality where these stones occurred induced Mr. Thomson to believe that it had not always been an islet, but at some previous period a part of the main-land. From the accompanying rough sketch it will be seen that the pinnacle is one of a series, some of which are covered by the sea, which were once part of the coast line; and that a time was when "Dinnacare" must have been a projecting headland.

G. Dickie.

Queen's College, Belfast.



Historic Parallels.—In the historic romance of the *Battle of Magh Rath*, (published in 1842 by the Irish Archæological Society, one of the generals is described as adopting a singular expedient to prevent his soldiers from flying from the combat, viz., that of *fettering them two and two*. The Editor Dr. O'Donovan remarks in a note to this passage, that he is not acquainted with any parallel case in history. I can furnish him with one. When the decisive

battle took place between the Cimbri and the Roman army under Marius (the conqueror of Jugurtha), which freed Rome from a barbaric conquest, we are told that the front rank of the Cimbric army were *linked together by chains*, in order to prevent their being dispersed. This very precaution was one cause of their destruction; as they were thereby entangled and thrown into confusion on the attack of the Romans.

The same battle furnishes another incident exactly parallel with one which occurred in another celebrated Irish engagement. The Roman general took up his position in such a manner that the sun should shine full in the faces of his enemy; a manœuvre which contributed greatly to his victory. At the battle of Benburb, in 1646, the Irish general, Owen *Roe* O'Neill, adopted precisely the same tactics with the army of Munro, and with equal success.

SENEX.

NAME OF TOWNLANDS.—If any one should set about acting on the suggestion of Lord Gosford, [vol. 6, p. 185,] respecting the Irish etymologies of the names of townlands, he ought to be very careful to ascertain what were the *real* ancient names. A constant process of changing and corrupting such names is going on, (at least in this part of Ireland,) and the existing forms would often be deceptive. For example, in the county Tyrone, *Clonoe* is popularly altered into *Glenoe* or *Glanoe; Desertcreat* is the present form of what originally was *Disirt-da-chrioch; Tullyhog* has long superseded *Tullaghogue*; *Oughterard* is barbarously pronounced *Waterard* - *Kilyo niragrsl* turned into *Tullygarvan; Mullagh; shantullagh* into *Mullagh-and-Tullagh.* A townland now called *Innevall* is so named from a sentence in the grant of land in which occurs the phrase "*in Avall;*" the latter having been the original name. Near Armagh, *Bally-na-howen-more* has very recently been changed into *Ballynahone-more,* which would probably puzzle an etymologist. The Ordnance maps generally give the correct forms of these local names, but not always.

T. H. P.

BYE-LAW.—[Notes and Queries, vol. 6, p. 185.] The derivation of this word given by H. P. is probably correct. But I doubt we cannot account in the same way for "*by-word,*" "*by-path,*" and "*by the bye.*" The expression "*Good-bye*" is understood to be an abbreviation for "*God be with ye.*"

CURIOSUS.

IRISH SURNAMES.—The importance of considering the origin of surnames in Ireland is manifest from its bearing on local Ethnology. The attempt to determine what race any family belongs to, by merely judging from their present name, can be shown to be very rash; by pointing out in how many cases Irish names have been dropped, assumed, altered, or translated. In this way, many seemingly English names belong to old Irish families, and *vice versa.* Even of very late years, persons of the lower orders have often assumed high English names, bearing, perhaps, some remote resemblance to their own original patronymics. Thus, in the county Tyrone, *McSkinador* (a Scotch name) is frequently changed to *Skiffington.* Some of the other alterations are almost as outrageous, such as *McGuiggan* to *Goodwin;* in the South of Ireland, *Houlahan* to *Holland.* As examples of

translation, I may specify *M^c^Aree* translated into *King*, and *M^c^Rory* into *Rogers;* and in the opposite direction *Kingsborough* has been turned into *Kinnybrock*, *M^c^Pherson* into *Fawson*, and *Falkner* into *Fohart* and *Fogarty*. The people do not know how to spell or pronounce their own names; and hence it is not uncommon to find different members of the same household varying from each other. Thus, *Mac Adam* is often spelled *M^c^Caddam; Herd, Hird, Hard*, and *Shepherd*, appear in the same family; and, in like manner, *Stephenson, Stevens*, and *Steenson; Hogsett, Hogshead*, and *Hawkshaw;* and even *Hampson, Hampsie*, and *Hampshire. Arbuthnot* is turned into *Arbutton* and *Button;* and *Adair* has been metamorphosed into *O'Dair*. A tenant of mine calls himself *Haydn*, though I believe his real name to be *Hagan*, but I never could ascertain which was right. The Irish prefix *Mac* is of course altogether dropped in many instances; but it is sometimes absorbed into the following word, as in *Mateer* for *M^c^Tear*, *Maneece*, for *M^c^Neese*: and it sometimes takes an additional *a*, as in *Mac-a-Tear, Mac-a-Nally*. Another fruitful source of new names, destined hereafter to puzzle genealogists, is the christening of foundlings. I have known a clergyman call one, *George Canning*, another, *Arthur Wellesley*, and a third, *Robert Peel*.

T. H. P.

SUBMERGED CASTLE IN PORT LOUGH.—In the last number of the *Journal* (p. 168), an account is given of an artificial island and castle, discovered on lowering a lake by draining, with some speculations as to its probable date. The following remarks on the same subject appeared in Otway's *Sketches in Erris and Tyrawley*, published in 1845, and are worth noting at present, as the author was led to form the opinion that these remains existed *previous to the formation of the lake itself.* "Some years ago, in going from Derry to Ramelton, across the southern end of the peninsula formed by Loughs Foyle and Swilly, near Castle Forward, I saw a lake reduced by many feet from its ancient level, by means of a cut through the side of a hill—not through a bog or morass, but through a *gravel hill*—and in the centre of that lake there appeared, for the first time, an island with a small castle erected on it. That castle must have been in existence previous to the sinking of the surface by which the lake was formed. I mention this circumstance as proving that men were in Ireland before the lake was formed; leaving out of consideration the numberless instances I have witnessed of oak trees (trees which, in no case, are known to grow in flooded places) being found with their roots planted and their stems lying at the bottom of lakes and tide-waters in Ireland."

RUSTICUS.

STRIKING A BARGAIN [Notes and Queries, v. 6, p. 189].—SENEX refers to the probable derivation of the Latin *polliceo*, from *pollex*, the thumb. That some such custom as he alludes to existed in Scotland (and perhaps still exists), would appear from one of the old nursery-stories given by Chambers in his *Popular Rhymes of Scotland* (p. 222), in which the following expression occurs:—"Let us *wat thooms* [wet thumbs] on that bargain." This reminds one of the custom in our Irish fairs of *spitting on a coin*, and then striking it on the other person's palm by way making or accepting an offer.

EIRIONNACH.

Inauguration of Chiefs.—The inaugurating-place of the Mac Murroughs, *Knock-an-bhogha* (referred to dubiously in vol. 5, p. 231), I would suggest may be found in the townland of *Tincurry*, parish of Ferns, county Wexford; where formerly existed several ancient forts, one of which, in particular, was commonly known as "the big house in the bog," from its situation.

F. N. L.

Bawns.—The article on Bawns, in the last number of the *Journal*, suggests the question whether these buildings, the erection of which was prescribed to the colonists as one of the conditions of their settlement in Ulster, were previously known in England. So far as I am aware, no similar buildings were in use either in England or Wales; and my opinion is, that Bawns were not an English fashion introduced into Ireland, but an improvement on the old Irish method of securing cattle. The name, as Dr. O'Donovan suggests [p. 133], may be Irish; but I may mention that, in some parts of England, the straw-yard where farmers keep their cattle during the winter is called the *barton*. What in Scotland and Ulster is called a *byre*, is in England called a *barn:* that is, the house for receiving the grain is called simply "*the barn*," and the cow-house is called "*the cow-barn*;" but when cows alone are kept, the place is termed a "*barn*." Farmers, too, sell milk by a peculiar measure called the "*barn gallon*," which is, I believe, about a third larger than the "imperial" gallon. Now, as the letters r and w, both in very vulgar and very fashionable English, are pronounced alike, we have *barn* and *bawn* identified at once. But here is my milk-man at the gate; I shall ask him.—"Milk-man, where do you keep your cows this weather?" "Kyows, measter?" (rather surprised at the question,) "whoy, in the *bawn*, to be zure!"—However, it is by no means improbable that the bawn may have been introduced by the Scandinavians into Ireland; for I have no grounds for believing that the Irish erected any buildings previous to the invasions of the Northmen. Their stone edifices up to that time were ecclesiastical, and probably erected by foreign builders.

An Irishman in England.

It is curious that, in Ireland, the common little lizard, or newt, gets the discredit of slipping down the throat of any person whom it finds lying asleep on the grass. It is said to multiply in the stomach, and only to be got rid of by making the patient eat a quantity of very salt meat, and then lie down near water, so that the reptiles may be forced by thirst to come out for a drink! Yet, incongruously enough, the creature has received the name of the "man-keeper." This absurd fable has been curiously altered from one told in other countries regarding *snakes*, which are said to do precisely what the lizard is believed to do here. But there they add, that the sleeper is often warned of his danger by the lizard, which awakens him before the snake can glide into his mouth. This accounts for the name "man-keeper," as applied to the former. But as no snake existed in Ireland, the ignorant transferred the whole fabrication to the poor harmless lizard, though still applying to him the name derived from the original story. See Erasmus, *Dialog. De Amicitia:*—"Hoc animal naturâ homini amicum est, et serpentibus inimicum."

Cormac.

Is Mr. Hore serious in writing [vol. 6, p. 161] that Ireland "is deficient in the deep soil . . . . indispensable to a luxuriant growth of trees?" How will he account for the enormous trunks often found in our bogs; or for the vast quantity of building timber formerly exported to England, and used there in some of the most famous buildings? T. H. P.

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

Frogs. [Queries, vol. 6, p. 190]—The existence of an Irish name for frogs would no more prove that those animals were indigenous, than in the case of lions, serpents, elephants, or unicorns. T. H. P.

Mead. [Queries, vol. vi., p. 190].—In reply to the query of a correspondent respecting *mead*, I send a receipt for making it, which is upwards of fifty years old. At that time it was still in use, and much esteemed; and it may again come into use, for its flavour may be greatly improved by mixing with an equal proportion of Sherry, or even Cape wine. I copy the receipt *verbatim*:—

"Three pounds of honey to each gallon of water. When boiling, let it boil for half an hour, scumming well. Pour into a tub when nearly cold. Add two table-spoonfuls of good yeast for every ten gallons of the liquor. Let it work well for a month, keeping it always well scummed: then add one quart of whiskey for every ten gallons of mead. Bung up close: in six months fit for use. To be bottled."

I have seen it made when a child, and, as well as I can recollect, there must have been much more of it made at a time than ten gallons; for the liquor, after being mixed with the yeast, was poured into a cask. The scum flowed out at the bung-hole, which was left open for a certain time, and the cask kept regularly filled up with some overplus liquid, which was kept in an open vessel. X. Y. Z.

Irish Pearls. [Notes and Queries, vol. 5, p. 256.]—In corroboration of the account given of a pearl fishery in the river Bann, I send you a drawing of a pearl muscle found lately in that river, near the town of Banbridge. Several other specimens have been seen. R. L.

[The shell is the *Unio Margaritifera*, formerly called the *Mya Margaritifera*.—Edit.]

Tory. [Queries, vol. 6, p. 190.]—The derivation of this word has been much disputed. Webster, in his *English Dictionary*, one of the latest authorities, derives it from the Irish word, *tor*, a bush, as the Irish banditti lived in the woods; as much as to say "bushmen." Borrow, (author of *the Bible in Spain*, and a good philologist,) says in a communication to an English periodical, "the word Tory may be traced to the Irish adherents of Charles the Second, during the Cromwellian era: the Irish words, "Tarr a ri," pronounced nearly *Tory*,) and signifying "Come O King," having been so constantly in the mouths of the Royalists as to have become a by-word for designating them."

Eirionnach.

QUERIES

I have seen it stated (but cannot refer to my authority) that Margery Bisset, by whose marriage with one of the Mac Donnells the Bisset family claimed the Glens of Antrim as their inheritance, was of *Greek* descent by her mother. I should feel obliged to any correspondent of the *Journal* who could refer me to the authority for this. SENEX.

About a mile and a half to the north-west of Richhill station, on the Ulster Railway, stands an old ruin, called Rohan castle. It appears to have been a place of some strength, and is said to have belonged to one of the O'Neills. Do any of your readers know any thing of its history? J. K.

The peasantry in the county Armagh have a curious saying which they sometimes use when threatening each other:—"If you do, by Japers, I'll give you Torlogh Hogg's pay: and that means more kicks than ha'pence." Is the origin of this saying known? J. K.

ULSTER PROVINCIALISMS.—What is the origin of the word "*beddy*," popularly used in this province for "saucy" or "self-sufficient?"—Is there any authority in old English books for the popular acceptation of the verb "to demean,"—viz., "to debase," or "lower?" T. H. P.

It is common in Ulster to use the word "*Choo, Choo*," to a dog, when we wish to drive him away. This is unknown in other parts of Ireland. May it not be borrowed from the Spanish, and perhaps have been imported with the pointer dog, to which the Spaniards use the cry "*Tö*." In *Don Quixote* (part 2, chap. 33) Sancho says:—"Soy perro viejo, y entiendo todos *tus tus*."

CELTIBER.

What is the origin of the strange expression often heard in Ulster,—"from N to one," signifying "from end to end?"

Do any records exist of the Governor and Company who first established the cambric manufacture at Dundalk? Does any account remain of the French settlement there? or are there any entries relating to the cambric manufacture in the corporation records of that town? Is the name of the French pastor of the Dundalk settlement known? Is it now known where the ten acres, given to the colonists by Lord Clanbrassil, were situated? Any information on the above will much oblige, C. D. PURDON.

Belfast.

SURNAMES.—The following three pairs of surnames are found in Belfast or its neighbourhood. I give them in pairs, because they begin with the same syllable, namely—

Forcade,	Miskelly,	Carmichael,
Forsythe,	Miscampbell,	Carruthers.

Now, I beg to ask an explanation of these initial syllables, and also some information as to the origin of the names themselves. I think they are not Irish, nor English. Some of them may be Scotch, but certainly not all. C. C. C.

ON THE EARLY USE OF AQUA-VITÆ IN IRELAND.

Usquebaugh is a compound term, from the first part of which our modern word, *whiskey*, has its origin. The public, not always correct in its judgments, has given Ireland the credit, or the discredit, as the case may be, of being at present, and of having been from time immemorial, a country famous for the production and consumption of this subtle fluid. The social questions connected with the latter point, as bearing upon the condition of the people, occupy the pages of publications of a special class, and exercise the lungs of orators of note; and it only proves how wide is the range of Archæology, that a subject so apparently unpromising—a subject however, certainly, not of so dry a nature as persons who know no better declare Archæology in all its details and ramifications to be—should in any form find admission into this *Journal*. Yet it is quite in our way. We would wish to know something of the drinks of the ancient Irish, but more particularly of that for which we have obtained so great a reputation. We would wish to inquire into the antiquity of the art of distillation in Ireland, how it affected the progress of the people, its extent in early times, whether Ireland was really more noted for skill in the practice of it than other nations, its domestic influence, its connection with the labour and productions of the country, from what materials this famous old Irish usquebaugh was extracted, and many other questions: the only matter for regret is that to none of them can any very precise or satisfactory solution be obtained. There seems in truth to be a sort of blank in our ancient records and among our early historians, in connection with this subject; either because it was considered to be one altogether of minor importance, or was so well known that no one thought it necessary to make a note about it. On the other hand, some persons seem to deny that any proof could possibly exist in the places alluded to, for the very sufficient reason that the knowledge of distillation among the native Irish population is in reality not ancient, but comparatively modern; and maintain that the general opinion regarding its antiquity among us is a mere popular error. Thus, a learned inquirer, whose researches into documentary evidence have been most extensive, has expressed to us an opinion, as resulting from that source of proof, that the "mere Irish," (will our readers pardon the not very respectful appellation) previously to the seventeenth century, were entirely destitute both of the chemical and mechanical knowledge necessary to practise distillation, which was, in reality, carried on by foreign traders only, in early times, in the large towns. In this opinion, however, we cannot concur. The distillatory art is, from every evidence, of the highest antiquity, and, when carried on in a rude way, requires a very small amount of either mechanical or chemical knowledge. Its introduction into Europe, in anything approaching to a perfect form, is generally attributed to those pioneers of

civilisation, the Arabs, when possessed of dominion in Spain; and that it might reach this island from that quarter, if not before known in it, is a circumstance every way probable. Besides, we must give our remote ancestors credit for some ingenuity; nor do we mean to disparage them when we say that they probably exhibited an inclination, which clings to a few of their descendants to the present day, rather for those occupations in which there is some novelty, which require aptitude, and, at the same time, irregularity of labour, than for more severe and sustained employment,—a disposition to which the art of distillation would present attractions not easily resisted. Besides, has not the Irish native been of a joyous temperament in every age, and is it not at least likely that any bewitching stimulant which would enable him to leave dull earth still farther behind, if the slightest knowledge of it had once gained admittance into the land, would take root and spread? All this, no doubt, in the absence of direct evidence, is mere conjecture; but such notices as we have been enabled to glean, both of early and more recent date, we shall proceed to lay before our readers, being well aware, at the same time, how few and imperfect they are, and how entirely the subject of the antiquity and extent of the art of distillation in Ireland still remains an open question.

On inquiring from Dr. O'Donovan, we are informed that in that great Irish code, the Brehon Laws, no allusion whatever is made to Aqua-vitæ, while frequent curious references are contained therein to malt, and to ale or beer. We believe indeed, that so long ago as the sixth century, proof is extant of the knowledge of ale possessed by the inhabitants of Ireland, and expressed in such a way as to indicate a perfectly familiar acquaintance with it.[a] But the earliest notice of Aqua-vitæ which we have discovered in any of our printed records dates no further back than 1405, under which year, in the *Annals of the Four Masters,* it is thus related:—"Richard MacRannall, heir to the chieftainship of Muintir-Eolais, died of a surfeit in drinking;" to which brief notice, the learned editor has appended this note:—"The passage is given by Mageoghegan, in his version of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, as follows: 'A.D. 1405, Richard Magranell, chieftain of Moyntyreolas, died at Christmas by taking a surfeit of aqua vitæ.' Mine author sayeth it was not *aqua vitæ* to him, but *aqua mortis.* This is the first notice of *uisge beatha, aqua vitæ,* usquebaugh, or whiskey, in the Irish Annals." If it be really the first notice, it is a pity that this old chief should exhibit so very early an example of loving—not wisely, but too well—the aqua-vitæ of Ireland. It might also, be almost supposed from its tenor—from the unconcerned way in which the fact is narrated—(though there is nothing absolutely to verify such an opinion) that distilled spirit was not uncommon at the time, and that similar results from like causes may previously have happened. Be that as it may, however, we have it in our power to record, that some years before this untoward event occurred, or some time in the fourteenth century, there was compiled, perhaps written, by no less a personage than a Bishop of the Church, a very remarkable production, now existing in MS. called the *Red*

[a] Morewood, in his Treatise on Distillation, p. 602, gives an extract from the Life of St. Columba in proof of this fact.

Book of Ossory, which contains, among a mass of miscellaneous information connected with charters, rentals, and, it is to be supposed, domestic matters, the following explicit account on the subject of distillation.[b]—"Aqua vite est alia simplex alia composita. Simplex est que sine alicujus rei admixtione simpliciter de vino elicitur, et dicitur aqua vini; que sicut simpliciter elicitur ita simpliciter sine vini vel aque admixtione debet sumi. Aqua vite simplex hoc modo debet fieri. Acceperis vinum electum vetus̃ unius anni, et plus rubens (quam) grossum, potens non dulce, et pone in olla, et claude os olle cum bona clepsedra facta de ligno cum panno lineo involuta, a qua olla debet exire cavalis ad aliud vas cum serpente, et illud vas aqua frigida debet impleri et frequenter renovari cum calescans fierit et aqua discumente per cavalem. Collocata ante olla cum vino super igne, distilla igne lento quounque medietatem vini impositi receperis deinde." [Aqua vitæ is either simple or compound. The simple is that which, without any mixture, is drawn from wine, and is called Aqua vini; and this, being drawn simply, should in like manner be used simply, without any mixture with wine or water. Simple Aqua-vitæ is to be made in the following manner:—Take choice one-year-old wine, and rather of a red than of a thick sort, strong and not sweet, and place it in a pot, closing the mouth well with a *clepsydra* made of wood, and having a linen cloth rolled round it; out of which pot there is to issue a *cavalis* leading to another vessel having a worm. This latter vessel is to be kept filled with cold water, frequently renewed when it grows warm and the water foams through the *cavalis*. The pot with the wine having been placed previously on the fire, distil it with a slow fire until you have from it one-half of the quantity of wine that you put in.]

This is an accurate description of the distilling process in a rude and imperfect way. The manner in which the passage is worded would seem to imply that it describes what was easily understood and tolerably well known. But from it we remain uninformed whether the product which trickled from the still of the fourteenth century entered into use as a general beverage, or was intended only for medicinal purposes. The unhappy end of MacRannall, as just narrated, would appear to prove that, among persons of his rank at least, its use as an ordinary drink could not have been unknown. It is to be observed, that the knowledge of the art of producing alcohol, so far as the Red Book throws light upon it, was confined in this case to ecclesiastics, and that the passage affords no information to what extent it was known to the body of the people, or practised among them. It is also obvious that this distillation was effected from foreign wine, already fitted for the purpose. No other meaning can be taken from the expressions used; and as the

[b] This extract was given to the Editor of this Journal by Dr. Wilde, but it was first copied from the original by the Rev. James Graves of Kilkenny, to whose zeal in the cause of Irish historical research is to be attributed the preservation of the Red Book itself, from destruction. It was lately rescued by Mr. Graves from a heap of rubbish, among which it had been lying since the occurrence of a fire in Kilkenny Castle, in the year 1839, and has been made legible and perfect again by the skill of Sir Frederick Madden, of the British Museum. For a further history of this valuable book and its contents, see *Transactions of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society*, No. 1, p. 9.

valuable document in which the passage has been found formed part of the muniments of the Ormonde family, it may be fairly presumed that ordinary aqua-vitæ was obtained from the inferior or rejected wine brought from foreign parts for the use of that princely household. The earlier name seems indeed to have been *aqua vitis*, or water of the grape, as in this extract; afterwards corrupted or improved, as it may be thought, into *aqua vitæ*, or water of life, either from its resemblance to the original term, or its supposed virtues. It is unnecessary to say that neither this, nor any other document of the period known to us, communicates information as to knowledge having been possessed of the extraction of alcohol from materials of native growth, or of the method of preparing such for that purpose. In the Records of the Abbey of Waltham, and doubtless in those of many other religious houses both in England and Ireland, mention is made of the malting of oats. This was for making ale; but it is also possible that oats and other grain, prepared by the malting process, may have been in use for distillation in monastic days, both within and without the walls. It is understood that the Red Book contains more information on the subject, at present inaccessible to us, but likely to appear elsewhere, which is much to be desired. The meagre statement that *vinum* was distilled into alcohol, by a process known perhaps centuries before, is unsatisfactory. Unsatisfactory, indeed, when we can now say, that from the cereals of every clime and of every species—from the sugar cane of the Tropics, from the ripe fruits which embellish the face of the earth and the cultivated roots which grow beneath its surface, from sugar wherever found or from what source derived—modern art has obtained the alcohol of commerce; and we are left to ask if the wise men of the fourteenth century were ignorant of all these numerous means of production, and were dependent for their aqua-vitæ on the fermented and prepared juice of foreign grapes. Of all the materials named, grain, which to this day, we suppose, forms the principal basis of the distilled spirit of all Europe, is the only one to which they could have had recourse, and it would be strange if such were not the fact. The brewing of ale at this early period seems to have been perfectly well known,[c] as it was many

[c] A proof of this fact, and which is worth making a note of, occurs in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, in 1406, the very year after the death of the MacRannall from a surfeit of Aqua-vitæ. It is thus related:—"A great defeat was given by Murrough O'Conor, Lord of Offaly, with his son, Calvach, and the sons of O'Conor Roe, namely, Cathal Duv and Tiege (who had come to Offaly with a troop of cavalry on a visit) to the English of Meath and to Owen the son of the Abbot O'Conor who had the retained kernes of Connaught with him. Both of these armies repaired to the upper part of G. hill; and Owen the son of the Abbot, with his own band of kernes, went to Cluain-immurrois, and to the town of Gillaboy Mac Maoileorra, where Calvagh the son of Murrough O'Conor, and Cathal the son of O'Conor Roe, attended by six horsemen came up with Owen and his people as they were collecting the spoils of the town. The proprietor of this town had a cauldron which he had borrowed from Calvagh for *brewing beer*: and on seeing Calvagh coming towards him he said; "There is thy cauldron with the kerns, O Calvagh! and I order it to be given to thee." "I accept of it where it is," said Calvagh. The cauldron was at this time on the back of a young man one of the plunderers of the town; and Calvagh O'Conor flung a stone which he happened to have in his hand, and which, striking against the cauldron, produced such a noise and sound as struck a sudden terror and panic in the hearts of all the plunderers, so that they instantly took to flight. They were swiftly pursued, slaughtered, and vanquished, &c." Such is the notice; and it is remarkable how similar little parallel passages of history turn up now and again. The "brewing pan" or cauldron of a village, nearly within the memory of persons living, was almost common property, or at least, was very generally lent from house to house, as occasion required; and an event somewhat similar to that just related from the *Annals of the Four Masters* (differing altogether, indeed, in its results), occurred, according to

centuries before—as it was, indeed, by the nations of antiquity—and it would have been remarkable if a fluid so similar in its appearance and properties should not soon have been taken advantage of in distillation, as a substitute for a material more expensive and more difficult of attainment. The transition or advance cannot have been difficult. Mead was made from honey, and beer from malt; long before this time beer and malt were among the exports of Ireland: the art of distillation was known at least to some in the country, as is proved from the Red Book of Ossory; so that there seems to be really no improbability that grain was used in distillation at this early period, and to even a greater extent than might be supposed.

From this period, down to the time of Henry VIII. we have been unable to obtain any direct evidence of the extent of the use of aqua-vitæ in Ireland, though there can be no doubt whatever that during the interval its production must have regularly increased. This is amply proved by a recommendation contained in the Breviate of Baron Finglass, published in that reign. He proposes, for the amendment of the country, "that there be but one maker of aqua-vitæ in every Burrough Towne, upon pain of six and eight pence, *toties quoties*, as many as do the contrary." In Scotland, also, a country which consumes now, in proportion to its population, a greater quantity of alcohol than any other in Europe, with the exception, perhaps, of Holland, (and in both cases we make no positive assertion, but merely a current statement, no means of proof either way being just at hand,) some such restraining ordinance as that of Baron Finglass in Ireland seems about the same time to have been required. From a recent work an extract has been copied into a well-known periodical,[d] being a decree of the town council of Edinburgh, in the year 1505, declaring "that na persoun, man or woman, within this burgh *mak nor sell ony aquavite;*" and going on to bestow the privilege of making such exclusively on the associated craft of Surgeon Barbers. It is sufficient proof that at this early time Ireland was not alone in a knowledge of the distilling art.

From an Act of Parliament, passed in 1556, and referred to in the following terms, by "the Commissioners appointed to report on the affairs of Ireland to king James in 1620," further distinct proof is given of the extent to which the traffic must have reached in the former year, during the reign of Philip and Mary. The Commissioners declare, among a great many other things, "that concerning Aqua-vitæ, the price whereof your Matie directs to be sett by act of state, we humbly offer to your Maties consideracon that the statute 28 Eliz. c. 5, in Ireland, for setting the prices of wines extends not to aqua-vitæ, but there is a statute made in the fourth yeare of Phillip and Mary, here in Ireland, cap. 7, that recites the consumpcion of graine in making of aqua-vitæ, and that it is not profitable to be dayly drunk; and enacts that noe man withoute the Lord Deputye's Lycence, sealled with the Great Seale of the Realme, make aquavitæ within this Realme, under paine of

tradition, in Carrickfergus, in 1760. In that memorable year when the French were hourly expected to make good their descent, one of the greatest causes of alarm among the inhabitants of that ancient corporation was, how the town brewing-pan was to be preserved from the plundering enemy; and it was, in consequence, hurriedly carried off, perhaps on the back of a young man of the town, and concealed in a secure place till the danger had passed away.

[d] Chambers's Journal for August, 1858, p. 96.

Imprisonment at the Deputie's pleasure, and to forfeitt 4 lb. of Irish money; which statute, by express proviso therein, extends not to any of the Peers, nor to any Gentleman that may dispend to his owne use in Lands or Tenements for Life or of Inheritance &c. 10 lb. sterl[g] by the yeare. Nor to any Freeman dwelling in any Citty or Burrough charged with Burgesses to Parliament, but that they may make it for their own expenses. And albeit this act was made purposely to restraine the excesse of aqua-vitæ, yet by reason of this new Patente the abuse is continued and multiplied. And whereas the Law only punished the making of aqua-vitæ, the Patentee, withoute warrant of that Law, extends the Lycense to Buyers and Sellers of the same, and hereby abuses the Country, and extorts a pryvate gaine to the publique loss."

All these statements go to prove that the making of aqua-vitæ in Ireland, in the reign of Henry VIII. still more in that of Philip and Mary and their immediate successors, had assumed some magnitude, and that grain was the material used in the manufacture. Our readers will of course be aware that a duty on aqua-vitæ, (that strong foundation on which modern Chancellors of the Exchequer so much build their hopes,) was at this time, and, indeed, for about another century, a matter quite unknown; and the abuses, noticed by the Commissioners as resulting from this "new Patente," referred to a method adopted in the beginning of the reign of James I. empowering certain favoured individuals,[e] by patent, on payment generally of some small sum, to grant licences for the making and selling of aqua-vitæ throughout the kingdom: which project would also appear, from the expressions used in the preceding extract, not to have been effectual in keeping either the sale or the manufacture within due bounds. The statements altogether, however, are difficult to be reconciled with the opinion that the native Irish before the 17th century were not far enough advanced in knowledge to take part in the manufacture. On the contrary, we find that about this period distillation from grain had become so extensive as to require restraint and regulation by the government; the statute of 1556 actually affirming that aqua-vitæ was universally made throughout the "Realme, especially on the borders of the Irishry." We find, also, that long before, any little chemical or mechanical skill required for the process was, at least by some, so far acquired, as to make alcohol, if not common, of sufficient notoriety to obtain a passing notice in our annals; and it is not at all likely that this knowledge had remained confined to the Pale. At the same time, it is to be supposed that the chief seats of the traffic were in the towns; and it is quite possible that the crude spirit may have been made to some extent throughout the country, and brought into them for

[e] One of these individuals was Sir Thomas Phillips, who, for the small sum of 13s. 4d. yearly, received the privilege, for seven years, of granting licenses of this kind within the county of "Colrane, otherwise O'Cahane's country, or within the territory called the Rowte in the county of Antrim." In 1609 a grant was made for the support of the Lady Arabella Stuart (historic and romantic name) for twenty-one years, empowering, on her behalf, Sir George St. Poll and Henry Yelverton, Esq., to nominate and appoint, at their pleasure, such persons as they might think fit to keep a tavern in any part of Ireland, and to buy and sell wines, and to make and sell, in gross and by retail, Aqua-vitæ and usquebaugh.

For further information respecting these licenses, see Morewood's History of Distillation, p. 731.

sale to more cunning dealers, to be purified, flavoured with aromatics, and, in fact, made up into that compound, for which the kingdom had already obtained some fame, under the title of the "*Usquebaugh* of Ireland."

The writers of Elizabeth's time abound with observations on the subject of aqua-vitæ, from which it will appear plainly enough that, as a beverage or stimulant, it was nearly as well known, and in as much favour among a class, as in more modern times, whether it was manufactured by the mere Irish, or by merchants in the towns. The nurse in Romeo and Juliet in her "griefs, woes, and sorrows," exclaims, "Give me some aqua-vitæ." The illustrious author of the *Fairy Queen*, in his *View of the State of Ireland*, among his various observations as to what might be done for the improvement of the kingdom, suggests the abolition of what he mentions as a practice of the time, "the cessing of souldiours upon the country;" declaring "that the souldiours during their lying at cesse will not onely not content themselves with such victuals as their hostes, nor yet as the place affordes, but they will have other meate provided for them and *aqua-vitæ* sent for &c." Fynes Moryson, in his *History of Ireland*, thus writes:—"And the said Humidity of Air and Land making the Fruits for Food more raw and moist; hereupon the Inhabitants and Strangers are troubled with Looseness of Body, the Country Disease. Yet for the Rawness they have an excellent Remedy, by their Aqua Vitæ, vulgarly called Usquebagh, which binds the Belly and drieth up Moisture more than our Aqua-vitæ, yet inflameth not so much." Campion expresses the same favourable opinion of the country's produce, declaring[f] "that the inhabitants (especially newcome) are subject to distillations, rhumes, and flixes, for remedy whereof they use an ordinary drink of *aqua-vitæ* so qualified in the making that it dryeth more and inflameth less than other hote confections." Again,[g] the same writer gives the following account of the feasts and festivals of our ancestors—what we might call the Irish *soirées* of the days of Elizabeth:—"Shamrotes, Water-cresses, Rootes, and other Hearbes they feed upon; Oatemeale and Butter they cramme together. They drink Whey, Milke, and Beef broth; Fleshe they devoure withoute Breade; Corne such as they have they keepe for their Horses. In haste and hunger they squeese out the Blood of raw Flesh and aske no more dressing thereto; the reste boyleth in their stomackes with *Aqua-vitæ*, which they swill in after such a surfeite by quarts and pottles." Campion also writes[h]—"This Savage, having prepared an army against the Irish, allowed to every souldiour, before he buckled with the enemy, a mighty draught of *Aqua-vitæ*, wine, or old ale." It is not necessary to remind our readers that the statements of writers of this class regarding the domestic manners of our ancestors are to be received with some caution; and they are brought forward here only in proof of the fact that in Ireland, in the sixteenth century, alcohol was a common and well-known beverage.

Farther corroboration of the fact is at hand from sources less known, having reference however

[f] *Historie of Ireland*, p. 13. [g] p. 25 [h] p. 133.

to a period somewhat later than the era of Spenser and Campion. That most curious and unique production, "The Visit of Captain Bodley to Lecale, in 1602," which first appeared in this Journal,[1] makes frequent and distinct reference to the extensive use of *usquebaugh* at that time. William Lithgow, that wanderer in all lands, thus describes the Irish in 1619:—"Indeede for entertainement of strangers they are freely disposed; and gentlemen of any good sort reserve ever in their houses Spanish sack and Irish *uscora*, and will be as tipsie with their wives, their priests, and their friends, as though they were naturally enfeoft in the eleven Royal Taverns of Naples." We hope this is a libel on the ladies and the learned clerics: as for the hosts and their friends the report is not of much consequence, and cannot in any sensible degree prejudice their memories, as they were only following, we may safely suppose, the established custom of the time. How little was that custom changed down to comparatively recent days! There may be persons still living, even in the good town of Belfast, and many other parts of the country as well, who can call to remembrance the triumphant looks of certain hospitable hosts when returning with the key of the outer door and depositing it in a secure place to prevent the departure of their guests till a certain quantity of aqua-vitæ had been consumed by each; and till, as a natural result, those who were not lying under the table could only warble forth, in a feeble and incoherent croak, how a "peck o' maut" was brewed by one "Willie," of jovial memory! Happily, the manners and customs of those days are now almost traditional.

Returning to the sixteenth century, however, and the beginning of the seventeenth, not only does Irish aqua-vitæ appear to have been in common use among all classes at home, but presents of it were sent to persons of condition in England, either as rare cordials, or as something better than any they could procure in their own country, which latter fact would hardly be disputed from that day to the present. In the State Paper Office, there is a letter from the Mayor of Waterford—White, by name—to Lord Burghley, dated 1585, wherein the writer says that he has sent his lordship "two bed coverings, two green mantles, and a roundell of *aqua-vitæ*." Perhaps at some of the stately entertainments at which the sagacious Burghley was wont to preside, a portion of the contents of this very "roundell" may have been submitted to his noble and courtly guests as one of the few good things produced in this disturbed land; nor is it beyond the range of possibility that the "imperial votress" herself may on some occasion have so far foregone her habitual abstemiousness as to taste (as matter of curiosity merely) what we may perhaps call the "old Waterford malt" of the year 1585!

There is another curious letter in the State Paper Office, dated Dublin, October 14th, 1622, from Lord Justice Cork to a Captain Price, at Durham House, Strand, London, in which the Lord Justice says:—"This bearer, Mr. Edmund Hunt, hath in chardg to present my honored Lord, the Lord Keeper, with an Irish Harpe, and the good Lady Coventry with a runnlett of milde Irish *Uskebach*,

[1] Vol. II., p. 73.

sent unto her Ladyship by my youngest daughter, Peggie, who was so much bound to her Ladyship for her great goodness. I pray help Mr. Hunt to deliver them with tender of my everlasting thankes and services, not only to my Lord & Lady, but alsoe to young Mr. Coventry and his virtuous bedfellow. And I doe assure you, yf yt please his L^p next his hart in the morning to drinke a little of this Irish *Uskebach*, it will help to disgest all raw humours, expell wynde, & keep his inwarde parte warme all the day after, without any offence to his stomacke." Let all the community of water-drinkers ponder over this sage advice from a Lord Justice. The phrase "next his hart" probably means, fasting, a method of imbibing Aqua-vitæ which still finds favour with certain hard-mouthed, "base mechanicalls." The harp was, no doubt, an appropriate and graceful tribute; but a runlet of "mild *usquebaugh*" from a young lady of rank in Ireland to another of the highest station in England, would be thought rather a strange present in these latter days.

There is another letter in the State Paper Office also laudatory of the great virtue supposed to reside in Irish *usquebaugh*. It is from one Robert Lombard, dated Waterford, March 22nd, 1629, to Viscount Carleton, in which he says that he sends a "rundell of *Iskabahie* agenst your Lordship's old enemie ye Strangullian."[j]

From all the preceding facts and original documents it is plain that Ireland, whatever may have been the case since, had by this time obtained a high character for the excellence of its Usquebaugh. Its consumption must have been considerable, though the quantity made in the kingdom could not have been very great, according to modern ideas. The example does not appear to have been followed by the English people—no notices having been met with of distilled spirits being in common use as a beverage in that country in the sixteenth century. A poem of Elizabeth's time, enumerating the taverns and drinks of London, and entitled *Newes from Bartholomew Fair*, commences thus:

> "There hath been great sale and utterance of wine,
> Beside ale and beer and Ipocras fine,
> In every country, region, and nation,
> But mostly at Billingsgate, at the Salutation, &c."

No mention is made of spirits in the poem; it being an error to confound Ipocras with alcohol, as some have done. It is merely wine, with a strong infusion of spices. But even long after this period, we may fairly conclude that Ireland was specially the land of *usquebaugh*. One of the numerous works of Taylor, the Water-poet, is entitled *Drink and Welcome: or, the famous History of the most part of Drinkes, in use now in the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*. This was published in 1637, and there is no writer who can be named as a better authority for a perfect acquaintance with the usages of the time in England, in this department, than Taylor.

[j] Query, Strangury?—For all these extracts from the State Paper Office, and various other statements contained in this paper, the writer is indebted to William Pinkerton, Esq., Hounslow, London, formerly of Belfast, who has contributed many valuable papers to this Journal.

Though called the Water-poet, on account of his vocation as waterman on the Thames, he had no special fondness beyond this for the native element. He kept, in fact, a public-house, was a royalist —patronized by the rollicking cavaliers,—and yet in this work, entering minutely into the subject and mentioning many kinds of wine, cider, beer, ale, &c., as in use in England, no allusion is made to spirits. A change, however, must have come over the sober-minded people of England towards the middle or latter part of the century, if a work published by a person called Tryon, in 1682, be any indication of the true state of society. It is entitled "*Health's Preservation; or Woman's Best Doctor, shewing the nature and operation of Brandy, Rum, Rack, and other distilled spirits, and the ill consequences of mens', but especially of women's, drinking such pernicious Liquors, and smoaking Tobacco;*" and in the first chapter the writer says, "Brandy, Rum, and Rack of late years are become as common drinks among many as Beer & Ale." All this, however, is rather beside our subject, which was intended to refer especially to Ireland, though there is no doubt that we kept pace with our English neighbours in the consumption of liquors of some kind, or perhaps even outstripped them. This must be so, if the statement of so sagacious and able a man as Sir William Petty be at all correct. In his *Political Anatomy*, to a computation of the population of that day, their employments, the number of houses in the kingdom, and how the people might be better and more profitably employed, he appends the following extraordinary memorandum :—"That in Dublin, where are but 4000 families, there are at one time 1180 Ale-houses and 91 publick Brew-houses, viz., near one-third of the whole. It seems that in Ireland, there being 200,000 families, about 60,000 of them should use the same trade, and consequently, that 180,000, viz., 60,000 men, as many women, and as many servants, do follow the trade of Drink." In a note he adds, "Whereas, it is manifest, that two-thirds of the Ale-houses may be spared, even although the same quantity of Drink should be sold," leaving free, by this means, to follow occupations more conducive to the general prosperity of the country, no less than 120,000 persons, "spare hands," as he calls them. We have surely improved not a little since those days. The calculation is altogether incredible, and we think incorrect; but it proves at least what was the impression of the time, when no statistical accuracy was attainable, regarding the excessive use of intoxicating beverages. Reference is certainly made by Petty to ale-houses only, and no means are at reach from his evidence to come at the proportion of alcohol consumed, for qualifing the effects of this enormous flood of small beer.

Shortly after the Restoration, when the farming of the Revenue ceased, the first duty of four-pence per gallon was imposed on ardent spirits in Ireland. We have not obtained any account of the quantity made earlier than 1719, in which year all the spirits distilled in Ireland amounted only to 173,000 gallons, while the imported quantity was double that amount.[k] A disproportion nearly as great continued for many years; the imported spirits in the year 1772 having been more than

[k] For a tabular view of the spirits made in the kingdom, the imports of spirits and wine from 1719, see Morewood's Treatise.

two-and-a-half millions of gallons, while the quantity produced in the kingdom did not reach one third of that amount. During the last century, and somewhat advanced into the present, the import of foreign wine exceeded considerably one million of gallons; in several years it went beyond two millions; and in 1796 reached the great quantity of 3,209,000 millions. Efforts must have been made during all this time to promote the consumption of home-manufacture of some description, to the exclusion, or at least to the diminished use, of foreign produce. In the Dublin Society's *Weekly Observations* of 1736, not very far from a paper advocating the practicability and advantage of cultivating hops on the *red* bogs of Ireland, (the progress and result of which most hopeful project, by the way, we have never yet learned,) there are several letters describing the process of ale-brewing, with a view to its extension. The writer sadly laments the little encouragement given by the gentry to the manufacture of ale; describing with how much success it could be carried on, by reason of its suitableness to our soil and climate, and saying that "for some time past wine is become almost the general entertainment of our people, and the care and improvement of our malt liquor almost totally neglected." He makes no allusion to spirits, of which the entire quantity made in the kingdom in that year appears to have been only 195,000 gallons, while the imported was no less than 627,000.

In any account of the antiquity of ale in Ireland, we are not aware that any attempt has been made to explain the popular Irish tradition of the Danes and of the other old inhabitants of the country having made beer from *heather*. The writer in the Dublin Society's *Observations*, who so strongly advocated the extended use of malt liquor, would naturally have a very mean opinion of such a sapless material, if he had ever heard it mentioned at all; and it would certainly not be practicable to make anything resembling modern beer where there existed neither saccharine juice nor vinous fermentation. Still, a tradition so universal had probably some foundation; but we have always been of opinion that the heather was used merely as the bitter or aromatic ingredient. It is quite possible, however, that a decoction or infusion of heath was used in Ireland in the most remote times, and that some such preparation was indeed an ancient drink; the tradition is very much corroborated by the ensuing quotation from a work published in London in 1596, entitled "*Sundrie Newe and Artificial Remedies against Famine*," in which the following directions are given for making "A Cheape Liquor for Poore Men when Malt is extream Deare: If a poore man in the time of flowering doe gather the toppes of heath, with the flowers which is usually called & knowne by the name of Ling in the northerlie parts of this Realme, & lay up sufficient store thereof for his own provision, it being well dried and carefully kept from putriefying or moulding, he may at all times make a very pleasing & cheape drink for himselfe by boiling the same in fair water with such proportion thereof as may best content his own taste."

But here we must cease for the present. We trust we have so far kept within our limits, and opened up a subject for further inquiry of more interest than ordinary readers might at first sight consider it capable.

G. B.

THE OSSIANIC AGE.

By HERBERT FRANCIS HORE.

The Ossianic ballads and tales in the Gaelic language, relating to the exploits of bands of warriors called Fenians, who, according to the Irish annalists, flourished in Ireland from the 1st to the 4th century, challenge a higher antiquity than is accorded, we believe, to the rhythmical legends of any other Northern European nation. These ancient poems have, for the most part, come down to us orally; and the names of the principal heroes, Goll McMorna and Fionn McCoole, are familiar as household words in the mouths of the native Irish peasantry of Ulster. Equally prevalent throughout the Western islands and Highlands of Scotland, these traditional songs formed, as is well known, the basis of Macpherson's splendid fabrication, *The Poems of Ossian*. Hitherto, the characters celebrated in these ballads have generally been considered as warriors of Gaelic race, and many critics have deemed them to be mere mythical representations. But reflection and research having convinced us that the personages so commemorated are of a different origin, we offer the following pages in elucidation of their true history, which will, we conceive, prove them to be by no means myths; and moreover, that, apart from the poetic interest attached to them, their age and circumstances are well worthy of full examination.

The Ossianic Society, founded in Dublin, in 1853, for the publication of MSS. in the Irish language, illustrative of the "Fenian" or "Ossianic" age, has already produced three volumes, and proposes to rescue many MSS. and tracts, bearing on ancient Irish history, from their present state of obscurity. The Irish Archæological and Celtic Society has also suggested several manuscripts for publication, which bear so fully on the themes we are about to touch upon, that we long to see them in print, viz. :—"The Wars of the Irish and Danes," McFirbis's "Account of the Firbolgs and Danes of Ireland," and the "History of the Boromean Tribute."

Pending the publication of these additions to the present amount of knowledge respecting the "Ossianic Age," a discussion of the subject brought before the public by the Ossianic Society may perhaps be considered as yet premature. But, believing that we have gleaned several points of information which have escaped the notice of former workers in this field, we submit them to the opinion of Irish archæologists.

The remarks about to be offered will be more intelligible, if we plainly state what we bring to the heap, in the way of addition and leaven, and we therefore premise that we shall attempt to establish the following opinions :—

1st. That the age we style the "Ossianic," closed in the 5th century;

2nd. That Goll McMorna and Fionn McCoole, the principal heroes of Fenian literature, were leaders of foreign mercenaries in Ireland;

3rd. That the clan of the former hero was connected with the Oirghialla, a peculiar tribe of mercenaries in Ulster; and that his posterity can be distinctly traced, as military followers of the O'Neills, down to the 17th century.

These remarkable facts are unnoticed in the publications of the Ossianic Society.

4th. That the Scots of Ireland differed ethnologically from the Celts, either owing to difference of extraction, or to infusions of Teutonic blood on the paternal side.

Without proposing to enter much, at present, into the disputed question of Scottish and Irish origins, this controversial point enters so fully into our theme that we must state our impressions regarding it. The eastern and southern pure Irish seem to have been of Celtic extraction, and composed of colonies from Britain, Gaul, Wales, and, perhaps, also from Spain. Diodorus, an author of the century prior to the Christian era, and one of the earliest foreign writers that notice Ireland, speaks of Britons as the inhabitants of this island. We will also observe, as proofs of the comparatively recent date of the Scotic colony in this country, that the name "Scoti" does not appear among the tribes set down in Ptolemy's map; that it does not occur in any writer until the close of the 3rd century; and that we learn from the Confession of St. Patrick, a document now of acknowledged authenticity, that in the life-time of that missionary (the middle of the fifth century), the name of Scots did not extend to all the inhabitants of Ireland, but that those persons to whom he applies it were all of the dominant caste; whereas he calls the bulk of the people Hiberionaces, showing that the conquering race, although masters of the country (like the Angles in Britain, and the Franks in Gaul), had not yet imposed their name on the entire kingdom.[a]

The dates and circumstances of the arrival of Belgians in this country is wrapped in obscurity; but there is reason for believing that the settlers known as Fir-Bolgs, *i.e.*, Belgae, were the first Teutonic colonists. The Ostmen or Easterlings, who settled as traders, came, probably, from Denmark and the seats of the original Easterling merchants of the Hanseatic League.[b] Dr. Wood observes that the only inhabitants of Ireland who attracted the notice of foreign writers were the enterprising Belgae, whom, as Goths or Scythians, they denominated *Scoti* or *Scuit*. Our own annals frequently notice the invasion of *Fomuirigh*, *i.e.*, sea-robbers, styled "gigantes et pirati" by Cambrensis, and now admitted to have been the foremost Scandinavian adventurers in Ireland. Their ancient designation as "Africans," may have arisen from the circumstance that the Goths who plundered Rome itself in the 6th century were settlers, as corsairs, on the coast of Africa. Although the annals of the *Four Masters* do not notice any invasion as Scandinavian of earlier date than the 8th century, they afford evidence of intercourse between nations bordering on the Baltic with the Irish during the first and second centuries. It

[a] Moore's History of Ireland. [b] Commines, I, 192.

appears from Saxo Grammaticus that, in the fourth century, some Danish chieftains, whom he names, had been engaged in piratical incursions upon the Irish coast. According to the author of *Ogygia,* King Tuathal is said to have flourished as monarch of Ireland in the second century, and to have married a daughter of a King of Finland, whose nation were among the sea-wanderers styled *Fomuirigh.* King Tuathal's brother is declared to have been the introducer of the Fenian forces celebrated in our Ossianic literature; and certainly their appearance in our annals actually dates from the remarkable reign of Tuathal.

If our theory, as to the extraction of the Fianna[c] (as the military mercenaries in Ireland are generally styled by Oisin) be well-founded, they were originally two distinct races. We take the earliest of their order to have been Belgians, afterwards called Scots, under Goll McMorna; and the last-comers to have been Finns, of the tribe mentioned by Tacitus as inhabiting the southern shores of the Baltic. Though both tribes of these foreign forces were styled Fianna by the Irish, the former came to be called *Oirghialla, i.e.,* Easterling foreigners; and the latter, introduced as hostile to them, and afterwards called *Lochlannaigh,*[d] or Scandinavians proper, were the Fenians under the command of the renowned Fionn Mac Cumhaill. In fact, they appear to have been precursors of those other continental hired bands, who, under the names of Anglo-Saxons, Anglo-Danes, and Normans, afterwards subjugated England, Ireland, and Normandy.

In cotemporary Latin authors we find the clearest light thrown on the condition of the early Scots and Picts. The Roman general, Theodosius, chased their galleys from the British shores, according to the verse of Claudian:—

"Nec falso nomine Pictos
Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone secutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas."

Other lines in the same poem, besides describing the signal triumph which Theodosius had achieved over three northern nations, locates the Saxons (perhaps Anglo-Danes) in the Scottish isles:—

"Maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne."

The same poet, in celebrating the successes of Stilicho in repelling descents on the British coast, notably enough styles that sea-king "the Scot," who commanded the galleys then infesting the Irish shores:—

"Totam cum Scotus Iernen
Movit et infesto spumavit remige Tethys."

[c] It is difficult to find a satisfactory derivation for the term *Feine,* or Fianna. According to Mallet's *Northern Antiquities,* the Finns originally spread over the southern parts of Norway and Sweden, where they were driven by colonies of Scythians and Germans. If such was the case, this people would at a still earlier time, have been found in continental Scandinavia. Tacitus writes of the Fenni that they trusted solely to arrows—a weapon for which the ancient Scots were likewise famous. Their language is understood to resemble that of the Esthonians.—(Mallet, 71) McFirbis was of opinion that some of the persons named Fenians who flourished in Ireland were of the Firbolg race of Tara, whom he calls *Attacots,* or plebeians.

[d] Battle of Gabhra, published by the Ossianic Society.

Who the original Scoti were, is a question involved in deep obscurity; but for our present purpose, it suffices to remark, that, as the earliest allusions to them represent them as maritime, we incline to believe they were vik-ingar or sea-kings. The former word is a Scandinavian designation, meaning *wick-men, i.e.*, fishermen and piratic frequenters of *wicks*, or inlets, such as *Viking's* Forth (now Larne Lough), *Wick*low, and Smer*wick*. The word *Skotar* is used in a Saga quoted in the *Antiq. Celto-Scandicæ*, seemingly as synonimous with *Vik*-ingar. King Alfred calls them *Skyttar*, the root of which seems to be *skyt*, to cast, whence the words to scud, scout, skittle, skittish, and *scoth*, a cot, yacht, or galley, *à celeritate*. Remarkably enough, the word *sgoth*, anciently *scoth*, is still used in the Highland dialect of the Gaelic for a boat, so that the first Scots may have been called SCOTHA or cot-men.

Judging from several circumstances, the race of Niall of the Nine Hostages, who, it is supposed, was the Scot, or Sea-King repulsed by Stilicho, appear to have originally been vikingar, attracted to form settlements in the wicks or estuaries of the Foyle and Bann by the abundance of salmon in these rivers. The patronymic of their chiefs, MacLochlin, signifies "son of the Scandinavian." One of their cognizances, a salmon, is emblematic of their mission to these shores. We must, however, reserve inquiry into the ethonologic distinctions between the Scots of the North and the Hibernians of the South for some future occasion, and, in the meanwhile, shall be glad to receive any elucidations of this interesting question from others.

Viewing the Fenians, our present subject, by the light of various authorities, we see that their personal attributes, as well as their psychological traits, stamp them as a Teutonic people. They are described as gigantic, fair-complexioned, and fair-haired; as being skilful at sea, addicted to conquest and colonization, and apt at governing; all which are Anglian attributes.[e]

We believe that these foreign settlers were primarily employed by the aboriginal Celtic kings as hired auxiliaries.

The *Luchd-tighe, i.e.*, people of the house, or household-troops,[f] of ancient Irish kings, were

[e] Dowling, a Leinster historian of the 16th century, records in his annals that, in the time of Laeghaire, son of Niall of the Hostages, who died in the middle of the 5th century, and of St. Patrick, who died at its close, the Norwegians, warlike men, bold, robust, and covetous, and given to conquer the kingdoms of others, having acquired the Orkneys and the Scottish isles, came from thence into Ireland; and that from that period until the conquest of Turgesius, thirty-three Norwegian Kings reigned in Ireland. If this dynasty was that of the Oirghialla, there is much apparent truth in Dowling's statements. Cambrensis observes that the first Scandinavian invaders were Northmen. Among other authorities vouching for an earlier appearance of Sea-Kings in Ireland than our archæologists* and historians were inclined to admit, we may quote the *Life of St. Canice* (edited by the late Marquis of Ormonde) for a paragraph describing the visit of that saint to the court of the King of Leinster, *circa* 560; on which occasion he found the clan assembled to witness a novel method of killing children, by throwing them high over the points of spears fixed in the ground. This new mode was called *Gall-che-ad*, *i.e.*, the foreign way; and was practised (so we read in Hoveden) by the Scoti and Sea-Kings, one of whom, Oliver "Barnakill," *i.e.*, the preserver of *bairns* or children, obtained this nickname from having interdicted this savage practice to his crews.

[f] Primitive household troops were known by various designations. Sometimes they are named *Huscarls, i.e.*, house churls. They are also the "kempery-men" or men of the camp, of old English ballads. The Scandinavian

* See Moore's note in his *History of Ireland*, vol. I., p. 96, pointing out the Rev. Dr. O'Conor's unworthy misquotation, which was designed to conceal the early appearance of Danes in Ireland.

generally foster-kindred, but occasionally foreigners, like the *Varingar* of Constantinople, the Danish halberdiers of Westminster, and the Frankish and Scottish guards of Paris. The Irish *Gall-oglacha*, galloglasses, *i.e.*, foreign servitors, such as the McDonnells, McCabes, and McSweyns, are acknowledged to be of Scandinavian origin. We read in the *Four Masters*, A.M., 4248, of a commander of the king of Tara's guards slaying his master and usurping the throne—a revolution quite ordinary in the histories of other nations. "*Cinel-lugh-tighe*," *i.e.*, the tribe of the household troop, seems to have been an original denomination of the Clan O'Donnell.[g] Similarly, there was the Clan-Ceitherne, descended from some "cateran" or kerne band that had served the kings of Ulster, and from whom Clan-keherny, in Roscommon, subsequently galloglass-land, was named.[h] We also find the guards of an O'Neill king mentioned, A.D., 728, and a notice of his sending to Scotland for auxiliaries.

The earliest mention of Fenians in Ireland is as "the soldiers of Teamhair," or Tara; and they would seem to have been designated *Luchd na Teamhrach*. Their descendants, as it would appear, the Oirghialla, are legendarily spoken of by O'Neill's bard, in 1265,[i] as having originally been "the soldiers" and "guards" of the palace of Eamania; and, moreover, the O'Neills are alluded to by him as *muintir milidh Teamhrach*—"the military people of Tara;" which, with other circumstances, inclines us to believe that the fictitious deduction of the Scotic Irish from the Milesians arose from the use of this word *milidhe*, which seems to be merely a Gaelic translation of the Latin *milites*.

Our present endeavour to give reality to the heroes of Ossian may be best begun by showing that certain ancient septs of Ulster appear to have descended from Goll McMorna; because whatever truth may attach to our researches on this point, will throw light on other portions of our inquiry into the Ossianic Age.

All notices of Goll McMorna, one of the principal Fenian heroes, are of too poetic a nature to deserve belief, further than as evidence that a warrior of this name, or one resembling it, flourished during the Ossianic Age. He is named Colle McMorne in *The Book of Howth*, a compilation, made in the 16th century, of the traditions of the ancient English territory north of Dublin, still known as the district of "Fingal." According to bardic genealogies, to which we cannot give implicit faith, Colla *Mor*, *i.e.*, the great, was *father* of Mughdhorn *Dubh*, *i.e.*, Morna the black, from whom the Clan-Morna were named. The only other Mughdhorn of whom we find mention was daughter of king Mogh, and a ruling princess, since she modified a portion of the Brehon Laws, and her ordinances were confirmed by her father.[k] Her name is translated "masculine hand;"

Var-ingar, *i.e.*, war-men, are now represented in Germany by the *land-wehr*, or land defenders. The Varangian guard of the Emperors of Constantinople were, as is well known, of Northern European extraction. Sir Walter Scott, in *Count Robert of Paris*, calls them Englishmen. Probably many were Anglians, from Sleswick, one of the provinces of modern Denmark, the cradle of the English name and race. Ducange (says Sir Walter), has poured forth a flood of learning on this curious subject.

[g] St Columba's Life, 320.

[h] Map. S. P. O.

[i] Celtic Miscell.

[k] Vallancey, I.

and she may have been daughter of Mogh *Neid*, and sister of the celebrated Mogh, alias Eoghan *Mor*, king of Munster, who was compelled by Conn of the Hundred Battles to divide Ireland with him, and was afterwards slain by Goll McMorna, on the heath of Moyleana. It seems that Mogh *Corb*, great-grandson of king Mogh, employed Fianna, or military mercenaries, to defend Leth Mogha, or his own half of the divided island,[l] against the northern Scotic conquerors. The British sometimes permitted their princesses to govern, as we all remember in the renowned example of Boadicea; and the British, or Picts, of Ireland, occasionally acted on the same rule (by compact, as it seems, with the Scots,[m]) as in the case of Macha, the constructor of Eamhain-Macha, a great fort near the present city of Armagh. Archæologists are also aware that surnames were sometimes derived from the mother, as from the safest source prior to the prevalence of matrimony. Mac-Mughdhorna, or, in ordinary form, McMorna, became, whether a patronymic or a matronymic, the primary cognomen or tribe-name of the descendants of Mughdhorn, the earliest authentic mention of whom is in Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*; in which work, and in the tripartite Life of St. Patrick, there are notices of "provincia Mughdornorum," viz., in the native tongue, *Crioch-Mughdhorna*, *i.e.*, the district of the Clan Morna, now the barony of Cremorne, in the county of Monaghan.

Colla, styled *Mor*, *i.e.*, the Great, (and also sometimes, *Meann*) from whom the Clan Morna unquestionably descended, is mentioned in *The Book of Rights* (a compilation made at Cashel, before the year 908,) as "having been a mighty man." So great, indeed, had been his power, that the chiefs of the O'Mornas, or the sept sprung from him, were accustomed to receive no less than a ninth part of the entire revenue of the monarchy; a tribute from royalty itself to the memory of their ancestor, whose sword probably was among the first to impose the taxes whence that revenue was obtained. Taking this remarkable circumstance into consideration, with others, we incline to consider this "mighty man" as identical with Goll McMorna. Colla the Great is stated in the *Annals of the Four Masters* to have fallen in that great battle with the last king of Eamhain Macha, by which the extensive region afterwards known as Oriel was acquired by the *Orghialla*, as his national tribe were called. According to this authority, he was the youngest of three brothers, who are said to have been grandsons of King Cairbre Mac Cormac *Ulfhada*.[n] These brothers were born of a Scottish mother, and are memorable as having conquered and taken possession of a large district in Ulster. The first historic notice of them is of their slaying the native king of Tara in an engagement at the confluence of the Boyne and Blackwater, in a country called Ross, afterwards possessed by their posterity. It is asserted that, after this victory, the eldest

[l] F. M.

[m] Consult Moore's History of Ireland.

[n] Coll was a Scandinavian name. Laing's *Kings of Norway*, and Goll occurs in our annals as the name of more than one Fomorian, or Scandinavian invader. An ancient poetic account of the commanders of the Fenian forces, quoted in *the Battle of Gabhra*, makes "Moirne *mor*" son of a daughter of the King who instituted the Fianna, and brings in a later Morna, whose three sons became rulers, and of whom "Goll the Great" was the most famous. Perhaps these three were "the three Collas."

brother, Colla *Uais*, became King of Tara; and that he was subsequently expelled, with his brothers, and three hundred men in their company, to Scotland, by Muireadhach *Tireach* (the mariner of Tiree?) father of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and who thereupon became King of Tara. This eldest of the fraternity is the acknowledged ancestor of the "Lords of the Isles," and of the Mac Dubhgalls, or M[c]Dugalds, of Scotland, to whom a Scandinavian origin is also accorded. A Hebridean *senachie* quoted by the author of *The Lord of the Isles*, styles these chieftains "the Clan Colla." The brothers are stated to have returned from Scotland, with a band of but twenty-seven men, and to have entered the service of the sovereign, their relative, Muireadhach, as his "generals." This term we take to be a brevet title for mere captains of galloglasses. The latter part of this legend goes far to warrant an idea that the three brothers were descended from a Hebridean guardsman and the daughter of King Mogh; and that they and their posterity became military retainers to the conquering line of Niall of the Nine Hostages. Some years after entering this service they gained an important victory over the native king of Ulster. They then broke down and razed his "palace," or palisado-defended house, "*out of spite to the Clan-Rury.*[o] This race to whom they bore enmity were, it would seem, the primitive guards, apparently of Hebridean extraction, to the Pictish sovereigns of Ulster. None of the old dynasty ever dwelt again in their ancient seat; while the conquerors took possession of the entire country from the Newry river to Lough Neagh, which afterwards received its name of Airghial, or Oirghial, from their descendants. The second brother, Colla *dha chrioch*, is said to have been ancestor of the M[c]Mahons, Maguires, M[c]Canns, and O'Hanlons, all which septs were under O'Neill's standard; and the chiefs of the latter sept were his hereditary standard-bearers north of the Boyne.

After a lapse of time, the O'Neills, and their feudal mercenaries, the Oirghialla, expanded over all Ulster, with the exception of some forest-districts east and north of the great lake, which continued to be the refuge of the remnant of the Cruithnians, Picts, or Britons. The name of Scotia was probably given to the North of Ireland in consequence of this expansion of these maritime tribes; as, in a similar way, a like appellation was bestowed on North Britain after the extension of the warlike race descended from Fergus M[c]Earca.

The Oirghialla tribe was divided into nine septs, each of which rendered a hostage for loyalty to the monarch, because they were, as it would appear, of foreign race. Their name, *Oir-Ghialla*, is translated "Golden Hostages" by historians such as O'Halloran, who declare it originated in the fact that the fetters used to confine these human pledges were made of gold—which must have been abundant, or the fetters were weak. But this manifest absurdity is contradicted by the account of the tribe now quoted from, written before the year 908, and which distinctly says that these hostages were kept in a fort, on Ward Hill, near Athboy, "without incarceration and without fettering.[p] The correct etymon of their name appears to be *Oir* or *Air-ghialla, i.e.*, Eastern

[o] Note to Four Masters, I. 73,

[p] B. of Rights, p. 147.

foreigners. They are styled Anteriores, *i.e.*, Orientales, by Adamnan; and Nennius alludes to them as *Fir da ghialla, i.e.*, men of the hostages, or the foreigners, terms which would be synonymous in an incipient vocabulary.

From the analogy that Niall I., the famous sea-king, was styled "OF THE NINE HOSTAGES," it may be conjectured that the original living securities he obtained from foreigners were the progenitors of the *nine Oirghiallan septs*. If those pledges were Hebrideans, Belgians, Finnians, Anglians, Danes, and Goths from Gothland in Sweden, they would have been called Eastern aliens, just as the incomers from the fiords and wicks, or bays and inlets of Denmark were subsequently called Ostmen or Easterlings.

"THE HISTORY OF THE OIRGHIALLA," as a most curious chapter in *The Book of Rights* is entitled, is worthy of belief from its simplicity. The author of this compilation of the early part of the tenth century, refers to "the great compact" anciently made between this martial tribe and the King of Ireland, by which they obtained some extraordinary privileges. It seems that their large territory was the only fief in the kingdom, having been held by "a tribute of military service." But, while they had secured uncommon immunities, they gave but a limited attendance on the royal banner. In fact, it is plain that they were the "national militia" vaguely written of by historians. Indeed, so complete are the proofs of their extraction from the Fianna, or original Ossianic "militia," that we marvel that this fact has not struck the Ossianic editors.

In A.D., 594, the clan Oirghialla acted as the military force of the King of Tara, against the Lagenians (men of Leinster);[q] and, in the 10th century, they seem to have been distinguished as descendants of the ancient Fianna race, the author of *The Book of Rights* beginning his history of them thus:—

> "Hear, ye people of Fail of the Fians,
> The grand stipends of the Oirghialla."

Fians, or Fianna, the designation of the McMorna soldiers of Tara, who slew the Leinster King of Tara, appears to have been lost, in consequence, probably, of the unpopularity of Fionn McCoole's soldiery; and, so far as the Ulster band were concerned, to have merged in their national appellation of Oirghialla: yet, this latter tribe are frequently mentioned as "the clan of the fair-skinned Coll," and "the bright host of Tara."[r]

The terms of their feudal tenure, which, like their privileges, were peculiar to them—no other clan in Ireland partaking of such, and which therefore are unique and remarkable—are as follows:—They were bound to join any military or hosting expedition the monarch ordered, for six weeks every third year, provided the season were neither sowing nor reaping time. They mustered 700 men, each of whom was entitled to a full-grown cow, as his pay. If their country should be plundered while their forces were absent on an expedition with the monarch, he was bound to

[q] O'Donovan's Four Masters. [r] Battle of Magh-Rath.

replace any loss six-fold. Whatever injury they might commit, they were only to pay the seventh part of whatever the general law imposed as a fine. If one of their number was accused on oath of an act deserving of chains, his oath was sufficient to clear him. Their nine hostages were left at large, on parole.—All these unusual immunities evidently had their origin in the high bearing of this martial race, whose standard of conduct was honour, such as the chivalrous knightliness of the Normans in later and loftier times. So far from rendering tribute, they were as free from rent as were their professional successors, the Galloglasses; and, moreover, they were entitled to large stipends from the monarch, and, particularly, to a third of all profits, such as preys, the *borumha Laighean*, fines, &c., received by him. They were accustomed to make over a third of their receipts of this nature to the sept descended from 'Colla the Great.'

Even these are not all the privileges that could be enumerated as having belonged to this martial tribe. So completely hereditary were these advantages, that the Hy-Maine, or O'Kellys, who were descended from Maine, son of *Fear da ghiall*, an Oirghiallan, and who obtained the third part of Connaught, demanded and secured the same privileges from the kings of that province. It is expressly stated that every privilege, which books mention as having been granted to the men of Oriel (Oirghialla) by the monarchs of Ireland, was accorded to their offset, the O'Kellys,[s] who manifestly were a foreign tribe of military retainers to the Kings of Connaught, and who subsequently spread over the entire island by small hired detachments, in the same manner that the McDonnells migrated as galloglasses into Leinster, and the McMahons and McSweyneys into Munster.

Although the great tribe-name of Clan-Colla was borne by the Lords of the Isles and by the Oirghialla, it does not appear to have given a name to any territory of the race; whereas the patronymic, Mughdhorn, that of the subordinate Irish sept, did so to several countries in the North of Ireland, in consequence of their being occupied by the descendants of this distinguished progenitor.[t] We

[s] Hy Many, 67.

[t] Our authorities for the vestiges here collected of the Clan Morna are as follows:—*The Four Masters* mention Mughdorn-Maighean (now Cremorne) from the year 603 to 1110. They chronicle the death, in 610, of Maelduin Mac Ailen, king of this territory, whose brother is noticed by Adamnan. The names mentioned of his successors are, Dunchadh, Angus, Cearnach, Maelbresail, Ailen, Oisin, O Machainen (997), Ailen mac Oisin, and Amlaff O'Machainen, Lord of Cremorne, who died in 1053. The McMahons were *ard-righa*, or superior kings, of this sept; and it is remarkable that Edmund Spenser mentions a tradition among the Irish that these McMahons had a foreign extraction, which seems borne out by their names—Coll, Magnus, Niall, and Sitric. They, also, like the O Kelly's, the McDonnells, the McSweynes, &c., &c., were accustomed to hire themselves out as military mercenaries. In the 16th century, their chief signed himself "Mac Mawna," which resembles Mac Morna in sound.* At a very early period, they sent out a branch, which retained the tribe-name of McMorna, into the district of Boirche (in the present county of Down), which they subdued by force of arms,† and which from them was named Mourne. *The Book of Howth* places a Danish chief, named Art *oge* Mac Morne, at Dundrum; and another, Eye Mac Carra Mac Morne, at Carlingford,‡ which port they kept or guarded, by the appointment of the native provincial King of Ulster; and we find some provision of shipping, probably for coast-guard service, in Boirche, mentioned in *the Book of Rights*. It is likely, indeed, that the first of the clan in Ireland were Viking settlers in the fiords of that coast. Some traditional claim on this district of Mourne, to the extent of its being considered a military fief, or galloglass-land, seems to have existed in the 12th century,|| and even down to the 16th, when it was bestowed on O'Neill's galloglasses.§ Another offset of the clan appears under the varying patronymics of O Morna, O'(h) Earca-chein, and Mac-Gilla-Muire. We cannot determine who Earc (the chief) and Gilla-Muire were. There was an Earc, eldest son of Colla Uais, and another, his grandson.** In Rymer (*Faedera*) we find "Mac-Gilmori, *duci de Anderken*," written to in 1275, and (in the annalists) that this was Dermot, Lord of Lecale, who died the year following. His Latin title of *dux*, or leader, well expresses his position with regard to his clan. His patriarch, Gilla-Muire, may

* S. P. O., 1560.
† Ulster Journal, II 18.
‡ Hanmer.
|| See Four Masters, A.D., 1165.
§ S. P., III., 395.
** B. of Rights, 121, 122.

find the Clan-Morna noticed by the *Four Masters* from the 6th century to the 12th, as occupying Mughdhorna-Maighean (the "provincia Mughdhornorum," mentioned by Adamnan), now Cremorne, of which the senior of one of the nine branches of the Oirghialla was chief, about the year 908, by the name of King of Mughdhorn and Ross. They also occupied land near Tara (in Meath), called Mughdhorna-Breagh, where we find them in the ninth century, and whence, according to tradition, they were expelled into the fastnesses afterwards called Cremorne and Ross, in Monaghan. Our notion that their progenitors were also of the tribe of the Orighialla, who, as McMahons, were their kings or seniors, is somewhat warranted by the legend that they sent out a branch, which retained the tribe-name of O'Morna, to the sea-coast district in Down, now known as the barony of Mourne, remarkable to travellers for the lofty mountains of this name. In verification of this tradition, the Book of Howth places *two Danish chiefs, named Mac Morne, in Dundrum and Carlingford,* where they were stationed by a provincial king for the defence of these sea-ports, which command the extreme points of the barony; and we also find that the military of this district used, in the ninth century, to receive a certain provision of shipping from the King of Ulster, probably for coast-guard service in repelling foreign piratic invasions. Another branch of the clan became masters, at very early periods, of countries which they appear to have originally held of the Pict kings of Ulster, and latterly of the O'Neills, the usurpers of sovereignty, for military service, under the varying names of O'Morna, O'(h)Earca-Chein, and Mac-Gillamuire. The King of the sept called O'(h)Earca, *i.e.*, grandchildren of Earc, the chief, was a stipendiary of the native sovereigns of Eastern Ulster at the beginning of the tenth century. To determine who this chieftain was, would supply a link between the ancient patriarch, Mughdhorn, and the present families of Down, surnamed Gilmore, so as to enable them to claim descent from one of Ossian's heroes. This name, Earc, or Eric, is decidedly Scandinavian. It is worth notice that Muircheartach, who was burnt for usurping Meath, is called Mac-Earca, and his country "Crioch-Chein," the territory of the chieftain. In 1275, Edward I. addressed letters to "Mac Gilmori, dux de Anderken," as one of the chieftains of Ulster. Cu-Uladh O'Morna Mac Gill-Muire, chief of Hy(n)Erca Chein

have been the son of Ceinncidigh, recorded to have been slain in 1019. In 1116, a certain "Noars Mac Any Mac-killmori O'Morna" joined a people called the Crotryes (the Crotraidhe of the fleet, *B. of Rights*) in burning a church near Dungannon.* In the 15th century, some warrior members of the McGilmore family were notorious as destroyers of churches. One of them attacked Carrickfergus church for the sake of the iron bars in its windows. In Lord Roden's copy (p. 205) of McFirbis's genealogical work, "Kenneth O'Morna of Lecale," is deduced from "Morna, son of Fetchor, son of Oisen, son of Onen, son of Broe, son of Aine," &c., but without any distinct authority being given. Patrick *Pallidus* O'Gilmore was principal proprietor in Knockbreda anno 1412. It also appears by a note to *the B. of Rights* that Holywood (in the present County of Down) was given to them by the O'Neills; and by Bagenal's *Description of Ulster* that they were anciently followers of the O'Neills. St. Mura, from whom comes the name, Gilla-Muire, *i.e.*, servant of Mura, was the O'Neills' patron Saint. These notices go far to establish a feudal connexion between the McMornas and the Scotic Kings of Ulster. It may be added that Reginald McGillemory was head of a Scandinavian family in Waterford in the time of Strongbow.

* Annals of Ulster.

and of Lecale, is recorded to have been slain in 1391. We are equally at a loss to say who this distinguished patriarch, Gillamuire, was, who gave a third surname to his line. The learned editor of most of our recent archæologic publications has identified the country of the grandson of Earc, the chief, as lying in Upper Clandeboy, where (as McGilmores) they held the parishes of Dundonald and Knockbreda, and the lands of Holywood, which were given to them by the O'Neills; so that they were masters of nearly all the great Ards—in which country, indeed, it was declared in 1586,[u] that "the ancient dwellers are the O'Gilmers, a rich and strong sept," who, remarkably enough, are stated to have "ALWAYS BEEN FOLLOWERS TO THE O'NEILLS."

By another migration, apparently in the 13th century, some chiefs of the McMornas fled from their king, McMahon, into lower Clandeboy, where their name was given to *Magheramorne*, a country on the west side of Ulfric's fiord (as the Scandinavians called Larne-lough), and reaching nearly to Woking's frith,[v] or the Viking's inlet, as they called Glenarm. This district was afterwards claimed as a barony belonging to the O'Neill's, lords of Clandeboy.[w] In the sentence which we have marked by capitals, we find, most probably, the true designation of the profession of one of the Ossianic hero's posterity, since, on the foregoing evidence, the McMornas may reasonably be assumed to have originally been *Gall-oglacha*, or foreign military servitors, to the Scotic conquerors of the north of Ireland.

Having thus traced the history of the Fenians of Ulster, with considerable appearance of authenticity, let us turn to that of their rivals in Leinster, the hired soldiers settled in Fingal, and employed by the Leinster Kings in defending their fortress of Almhuin, in Kildare, and resisting the conquests of the Ulster Scots.

The Fenian forces are said by the editor of the *Battle of Gabhra* to have been divided into bands according to their provinces. McMorna, he states, commanded Connaught military, who were of Belgian race; but, according to our view, he was commander of Ulster Fians, the Clanna Morna, ancestor of the Oirghialla. Certainly, the Connaught military subsequently were Oirghiallan; and the Munster Fians may have produced the O'Mahons. The same editor states correctly (in accordance with our impression), that the Leinster and Meath soldiery were the Clan O'Baisgne. Our authority then gives an ancient poem, which, in attributing the institution of Fenian forces in this country to one Fiach, brother of the monarch, Tuathal, nearly coincides with an opinion we had preconceived, viz., that this king, Tuathal, introduced forces from the Scandinavian-Scottish islands. It is observable that the mother of these brothers is said to have been a Scottish princess, and that their father obtained monarchy by slaying the Pictish King of Eamania,[x] Fiatach, patriarch of the chiefs of Eastern Ulster.

Baine, the daughter of a Finnish king, and wife of Tuathal, may have been ancestress to Fionn

[u] Sir Henry Bagenal's Description of Ulster.
[v] Barbour's Bruce.
[w] S. P. O.
[x] Magh-Rath, 829.

O'Baisgne (as the Four Masters name Fionn M'Cumhal), the commander of the Clanna-Baisgne Fenians. She erected an earthen fort in the Fenian region of Oriel, and was buried there; so that she may have been an Oirghiallan.

This Tuathal, who offers the first semblance of a real political monarch of Ireland, is said to have flourished in the second century. In our opinion, he was not of Scotic extraction, nor of the O'Neill line, but legitimate Sovereign of Meath, as representative of Kings of the *Gaedhil Phict* of that dynasty. He is stated to have fought 133 battles in establishing his sway; and appears to have made Meath a demesne for the support of his *luchd-tighe*, or soldiery, who seem to have been styled *Luchd na Teamhrach*, or guards of Tara. He was further maintained by the *Borumha Laighean*, the great cow-tribute levied off Leinster. Phelim, his son, whose queen was another Fenian, established the Teutonic law of compensation for personal injury, in place of the Asiatic custom of retaliation previously practised.

There seems to have been a subordinate Gaelic dynasty in Leinster, the representatives of which sometimes took the monarchy from the Meath line. Indeed, the Leinster-men are positively declared[y] to have been the rightful owners of Meath (including Tara), down to the 6th century, when it was finally taken from them by the Scotic O'Neill line. As such, they had been the original sovereigns of Ireland—a fact referred to by Dermot *na nGall* (so called because he imported foreign auxiliaries) when reminding his forces that all the island had anciently been subject to his race.

After the death of Phelim, the Leinster-men are said to have established one of their race, Cahir *Mor*, as monarch, for three years. If, as we conceive, the struggle for Tara was, at that time, between the Pictish dynasties of Meath and Leinster, the contest was closed in a remarkable manner, and at the time when the Fenians make their first appearance on the stage of Irish history. The Leinster monarch was slain "by the Fian, or militia, or soldiers, called *Luaigh na-Teamhair*,"[z] a band then commanded by the celebrated Conn of the Hundred Battles.

Who was this conqueror, Conn, whose name *Cu-inn* (hound of the waves), indicates that he was a Sea-king? He is *said* to have been son of Phelim, son of Tuathal: but what faith can be reposed in oral genealogies, referring to Pagan ages, when marriage was unknown? And what credit can be given to the date ascribed to his reign, when we know that, as late as the twelfth century, Irish public documents were rarely dated from the Christian era, but from such an uncertain epoch as "the year when the kine and swine perished by a pestilence?"[a]

The young hero, Conn, was according to a reasonable and, therefore, interesting account of the *Battle of Castle Knock*,[b] brought up, or fostered by the Clanna Morna, the band that, we believe, were the very Fians who slew Cahir *Mor*. They, or, at least, their captain Goll, subsequently slew Eoghan *Mor*, King of Munster, who had been compelled to divide Ireland with Conn. These

[y] Book of Rights.
[z] Book of Rights, and Four Masters.
[a] Irish Arch. Misc., I. 129.
[b] This tract is the least incredible, and, therefore, the most curious of any Ossianic legends we have read. For the use of this manuscript our thanks are due to the Ossianic Society.

fosterers of this conqueror would, according to custom, have become his guards, attached to him by the strong tie which fosterage ensured; and *their swords manifestly formed the power*, which, having slain the Kings of Leinster and Munster, placed this Scotic Northern in the position of sovereign. How else did he obtain his power, if his circumstances were such as are shadowed out in the *Annals of the Four Masters?* According to their authority, all the nobility had been massacred a century before his rise; and it is likely that an event of this kind, though not literally, did occur. The insurgents were plebeians, that is to say, conquered races, into whose hands, weapons seem to have been put; and this "Sepoy" rising and massacre are the very acts which enthralled castes, with arms newly in their hands, would be likely to commit. The genealogists make this usurper fourth in descent from a certain infant noble, born after the massacre; for, fortunately, three young freemen came afterwards into being, as the Shem, Ham, and Japhet, of the bloody deluge, up to whom almost all Gaelic pedigrees are since regularly traced. We say almost, for there was a forgotten Deucalion remaining from this apocryphal extinction of all noble blood in Ireland—namely, the progenitor of the Leinster King, Cahir *Mor*. How came Conn to be strong enough to take the monarchy from this prince? His progenitors seem to have been prolific, indeed,—to have provided him, in three generations, with a clan sufficiently numerous. But it is evident that he was supported by "foreigners," just as his son's expeller was. The history of this period includes the origin and rise of our Ossianic heroes, so that we must give it due examination. Reverting, therefore, to the Christian epoch, and taking events in their order as they occur in the *Four Masters*, we find a Leinster race in possession of Tara, and an Ulster one holding Eamania—the latter supported by the Clan Rury, or Sons of Roderic, who guarded the palasidoed fort of Eamania, and who, as the famous "Knights of the Red Branch," were (according to our view) mercenaries of Hebridean extraction, and the first foreign order of guards in Ireland. The great political massacre is said to have occurred in the year 10. Fifty years afterwards, there was a second insurrection and massacre; but the throne was subsequently filled by an infant saved from destruction — the above-mentioned Tuathal, son of a Scottish woman — who was from Scotland, allied himself to a "King of Finland," introduced Fenians, reduced the insurgent tribes by a series of victories, and assumed sovereignty. From henceforth, the island was torn by intestine struggles for sovereignty, which lasted until Conn of the Hundred Battles firmly established himself, as the Rollo of a Scotic dynasty. Soon after he and the Clan Morna had slain Cahir *Mor*, the sons of the deceased "sent" (according to the legendary authority of *the Battle of Castle Knock*) "FOR AID, TO THE ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND BORDERING ON THE DANISH SEA." This is a very remarkable tradition, since it fully warrants our theory that the military auxiliaries called the Fianna or Fenians came from the Scottish Islands, and were of Scandinavian extraction. In a similar manner, the mediaeval galloglasses imported into this country, and styled *Scoticos*[c] in records, came from the Hebrides, and were of the same extraction.

[c] Printed S. P., III. 318, 354.

Following our legendary authority, the envoy from Leinster found Cumhal, a famous leader, hunting with his Fenians in those islands, who presently set sail with his band, landed at the mouth of the Boyne, and, subsequently, took possession of the champaign land between this river and the Liffey, which is still named from them—Fingal—*Finé-Gall*, *i.e.*, the tribe of foreigners. So far this legend agrees with authorities and with probability.

Manifestly, there were Vik-ingar (*i.e.*, wick or inlet-men of foreign origin) settled as fishermen in the bays from Wicklow to Drogheda, and they were enlisted by the Leinster-men to resist the Scottish usurper. According to the manuscript, King Conn, determining to expel the intruders, consulted with Goll McMorna, captain of his guard, whose valour he stimulated by promising him, if successful, a certain SKILLED FISHERMAN whom Cumhal employed, but who should become McMorna's *slave*. This legend is very curious, since it implies that skilful takers of salmon, such as the Scots have ever been, were found among the Fianna.

McMorna, jealous of the new comers, instantly recruited his forces with *other* fishermen, such as a troop of fifty from the salmon-leap of Assaroe, and marched to Castleknock, the rising ground over Dublin, where the new vik-ings stood encamped within entrenchments which are still visible, and which are traditionally said to have been thrown up by Ostmen. The menaced band, under the command of Cumhal, were deserted in this their hour of peril by the very Lagenians who had sent for them; but they were supported by Eoghan *Mor*, the King of the South, styled, as the athlete of his day, *Mogh*, *i.e.*, the slave, or strong labourer. The assailants, led by the mighty "Hound of the Waves," stormed the position by onsets which are described as "the impetuous and repeated dash of waves upon the shore." Cumhal, the father of Fionn, fell by the javelin of Goll McMorna, upon which victory declared for Conn, who then divided the entire island with Mogh. This partition is an indisputable fact in Irish history.

King Mogh, subsequently claiming to share in the valuable salmon fishery of "Inver-Dubhlin," and in the custom-dues of the young trade of the place,[d] took up arms, and encamped on Magh-leana, the "Moilena" of Macpherson. "The Son of Morna" appears in history in this scene, but not in the heroic aspect he presents in poetry; for, as leader of the northern usurper's battalions, he surprised the southern King asleep, and slew him[e]:—an incident cleverly reversed by Macpherson in the poem of *Lathmon*, where his prototype, "Gaul," advances with the warrior son of Fingal in the night towards the enemy's camp, but arrests the rush of his comrade upon the sleeping foe, exclaiming:—"Fingal did not receive his fame, nor dwells renown on the grey hairs of Morni for actions like these. Strike, Ossian, strike the shield, and let their thousands rise!"

King Conn, the retainer of the regicide's clan, became undisputed monarch. Though neither this conqueror, nor his slain rival was a myth, the father of Fionn seems to be one. Was there ever such a man as Cumhal (pronounced Cool), who is said to have lived at Rathcoole, near Dub-

[d] Castleknock MS.

[e] Ogygia.

lin? *Cumhal* signified a bondswoman, and was synonymous with tribute, because enslaved women were frequently received as such. Perhaps the original name of our celebrated chief of the militia was Fionn *na Cumhala*,[f] *i.e.*, of the tribute, just as Brian was surnamed *Borumha*, *i.e.*, of the cow-tax, because he exacted it. Sir George Carew, Earl of Totness, the energetic English general and statesman, who accomplished what the Ulster Kings of Arms and Hibernian *sennachies* of his time neglected, namely, the formation of a collection of the genealogies of the principal families of this kingdom, included "Fun M'Cowle, his petigrew," in that valuable work.[g] Beginning with one "Downe, King of Denmark," our genealogist traced the hero from this king's son, "Downe Downe," who begat "Hoskeyne," father of "Garreneslo," whose son "Conkamore" begat "Terrelaghe," who produced "Trenmore," whose son, "Cowle-ne-gaghe," is famous as the father of "Fun," and grandfather of "Oskeyre." Sir George Carew of course penned this account from traditions he had heard, and which agree with the legends of the *Book of Howth*. To this pedigree, the compiler added an annotation, as follows, which is curious and seems truthful:—"Fun was the greatest man in Ireland in his time, and he and his kinsmen were the commanders of all the kingdom, and did by might suppress the King, and yet they were but his buonies *(buannacha)*, or hired soldiers, as now in these days among the Irish is used. This Fun was a valiant man, and a great soldier; but at last he and his whole family were extirped. His son, Oskeyre, lived in St. Patrick's tyme, and recompted unto him the story of his father and ancestors."

Fionn's mercenaries seem to have been employed by the Leinster Gael to oppose the enforcement of the grievous *Bo-rumha*, the great tribute of cows exacted by the Northern conquerors. Who first levied this primitive revenue is in fact no other question than who was the first monarch of Ireland; since its enforcement was the proof of sovereignty. King Cormac, who seems to have been the second Scotic conqueror (considering Conn as the first), and who was styled *Ulfada*, from his successes in expelling the Picts of Ulster, revived the original tax of cows under the old name, but in a new and notable shape. During his supremacy, the ordinary scarcity of females which then existed among savage clans, and which is attributed to the reluctance of barbarous and poor communities to rear a progeny that was almost unserviceable during early ages, was aggravated by a memorable event. A son of the Leinster dynasty, that had been driven from Tara, surprised the place with his band, and massacred "thirty royal girls," with three hundred, or, as some say, nine hundred, maidens. An elaborate veil has been thrown over this sanguinary act by the oriental imagination of the author of *Lalla Rookh*, in whose history of his country the lovely victims are female Druids, "sacred virgins of an ancient institution called the College of Tara," resident within the palace precincts in an abode called "The Retreat until Death." If, however, we lift this delicate screen (since we do not find these sanctified appellations warranted, either by the uncoloured account of the affair in the *Four Masters*, or by its interpretation by the simple-minded

[f] This *na* may have been corrupted into *Mac*.

[g] Carew MS., 635, p. 197.

author of *Ogygia*, but understand, with him, that it was an attack on a "gynaceum"), its scene, the *cluain fearta, i.e.*, sloping graveyard, still shewn as the place of sepulture of the queens of Tara, was an abode *after*, not *until* death; and we doubt not but that the large tumulus, which covered the slaughtered, served long as a memorial to Cormac's clan of the ferocious attempt to put an end to their race by massacring their women. Indeed, the plain record, in *The Four Masters*, of this carnage, speaks a fact to us as certainly as the cross that marks a spot in southern climes where murder was committed; and tells the tale of the bloody contest between Picts and Scots more truthfully than any catalogue of the battles by which Cormac *Ulfada* obtained his supremacy. When reimposing the *borumha* on the men of Leinster, this chief, whose future power depended on the number of *clann, i.e.*, children, he could bring into the field, altered the tax to a much smaller yearly fine of cows; but demanded a perennial tribute of one hundred and fifty Leinster maidens. Bishop Moling (afterwards canonized), a member of the Lagenian royal family, induced a monarch of the 8th century to relinquish this odious tax, or rather, to restore it to its original form; for Paganism was then succumbing to Christianity. The story of this famous tax (which, be it noted, was levied by the king of Ireland off a single province, and then used to subsidize the other provinces) is worth examination, because items rendered, viz., cows, hogs, blankets, caldrons, male and female slaves, and the one hundred and fifty maidens, give every appearance of authenticity to some[b] accounts given of it. Our business with it extends only as far as its origin is connected with the Clanna Morna, whose swords seem to have enforced it; and with their rivals, the other Fianna, who seem to have fought under Fionn in opposing it. The levying of it appears, indeed, to have naturally been the cause of desperate contests between the O'Neills and the Leinstermen, especially in the beginning of the 8th century, when a king of the former re-enacted it, "with the hostages;" and was slain the next year, while attacking the great fort on Allen-hill. Originally this pastoral revenue was expended in purchasing the loyalty of provincial chieftains. So soon as the 6,000 kine arrived by the *rota borumha*, or road of the cow-tribute, at Tara, one-third was sent into the West to subsidize the King of Connaught; another third was driven North, to the Scotic Vikings of Aileach; and the remainder went to the Pictish King of Eamania. After the Oirghialla had overthrown the ancient dynasty of Ulster in the "battle of the red ford," they received this last share of the *borumha*; and they were bound to allot a third of it to the *Siol Colla Meann* (or race of that Coll the Great who was of the M'Morna branch), "on account," says the record, "of his having been a mighty man."[1] This curious provision seems to indicate the Ossianic hero as the original imposer of this extraordinary tribute; and our belief that he was so is warranted by the tradition that the first settlers in Fingal were descended from men sent for by the Leinstermen, "from the Scottish islands bordering on the Danish sea, in order to chastise the arrogant Goll M'Morna and resist" this tax.[2]

[a] Four Masters, vol. I., 100. [b] B. of Rights, p. 137. [c] Castleknock MS.

The localities in Ireland occupied by the rival bands, the "Clan ne Morne" and the "Clan ne Boysken" are fixed by Dr. Hanmer, quoting from *The Book of Howth*. This ancient authority sets forth the traditions of the Fingal district, which are perhaps equally deserving of credit with any others. Agreeably with it, Oscar, grandson of Fionn, was "the principal captain of the Danish sept," and held, "with his soldiers," the haven of the future metropolis. Other descendants of the vik-ing chief held Drogheda and Dundalk. These seaports commanded the very district subsequently called Finè-gall, from which, according to the *The Battle of Gabhra*, the Leinster Fenians were eventually expelled. Our authority states that Fionn's "chiefe house was called Baragh Lis, in Ulster." This fort may have been Lisdaragh, in Louth. No mention is made of "Almhuin," (Allen), in Kildare, as his residence, although it may have been so, as a fortress belonging to the Leinster dynasty which he defended. There has been much confounding of "Almhuin" with "Alba" (Scotland) whence, according to some manuscripts, the hero came.[k] Following the same legendary authority, the original of which we have consulted, in the Carew MSS., and which, since it appears correct in its allocation of the Mac Mornas, may be so likewise in the case of the Fingalians, we find the following account of the foreign military forces now under consideration:—

"In Erland ther was soyders called Fyen Erryne, apoynted to kepe the see costys, fearyng outword invasyon. The namys of thes soydeors was Fyn McKoyll, Koollon, Kellte, Osker McOsseyn, Dermot O'Doyne, Colle McMorne, and divers others. Thes soyders were bold, as shall appere. At length so strong that they did contrary to the orders of the kynges of Erland, their cheyff lords, and became very strong and stout. They ordered the natives not to hunt game, nor to marry a mayd without their lycens;" &c.

This legend agrees with one quoted in *The Transactions of the Ossianic Society*, which states that "no one dares to give any woman to any man without asking three times whether there be among the Fians a man to marry her;" and "no person dare take any salmon, fowl, or any smaller game, even though he find them dead, excepting a man of the Fenian ranks, in consequence of the strict subjection Fionn exercises over Ireland." Commenting on this and similar passages, Mr. O'Kearney, the editor of the first two publications of the Society, observes:—

"If the Fenian king and his men enjoyed the privileges above enumerated, the people of Ireland were little less than abject slaves under this military despot, and the monarch himself must have been a mere bauble, destitute of power."

Fionn, the young gigantic captain of these warriors, seems to have enjoyed a Pagan plurality of wives, on whom he was very liberal in bestowing *tinseras*, or presents of precious metal.[l] The publication of one of the Ossianic tales, *The Courtship of Fionn in the Land of Lochlann, i.e,* Scandinavia, would, no doubt, serve to develope his antecedents. As time rolled on, his power increased with the growth of his clan, or children, and by foreign accessions from Lochlann. His

k Petrie's Round Towers, p. 108. l Hy-Fiachrach, 208.

rude military, quartered on the pastoral communities throughout the disturbed realm of Cormac's successor, the fierce Cairbre, threatened to depose the king himself; for, from mercenaries, they had become masters. The sovereign thus menaced, his people oppressed, and some of them peculiar sufferers, the assassination of Fionn followed, as a natural consequence.

This act of vengeance, committed by fishermen, seems to have been specially instigated because its victim had deprived the poor and savage natives of a valuable article of sustenance, namely, salmon, which must have formed a principal article of food to the early inhabitants of Ireland, in ages when they, like the *interiores* of Britain did not, as Cæsar says of the Britons, cultivate corn, and when their cattle were very liable to disease, as well as to be plundered. It is declared that the summer occupation of the Fianna was fishing; so that these vik-ings (or wick-men) intercepted the fish; and it is probable that they did so wholesale, by *kidels* (kettles), or basket weirs, and by *coradha*, or wicker nets. The art of taking salmon has been perfected by Scots. The Hebrideans, from whom our theory deduces the Ossianic people, must have been eager fishers in the time of Solinus, when, as he writes, the finny tribe were their sole food. During famines in Ireland, piscatory rights would doubtless have formed the chief subject of international quarrel between the hungry natives and the foreign vik-ings. It was naturally so galling to the famished islanders that aliens should capture their salmon by means of an interloping weir at Clontarf, and (during the fish's ascent of the Shannon) by the lax-weirs of Limerick, and by the *ceann coradh*, *i.e.*, head weir (*alias* Kincora), that the injured parties frequently demolished these monopolizing inventions. In 1100, O'Brien destroyed the fort of Aileach, the ancient seat of the O'Neills, near Lough Foyle, in revenge for the demolition of the dam-weir, and empaled fort, or "palace" of Kincora, by Mac Lochlin (*i.e.*, the son of the Scandinavian), then king of the O'Neills. In fact, these chiefs were rival salmon-merchants, a flourishing trade, which, at a later period, caused the Spaniards to style O'Donnell *el Rey di pesche* (the King of Fish). One of those onslaughts of the Irish upon salmon-weirs is memorable enough, if we are right in conjecturing that the Battle of Clontarf had for its object the destruction of a weir on the strand at that place. Why else the name of the battle itself—*Cathcoradh*, *i.e.*, the battle of the weir?

This national excitement on the question of fish seems to have been first evinced against our archetype of the hero Fingal, who appears to have been the father of Irish commerce. "He was a man in his prosperitie of great command in Ireland," saith Hanmer, from the *Book of Howth*, "so that the Danes and Norweyans had through him great dealing and entercourse with Ireland, and Ireland with them. But yet, many broiles fell between them, and especially between the Clan ne Morne and Clan ne Boisken, both which sides relieved themselves out of Denmark." Campion, who speaks of the Scots and Picts as "arch-pirates of the narrow seas," notices the peaceful employment (as also does Cambrensis) of the Easterlings in Ireland; saying that certain traders of this people, who were partly Normans and partly Saxons, obtained license to land, live, and trade in

Dublin, and other seaports. If Fionn was the originator of the exports of raw produce, afterwards carried on by his countrymen, we can understand why he was so unpopular. But, moreover, he was head of such a foreign military despotism as Turgesius subsequently exercised, and which was also terminated by assassination. His soldiers had grown "intolerably proud, and they exacted hard tributes." An extreme demand of a certain right, often anciently exercised by conquerors in Ireland and elsewhere, that of receiving *mercheta mulieris*, which caused the sanguinary Battle of Gabhra, near Tara, where the men of Fingal were almost exterminated, demonstrates (as observed by the editor of the legendary account of that action), "the state of utter slavery which the Fenians imposed upon the native Irish, such as to warrant the opinion that the enslavers *were not of the same race as the enslaved*, an opinion," adds the editor, Mr. O'Kearney, "entertained by some who have made Fenian lore their particular study." Agreeably with this authority, King Cairbre, indignant that royalty itself should be subject to the overweening arrogance of the invaders, jealous of their formidable power, and apprehensive lest they would increase it by further drafts from abroad, patriotically determined to crush the growing legion of "Fenians *and Lochlannachs*," *i.e.*, Scandinavians.

According to the same authority, there were Fianna in other countries, such as Scotland, Lochlan (Denmark), and Britain; a circumstance, observes the editor, "going far to show that the Fenians were a sort of hired military force" of foreign origin.[m]

Fionn, "the royal champion" (as a bard styles him), that is, the leader of the royal guard, had, in the meanwhile, taken up his residence on the banks of the Boyne. It may be suspected that he and his men constructed a dam-weir, with a salmon-trap, in that river. This fish was a special article of support to the household[n] of Tara, three members of which, it would seem, assisted certain fishermen, who may have been ruined by the new weir, and who "treacherously,"[o] attacked and wounded the great innovater with their gaffs, whereupon the three soldiers decapitated him.[p] To ensure revenge, his grandson, Oscar, sent for auxiliaries of his own order, then serving as Fianna in Scotland, Denmark, and Britain;[q] and was joined by the posterity of King Mogh (or Eoghan), who was still eager to avenge his death. A numerous host of natives and foreigners assembled, and marched upon Tara, but were encountered at Gabhra, near Tara,[r] by the superior army of King Cairbre; and, although the patriot monarch fell by the sword of Oscar, these Fianna of Fingal were utterly defeated. In after ages, their descendants migrated to the various seaports, and possessed themselves of every incipient Madras and Calcutta on the island. Like the Anglians, or Danes, in Britain, they were joined by frequent gallies-full of their own nation; and though originally no more than "champions of Danish birth, whom the native chiefs hired for

[m] Note to B. of G., p. 75. We cannot withhold our tribute of praise, likewise, of Mr. O'Kearney's very curious edition of *Feis Tighe Chonain*.

[n] The Luaigh ne Teamrach.

[o] B. of Gabhra.

[p] Four Masters.

[q] Castleknock MS.

[r] Note to F. M., I. 120.

their defence,"[s] their successors became as completely masters of the seaboard as the English were in the time of Henry VIII. Tara was abandoned, probably as untenable, and the seat of the Irish monarch was transferred to "the fort of the shields" (the *Dunscaich* of Macpherson), on the edge of a lake, into which he could retire whenever too many Danish battle-axes appeared over the hill.

The end of our archetype of Macpherson's "Fingal" was the same as that of many conquerors and civilizers. The innumerable exploits attributed to him prove a confusion of his identity with the ordinary Fianna. In the Hebrides he was clearly not regarded as having been a native chief, but as a mighty leader of foreigners. "This gigantic man" wrote Martin, in his *Description of the Western Isles*, "is reported to have been general of a militia that came from Spain to Ireland, and from thence to these isles. All his soldiers are Fienty from Fion. He is believed *to have arrived in the Isles in the reign of King Evan*." The epoch of the hero's arrival would therefore be the middle of the 5th century. Bishop Leslie makes Fionn contemporary with Eugenius II., who died, A.D., 452. Pinkerton observes that the traditional poems in the Highlands concur in representing "Fingal" as co-temporary with St. Patrick, and adds:—"I take him and his heroes to have been leaders of Scots from Ireland. This opinion is confirmed by the whole traditional poems in the Highlands." On the other hand, our present theory is, that *his Irish Fianna were mercenaries from the Hebrides*. Hector Boethius writes of "Fyn-mak-Coul" as a man of Scottish extraction, remarkable for the art of hunting, and dreaded on account of his great size and strength. When, in 1105, the Norwegian giant, Stracather,[t] came to Dublin, the Irish (not the Ostmen) of the city, showed their traditional memory of his famous countryman by calling him "Fin M'Coyl." We have already shown that the memory of "Coll the Great," patriarch of the Clanna Morna, was honoured in the tenth century as that of "a mighty man." And it would seem that the fears of natives who had seen the two gigantic warriors, Fionn and Goll, magnified them to an enormous stature, exaggerated their exploits, and then accounted them supernatural; so that, in the time of Bishop Gawin Douglas, his countrymen spoke, as he says, of—

"Great Gow Mac Morn, and Fin Mac Coul, and how
They suld be goddis in Ireland, as men say."

Space does not permit us to do more than briefly notice various proofs of the superior civilization of the foreign over the native inhabitants of ancient Ireland. In the first place, the weapons employed by the Scandinavians seem to have been of better materials than those in use by the Irish.[u] Cambrensis notices that the Galloglass axe, or halbert, was borrowed from the Norwegians; and he bears testimony to the fact that it was a far superior weapon to the stone or bronze celt. The "northern" or Ulster staff used by horsemen may have resembled the scythian *scuit*, or dart

[s] Hanmer, quoting B. of Howth.
[t] Dowling's Annals. This giant is mentioned by Olaus in his *History of the Goths*.
[u] W[illegible]

The Scottish bow was longer and stronger than the Irish. The water-mills in Ireland appear to have been Danish.[v] The Gallic Picts, the Pict Britons, and the Pict Gael fortified themselves in woods by constructing circular palisadoed forts. The Danes, on the other hand, are always declared to have formed earthworks,[w] or raths. It is also worthy of note that the rampart which defended Oriel from the Picts of Ulster is still known as "THE DANES' CAST."[x] This was as clearly a line drawn between a Teutonic and a Celtic race as either "Offa's Dyke," in England, the vast earthwork stretching from the Dee to the Severn, or the "Swines' Dyke" of the Scottish Borders. The military garb of the Fenians is said to have resembled the Highland costume.[y] Plaids, and plaited kirtles, or kilts, seem to have been worn in the Hebrides in the days of Magnus, King of Norway, who was nicknamed Bare-legs, because he imported from those isles the sensible mountain fashion of dispensing with trousers. The Fianna were sometimes clad roughly in the spoils of the chase; and their cateran successors in Argyle and the Western Isles, from their wearing mocassins of deer hide, were called "Red-Shanks," or "rough-footed Scots."

The language of the Fianna betrays their foreign origin, and, if sedulously investigated by able philologists, would, no doubt, enable us to penetrate the *incognito* hitherto masking this race. It seems to have been a mixture of Gaelic and the speech of their fathers; but, naturally partaking most of the maternal native tongue, for those piratic colonists could hardly have brought with them any females of their own nation. Their language may, perhaps, be sifted out by expunging from examples of Feine-Gaelic all the undoubted Celtic, or Breton, Welsh, and Irish roots. The residue will represent the imported speech. Differing from the *bearla rustach*, or vernacular Gaelic, it was known as *bearla na (bh) Feine*, *i.e.*, the dialect of the Fenians. Dr. Keating, when recording that the Irish "militia" men spoke a peculiar language, overlooked the obvious deduction that they were not indigenous. As it is the language in which the *Fenechus* or brehon law was written, we may argue that these foreigners gave civil law to Ireland. In its legal idiom, it was the language of the learned, peculiar to a caste of hereditary jurists, who enjoyed it as a monopoly—just as, in England, ancient lawyers did Norman-French, which, like this jargon, was once the predominant language, the speech of the camp, the court, and the forum.

Gaelic literature, certainly, seems to have received its earliest phase from the Fenians, since the Ossianic ballads, our most antique form of poetry, are in their dialect; and it may be that the Irish *scealaidhe*, or tellers of stories, were successors of Scandinavian *skalds*. Alliteration, with a jingling play upon words, sometimes heightened by rhyme, forming the style considered most elaborate by the Irish bards, are the distinguishing marks of the Scandinavian verses called *Runic*, and continued to distinguish Anglo-Danish poetry even in the time of Chaucer.

[v] Ulster Journal of Archæology, IV. 14.
[w] B. of Rights.
[x] B. of Magh-Rath
[y] Battle of Gabhra.

Oisin *dall*, blind Ossian, the real poet, whose rude ballads, narrating the exploits of Fionn and his troops, are the groundwork of much subsequent amplification, probably was a *scealaidhe*, or skald, whose personal defect prevented him from taking part in that battle in Finè-gall in which his tribe was almost exterminated. "Oisin, the last of the Fianna," proverbially designates an old man who has outlived his kindred. According to *The Irish Hudibras, or the Fingalian Prince*," a poetic travesty printed in 1689, Ossian had been bard to "the Danish giants in Ireland."

The community of property in Ossianic traditions among the Gael of *Ireland* and *Scotland* is easily accounted for. So narrow is the strait between the north-eastern coast of Ulster and the Mull of Cantire, that a warlike Ultonian King had but to light a beacon on the cliffs of Antrim, to be quickly joined by Scottish forces. Indeed, from early ages down to the 17th century, hired troops from the Hebrides, whether as professional galloglasses, or as occasional drafts from the clans McLean, Campbell, McLeod, &c., usually formed the force on which northern Irish Kings relied. Ballads celebrating the *Catha-Feine*, battles of the Fianna of Alba and Erin, were, doubtless, recited to their successors and posterity, whilst these later professional soldiers were sharpening their weapons around bivouac fires either on an Argyle heath or an Ulster forest. According to a curious passage in Barbour's metrical *Life of Bruce*, the exploits of the two principal heroes of Ossian formed the heroic standard by which the Hebridean chieftains of the days of Bannockburn were accustomed to measure chivalry:—When Robert Bruce was defeated by McDougal, lord of Lorn, he placed himself in the rear of his retreating men, and checked the pursuit. "Behold him!" exclaimed McDougal to his followers—"He protects them from us, as Gol Mac Morn defended his men from Fionn!" These ballads also served to while away evenings in the gloomy castles of the Hebridean chiefs, since we read that an ancient McLeod delighted to hear *greis air ursgeal na Feine*, the history of the feats of the Finians.*

In conclusion, our inquiry into the semi-fabulous Ossianic age seems not merely to give reality to some of the mythic characters whom ancient and modern poetry have elevated into fanciful monsters, but to attach an authenticity to that period so considerable as to entitle it to an important place in the history of the English empire: by showing the true nationalities of the principal actors of that memorable epoch (when Christianity made its advent in the British islands), separating its Celtic and Teutonic races, and thus explaining historic revolutions and other events, the causes of which were hitherto obscure. If we are wrong in ascribing to the Gaelic people of Ireland a Celtic extraction, similar to that of the brave nations who, in Gaul and Britain, withstood the Roman legions, we think we are not mistaken in believing that the Scots, the conquering race of Ireland and Scotland, were, in large measure, of the same blood as those who, as Normans and Anglo-Saxons, have given lasting testimony to the world of their genius for conquest, colonization, and civilization.

* Logan's Scottish Gael [illegible]

THE HIGHLAND KILT AND THE OLD IRISH DRESS.

If a new *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* were to be written—and certainly such a work is not altogether unrequired, even at the present enlightened era—the kilt delusion should have a prominent place in it. A correspondent—Senex—in vol. v., p. 167 of this *Journal,* inquires whether "Scottish antiquaries have been able to discover a period when the kilt was not worn by Highlanders?" Now, Scottish, as well as Irish, antiquaries have discovered so many very curious things, that it really would not be safe to say, without fear of contradiction, what they have or have not discovered. But it scarcely requires an antiquary to discover when the kilt was not worn by Highlanders.—Senex himself, judging by his *nom de plume*—or, at any rate, that venerable and ubiquitous individual so generally known as the "oldest inhabitant,"—might almost remember the period in question. For, though it might not be quite prudent to hint at such a matter in the purlieus of the Canongate or the Candleriggs, the truth must be told here; and the simple fact is, that the kilt was *invented by an English tailor*, and the first person who wore it was an Englishman, so late as the year 1727. This may sound strange to some, but it is no less true; and, what is stranger still, Mr. Rawlinson, the English gentleman by whose directions the kilt was invented, and who first wore this article of dress (undress perhaps I should say), so associated in our minds with deeds of martial daring, was a peace-loving member of the Society of Friends!

The supposition of Senex, that the old Irish and Highland costumes were identical, is, however, perfectly correct, as may be seen from the following authorities.

Lindsay, of Pitscottie, in his *Chronicles*, written about 1550, speaking of the Highlands, says they "are full of mountaines; and verie rude and homlie kynd of peple dothe inhabite, which is called the Reid-Shankis, or Wyld Scotes. They be cloathed with ane mantle[a], with ane schirt fachioned after the Irisch manner, going bair-legged to the knie."

Nicholaye d'Arfreville, a French cosmographer, who accompanied James the Fifth of Scotland in his naval expedition to the Highlands and Western Islands, says of the natives:—"Ils portent, comme les Irlandois, une grande et ample chemise, safranée, et par desus un habit long jusque à genoux de grosse laine, à mode d'une soutane."[b]

With respect to saffron, I must here say a few words, before I proceed farther. Some doubts have been expressed[c] as to the ancient Irish having used saffron—the produce of the autumnal cro-

[a] Blind Harry, the Minstrel, about 1470, when describing the quarrel between Selby, the son of the English constable of Dundee, and Wallace, represents Selby insulting Wallace, who was dressed as a Lowland gentleman, by saying that an Ersche (Irish or Highland) mantle would be his fittest attire.

> "Thou Scot abyde,
> Quha Devill the graithis in so gay a guyde,
> Ane Ersche mantle it war the kynd to wer."

[b] *La Navigation du Roy d'Ecosse Jaques V.* Paris, 1583

[c] Ulster Journal of Archæology, vol. 5, p. 258.

cus *(crocus sativus)*—as a dye-stuff. But there can be no doubt about the matter. And, as a collateral proof, I might adduce the very curious and rare poem, *Mayster Ion Gardener*, in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge—which, judging from its diction, cannot be of a later date than the end of the fourteenth century. In it, the author, after giving a general description

"Of all the herbys of Ierlond,"

goes at length into the mode of cultivation of the three most important, which are "wurtys" (cabbages), percel (parsley), and "safferowne;" and of the last, he says—

"Of safferowne we mote telle
He schul be kept fayre & well.
Safferowne wul have with out lesynge
Beddys ymade wel wyth dyng.
ffor sothe yf they schall bere.
The wolde be sette yn the moneth Septembre,
Three days before seynt Mary day natyvyté,
Othere the next weke ther after so mote y thee
With a dybbel thu schalt ham sette.
That the dybbyl by fore be blunt & grete.
Thre ynchys depe they most sette be,
And thus seyde mayster Jon gardener to me
To gadyr the safferowne, I schal thou say
Fro natyvyté to seynt Symonne & Jude is daye.
On what tyme of the day thou wolle,
Thou meighth hit bothe gadyr & pulle.
And so from day to day.
Tylle the tyme ben gone away.
And aftyr seynt Symonne & Jude is day
The kynde of blossom will gone away."

The periods of planting and gathering prove that the "safferowne" of the poem was the saffron of the present day—the produce of the autumnal crocus.

Leslie, Bishop of Ross, in his work, "*De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Gestis Scotorum,*" published in 1578, thus describes the Highland costume of the period:—

"Vestes ad necessitatem (erant enim ad bellum in primis accomodatae) non ad ornamentum faciebant. Chlamydes enim gestabant unius formae omnes et nobiles et plebeii, nisi quod nobiles variegatis sibi magis placebant, et illas quidem demissas ac fluxas, sed in sinus tamen quosdam ubi volebant, decenter contractas. His solis noctu involuti suaviter dormiebant: habebant etiam cujusmodi Hibernenses et hodie sibi, villosas stragulas, alias ad iter, alias ad lectos commodas. Reliqua

vero vestimenta erant, brevis ex lana tunicella, manicis inferiùs apertis, uti expeditiùs cum vellent jacula torquerent, ac femoralia simplicissima. Ex lino quoque amplissima indusia conficiebant, multis sinibus, largioribusque manicis foris ad genua usque negligentiùs fluentia: hæc potentiores croco, alii autem adipe quodam, quo ab omni sorde diutius manerent integra illinebant: assuefacere enim se perpetuis castrorum sudoribus consultissimum putabant."

The above quotation may be freely rendered as follows:—

"Their clothing, being chiefly suited for war, was made for use, and not for ornament. All—both the nobles and common people—wore mantles of the same kind (except that those of the nobles were variegated at pleasure), long, ample, and gathered into becoming folds: wrapped in these, without any other covering, they slept comfortably. They had also frieze rugs, such as are used by the Irish, which they not only wore on a journey, but also spread upon their beds. The rest of their garments were a most simple trowser; a woollen jerkin, with sleeves open below, for the facility of casting darts; and a very large linen tunic, gathered into numerous plaits, and having wide hanging sleeves descending to their knees. These the rich coloured with saffron, and others smeared with a certain grease, to preserve them longer amidst the toils and exercises of the camp, which they considered it of the utmost importance to practise continually."

The first garment here mentioned by Leslie is clearly the *breacan* or belted plaid, hereafter to be described. The second is the Irish mantle. The third the *tràis*, or breeches and stockings in one piece, worn both by Highland and Irish chieftains; the epithet *simplicissima* denoting its closely-fitting character, in contra-distinction to the puffed and padded out trunk-hose worn by the English and Lowland Scotch of the period. The last—the tunic—is merely the long shirt, *leni-croich* of the Irish, under probably a more correct denomination.

The accurate and pains-taking Camden describes the Irish dress in almost the very same words as Leslie did the Highland costume. He says:—

"Indusiis utuntur lineis, et illis quidem amplissimis manicis largioribus, et ad genua usque fluentibus, quæ croco inficere solebant. Tunicellas habent laneas admodum breves, femoralia simplicissima et arctissima: superinducunt autem lacernas sive saga villosa (Heteromallas Isidorus vocare videtur) limbo jubato, et eleganter variegato, quibus nocte involuti suaviter humi dormiunt."

Which may thus be rendered:—"They wear large linen tunics, with wide sleeves hanging down to their knees, which they generally dye with saffron; short woollen jerkins; a most simple and closely-fitting *tràis;* and over these they cast their mantles or shaggy rugs (which Isidore seems to call Heteromallæ) fringed and elegantly variegated, in which they wrap themselves at night, and sleep soundly on the bare ground."

The word "variegated," in both of the preceding quotations, can apply only to a chequered cloth, worn by all the Celtic tribes, and such as we now term *tartan;* though the word "tartan" was originally applied to the material of the cloth, and had no reference whatever to its colour.

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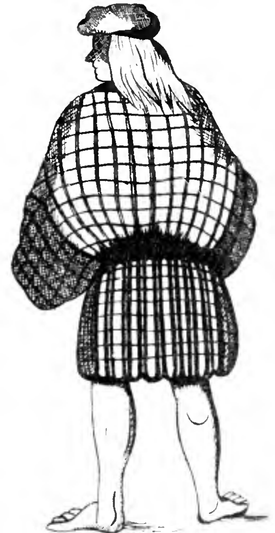


6

IRISH & HIGHLAND COSTUMES, FROM MSS. & EARLY PRINTED BOOKS.

In another place, Camden alludes to the perfect identity of the Hebridean and Irish manners, language, and dress.[c]

Derrick, in his *Image of Ireland*, published in 1581, gives some most valuable and interesting wood-cuts, representing the Irish dress of the period, which, in the letter-press, he thus describes:

> "With jackettes long and large,
> which shroud simplicitie,
> Though spitefull dartes, which they do weare,
> importe iniquitie.
> Their shirtes be verie straunge,
> not reachinge past the thie;
> With pleates on pleates, thei pleated are,
> as thick as pleates may lye;
> Whose sleeves hang trailing downe
> almost unto the shoe,
> And with a mantle comonlie,
> the Irish Karne doe goe.
> Now some emongst the rest
> do use another weed,
> A coate, I meane, of straunge device,
> which fancie first did breed.
> His skirts be very shorte,
> with pleates set thicke abowte;
> And Irish trouzes moe to put
> their straunge protactours out."

Sir Walter Scott, who edited Lord Somers's tracts, in a note to the last six lines above, says:—"This sort of dress, with plaited skirts, and long trowsers made tight to the body, was precisely that of a Highland gentleman—the plaid coming in place of the mantle."

The figures, 1 and 2, in the accompanying plate, taken from a very rare, I believe, unique engraving of Irish costume, purporting to be "Drawn after the Qvicke," and preserved in the Douce collection, in the Bodleian Library—exhibit the plaited shirts, "whose sleeves hang trailing down;" the short-waisted jerkin, with "pleates set thick about" the middle. In it we see also the formidable "skene," and the peculiarly shaped swords, like those on the tombs of Irish Kings, as represented by Walker. Again, in figure 3, representing O'More, an Irish chief, in 1600, from a MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, we see the "*femoralia simplicissima et arctissima*" of Camden,

[c] Quod vero ad mores, cultum, et linguam spectat, a silvestribus Hibernicis, de quibus egimus, ne tantillum discrepant ut facile unam eandem esse gentem cognoscamus.

the "Irish trouzes" of Derrick. Figure 4 is from Derrick, and represents "Donolle Obreane," an Irish agent employed by the government to negociate with insurgent chiefs. He is in the act of receiving a letter from the hand of Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sidney, who is on horseback. Figure 5 is from the same work, and represents a "Kerne," clothed in a mantle, driving off a herd of cattle after a successful foray on the English pale.

Neither the *trùis* nor the long, thickly-plaited shirt, or rather tunic, with hanging sleeves—an elegant and picturesque dress by the way—were peculiarly Irish; the first having formed a portion of the original Gaulish and British dress, and the second being a general European fashion, about the close of the fourteenth century, previous to the use of the doublet and hose; and which might have reached Ireland, through France or Spain, or have been adopted from the English in the reign of the second Richard. Moreover, those dresses were worn only by the chiefs; the lower classes wearing the mantle only, which, in its rudest form, was merely a piece of cloth thrown over the shoulders, and fastened in front with one or two skewers. It was, as Spencer says:—"Their house, their tent, their couch, their target. In summer, they could wear it loose; in winter, wrap it close; at all times use it, never heavy, never cumbersome." When used as a target, it was taken off and wrapped round the left arm, for, like all the other varieties of the Celtic race, the Irish fought naked. And the mantle could be used as an offensive, as well as a defensive, weapon. With a stone in it, a blow could be delivered, heavy enough to fell an ox.

"This monster sprung from Laughlin Crone,
A greater thief was never known;
For, in his trade, he had such skill,
That he a stolen cow could kill,
For shift, with mantle and a stone,
A way to other thieves unknown."[a]

But, even so late as the close of the sixteenth century, when Moryson wrote, in the remoter parts of Ireland, where English laws and manners were unknown, the slight covering of the mantle was generally dispensed with. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, the long shirt was proscribed by law, and other innovations soon followed; for Campion, writing in 1571, says:—"They have now left their saffron, and learne to wash their shirts foure or five times in a year." When Moryson wrote, the long shirt had completely fallen into disuse. About the same time, too, it fell into disuse in the Highlands—the chiefs wearing, as in Ireland, the truis and mantle, or plaid; and the inferior ranks wearing, as their sole article of dress, an exaggerated form of the mantle, partly combined with the plaits of the long shirt, termed by Highlanders, the *breacan feile*, by Lowlanders, "the belted-plaid."[c]

[a] *The History of Ireland in verse.* Dublin.
[c] From the Saxon *plat*, a curtain—a plain, flat, piece of cloth, not "made up" into a garment. *Plain, flat, plate,* are derived from the same source; and in many languages, the modifications of the same word mean anything broad and flat.

The *breacan feile*—literally the chequered covering—merely consisted of a plain piece of cloth, two yards in width, and from four to six in length. As much in depth of the centre of one end as would reach from the loin to the knee, and in breadth as would reach from side to side round the back, was carefully folded into plaits, leaving unplaited at each extremity as much as would cover the front of the body, overlapping from side to side. Thus prepared, the plaid was firmly bound round the body by a leathern belt in such manner that the lower end came down to the knee-joint; and, while the cloth behind was single and plaited, that in front was plain and doubled. The rest of the plaid was wrapped round the upper part of the body in various ways, according to the weather or the caprice of the wearer. Generally it led up over the shoulders, and fastened in front by a skewer; and in this guise the wearer, seen from behind, looked exactly like a female in a very short petticoat, who had thrown the skirt of her gown over her head to protect her bonnet from rain. The plaits, not being permanent folds sewn in the plaid, required to be made every time the garment was put on; and the more in number and neater they were, the Highland exquisite considered himself the better dressed. To put on the garment properly an assistant was required to hold up the ready-plaited plaid, while the other belted it round his own body. But, in an emergency, a Highlander, by first placing his belt on the ground, and over it the prepared plaid, could, by lying down and buckling it around him, put it on without assistance.

Captain Burt, in his *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, written about 1730, thus describes the belted-plaid:—"A small part of the plaid is set in folds, and girt round the waist, to make of it a short petticoat, which reaches half-way down the thigh; and the rest is brought over the shoulders, and then fastened before, below the neck—often with a fork, and sometimes with a bodkin, or sharpened piece of stick; so that they make pretty near the appearance of the people in London, when they bring their gowns over their heads to shelter them from the rain." Figure 6 represents a Highlander, wearing the belted-plaid, from an illustration in Burt's work.

"The belted plaid," says a writer in the first volume of the *Quarterly Review*, "was precisely the dress of a savage, who, finding a web of cloth that he had not skill to frame into a garment, wrapt one end round his middle, and threw the rest about his shoulders. This dress was abundantly inconvenient; for the upper part of the plaid was only useful in rain, or for a cover at night, while the lower extremity was essential to decency. It was, in short, as if a man's great coat was fastened to his breeches; and, in exertions of war or the chase, all was necessarily thrown away together. And it is little to the honour of Highland ingenuity that, although the chiefs, to avoid this dilemma, wore long pantaloons called trews, the common Gael never fell upon any substitute for the belted plaid, till an Englishman, for the benefit of the labourers who worked under his direction, invented the *feile beg*, or "little petticoat."

There can be no doubt of the high antiquity of the belted plaid; no other kind of dress answers so well to the "garment" of Scripture, either when spoken of literally or metaphorically. In a

the Highlanders, as well as the Israelites, with their loins girded, have carried their kneading-troughs "bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders." And the Arabic *haik*[f] still worn in Morocco—that corner of the earth which has been so aptly described as "the nook in the ocean of time, where the wrecks of all ages are cast up"—differs with respect to form in nothing from the belted-plaid.

Like the Spanish fleet that could not be seen, because it was not in sight, neither Camden, Leslie, Lindsay, Derrick, nor d'Arfreville, in the foregoing notices of Highland (and what was the same thing, Irish) costume, mention the *kilt*, simply because it was not then known. Descending the stream of time, we find that Taylor, the water-poet, who made his *Pennilesse Pilgrimage* to Scotland in 1618, saw a

"Martiall meeting in the Brea of Mar,
How thousand gallant spirits come neere and farr,
With swords and targets, arrows, bows, and gunns."

This was one of the grand Highland hunting-matches of the olden time. On this occasion Taylor, to be like the rest, wore the Highland dress, which he minutely describes, but says nothing whatever about a kilt. Neither does Gordon of Stralock[g]—himself a Highland chief—who described the dress of his countrymen in 1641. Later still, Colonel Clelland thus describes the "Highland Host"—a party of 6,000 mountaineers brought down to coerce and spoil the covenanting Whigs of the western shires of Scotland, in 1678—without ever alluding to the kilt:—

"Their head, their neck, their leggs and thighs,
Are influenced by the skies.
Without a clout to interrupt them,
They need not strip them when they whip them,
Nor loose their doublet when they're hanged.
It's marvellous how in such weather
O'er hill and hop they come together,
How in such stormes they come so farr;
The reason is they're smeared with tar,[h]
Which doth defend them heel and neck,
Just as it doth their sheep protect."

Those were the common rabble. Their officers, however, were better dressed, and wore the *truis*.

"But those who were the chief commanders,
As such who bore the pirnie[i] standarts;

[f] *Haik*, literally, the thing that is woven—the web.

[g] *History of Scots Affairs*. Spalding Club. Aberdeen. 1841.

[h] Major, writing in 1518, says that the Highlanders then daubed their clothes with pitch.

[i] Parti-coloured.

Who led the van, and drove the rear,
Were right well mounted of their gear.
With brogues, trues, and pirnie plaids,
With good blue bonnets on their heads,
Which, on the one side, had a flipe,
Adorned with a tobacco-pipe,
With durk, and snap-work,[j] and snuff-mill,
A bagg which they with onions fill;
And as their strick observers say,
A tup's horn filled with usquebay."[k]

In fact, there is neither literary notice nor pictorial representation of the kilt, previous to an advanced period in the last century. The frontispiece of a work entitled *The Scotch Rogue, or the Life and Actions of Donald Mac Donald, a Highland Scot*, published at London, in 1706, represents a Highlander, but he has no kilt. He wears the *truis*; his tobacco-pipe is stuck in his cap, his pistols in his belt, his plaid is thrown off, ready for action; he holds his sword and target in an attitude of attack; and underneath is the following doggrel:—

" Thus armed, to no man will I turn my back,
But take from others whatso'er I lack;
'Stand, and deliver,' is the word I use,
And, at their perils, men must me refuse."

But there is no burlesque, no exaggeration in the design. It is really a correct and careful representation of the costume of a Highland gentleman of the period.

The *Theatrum Scotiæ*,[l] published in 1718, contains about sixty copper-plate engravings of places in Scotland, taken from drawings made about 1695, by Captain Slezer, an able Dutch officer of artillery, in the service of William III. The artist evidently had in view, not only to give correct delineations of the places drawn, but also of the costumes, field-sports, agriculture, manners, and customs of the Scottish people. He shows us the noble in his embroidered coat and flowing peruke; the beggar fluttering in rags; the soldier in uniform; the servant in livery; the collegian in his gown; the Highlander in the belted-plaid and *truis*; but in the whole sixty engravings, there cannot be found a single *kilt*—a negative but most conclusive evidence that it was not known, nor used at the period.

The earliest portrait of a Highland chieftain, in which the kilt is represented, was painted in 1746, and is in the possession of the family of Glengarry, of Inveree. It represents Alexander

[j] Snaphand-pistol.

[k] *A Collection of several Poems.* 1697.

[l] *Theatrum Scotiæ: Containing the Prospects of his Majesty's Castles and Palaces: Together with those of the most considerable Towns and Colleges; The Ruins of many Ancient Monasteries and Churches within the said Kingdom. All curiously engraven on Copper Plates.* London. 1718.

Mac Donnell, of Glengarry, a captain of the Royal Scots regiment, in the French service, and his henchman; the latter alono wears the kilt. And it is a curious circumstance, that this Alexander was the eldest son of John Mac Donnell, *the first Highlander who wore a kilt.*

Nor did the Highland gentlemen of the latter part of the last century wear the kilt; they well knew its modern and servile origin, and despised it accordingly. Mrs. Grant, of Laggan, tells us, that her brother-in-law, Major Grant, was considered to be the best dressed Highlander of his day, and he invariably wore the *truis.* Sir John Sinclair, as patriotic a Highlander as ever lived, attended the court of George III. wearing the *truis,* as the ancient and characteristic dress of his country.

FIG. 7.

Prince Charles Edward, to flatter the prejudices of his Gaelic followers, generally wore the belted-plaid and truis in 1745-6; but we never hear of him wearing the kilt. He wore the plaid and truis on the romantic march to Derby; and it was in the same dress he finally made his escape from Scotland. A letter in the *Stuart Papers* (dated Morlaix, September 29, 1746), written by Colonel Warren to Waters, the Parisian banker, states that the Prince, when he embarked, was dressed in "a short coat of coarse black frieze, tartan trews, and over them a belted-plaid." The medal, struck to commemorate his arrival in Scotland, in 1745, represents him dressed in the belted-plaid alone, without the truis. Figure 7 is the representation of the Prince from this medal, the original die of which is in the possession of a gentleman in Glasgow.

Work, the great prime mover—at once the cause and the effect of civilization—led the way to the invention of the kilt. In or about 1727, a Liverpool company, attracted by the mineral resources of the district, and the abundant supply of fuel afforded by the natural birch-woods of Glengarry, founded an establishment for smelting ore, near the bridge of Garry; and cut a small canal from Loich Oich to Loch Lochie, to facilitate the conveyance of the metal to the sea. It was at this time that the hitherto invincible repugnance of the male Highlanders to any kind of manual labour, was first overcome by the direst necessity, caused by the impoverishing oppression exercised by the army of occupation, under General Wade. So, a number of Highlanders were employed by the English company; but those men, unable to move their limbs when swathed in the many folds of the belted-plaid, threw off their plaids, their only article of dress, and worked *in puris*

naturalibus. Rawlinson, the manager of the works (and as I have already observed, an Englishman, and member of the Society of Friends) was distressed and disgusted by seeing himself daily surrounded by naked men, but could find no help for it. The manager resided about half-way between Inverness and Maryburgh, both places being then garrisoned by Wade's soldiers. One evening, an English army-tailor, named Parkinson—who had just arrived from London, on business connected with clothing the troops—when passing between the two garrisons was caught in a storm, and took shelter in Rawlinson's house. After the first greetings, the tailor, being unacquainted with the customs of the country, expressed surprise that a Highlander, who had also sought shelter, did not put off his wet cloak. Rawlinson shocked his guest by replying that the Highlander's cloak—in reality a belted-plaid—was the only garment he had on; that if he was in his own hut, amongst his own family, he would take it off *instanter*; but, in deference to certain Southern prejudices, he kept it on in an Englishman's house. Rawlinson further stated how greatly he was shocked by seeing the naked Highlanders at work, and entreated Parkinson's professional assistance towards devising a new garb for them, in which they could work without outraging decency. The problem to be solved was to make a dress, not higher in price than the belted-plaid, that would retain the plaits so prized by the Highland dandy, and that would admit of the free use of the limbs when at work. The tailor solved the problem with his shears. He cut off the lower part of the plaid that belted round the loins, and formed permanent plaits in it with the needle;—and lo, the kilt!—while the upper part, forming the shoulder-plaid, could be fastened round the shoulders, as before, in severe weather, or when the wearer was not working. Rawlinson, to set an example to his workmen, nobly stifled the peculiar notions of his sect, and was the first man to wear the kilt. The Highlanders at first looked coldly on it; but the chief of Glengarry[m] adopting the novel garment, the kilt soon became general in the district, and from thence spread to other parts of the Highlands. However, the belted plaid survived the period when the Highland dress was interdicted by law (from 1747 to 1782), and was worn by shepherds till the close of the last century, and known by its original name of *breacan feile;* while to the kilt was given the name *feil-beg*—the little covering; and the shoulder-plaid was termed *am feile mòr*—the greater covering.[n]

But the Highlanders, if they did not work, fought, and fought well, too, as they still do: how, then, did they fight in that awkward, cumbersome garment, the belted-plaid? The answer is simply this,—they did not fight in it at all, but threw it off, and fought in the true Celtic fashion.

[m] John Mac Alester, Mac Ranald Mac Donnell, chieftain of Glengarry, and the first Highlander who wore a kilt, was alive in 1715, but too old and feeble to lead out his clan. His eldest son, Alexander, whose portrait is alluded to in the text, being, at the same time, a prisoner in the Tower of London; the clan was headed by Eneas, his second son.

[n] Stuart's *Costume of the Clans.* Edinburgh. 1845. *Burt's Letters from the Highlands.* London. 1759. Sir John Sinclair in Pinkerton's *[illegible]*. London. 1830. *Mac Culloch's Highlands and Western Islands.* London. 1824.

The old ballad of the *Battle of the Brig of Dee* is literally correct :—

> "The Highlanders are pretty men
> For target and claymore;
> But yet they are but naked men
> To face the cannon's roar."

And another ballad, or probably a more ancient version of the same, says—

> "The Highlandmen are clever men at handling sword and bow,
> But yet they are ow'r naked men to bide the gun I trow."

At Killiecrankie, the Highlanders fought naked. And, as long as "Evan Donald's fame rings in each clansman's ears," the traditionary story will be proudly told that, when the Camerons had dropped their plaids, and were about to "descend to the harvest of death" in the pass of Killiecrankie, Lochiel, perceiving that the only article of attire, saving their "bonnets," worn by himself and all the clan, were *his own brogues,* he flung them off, scorning to retain even that slight advantage over his naked clansmen.

At Sheriffmuir, in 1715, the Highlanders fought naked. A MS. relation of that battle accounts for the greater proportionate mortality amongst the wounded Highlandmen than their officers, by stating that, during the cold night which followed the battle, the officers wearing the *truis* had some protection; whereas, the common men, who had thrown off their plaids on going into action, were completely exposed to the piercing frost.

That extraordinary romance of military history—the mutiny of Sempill's Highland regiment, in 1743—proves that the Highlanders had then no predilection for the kilt. Disappearing in one night, marching for five successive nights, and taking up strong positions during the day, this regiment reached as far as Northamptonshire, in their attempt to force their way from London back to the Highlands. And one of their principal grievances was, that they were compelled to wear the kilt. "If," said they to the authorities, "you consider us to be soldiers, amenable to military discipline, and liable to serve wherever you may please to send us, why not dress us as you dress your soldiers—not as you dress your women?"

The gallant conduct of the Highlanders at Fontenoy gave the kilt a *prestige* that it has never since lost. The numberless valiant achievements of the same troops added to its fame. So, when George the Fourth visited Scotland, and wore the kilt on his own royal limbs, its short-lived existence and plebeian origin became almost forgotten. Then the manufacturers—cunning fellows—discovered the ancient distinctive tartans of each clan; though the looms in which alone such intricate patterns could be woven were modern inventions, and the ancient Highlanders could no more have produced such patterns than they could have made point-lace or printed calico.[p] Then

[o] There were anciently some few varieties of the tartan worn by the chiefs, as Leslie informs us; but those arose from local circumstances, and were not separate clan badges. Monipennie, in 1612, tells that the prevailing clour of the cloth worn by the Highlanders was brown, and so it was in 1715.

the brothers Hay Allan, pretending to be legitimate grandsons of the last Pretender, and respectively entitling themselves John Sobieski Stolberg Stuart, and Charles Edward Stuart, published a *Vestiarium Scoticum* from a pretended manuscript, invisible to all the world save their own fertile imaginations. But the pseudo-Stuarts overdid the matter, by giving distinctive tartans to Lowland and Border families. Whereat Sir Walter Scott—though he laughed in his sleeve when he saw the Fourth George and Alderman Curtis arrayed in kilts—exclaimed:—"If there should ever be another rising, the national Scottish air cannot be *Hey tuttie tattie*, but *the Devil among the tailors*."

To conclude, I must observe that the cap, the ostrich feathers, the coatee, the kilt, the stockings, the shoes, the great coat—(a Highlander in a great coat!)—now worn by the so-called Highland regiments, are no more part or parcel of the ancient Highland dress, than the many brave Lowlanders and Ulster-men who serve in those regiments are Highlanders by birth.

WILLIAM PINKERTON.

THE FRENCH SETTLERS IN IRELAND—No. 8.

THE HUGUENOT COLONY OF PORTARLINGTON,

(Continued from vol. 3, page 231.)

BY SIR ERASMUS D. BORROWES, BART.

"THE thousands that, unsung by praise,
Have made an off'ring of their days,
For truth—for heaven—for freedom's sake
Resigned the bitter cup to take;
And silently, in fearless faith,
Bowing their noble souls to death."

IN resuming our sketch of the Huguenots of Portarlington, the memory of their sorrows, sufferings, and self-denial, brings with it a feeling of painful regret—brightened, however, by admiration of their unshaken constancy, and gallant bearing in each hour of trial, and of the many virtues which shed a halo on their domestic hearths and public citizenship, when the strife was over. Their sylvan retreat on the placid waters of the Barrow, with its new and busy occupations, had softened their troubles; and the right hand of fellowship had been extended to welcome their advent, and to aid their dexterous and tasteful efforts in planting their new colony. Having

previously alluded to this subject, we proceed to notice the erection of their churches, &c. Their great shield and benefactor, the Earl of Galway, with the countenance and encouragement of William the 3rd, accomplished for them this desirable object, about 1696. In the year 1701, the number of French families residing in Portarlington was sixty-four, although the three French regiments in Ireland had not then been disbanded; while those of English extraction only numbered five—the aggregate number of families in the town and neighbourhood, French and English, amounting to 150: the church for the former was therefore constructed on a much larger scale than that for the latter; both, however, were endowed for ever with rent-charges of similar amounts (£40 to each), as a stipend for the clergymen. Lord Galway also built two school-houses, for the French and English population, which had an endowment for ever of £32 a-year for the teachers. The boys at these schools seem to have worn a uniform costume. We find the following entry in an account-book of the principal refugee of the town, an old officer of "The Boyne"—"Apll 20th 1727. For making six sutes of cloths for ye *blewbois* at 18 pce pr sute 00.09. 00." In the first year of Queen Anne's reign, an Act of Parliament was passed confirming the leases made by Lord Galway, which had been shaken by the Act of Resumption, and vesting the churches, school-houses, and endowments in the Bishop of Kildare, in trust, for the purposes specified by the noble founder.

In 1701, the Bishop of Kildare issued a very conciliatory address to the French inhabitants of the town, setting forth his intention to consecrate the two churches; he transmits a copy of the consecration service, and invites them to conform to the discipline of Episcopacy; he complains of Daillon, then French minister, holding tenaciously to his consistorial authority—being unwilling "to part with it on any terms." Shortly after, however, the French congregation acceded to the wishes of the Bishop, and subsequently continued to adopt the forms of the Established Church.

Daillon, to whom we alluded in a former number, was a distinguished divine, and had been minister in Portarlington from 1698 to 1702. On entering the church-yard of Carlow, a black marble slab, with the following inscription, strikes the eye of the visitor:—

"Hic situs est Benjaminus Daillon, Gallus Britana generosa familia ortus. Ecclesia reformata presbyter eruditus, diu ob religionem incarceratus et demum relegatus qui post LXXIX annos, studio, pietate, et labore evangelica magna ex parte dimensos, quatriduo post obitum Palinæ uxoris hic inhumatæ animam puram exhalavit.

"Accipe docte cinus musarum pignus amoris
Accipe si famam morte perire vetent.
Si Cristi castris pugnans captivus et exul
Urbem hanc funeribus condecorare velit.
Cur tegerentur humo simul omnia et inclyta virtus.
Et genus ac artes et pietate honos?
Immemor urbs fuerit tamen haud marcescit Olympo.
Clamabitque lapis vivet hic arte mea.
Obiit ille vir Jan. III. An. Dom. MDCCIX."

The endowment of Lord Galway being considered an insufficient maintenance for a clergyman, the French inhabitants petitioned the Duke of Dorset, in 1733 (then Lord Lieutenant), to increase

the salary. They state that the last incumbent, the Rev. Mon[r] Anthony Ligonier de Bonneval, had a pension as a military chaplain, of 3.4 a-day, which ceased on his death; consequently they are obliged to contribute to the support of the present clergyman, M. Theodore Desvories, which they cannot afford, "having nothing to maintain themselves and numerous families but the small pensions and half pay graciously allowed them by his Majesty;" that it is the only conforming French church in the kingdom that has not an allowance from Government; and that the colony is the most considerable for number, except Dublin, &c. The names appended to the petition are as follow, being those of the principal colonists:—Josias de Champagné, G. Guion, Du Petit Bosc, Jacque de Frankfort, John Claverie, Jean Labrosse, John De Boyer, Jacque de Beauchant, Louis Buliod, Jacque de Meschinet, Piers Tirel, Abel Cassel, John Micheau, Joseph Guion, Arthur Champagné, Anthony Dorval, Charles du Petit Bosc, Gerard Bainsereau, David Darripe, John Clausede, Michel Foubert, Joshua Pilot, Josias Franquefort, Isaac Cassel, Charles Quinsac, Antoine Mespret, Terson, Jacob Foubert, Jean Belliard, Charles Camlin, Samuel Beauchant, Andrew Labat.

The Lord Lieutenant and other high authorities recommended the prayer of the petition to the King, and his Majesty granted £50 per annum, which, with the £40 from Lord Galway, constitutes, to the present day, the salary of the clergyman. Gillet, the first French clergyman at Portarlington, had preferment in France before the Revocation.[a] Cathard and Des Vœux were both eminent divines, "masters of eloquence in the pulpit, and whose elegant and learned works—in estimation in all Europe—continue to preserve our fame with the public, as their pupils." The former had previously been minister of the French church in Peter-street, Dublin, on which occasion his congregation subscribed for the erection of a house for his accommodation.[b] The Rev. Anthony Vinchon Des Vœux, of Portarlington, emigrated from France about the middle of last century. He was the second son of Mons. De Bacquencourt, president of the Parliament of Rouen. Having incurred the displeasure of his family by abandoning their religious faith—that of the Church of Rome—he visited Ireland, and was appointed chaplain to the regiment of Lord George Sackville. He was the author of several polemical works; his translation and commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes was considered of so much importance as to induce the University of Dublin to confer on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts. He succeeded the Rev. Jean Pierre Droz in the publication of the *first literary journal that ever appeared in Ireland*, entitled, "the Compendious Library, or Literary Journal Revived," 1751; which, however, was shortly after discontinued. M. Droz kept a book-shop in College Green, and exercised his clerical functions on Sundays.

In 1715, the French Refugees of Portarlington had the gratification of receiving ample testimony of the kind regard and admiration which their noble career had elicited in the Royal House-

[a] He had been minister of the Chapel De la Tremblade, in Crispin-street, London, and was married in that Church to Jeane Mestre, in 1701.

[b] Balaguier, another minister at Portarlington, had previously, in 1689, the French church of Soho, London.

hold—the Princess of Wales having munificently presented them with rich and massive plate for the Communion service, and a finely-toned church bell, which preserve to the present day the memory of that royal lady's generous piety. On the first of these valuable gifts, so well bestowed, are inscribed as follows, and with the arms and motto of the prince:—

"Donné par Son Altesse Royale, Madame[c] Wilhelmina Carolina, Princesse De Galle, en faveur de l'Eglise Françoise Conformiste de Portarlington, le 1 Mar. 171$\frac{4}{5}$." The following is inscribed on the bell, in raised letters:—

"In usum Ecclesiæ Gallicæ Portarlingtonensis campanam hanc dono dedit Serenissima et Piissima Principessa Wilhelmina Carolina Serenissimi Georgii Whaliæ Principis uxor dilectissima, Serenissimi ac Potentissimi Georgii, Magnæ Britann. Fran. Hib. Regis. nurus meritissima, promovente Illustrissimo Comite Henrico de Galloway qui - - - dum pro Rege res in Hib. administrarat—hoc templum sumptibus suis ædificari curavit. 1715."

The services and sermons continued to be read in the French language until the year 1817, by the Rev. M. Rebillet, the last foreign minister (assistant), a native of Switzerland; when all reminiscences of "La belle France" having become fainter, the French ministers extinct, the population extinct, the charms of French society forgotten, the French language at the schools—once "familiar in our mouths as household words"—comparatively untaught, and the church itself partaking of the general decay—which in the natural course of events, and the peculiar circumstances of this interesting settlement, had befallen every thing of Gallic origin—it was considered indispensable to the spiritual wants of the inhabitants that the "unknown tongue" should cease in the church: therefore, from that date, the services have been performed in the English language—a very handsome new church, on an enlarged scale, in the Gothic style having been erected by subscription about 15 years ago.

Resuming our glance at the Registers, we again meet the distinguished name of Pelissier. While the acclamations which greeted the progress of the gallant Marshal still rent the air, while

"The guards their morrice-pikes advanced,
The trumpets flourished brave,
The cannon from the ramparts glanced,
And thundering welcome gave,"

the hearts of his gallant kindred of old, the Huguenot Pelissiers, must have been warmed, too, in their adopted refuge, where the prestige of their trials justly elicited in their favour the full measure of Irish cordiality,—where the right hand of fellowship was extended to them, and every welcome and every aid was tendered, which the sufferings and the romance of real life required.

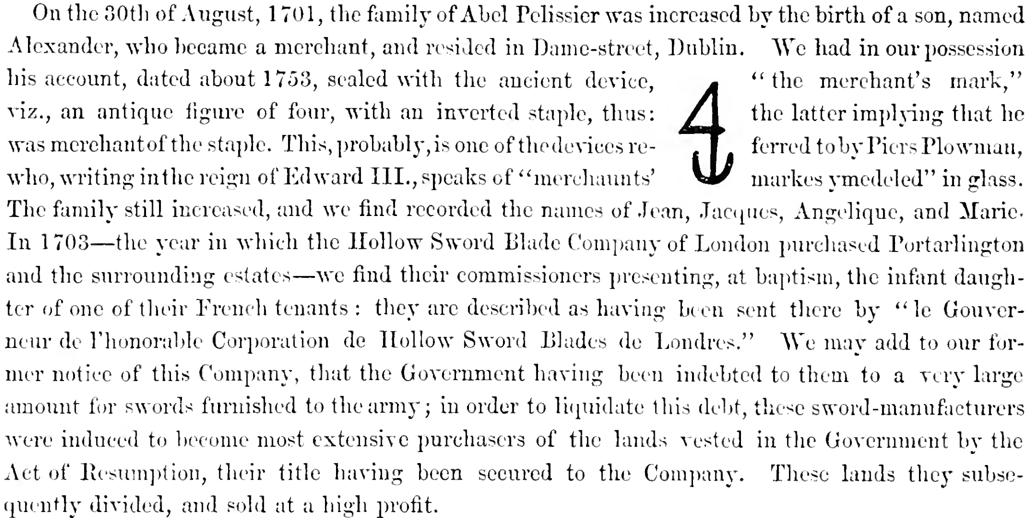
In a former number we have given the marriage of Abel Pelissier: here follows the birth of his first-born—

"Baptesme du Jeudi 17 Juin 1700. Le Samedi 8 du mesme mois entre cinq et six heures du soir est né un fils à Mon-

[c] The Princess was daughter of William Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg Anspach, and was married in 1705. Abbadie describes the Margrave, not only as a great conqueror, "mais un pieux Electeur á qui Dieu a fait la grace de connoître la religion et de l'aimer." Hence the pious care his Royal daughter had for the Refugees.

sieur Abel Pelissier cy-devant Mareschal des logis et Aide Major du Reg^{t}. de Galuuai (Galway), et à damoiselle Marie De Choisy sa femme, lequel a esté ce jourdhui présenté au Baptesme par Monsr. Cesar de Choisy grand pere et la dite Marie De Choisy mere, et nom lui a esté imposé Abel."

On the 30th of August, 1701, the family of Abel Pelissier was increased by the birth of a son, named Alexander, who became a merchant, and resided in Dame-street, Dublin. We had in our possession his account, dated about 1753, sealed with the ancient device, "the merchant's mark," viz., an antique figure of four, with an inverted staple, thus: the latter implying that he was merchant of the staple. This, probably, is one of the devices referred to by Piers Plowman, who, writing in the reign of Edward III., speaks of "merchaunts' markes ymedeled" in glass.



The family still increased, and we find recorded the names of Jean, Jacques, Angelique, and Marie. In 1703—the year in which the Hollow Sword Blade Company of London purchased Portarlington and the surrounding estates—we find their commissioners presenting, at baptism, the infant daughter of one of their French tenants: they are described as having been sent there by "le Gouverneur de l'honorable Corporation de Hollow Sword Blades de Londres." We may add to our former notice of this Company, that the Government having been indebted to them to a very large amount for swords furnished to the army; in order to liquidate this debt, these sword-manufacturers were induced to become most extensive purchasers of the lands vested in the Government by the Act of Resumption, their title having been secured to the Company. These lands they subsequently divided, and sold at a high profit.

The Register gives an instance of the strict discipline of the Consistory. The delicate health of an infant obliged its parents to request the clergyman to baptise the child at home. This, however, could not be done without the sanction of the elders—the question was laid before them; and "la compagnie ayant deliberé" it was adjudged that from the urgency of the case, the demand should be conceded, without detracting from the character of their church, "ny prejudicie a nostre discipline." In 1699, the Earl of Galway, from tender regard to his favoured colonists, becomes sponsor to the child of "Jean Grosvener, cornette de Dragons dans le Regiment d' Essex, et d' Anne De Daillon son espouse." The infant was presented at baptism by Jean Nicolas, Lieutenant in Lord Galway's regiment of cavalry, "envoyé exprès de son excellence my lord Conte de Galuuai, L^{t} general des forces de Sa Maiesté dans ce Royaume." In 1701, "Thomas Carter, ecuyer, et miledy Izabelle, contesse de Roscommon, femme du dit Sr Carter" assume the office of sponsors, for the son of "Marc Vulson, ecuyer, S^{r} de St Maurice." About the same date, a gallant refugee wins the hand of one of Erin's fair daughters. And early in the 18th century, a French officer from Saintonge, allies himself with the daughter of an Irish Earl, and an Irish Viscount weds the sister of a gallant Captain—thus approving the aristocracy of the Huguenots of Portarlington, and countersigning "les lettres de noblesse," certified "pardevant nous Henry d' Aguessau, Chevalier, Cons^{r}. du Roy," &c., &c., in a valued document of a past century, now before us, an interesting relic of

the *Penates* of the old Chateau, snatched in a hurried moment from the ruthless grasp of the dragonade, to to be opened, perhaps, for the first time, in the adopted land of its exiled owner.

The social system of Portarlington, when French life was in its climax, was justly considered a subject of interest. Many of its inhabitants were men of ancient family; "Seigneurs" of broad manors, who preferred liberty of conscience to "houses and lands," and the rank attached to their seigneuries; gallant soldiers; men of liberal and Scriptural education;—in short the genuine noblesse of France, who understood the beautiful sentiment of the American poet:—

"Howe'er it be, it seems to me,
'Tis only noble to be good;
Kind hearts are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood."

Many of the names savour strongly of that renowned genealogical spring. We have the Hamons in Baccaville and Rouen in Normandy, reminding us of the great Hamon Dentatus, Earl of Corbeil, in that historic province. The two brothers, Colonels Isaac and Hector Hamon, were the descendants of Hector Hamon, who fled to England from the persecutions of the Duke of Alva, and is described in the Cotton MS. as French minister of Rye, "minister verbi Dei," in 1569, and minister of Canterbury, in 1574. The De Meschines recall the family of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester; and the descendants of the great ducal house, De la Rochefoucauld, "could trace their lineage unbroken from the time of the Carlovingian Kings."

The gentry of Ireland may be said to have taken a lively interest in the prosperity of the French colony. We have abundant evidence that the state of society in Ireland, at the period referred to, required improvement. The association of the gentry, therefore, with the Huguenots, was not likely to prove detrimental. It was then a common practice to send abroad with a tutor the elder sons of men of fortune, to learn foreign languages; but the schools originating here with the French, as we shall presently shew—and the French revolution—obviated the necessity of such a practice. Caillard, the French clergyman already referred to, had a perfect knowledge of German literature, of which we have specimens in his translation of French letters into German. As the colony became settled, and its inhabitants increased by a gradual influx of military men from the disbanded French regiments of William III., some of these being officers of high rank, whose services in the field were rewarded with liberal pensions, a nucleus of attraction arose, inducing a constant social intercourse with the better educated of other French settlements, and with the Irish gentry of the neighbouring counties: the past history and prestige of the Huguenots never failing to warm the hearts and win the favour of the hospitable native gentry. An old account-book, now before us, shows the system of mutual aid which adorned so gracefully the character of the Refugees. A French officer of distinction, Major De C——, owed a sum of money to the late husband of Madame D'Arrabin. In stating the different payments, he adds as follows:—"Delivered to Mrs.

D'Arrabin some time in August, 1715, a large burned china pounch Boull, valewd att tenn pounds, on account of what I ow'd to her late husband. October the 3rd, 1722, by settled account with Mrs. D'Arrabin, she allowed me six pounds more for y[e] above said boull, which perfected the full interest to that day," &c. Thus, this generous lady allowed £16 for "the boull" which was tendered to her for £10. And again, in 1724, Mrs. D'Arrabin reduces the interest by £11. 12s. 6d. on his bond,—"whether I would or not." The gallant officer himself lends Mesdemoiselles De Champloriers two guineas, and also supplies them with "eight car-loads of hay, at half-a-crown per load." Annexed to this entry is this note—"Mlles Champloriers p[d] me two guineas against my will, but accepted of the hay." He knew the text, "La charité est d'un esprit patient: elle se montre benigne."

The same book contains a long account with the far-famed Colonel Cavallier, the renowned hero of the wars of the Cevennes. Major C—— had lent Colonel Cavallier £50, and various other sums; the former, visiting the Hague in 1723, purchases for Me Cavallier, "18¼ Duch ells of narrow lease," some cambrick, and holland, "which, in Ireis money, comes to two pounds and nine shelings." It appears that the brilliant career of her gallant husband could not save the family from want, for, in the same year, Major C—— "lent to M[e] Cavallier, at her going to Dublin, 14s. 2½d.; and, in 1724, he "p[d] to Lieu[t] Ducas for Co[l] Cavallier to release M[e] Cavallier's gould watch, which was returned to her, twelve pounds sterling, for which the Co[l] gave me his note on Mon[r] Puichinen." Various loans of moydores to M[e] Cavallier are recounted, and for another "georny to Dubin," one moydore. Major C—— gives Co[l] Cavallier credit for £1. 7s. 1d. received from five individuals named, being "five sh. and five p[ce] each for one "book," of which we subjoin the title.[d] In 1724, Major C—— "paid to Mr. Wilkinson, for grasing M[e] Cavallier's yong maire 00 . 04s . 00." The account with this remarkable man closes thus:—"Memorandum. Y[e] Co[ll] ows me for a horse which he borrow'd from me, and never returned, valew'd four or five pounds." "Mais toutes choses étoient communes entr' eux."

To give even a sketch of Cavallier's daring military exploits would exceed the limits of this paper: we shall, however, glance at his interview with the great and powerful monarch Louis Quatorze. The gallant leader of the wars of the Cevennes, having come to a cessation of arms with Marshal Villars, on terms satisfactory to himself and his brave little band, sought an interview with the king. This request was granted, and he was conducted into the presence of his Majesty at Versailles by the Secretary of State—

"The king was at mass when Mon. Chamiliard came to him, and I was introduced into his

[d] "Memoires of the Wars of the Cevennes, under Col. Cavallier in defence of the Protestants persecuted in that country: And of the peace concluded between him and the Mareschal D. of Villars: Of his conference with the King of France, after the conclusion of the Peace: With letters relating thereto from Mareshal Villars and Chamillard, Secretary of State. As also a map describing the places mentioned in the Book. Written in French, by Colonel Cavallier, and translated into English. Dublin: Printed by J. Carson, in Coghill's-Court, for the author, and are to be sold by William Smith, Bookseller, in Dame-street. 1726."

closet till it was over, and when his Majesty came to us, 'Sir,' said Monsieur Chamiliard, 'this is Cavallier, chief of the rebells, who comes to implore your majesty's clemency.' I made a very low bow, but was terribly frightened by the speech of my introductor. I remained for some time confused and astonished, and the king having asked me 'what it was I had to say to him, and what was our reasons for rising in arms against him?' Cavallier, recollecting himself, recounts to his majesty in an eloquent speech the horrors of the persecution; that these measures had driven them to despair and to the assumption of arms; that all avenues by which justice might have been claimed from the crown had been closed; that his majesty had been deceived, and that they were persuaded these things were not done by his majesty's orders or permission. 'Finding he heard me very patiently, I went on.' After a little, Cavallier said, 'If you would be pleased to confirm the promises made to us by the Marshal Villars, and in your royal clemency forgive us all that is past, we are ready to shed the last drop of our blood for your service.' Here he interrupted me, and, with an angry voice, he said, 'I order you not to speak one word of that treaty, on pain of incurring my indignation; if the rest of the rebells will submit, I will consider what may be done with the prisoners and gallerians.' He asked me if the Duke of Savoy or any other of his allies sent me money or arms? I answered that I never received either from the Duke of Savoy or anybody else. 'Where, then, did you get them?' said the king. 'Sir,' said I, 'we took care to attack none of your troops but them we were much superior in number to; and having overcome them, especially in the beginning, it was from them we provided ourselves.' He asked me how many of his troops I thought had been destroyed during all that time? I answered that I did not know, but that his generals could inform him better than I. He charged me with a great many outrages, such as burning of churches and murdering of priests and other ecclesiastics. Cavallier proceeds to rebut these charges, and details to his majesty the cruelties of the Intendant Montrevel, who had a young lady of Nismes murdered in his presence, whom one of the king's pages was protecting; the page himself having with difficulty escaped hanging. For the truth of his statement of the aggravated circumstances attending this barbarous murder Cavallier was ready to appeal to the Roman Catholics of Nismes. 'The king then turned to Monsieur Chamiliard and asked him if he knew anything of that affair?' Chamiliard did not deny the fact, but endeavoured to soften down its revolting features. After a few words more from Cavallier in justification of the course which he and his companions had been compelled to adopt, he adds, 'I observed that he seemed a little moved at this relation, and then asked me if I would become a good Catholic? To which I made answer that my life was in his hands, and that I was ready to lay it down for his service; but as for my religion, I resolved not to change it for any consideration this world could afford.' 'Well,' said the king, 'go and be wiser in future, and it will be better for you.' Having made a low bow, I retired with Monsieur Chamiliard into his apartment, where I received a terrible reprimand for talking as I had done against the Mareschal de Montrevel, and especially for refusing the

honour of being the king's convert; he exhorted me to make use of the opportunity. I smiled when he continued to tell me that, though I did not believe everything that the church teaches, I might pretend I did, and act as a great many others; that I might do as if I were at a play—gaze and laugh without taking any other notice; 'when you are at mass you may pray to the devil if you please. Let the king see you there twice or thrice, and your business is done; you shall have a pension of 1,500 crowns a-year for life, another for your father, besides being made brigadier in his army.' I answered him that, when Moses was come to age, he chose rather to suffer adversity with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of a court for a season; at which he laughed, saying, 'Where have you got this old woman's story?'" The controversy was proceeding, when it was cut short by Chamiliard telling him he was "an obstinate Huguenot, and that he might take his own way." He, however, dismissed him civilly, ordering Monsieur La Vallée to show him the curiosities of Versailles. "It happened to be the very day that the Dutchess of Burgundy saw company after lying-in. All the water-works were set agoing, and the court in the utmost joy and magnificence, which gave me an opportunity, under the conduct of my guide, to see all the princes and princesses of the blood, and foreign ministers, who were come to make their compliments on the occasion. I was astonished at the beauties of the place, which, after the woods and mountains I had been used to, seemed like an enchanted palace."[e]

[e] In the "*Tableau de Nismes par Frossard*," the following account is given of the conference between Cavallier, Marshal de Villars, and the Intendant de Basville, in the garden of the nunnery of the Recollects, near Nismes:—"On the morning of the 16th May, 1704, the chief brought his troops into the neighbourhood; his cavalry he stationed within musket-shot of the place of conference, and, having posted videttes in positions to communicate with himself and his army, he proceeded to enter the appointed place of conference. Multitudes had gathered from all parts to catch a glance of a person who had so long, and with such feeble means, kept the country in a state of civil war. They beheld him approach, mounted on a grey galloway, unaccompanied, but by an escort of eighteen of his horsemen, headed by one of his officers. Upon his arrival before the convent, he cast up his eyes to the windows, which were filled with nuns, equally curious, with others, to catch a sight of him. Cavallier cautiously surveyed the walls of the mansion, and especially a tower belonging to it, pierced with loop-holes, which gave it the appearance of a castle, and observing that the guard of the M. De Villars occupied the corridor on one side of the gate of entrance, he immediately gave orders for his own guard to arrange themselves on the other side. Upon dismounting from his horse, he walked with a firm step towards the Marshal, who, with the Intendant de Basville, and General la Lande, waited for him in the garden. The delegates of the king, struck with his youthful diminutive appearance, hesitated a few moments; whereupon, the Marshal breaking the silence, approached Cavallier with a gracious smile, saying, 'welcome, M. Cavallier! I have received your letters. I have been waiting for you, but, surely, upon seeing you, I cannot help believing that you count more victories than years.' Cavallier—'Mareschal, I know not the language of court, and your's confounds me. Without pretending to reply in a similar manner, I only remark, that I have always thought you to be as loyal as you are brave, and here I am at your service.' De Basville—'Stop, sir; listen in silence to our orders: for the king, my master, must be extremely merciful to be willing to treat with a rebel.' Cavallier—'M. l'Intendant! It is not with you that I am engaged to confer. If this is all that I am to hear in this place, then allow me to retire. Rebels! It is you who, by your tyranny and cruelties, have alienated the subjects of the king; and had it not been for you, we should never——.' M. Villars—'Gentlemen, I have not come up to open recent wounds afresh, but to bind them up for ever. Delegated by a merciful sovereign, I come to announce to you, that he wishes to spare the blood of his subjects, and to enter with them into amicable terms. What, M. Cavallier, what are your pretensions?' Cavallier—'I have already given them in writing; I will now repeat them, and although the sentiments of a young man, they are not less just and incontrovertible. M. le M., the subjects of the king unjustly suffer. Our temples are destroyed; your tower of Constance echoes with the groans of our wives and daughters; our young men are tracked like wild beasts upon the mountains; our old men are suffocated in cells; our praises, and our prayers, and our acts of religious worship are profaned and prohibited;—these are our miseries and our crimes; the redress of these, what you call my pretensions.' He was again interrupted by the imperious De Basville, and again the Marshal interposed, and suggested a moderation of language more suited to the importance of the negociation with which he was charged. The conference lasted two hours. The 'Lion of Cevennes,' as he was called, again mounted his galloway, and retired amidst the astonished gaze of a vast crowd of spectators; recognising at every step, by the moving of his cap, which he held in his hand, the salutations of his friends."

Cavallier and his party having made their escape from France, their services were gladly engaged by Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy. The hero of the Cevennes subsequently retired to the Hague, and afterwards came to Ireland. In 1727, Primate Boulter strongly recommended him to the Duke of Newcastle for an appointment in the new levies, then about to be raised. A note to the Primate's letter states that "this is that Colonel Cavallier who made so great a figure in the Cevennes against the powerful armies of France; he was, in some respects, the Paoli of those days."

Among the refugees of note residing in Portarlington, the family of Des Vignoles claims attention. They possessed large estates in Languedoc, and were lineally descended from the celebrated warrior, Estienne Des Vignoles, commonly called La Hire, who signalized himself in the wars of Charles the Seventh of France, obliged the Duke of Bedford to raise the siege of Montargis, and accompanied Joan of Arc, the famous Maid of Orleans, to the siege of that city in 1427. Two convoys were at length forced into the fortress by

> "La Hire, the merriest man
> That ever yet did win his soldiers' love,
> And, over all for hardihood renowned,
> The bastard Orleans,"

thus, with Dunois, compelling the English to raise the siege, which had lasted nine months. The prayer of La Hire before battle ran thus:—"Dieu[f] je te prie, que tu fasses aujourd'hui pour La Hire, autant que tu voudrois que La Hire fit pour toi, s'il étoit Dieu et tu fusses La Hire." At the coronation of Charles, in the cathedral of Rheims,

> "The courtier throng
> Were there, and they in Orleans who endur'd
> The siege right bravely; Gaucour and La Hire,
> The gallant Xaintraillers, Boussac, and Chabannes."

From Estienne Des Vignoles (La Hire) descended "Noble Estienne Des Vignoles," living in the sixteenth century, from whom the late Rev. John Vignoles was sixth in descent; he had been twenty-four years minister of the French church in Portarlington, having been previously a major in the army; and was succeeded in 1817 by his son, the Very Rev. Charles Vignoles, present Dean of Ossory. Alphonse Des Vignoles, grand-uncle of the Rev. J. Vignoles, was a distinguished ecclesiastic in Bas Languedoc, and author of "*Chronologie de l' Histoire Sainte,*" of which is recorded in *La Dictionnaire des Grands Hommes*—"Ce livre suppose une victoire prodigieuse, un travail incroyable, et les plus profondes recherches." In 1685, he escaped from France; his library and papers were confiscated; all he could recover of the latter were a few loose leaves, because they were considered as waste paper—"mais où je trouvai pourtant presque tout ce que j'avois écrit touchant les Rois de Juda et d'Israel."

[f] Southey.

The individual referred to in the following abstract from the Chancery Rolls was probably the first Huguenot clergyman who came to Ireland:—"The king, in 1668, in consideration that James Hierome, clerk, had brought the French congregation at the Savoy to conform to the Church of England; and, in consideration of his learning, piety, and being a stranger, presents him to the vicarage of Chapel Izod, with liberty to graze two horses and eight cows in the Phœnix Park, free," &c.

The French families, within the present century resident in Portarlington, were those of Dean Champagné, Sir Charles Desvoux, Bart., Colonel Mercier, Major Mercier, Colonel De la Cour, &c.

Many of the upper class of refugees were "sovereigns" of the town; the authority and duties of which office were somewhat calculated to excite a painful reminiscence of the extensive feudal privileges of their seigneuries, so nobly forfeited. Major C—— filled the office three years in succession; Micheau, his tenant from the seigneury of Berneré in Saintonge, acting as Portrieve.

A favourite amusement of our interesting foreigners in the summer evenings was to assemble in the cool shade of the primæval oaks of the O'Dempsey's, which had not yet been cleared away from the market-place, and still proclaimed its ancient name, "Cooltouderrie," or the woody nook; there they sipped their tea, as a *bonne bouche,* in Lilliputian china cups—the precious beverage in that day costing from twelve to twenty shillings a pound, when money was comparatively scarce. Prior to the middle of last century, horse-races had been established on the common-lands of the town.[g] On such occasions, balls, ordinaries, and *ridottos* enlivened the sportive meetings. The higher class of colonists, who had been men of landed property, laid aside their patronymic, and adopted the designation of their chief seigneury, or added to it the family surname; doubtless, from a desire to perpetuate a record identifying their name and race with the territory to which they originally belonged, and which they had been recently forced to relinquish. Hence we find the Chevalier De Robillard signing himself "Champagné;" Messire David de Proisy, Chevalier, Seigneur Chatelain d'Eppe, Capp[ne] de Cavalerie, writes "Proisy D'Eppe;" Messire Daniel Le Grand, Chevalier, Seigneur du Petit Bosc, becomes, "Du Petit Bosc," &c.

We have still some reminiscences of the military colonists. The scarlet cloak seems to have been a favourite garb. The Viscomte de Laval was in the habit of wearing a cloak of scarlet cloth, lined with ermine, a sword, knee–, shoe–, and stock-buckles of silver, set with diamonds; and he always

[g] At the same time, races for the Queen's County were held on the great heath of Maryborough, as advertised in the newspaper called "Pue's Occurrences," of October, 1736. We shall barely glance at the advertisements, to give some idea of the depraved taste of that period. A ten-pound purse was to be given for fox-hunters; £5 for all galloways. All horses from the Curragh to be excluded. On the second day there was to be a foot-race by unmarried women of an unfortunate class; the prize was for a piece of Queen's County "flanning" (flannel); two-thirds to the winner: the remainder to the next competitor. "All crossing, jostling, pulling, dragging, to be allowed to the foremost women for the flanning suite." Some days before the race, each woman was required to furnish the keeper of the match-book with her name, and the colour of her hair and eyes. Other conditions and particular information, which we must not detail, were also required. It is our native county, and we would veil the foibles of her earlier day, and be

"To her faults a little blind,
And to her virtues very kind."

carried his hat under his arm. While on the subject of dress, we may notice the curious fact of a French officer employing a tailor to make his maid-servant's gown; and the Brigadier D'Apremon bequeathing to his servant, among other things, his "scarlet cloak and wigs," but these were the

"Wigs of Marlborough's martial fold,
Huger than twelve of our degenerate breed."

It was the habit of the clergy to walk in their canonicals, without hats, through the town to the church, undergoing the "capital punishment" of the great wig in lieu of the ordinary covering of the head. While we trace this sketch, the portraits of the Huguenot heroes of "the Boyne" grace the walls of our own abode. Schomberg, the veteran marshal, a captain of Scravemore's Blue Dutch Guards, and a youthful ensign of Le Mellonier's corps, with others, are all present there. They all wear the demi-suit of armour, the flowing wig, and the neck-scarf tied in the well-known knot of the days of Louis Quatorze. Time has changed the features of the long departed warriors. Their wan aspects

"Look living in the moon, and, as you turn
Backward and forward to the echoes faint
Of your own footsteps, voices from the urn
Appear to wake, and shadows wild and quaint
Start from the frames which fence their aspects stern;
As if to ask how can you dare to keep
A vigil there, where all but death should sleep."

Fair fugitives from Saintonge grace the group; the white-laced lappets of France mark the country of a widowed mother, whose sable robe tells the loss of her gallant husband, a captain of dragoons, who, having been deputed by his brother officers, before leaving London, to solicit aid from the government, died at Belfast, in October, 1688, from fatigue encountered in his efforts to rejoin his regiment. The black tresses and dark eyes of the handsome daughters are still vivid, and speak of the sunny clime of southern France; while the pallid cheek and faded features tell the sad tale of trials nobly endured—

"The pale smile of beauties in the grave,
The charms of other days, in starlight gleams,
Glimmer on high; their buried locks still wave
Along the canvas; their eyes glance like dreams
On ours, as spars within some dusky cave;
But death is imaged in their shadowy beams."

The principal proprietors of land under Lord Galway were the Baron de Virazel, and Jean Nicolas, "cy-devant Lieutenant de cavalerie dans le regiment de Galunai;" the latter occupying 2,000 acres about the old castle of Lea, at £60 a-year, from which Captain* Richard Bor-

* Son of Henry Borrowes, of Giltown, and brother of Sir Erasmus.

rowes had been forcibly expelled in 1641 by the O'Dempseys and MacDonnells, having been plundered to the amount of £3,440.

The domestic accounts of the refugees, though not so ponderous as the "Household Books" of the Northumberlands and Derbys, exhibit the local prices of the day, and prove that "Anthoine Seigne, marchant habitant de Portarlington," was making a strenuous effort to master the troublesome language of his adopted country. "Juillet, 1724. Mr. Le Major C——, pour balance de tout conte, 8. 8. 1. p^r 18 verges de tep (tape) 6d. p^r savon 8lb 2. 4. p^r 6 lb chandell 1. 9. p^r une quarte sable (for blotting) 1d. p^r 3 estone de fer à Thompson, smith de Lea 8. 6. p^r 4 gallons 3 quartes vinaigre a 1. 8. galon 7. 11. p^r une lb $\frac{1}{2}$ houblon 2. 6. p^r 3 Stons de fer livré au d^t Smith de Lea 8. 6. p^r cloux et une paire Inges 4d. p^r 3 verges jaratieres 3d. p^r 4 on corins et une quarte sable 3d. p^r 4 bougles de sangle 2d. p^r une lb sucre bostard 9d. au *bleu* boy p^r 1 lb savon 3$\frac{1}{2}$d, a Mon^r le Major contant un Moydor 1. 9. 10. au valet 1 lb Rolle Tobac 1. 2. p^r un sledge ou grand marteau 4. 4. au valet 2 brouss de souliers 6d." Catherine Buliod commences her bill, "Meleidey (My Lady) doit," &c. Another variation is thus given:—"Maylidy Gennes (My Lady Jane) to John Dupuy D^r." In 1730, we find the French agent of the pensioned officers furnishing his account in French and English indiscriminately, thus:—"For his letter and certificate 2d, interest 7 pour ct. au 3 Octobre 1730," &c.; and a gallant major, in noticing the stock on his farm, refers to his "heaffer calph, and boulgier calph." It is difficult to imagine how the domestic economy of any locality could have been more conveniently adapted to the wants of the noble proprietors of the lost seigneuries than the neighbourhood of Portarlington. For instance, we find a refugee from Saintonge holding 68 acres for £11 a-year; 21 acres for £2 12s.; 11 acres for £2 4s.; and 19 acres for £2 12s. These were the lands on which the beautiful wood, spire, and railway station-house now form such conspicuous ornaments. We have before us a long roll of the names of the French tenants of this gallant officer; and if he let his lands in Saintonge on the easy terms by which his Irish tenant, John Hillen, enjoyed his holding, his dependents could not but lament the change consequent on the sad rupture. For a house, garden, and upwards of two acres, John Hillen paid 5s. a year by labour at 5d. a-day, according to "the tally-book."

Vast quantities of beer were made by the French, even by the lower orders, and this they used at breakfast. We find the refugees of the Bordeaux district availing themselves largely also of the prized beverage of their own native land. In 1726, Monsieur Pennetes, a French wine-merchant in Dublin, furnished a Portarlington colonist with "three gallons of Frontignac wine at 6s. per gallon; a hogshead of clarate, prise agreed, £11; a dousen of wine, 11s.: 29th May, 1729, a oxhead of clarate £12. Same day a oxhead of Bennecarlo at half-a-crown per gallon, allowing 64 gallons coms to £8. Same day I took a hoxhead of Monsieur Terson's wine from Monsieur Pennete's seller, but I gave credit to Monsieur Terson. Une demy barrique de selle de France 6^s. Le S^t. Pennetes m'a surchargé la barrique de Bennecarlo de vingt sh: je lui ay alloné en consideration de long payment,

mais ay dessin de ne prendre plus de vin de lui." At a later period we find the inhabitants of Portarlington well supplied with wine, &c. Samuel Beauchamp, of that town (son of Monsieur Samuel Beauchamp, "cy devant avocat au parliament de Paris," who had been imprisoned in France), had his vaults furnished with claret, mountain, canary, white Lisbon, palm sack, and shrub; nor was the celebrated Lafitte unknown there. Later still, in 1757, Joshua Pilot (a retired paymaster and surgeon from Battereau's regiment and the campaign of '45, whose family had felt the fury of the Intendant Maraillac, the scourge of Poitou, imported large quantities of wine to Portarlington direct from the eminent house of Messrs. Barton & Co., of Bordeaux, now of universal fame.[h] A few more instances may show how well a singularly low price suited the plundered purses of the colonists. Early in the last century we find malt 8s. a brl.; hops, 1s. 6d. a pound; potatoes, 4s. 6d. for 24 stone; bere, 4. 6. a bl.; poultry, 3d. a pair; butter, 2½d. a pound; a kish of turf, 1½d.; beef and mutton, 1½d. a pound; a milch cow, £1 15s.; a horse, £2 2s., &c.

The French brought with them various trades. The manufacture of linen was carried on upon a small scale by the Fouberts. Of this family was Major Henry Foubert, aide-de-camp to William III.; probably the same Foubert who, seeing Schomberg attempting the passage of the Boyne without his armour, warned the veteran marshal not to omit that precaution. Numerous individuals are described as "marchands;" others to whose names are appended "facturier en laine, drapier, boucher, boulanger, mareschal, marchant gantier, cordonnier, jardinier, maçon, maistre charpentier, serviteur deuil, maistre chirurgien, m^e^. tailleur, m^e^. d'ecole, tisserant, serrurier. One French lady was in the habit of importing from France bales of cambric to a considerable amount, forwarded by a relative in her native land. These she disposed of wholesale in Dublin and Portarlington; and a gallant chevalier, who had not yet fled, still dwelling on his estate at Cognac, endeavours to aid his fugitive wife and family in Holland, afterwards settled in Portarlington, by conveying to them stealthily the far-famed brandy of that district, and other merchandise.

The local names of *La Bergerie*, *La Manche*, and *St. Germains* are significant of their owners' native country; while "the Welsh Islands" refer us to the "Hollow Sword Blade" or "Welsh Company," from the sword manufacture having been carried on in Wales. And in the name of "King Street," if not to immortalise, they hoped to honour, the memory of their royal friend and protector.

The schools were the great attraction of Portarlington, the life-blood of the town, and the source of its fame throughout the last century. These took their tone from the high class of French colonists who founded them; and the association of the pupils with such a class, together with the instruction at these seminaries, was calculated to impart a knowledge of the French language in all

[h] The quantity of wine consumed in Ireland at this period must have been enormous, as shown by the contents of Lord Conway's cellars at Lisburn, which were to be sold on his death, as advertised in "Pue's Occurrences" in 1731—viz.:—"19 hogsheads of claret of the great growth of Lafitte; 12 hogsheads of Margeaus; 29 do. of the great growth of Lafitte, and old; 7 do. of choice Graves claret; 8 do. of French white wine; also, a parcel of four-year old brandy." The white wines are stated to be "the best Priniaque." At this sale was also to be disposed of "a fine armoury, consisting of carbines, pistols, broad-swords, buff belts, and kettle-drums," memorials of the civil wars of Charles I., and the good services done by the Lisburn garrison and the regiment of horse commanded by Edward, Viscount Conway.

its purity and perfection; obviating the necessity of a foreign education at a time when intercourse with Europe was a matter of difficulty and delay; imparting an improved and fashionable education to the youth of all parts of Ireland, and inducing many of the Irish gentry to reside there.

Monsieur Le Fevre is said to have been the first schoolmaster in the town. He was the friend and correspondent of Dr. Henry Maude, Bishop of Meath, and founder of the Charter Schools. He was the father of "the poor sick lieutenant," whose lamentable and forlorn condition at the country inn, with his little son, excited the sympathy of the kind landlord and all his family, roused from their inmost recesses the compassionate feelings of "my Uncle Toby," and hurried the gallant captain, in the fulness of his heart, into that breach of a divine command, the remembrance and oblivion of whose offence by the recording angel, Sterne has so beautifully described.

The Register contains the following record:—"Sepulture du Dimanche 23e Mars 1717—18. Le Samedy 22e du present mois entre minuit et une heure, est mort en la foy du Seigneur et dans l'espérance de la glorieuse resurrection, Monsieur — Favre, Lieutenant à la pention. Dont l'ame estant allée a Dieu, son corps a eté enterré par Monsieur De Bonneval, ministre de cette Eglise, dans le cemitiere de ce lieu. A. Ligonier Bonneval. min. Louis Buliod."

To our former notice of the family of Le Fevre, we would add the remark of Monsieur Louis De Marolles respecting his fellow-prisoner in the gallies:—"I confess to you that Monsieur Le Fevre is an excellent man; he writes like a complete divine; and that which is most to be esteemed is, that he practises what he writes. May the Lord bless, preserve, and strengthen both you and him, and this will afford me singular consolation."

From the first settlement of the French, schools were established by Le Fevre, Cassel, Buliod, Durand, &c. A classical education at this early period could only be acquired in Dublin. From a school bill from Mr. John Spunner, of Dublin, now before us, and dated 1726, it appears that his pupil, aged twelve years, had to ride from Portarlington to Dublin (about forty-five miles); and, instead of the price of the classics, we find such items as these:—"To the smith, 2s. 8d.; a girth for his saddle, 10d." Prior to the middle of the last century, a school for juveniles was established in Portarlington by Mademoiselle Lalande. This seminary was eminent in its way, and originated others of a higher order, and more varied qualifications. Mlle. Lalande was an educated lady, with a fund of shrewd worldly knowledge, and, as appears from her entertaining letters, a most agreeable correspondent. In one of her school bills of the middle of the last century, we can discover the seeds of that taste for the drama, which distinguished the character of the subsequent age, and attained such maturity in the successful theatricals of the Sheridans, the Le Fanus, the Marlays, Whytes, &c., and ultimately at Kilkenny. The item runs thus:—"To ye Assembly as Page of Honour to his Majesty, 1s. 1d. To a pair of white shoes for the procession, 3s. 3d." The grandfather of the boy to whom these entries refer, had been an officer in La Mellioniere's corps at "The Boyne;" his father, born in Ireland, had been Dean of Clonmacnoise, and held several ecclesiastical benefices.

Though the lad himself was thoroughly Irish, by parentage and education, we find in the following item a natural and interesting clinging to that language in which his forefathers worshipped, and gave bold utterance to those religious principles which they so nobly maintained. The entry is short, yet significant—"To a French Psalm book and Prayer do., 5^{s}. $2\frac{1}{2}^{d}$." These books, however, were in general use at all the schools, at which the morning and evening prayers were read in the French language, down to the commencement of the present century. In a printed document, of 1801, relating to the repairing of the French church, the following passage occurs:—"King William knew from experience, as well as the schoolmasters and mistresses of Portarlington, that attending Divine service in French was the best method to learn it, or preserve it when learned. Though a Dutchman, he attended regularly the French churches in Holland. It was before him and his court that the famous Saurin preached his sermons. About a hundred children leave our school every year. Whenever the celebration of Divine service is abolished by the ruin of our French church, those hundred children will be as many messengers, who will carry the news everywhere. People will imagine that French is a dead tongue among us, and our town might be ruined before we are aware of it. To prevent such a misfortune, let us rebuild both our churches according to the intention of their great founder, King William; who, for fear of any future innovation, had those foundations confirmed by both Irish and English legislatures."[i] Throughout the last century, the following individuals may be enumerated as principals of schools—Le Fevre, Cassel, Macarel, Bonafou, La Cam, Hood, Baggs, Willis, Halpin, Lyons; and ladies' schools, by Mrs. Dunne, Dennison, Despard, &c. Besides the usual grammatical instruction, a simple method was adopted for enforcing French conversation exclusively; and though not altogether just in principle, the end was attained with admirable success. To each class was given an old key, which was passed by one boy to another whenever careful *espionage* and a sharp ear, with the creeping, crouching approach of the setter, could detect the sound of the proscribed English language. "Anglois prenez la clef," sounded like a thunder clap to the astonished offender; he took the key, which was probably called for that day by the master, and the boy in whose possession it was found was punished. The statute of Henry the 8th proscribing the native Irish tongue was inoperative compared to the vigorous and successful action of this English Language Abolition Act of Portarlington. Miss Lalande was succeeded by the two Misses Towers—one of whom married Mr. Hood. This school kept by Hood—who was succeeded by his principal assistant, Mr. Thomas

[i] A poem of the early part of last century in terms somewhat satirical, thus alludes to the great Captain of the Portarlington colonists:—

> "Joshua might still ha' staid on Jordan's shore—
> Must he, as William did, the Boyne, pass o'er.
> Almighty power was forced to interpose,
> And frighted both the water and his foes:
> But, had my William been to pass that stream,
> God needed not to part the waves for him.
> Nor forty thousand Canaanites could stand;
> In spite of waves and Canaanites he'd land.
> Such streams ne'er stemm'd his tide of victory;
> No, not the stream!—no, nor the enemy?"

And in figurative language, the poet anticipates by ages a modern invention of world-wide utility—

> "What glories are for Nassau's arms decreed,
> His own *steel pen* shall write, and ages read."

Willis—became remarkable as the seminary in which some of the most distinguished men of the day—eminent in rank, in literature, and political attainments—acquired that earlier teaching which in after-life imparted such brilliancy to their names. Among these may be mentioned, the late Marquis of Wellesley, and his brother the Earl of Mornington, the Marquis of Westmeath, the Right Honourable John Wilson Croker, Chief Justice Busshe, Judge Jackson, Sir Henry Ellis, principal librarian of the British Museum, Daniel Webb Webber, father of the Kildare-street Club, and a host of others, in after-life well-known country gentlemen.

Mr. Willis has left us some anecdotes of Hood's distinguished pupils: he says in his manuscript—"Lord Mornington's eldest son (Lord Wellesley) I can justly say excelled in everything. Ladies and gentlemen were in the habit of attending our evening prayers and psalms, which were performed with great solemnity—on these occasions Lord Wellesley was always chosen chaplain, being the best calculated for that duty: he was also one of the best teachers I have seen, under whose care Mrs. Hood (when called away in cases of emergency) often placed her class, which she might confidently do, as he was more exact than herself in making the boys study their lessons. He acquired such pleasure and delight in teaching, he has sometimes told me, that when a man he would go indeed as schoolmaster. At times he sat as judge, when any of the servants committed a fault, and with due solemnity, dressed in regular form, wearing Mr. Hood's full-bottomed grey wig, examined the witnesses, and pronounced sentence accordingly. He acted the part of King Solomon in a little French Scriptural dramatic piece, taken from Kings, I. chap. 3, in which he displayed the solidity of his wisdom in judging between the two harlots." Mr. Willis details at considerable length, the traits which distinguished the character of the noble Marquis when very young, and states that with those already referred to, he combined all the natural playfulness of boyhood. About the year 1780, when the Irish Volunteers were embodied, the boys got a uniform, and became an expert regiment of juveniles, having a regular sergeant, fife, and drum. This system of military drill became general at all the schools in Portarlington. "A very distinguished corps, admired by officers of regiments passing through the town" was raised at Mr. Willis's school: of this juvenile force, John Wilson Croker was—

> "The stout, tall captain, whose superior size,
> The minor heroes view'd with envious eyes."

He is described as a martinet, most expert at drilling with the wooden musket, and an able commander of his youthful company. Many of the earlier pupils of Hood's day attributed, in a great measure, their military success in ''98,' when called on as country gentlemen to assist in quelling the rebellion, to the mock campaigns in the play ground and the sham fights, in which they were veterans while yet boys.

Others of distinguished name when age had shed its snows on the heads of the once-youthful Volunteers of 1782, would sometimes fondly visit the scenes of their boyish campaigns. The Earl

of Mornington and Daniel Webb Webber, were distinguished for this amiable feeling, in which they often indulged. A visit to the old play-ground, and the vivid retrospect we there enjoy, has a wonderful charm in our declining days.

"Viewing it, we seem almost t' obtain
Our innocent, sweet, simple years again;
This fond attachment to the well-known place,
Whence first we started into life's long race,
Maintains its hold with such unfailing sway,
We feel it, ev'n in age, and at our latest day."

At this period there were upwards of 500 children at these schools; the rebellion, however, caused great numbers to be sent home under escorts, who were then sent to English schools: subsequently the schools suffered from the substitution of the English language for French, in the performance of the services of the church—originally built for the use of the Huguenots. Of late, however, they have again attained a considerable celebrity, and are most creditable to those gentlemen who have revived their former fame.

Several books which belonged to the first colonists still remain, a few of which are as follow:—*Paraphrase, or Brief Explication of the Catechism: by Francois Bourgoing, minister; printed at Lyons by Jaques Faure*, 1564. This book is bound in vellum, and contains the owner's name, "Estienne Mazick." A Bible, printed in 1652. This book has lost its cover; from long and constant use the gilt edging is scarcely traceable—each page is separate, yet not one has been lost. New Testament and Psalms in verse; printed at Amsterdam, in 1797. This book belonged to Colonel Isaac Hamon, to whose family allusion has been made. The Psalms in verse, set to music, with various prayers. This was the property of Mademoiselle De Champlorier, previously referred to. A small book, very old, in a vellum cover, containing prayers for the Communion;—with others, too many to enumerate.

Significant allusion is made by one of our foreign colonists to the loss of horses, and to money paid "for watching the horses at night." The daring exploits of the notorious horse-stealer, Cahir-na-goppul (Charles of the Horses), had evidently raised the fears of our worthy settlers for the safety of their studs. This French officer loved the chase; he had his "hunting saddles," and had paid "Martin Neef, y[e] horsfarrier of Kildare, three guynies for curing Tipler." Cahir-na-goppul was an offshoot of the great family of O'Dempsey; through the misfortunes of his renowned race, he had degenerated into a *rapparee*, and horse-stealer of wide-spread notoriety, carrying his depredations even so far north as Monaghan, by which county he had been "presented," and was hanged at Maryborough, about the year 1735. Even at the present day, the old grand-dame in her cabin terrifies into submission the unruly peasant brat by the dread name of Cahir-na-goppul.

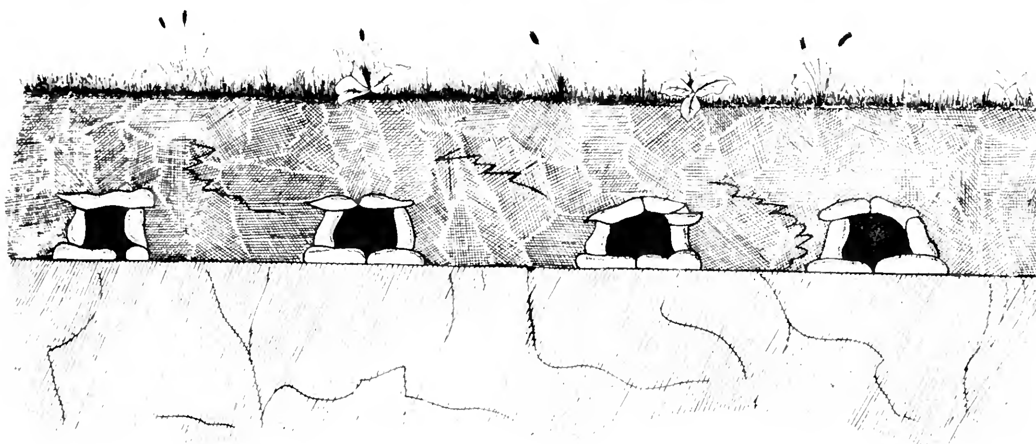
Having requested an aged inhabitant of Portarlington, now in humble circumstances—a venerable relic of the town, whose day had dawned ere France was wholly extinct—whose ancestor had been a lieutenant in William's army, and had received half-a-crown a-day as a pension—to write a short sketch of the family tradition which had been transmitted to her, we just saved from utter oblivion this lingering memorial of the ordeal of other days, with which we conclude our sketch.

We give her own words:—"My great grandmother's name was La Motte Grandore; her family was so persecuted, that she was sent to Holland with the Cassels, when she was only seventeen years old. A young girl, her cousin, who was steadfast to her faith, they tied by the heels to a cart, and drew on the horse through the street until her brains were dashed out; a young man she was to be married to went after the cart imploring them to stop. Also many of her family (the La Bordes) suffered much; some imprisoned, some losing all they had possessed. My great grandfather made his escape out of prison, where he had been some time, and fled to Holland quite young. He contrived to let his parents know where he was, after great privations; went through the greatest hardships; often had to hide in fields, afraid to enter their own houses. My great grandfather's escape out of prison was most miraculous; they were often hungry, whilst they dare not go to their home to get food, where they had plenty. Memory fails me to let you know the very many stories my poor father used to tell us. His mother was one of the La Bordes. Her father became a soldier when he got to Holland. There he met the Cassels and the young woman (previously mentioned) that her parents sent with them, Lucy La Motte Grandore. Her family were very rich; had good possessions in Languedoc. It is said their place was a paradise; all was comfort. She came over with her husband, John Laborde, who entered King William's army, and was at the battle of the Boyne, quite near Duke Schomberg when he was shot." This respected descendant of these gallant Huguenots closed her interesting tale with an expression of regret that the infirmities of age, and the loss of her contemporary relatives, should render it so imperfect.

The register contains the following record confirming the statement of our aged informant:—"Du Dimanche 26 X^{bre} 1703. Le Jeudy 16e dernier vers les 5 heurs du matin est né un garçon a Jean La Borde et à Anne Graindor sa femme, lequel a esté baptisé cejourdhui par Monsieur de Bonneval min. de cette eglise. Parraine le d' Jean La Borde. Marraine la d. Graindor, ses père et mère; et nom lui a esté imposé Jean. Jean La Borde. Anne Graindor. Bastagnet, ancien. Proissy d'Eppe, ancien. Guion, ancien. A. Bonneval, min." The register also contains an entry of the baptism of her father, Abel Cassel, "aux prières du soir," 12th August, 1736, which states him to be the son of Isaac Cassel and Anne La Borde; and another of the same family is baptized "aux prières du matin." This shows the practice of two daily services.

The French registers of Portarlington are replete with genealogical and topographical information. Dowdall's map of the town—remaining among the records in the Custom-house, Dublin—

describes the houses and plots of the early colonists; and the Book of Sales, at Chichester-house, in 1703, in the Dublin Society's library, is still more full on these topics. The Journals of the Irish House of Commons also afford much information regarding military rank and pensions. But, with the extinction of the French inhabitants, the interesting family papers, the lively and romantic journal, and the faithful and stirring tradition have also with one exception passed away, and we are just by one generation too late to reap the rich harvest of Huguenot history we might otherwise have secured.



ANCIENT CEMETERY IN ISLAND-MAGEE,

COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

On the western shore of Island-Magee, in the townland of Gransha, and on a farm occupied by Captain Wilson, there is a small lime-stone quarry which has been worked for a considerable time, but how long we have not been able to ascertain more exactly than that its age is upwards of twenty years, and may be forty or fifty. It is situated at a distance of about a mile or a mile-and a-half from the bridge which crosses the upper arm of Larne Lough, and connects that part of the peninsula with the mainland. Nearly the whole of the western portion of Island-Magee consists of chalk, the same formation which is so well turned to account on the opposite side of the lough at the Magheramorne quarries. The little quarry at Gransha, however, is not so favourably situated

for commercial purposes, the water being extremely shallow at that part of the lough; and hence it has been worked only for consumption in the immediate neighbourhood, and the progress of the cutting backwards from the sea has been consequently slow. The soil on the top of the limestone is from three to four feet in depth; and, before the quarry was opened, sloped down by a rather steep hill to near high-water mark, from which the remote end of the quarry is now about a hundred or a hundred-and-fifty yards distant. In cutting away the limestone, and, of course, the soil above it, the quarry-men have come upon a number of singular graves of evident antiquity, and, as far as we know, of unique construction; and yet, though they have been found every year since the quarry was first opened, and in large numbers, their existence is known to comparatively few persons, even in the neighbourhood, and is not indicated in the Ordnance Survey Map of Island-Magee, nor, so far as we are aware, in any other map or published document. The account of them which we now give is derived from personal inspection, and from information kindly supplied by Captain Wilson.

The graves without exception, we believe, ran east and west, the heads all pointing westward (i.e. down the hill towards the sea), and were laid in regular courses side by side, scarcely any instance being remembered of one grave being placed above another; the lateral distance between those in the same row (judging from one which we saw in section, and of which a rough sketch is given) being about four feet, and nearly constant; whilst the feet of the graves in one row were separated from the heads of those in the next by an interval of from three to six feet. So much for their position, in which there is nothing very remarkable except there being only one *stratum*, so to speak, a circumstance which would seem to indicate that the ground had not long been used as a place of sepulture; but their construction was remarkable. Each grave (with a few exceptions, which we shall notice hereafter) was regularly built of blocks of limestone, laid together in order, and covered in at the top; in fact, as Mr. Wilson expresses it, regularly "piped as we should now pipe a drain." The pieces of limestone used in the process varied in size, but were generally about as large as the stones with which we build walls, and were either chosen on account of their flatness, or more probably were roughly flattened by a hammer. The solid limestone substratum in some instances supplied the floor; but in most the floor was regularly flagged like the sides, ends, and roofs. In internal dimensions each grave was about the size of an ordinary coffin, and being, of course, built *over the corpse* after it was laid on the ground, naturally assumed something of the shape of the human form—narrowing towards each extremity, as our modern coffins do. Though built with very considerable care (the interstices between the large stones being generally filled up by smaller ones inserted afterwards), yet, as no mortar or cement of any kind was employed, the structures did not prevent the soil from above from finding its way inside; for, in nearly every instance, the space between the walls was quite filled with clay; partly, no doubt, the result of animal decomposition (as indicated by the richer and redder colour), but partly also

carried in through the chinks by the process of filtration from above. Yet, although the stone coffins or arches were not water-tight, still the natural slope of the ground drained the soil so well, that the bones found were in most instances in a good state of preservation; so much so, that skeletons were discovered nearly perfect in some graves, and would, no doubt, have been found quite perfect in many, had ordinary care been used in clearing away the stones and clay. The labourers before beginning the actual quarrying for the season, always "strip" away the soil from the limestone, in stripes of six or eight feet broad, and in this operation it was that all the graves were brought to light. The men, not having any antiquarian interest in the matter, when they find a grave, immediately demolish it in the quickest manner possible, in order to get at any coins or other valuables that it may contain, and in the process, make havoc of the human remains. Nevertheless, some of the most fragile parts of the skeleton (as the skull, for instance,) have been disengaged entire; and we were told that, at one time, so many as seven or eight perfect skulls have been taken out of their respective graves in a single day; but, unluckily, we have not been able to procure any of them, as no care was taken to preserve them, some of the bones having been re-interred in a heap, but by far the greater number tossed down among the *debris* of the quarry.

As to the number of graves of this kind which have been opened, it is not easy to pronounce definitely; 'a great many' being the most exact estimate we could obtain on the spot from the labourers. On being asked if there were a hundred, they replied that they supposed there were, but in a manner which convinced us that had we asked if there were a thousand we should have received a similar reply. Still, from the quantity of bones scattered in all directions, the number of skeletons must have been very considerable; and a rough approximation to the number of graves opened may be arrived at by assuming the distance between them to have been in every case as stated above, and calculating the number which, on that supposition, the area of ground opened (about fifty yards by thirty, roughly) would contain. This would give something like two hundred, as the number of graves discovered; but this calculation is obviously little more than a guess, for it is now impossible to say if the graves first found many years ago were all arranged at the same distances from each other as those lately brought to light.

We have mentioned that the workmen were always anxious to secure any coins, &c., which might be buried in the tombs, nor was their search always in vain. We have only been able to obtain one of those so found, a silver penny of Edward I, inscribed on the obverse **EDW. R. ANGL. DNS. HYB.** [Edwardus Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hyberniæ], and on the reverse, **CIVITAS LONDON;** but many others have been discovered, of which some, we believe, have found their way into the cabinets of private collectors, but more, in all probability, into the melting-pot of the silver-smith. In addition to coins, several large bronze and silver pins or *skeins* are stated to have been found, but we have not been able to trace their history or to see a single specimen: it is some years since any of the latter objects have been come upon. No gold article of

any kind has been found, so far as we can learn, in the graves; but there are traditions of deers' antlers having been obtained there: this, if true, is a curious fact.

That the graveyard at Gransha is of considerable antiquity, no one can doubt; but the existence in one of the graves of a coin of Edw. I. shows that, however long subsequent to his reign (A.D., 1272-1307) the tomb in which it lay may date, it cannot at any rate be referred to an earlier period than the end of the 13th century, and in all likelihood belongs to the 14th.

It is to be noted that in several parts of Island-Magee human remains have been found in large quantities without any appearance of coffin or covering of any sort except the soil itself; from which it has been inferred, whether correctly or not, that they are the result of battles fought at the places where they are seen. But such an explanation will not of course account for the Gransha cemetery, which bears tokens of having been carefully and gradually filled. If anything, however, were wanting to show that it must have been a regular burial-place used in time of peace as an ordinary place of interment, it is supplied by the fact that in the field where it stands, and not more than twenty yards above the point to which the graves have been opened up, there were some years ago the ruined foundations of an old chapel. Mr. Wilson perfectly remembers the time when they were to be seen above ground, though no trace of them now remains except some large stones which he says were taken from them, and which are now to be seen in the neighbouring fences. Of course there was nothing in the foundations themselves to prove that they had belonged to a chapel rather than to any other building; but tradition says it was a chapel, though nothing more seems to be known about it. No notice of it appears in the map of the Ordnance Survey, nor in any other published document that we are aware of.

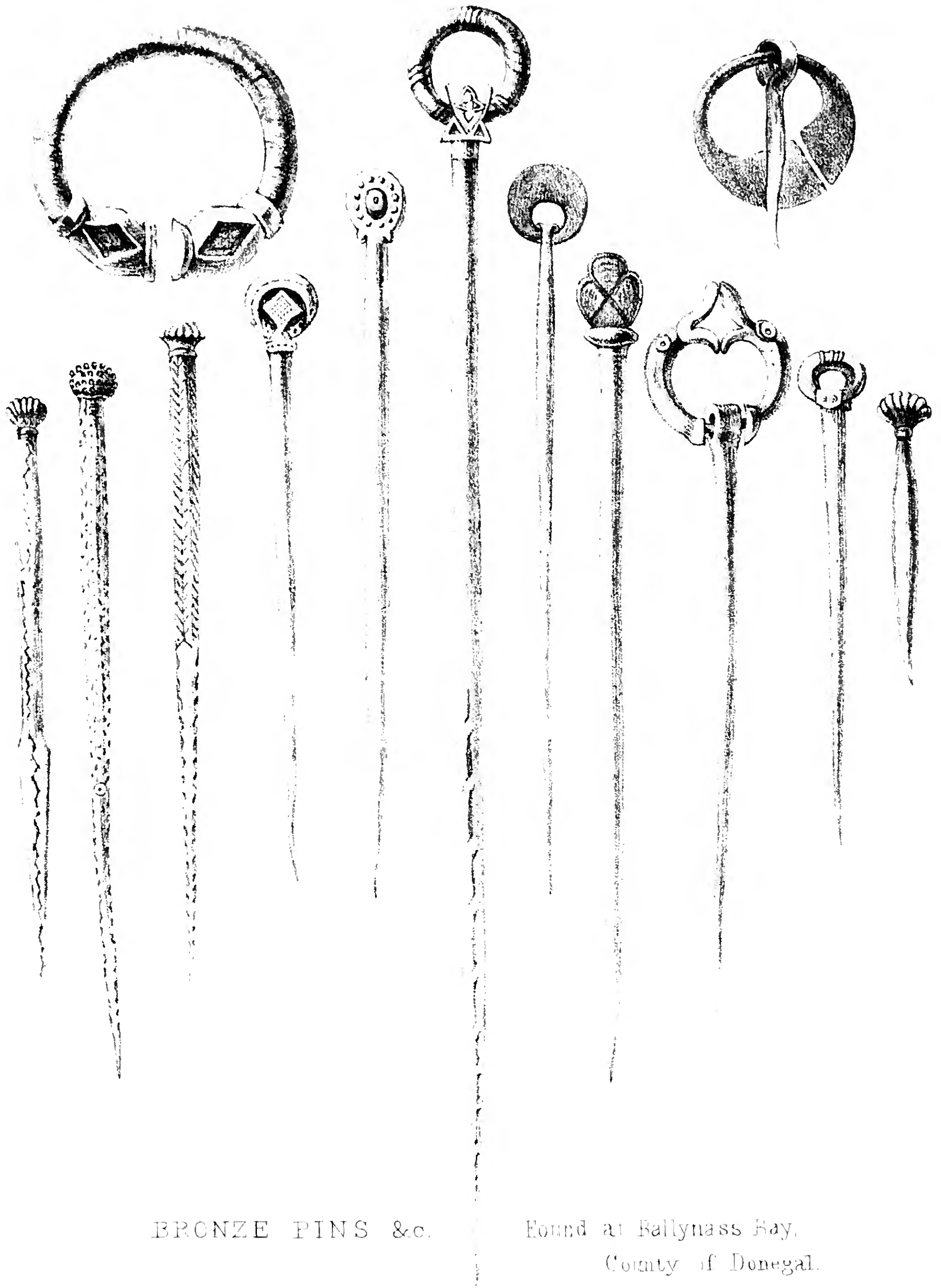
We mentioned that there were some graves at the same place not built in the manner described; and of these some seem to have contained bodies not protected by any outer covering at all; and in others there are traces of the use of a wooden coffin (without, of course, any stone protection.) We were present at the opening of one of these latter: it contained the skeleton of a child, round which were faint indications of a wooden coffin, of which nothing more remained than small, black fragments, resembling charcoal in appearance, which were disposed in rows through the soil, like horizontal *veins* of charcoal in fact. The bits of wood crumbled to atoms on being touched. Graves of this kind, however, were comparatively few in number, and mostly about the outskirts of the cemetery; from which we should infer that they are of a later date than the stone ones. The men who are in the habit of finding these graves say that the wood is *black oak*, on no stronger evidence, we imagine, than its blackness. This is not, however, very probable, as, had oak been used it would in all likelihood have been more durable.

What may have been the reason which determined the makers of the graves to use stone in so many instances it is not easy to say—it may have been from economy, Island-Magee not being a wooded district, and, from its exposed situation, most likely never having been such at any period.

At present, indeed, there is a good deal of wood about Ballycarry and Red Hall in the neighbourhood: but the case may have been different formerly. Or, again, it is even possible that at the time when the Gransha cemetery was commenced, the use of wooden coffins had not yet been introduced, or was not largely employed in the neighbourhood. These points some of our readers may be able to clear up; and if any one can produce evidence showing the date, or an approximation to the date, of the first use of wooden coffins in the North of Ireland, his doing so would be a benefit to Antiquarians.

It is quite possible, and even highly probable, that many burying-grounds, such as that at Gransha, may be in existence over the country, though no accidental quarrying operations have yet brought them to light. It is very unlikely that a mode of sepulture which was employed, and largely employed, in one place, should at the same time be unknown and unused in neighbouring districts. There have always been fashions in graves, just as in everything else. In one country we find rock sepulchres and mummies; in another, stone tombs with cinerary urns; in a third, wooden coffins in earthen graves; and so on, each country and each period having its own prevailing custom, and using no other. In our own day and country, for instance, a description of one burying-ground would apply almost equally well to any other. So, it is likely, or at any rate it is not improbable, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that the mode of sepulture used in the cemetery in Island-Magee was a common one. Nay, it does not strike us as too wild a fancy, to imagine that in the stone-built grave at Gransha, we may behold the lineal and legitimate, though degenerate, descendant of the grand old cromlech, or, at least, of the system which has left us the cromlech. That the cromlechs were sepulchral, (though likewise monumental), there is now no doubt; and in their construction it is not difficult to trace a typical resemblance or family likeness to the stone graves that we have been describing. No doubt the cromlech was colossal—having rocks where the other had stones; but this was natural, as it was the resting-place of a chieftain or hero; and men have ever thought it becoming that a great man should have a great grave. Our meaning is this:—it is conceivable that, at the time when the cromlechs were raised, the mode of burial which is found at Gransha may have been a common one; and that the cromlechs themselves may have been merely an enlargement of the ordinary plan, in honour of a renowned warrior or legislator. Against this idea it is no argument to say, that none of the Gransha graves have been found of the same antiquity; for, while the size of the cromlech with its raised earthen mound renders its discovery inevitable, thousands of smaller tombs may be hidden unsuspected under the level sward at the present day. This idea is, of course, no more than a fancy, which is not easily proved or disproved.

A. M. P.



BRONZE PINS &c. Found at Ballynass Bay, County of Donegal.

ANTIQUITIES DISCOVERED ON THE SHORE OF BALLYNASS BAY

COUNTY DONEGAL.

In an article on "Local Tokens issued in Ulster" [*Journal*, vol. 4, p. 239] reference is made to a quantity of bronze pins, brooches, bracelets, coins, &c., found among the remains of an old building on the shore of Ballynass Bay, in the district of Cloghanecly, Co. Donegal, in the property of Wybrants Olphert, Esq. Having had an opportunity lately of examining a collection, made by that gentleman, of these curious relics of a by-gone age, I made drawings of the chief varieties, which I now send. [See Plate.] These were selected as specimens from upwards of fifty pins found, within the last few years, on a part of the sea-shore from which sand-hills have been blown away, leaving exposed to view some confused remains of buildings. The objects are all drawn of the actual size. In some of the specimens (Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4) cavities may be observed, which, I presume, were intended for the insertion of gems, or of some kind of enamel. The whole are of bronze, and evidently of great antiquity. Not the least remarkable circumstance connected with the locality is, that in the same spot in which these undoubtedly ancient pins and fibulæ were found, there have been likewise frequently picked up coins and other articles of a comparatively modern date. Among these were a considerable number of coins of the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., Charles I. and II., and William and Mary; together with several tradesmen's tokens, of which drawings have already appeared in this *Journal*. Another very perfect specimen of an Ulster token has recently been found there. On one side appears the representation of a boat; with the inscription, John Elvin, at ye Ferry, round the edge, and the date, 1657, above the boat: on the other side are the initials, J. E., and the same date; and, round the edge, the words Of London Derrie. It is well known that, previous to the erection of the present wooden bridge at Derry, in the year 1790, there was no approach to the city from the east side, save by a ferry; which ferry was probably in the possession of, or rented by, John Elvin, at the date of the issue of this token. I may observe that the name, John Elvin, occurs in the list of aldermen composing the first corporation of the City of Londonderry.

The probable inference from finding, in the same place, relics of very ancient date mixed up with those of so much more recent times is, that the English settlers in that remote part of the country (many of whose descendants are still to be found there) fixed their first abode where the natives had their habitations in times past.

To those readers of the *Journal* who may be unacquainted with this remote locality, it may be interesting to know something more of the exact place where these objects were discovered—a con-

sideration of which may throw some light on the ancient ruins alluded to. On the north-east coast of Donegal, between the towering cliffs of Horn Head and the rounded promontory of Bloody Foreland, the sweep of the Atlantic forms a sort of open bay, in the middle of which (about ten miles distant from the nearest land) the island of Torry appears like a huge castellated building, or, as some have, not inaptly, described it, like a giant lying on his back. Nearer the shore, several smaller islands interpose; some of them remarkable for cliffs and caves of great beauty and magnitude. On the main-land, the great mountains, Muckish, Arrigle, and others, lift aloft their high heads like sentinels jealous of entrance to the vallies which they guard, and forming connecting links in the chain of mountain bulwarks which stretch between the two promontories already mentioned. Strange scenes have these old mountains witnessed, and strange tales might they tell of centuries gone by. They have looked down on the invading fleets of Danes and Norsemen carrying fire and sword into the peaceful retreats previously afforded by these lonely shores and islands; and again, have beheld Saint Columba and his attendant ministers setting forth on their peaceful mission—proclaiming Christian truth to the Pagan galloglasses of the Mac Sweynes and O'Donnells, and establishing their churches and abbeys in the wildest regions. In Elizabeth's days they witnessed the destruction, almost at their base, of part of the proud Spanish Armada; and, later still, the decisive action between a French and English fleet, when the "Hoche," 74 line-of-battle ship, with six frigates, were captured on this very coast by Sir John Borlase Warren. At the present day these mountains look down upon the peaceful pastures and corn-fields, stretching between their base and the Atlantic, which form the district of Cloghaneely—a name recently brought prominently before the public by a parliamentary investigation, and again by an event of a character still more startling. In the very centre of the seaboard of this district, the little bay of Ballynass runs up into the land, giving its name to the manor granted by James I. to the ancestors of the present proprietor, Wybrants Olphert, Esq., a gentleman to whose constant residence and unremitting attention to his duties, as landlord and magistrate, the improved appearance and increased prosperity of the district is mainly owing.

On the northern shore of the bay, in an angle formed by it and the strand of the open sea, are to be seen the ruins among which so many objects of antiquity have been discovered. They are situated within a quarter of a mile of the pier or landing-place frequented by all the boats, both of the coast-guard and of the neighbouring fishermen and islanders. It is, especially, the only safe landing-place for boats sailing between Torry and the main-land. For an account of that picturesque island and its former importance in the annals of the church and of piracy, I refer the reader to the accurate account given in this *Journal* (vol. 1.) by the late Edmund Getty, Esq. For my present purpose, it is sufficient to observe that the island, as a great and well-known ecclesiastical establishment, must have been much frequented; and I cannot but think that the ruins on the main-land partook of the same character, and were in some way connected with it. Here, no doubt, all

visitors to the island were wont to embark, and, as at the present time, must frequently have been detained for days together; for nothing can be more uncertain than the communication between Torry and the main-land. Even weeks sometimes elapse before a safe passage can be effected. The supposition is strengthened by the appearance of some of the ruins. On the high ground above the buildings already mentioned, traces are discernible of a circular building, which would seem to indicate the former existence of a round tower similar to that which still stands on the opposite shore of Torry. Again, in a smaller island, called Illan Dooey, midway between this landing place and Torry, stands a roofless chapel, said to have been built by Saint Dooey, (Duach?) a relation of Saint Columba. This building appears to be of the same date as those on Torry Island. It is very small—a plain oblong, not exceeding 15 feet in length by 10 in breadth. On the south side there is a door-way about 5 feet in height, about 2 feet wide at the bottom, and inclining a little upward, covered at the top by two horizontal blocks of stone. In the east gable there is a very narrow window of a triangular shape, the top of which is formed by one stone with an angular cavity cut in it. This seems to have been the only aperture for giving light to the building, and it is considerably splayed in the inside. Some rude graves may be traced in the vicinity of the chapel; and, in a recess in the east gable-wall, a skull still lies, where it has been for years. No person has been interred in this island in the memory of the oldest inhabitant of the district; and tradition refers the graves to the time of Saint Duach, and his successors. Some years ago, human bones of unusual size were dug up near the chapel, but were buried again by the occupants of the island. At the time of my visit, there was but one family living on it; and no inducement could prevail on them to dig up the bones again for inspection, or even to shew where they had buried them.

I mention these particulars about the old chapel, because it does not seem to have been noticed by any previous writer on the antiquities of Donegal; and because its position seems to justify the supposition that the ruins on the shore at Ballynass were originally buildings erected for the purpose of facilitating the communication with the various ecclesiastical establishments in the neighbouring islands, and partook of their character.

T.

FAIRY ANNALS OF ULSTER.—No. 1.

In the old days of the King Artour
* * * * * * *
All was this londe fulfilled of faerie;
The elf-quene, with her joly compagnie
Danced ful oft in many a grene mede,
This was the old opinion, as I rede;
I speke of many hundred yeres ago;
But now can no man see none elves mo.
CHAUCER.—*Wife of Bath's Tale.*

"But lost—for ever lost to me those joys,
Which reason scatters, and which time destroys.
Too dearly bought, maturer judgment calls
My busied mind from tales and madrigals;
My doughty giants, all are slain or fled,
And all my knights—blue, green, and yellow—dead!
No more the midnight fairy tribe I view,
All in the merry moonshine, tippling dew;
Ev'n the last lingering fiction of the brain,
The churchyard ghost, is now at rest again.
Enchantment bows to wisdom's serious plan,
And pain and prudence mar and make the man."
CRABBE.

The following legends or "Fairy Annals" were collected during a residence, in the summer of 1857, in the vicinity of the Giants' Causeway, and in that of 1858, in the neighbourhood of Cushendall (Co. Antrim), at the request of the Editor of this *Journal*, who wished to ascertain to what extent the belief in the supernatural, in its various manifestations, still existed in our northern province.

The conditions favourable to the success of an investigation of this nature were wanting, apparently at least, in the locality first mentioned. The scenery of the coast, magnificent as it is, was not "Fairy" scenery. The land, though well cultivated, possessed but little sylvan beauty; and was inhabited chiefly by a sober, industrious, Presbyterian community, working hard for daily bread, diligent in attendance at their Calvinistic places of worship, and in whom the "romantic element," had it ever existed, might have been supposed to be—if not preached out[a]—at least ground out, under the pressure of high rents. But the land though not picturesque, had a few green spots, still believed to be the haunts of the "Gentle People;" and a friendly intercourse established with its kind-hearted and simple inhabitants, sufficiently proved that the profession of

[a] "The Kirk was the agent in suppressing the romantic element in Scotland; and this explains the fact that so many Scotch '*Trouv*' have been Episcopalians."—*Athenæum*, May, 1858.

a stern and gloomy mode of faith was not incompatible with this element, and that the pressure from without had not altogether extinguished it.

In Dunluce Castle, Mave Roe, the *Banshee* or Warning Spirit of the MacDonnells, was believed to rest occasionally from her wanderings, in one of the desolate chambers of those magnificent ruins, remarkable for its cleanliness; but, beyond the silent awe with which her apartment was regarded, little seemed to be felt or known respecting the mournful spirit.

What visitor to the "Causeway" has not heard some of the thousand-and-one tales of its Giant artificers—Fin Mac Cool and his legions—of whose work the world has seen no second copy? But these local tales (ingenious and humorous as many of them are) are no longer believed even by their probable authors—the "Causeway Guides." Science has almost smiled them down; and, in their stead, we must now be content to listen to a dry chapter of Geology, illustrated by a box of specimens of the unvarying model adopted by these learned Thebans, whose "doughty giants" are alas! "all slain or fled."

Powerful in utterly demolishing the strongholds of the Giants, the torch of science must "pale its ineffectual fires" beneath the lights from Fairy-land. We have yet to learn why those lights, still brightly shining among ourselves, should have also illumined the popular mind in all countries —in Europe, Asia, Africa,—and, as has been recently shown, have shed their rays in the far West, amidst our brethren, the Red Indians of the American prairies.[b]

It is more than poetically true that the belief in Fairies is not a mere "mid-summer night's dream." We have them in Ulster, in this nineteenth century, in all the "pomp, pride, and circumstance" with which they are invested in the ancient mythology of Iceland. They are with us (as is clearly demonstrated in these Annals) to improve our morals and our habits, to reward and punish, to delight and terrify, to torment and amuse, and even to combat in serried legions for our material interests; while, unlike some spirits of modern times, they come without "rapping."

Dr. Dryasdust, the sage philosopher, who probably presides over this and other similar Journals, may, if he can, in the plenitude of his wisdom, discredit the universal testimony of mankind as to the reality of these spiritual existences. The annalist of the Fairies of Ulster bows in modest silence before it; and, to sanction the introduction of their "Annals" into pages so erudite, pleads the words of Charles Dickens, who assures us that "There is in all literature nothing that can be produced which shall represent the essential spirit of a man, or of a people, so completely as a legend, or a Fairy-tale. The wild freaks of fancy reveal more of the real inner life of man than the well-trimmed ideas of the judicious thinker."[c]

K.

[b] Far and wide among the nations
Spread the name and fame of Kwasind.
No man dared to strive with Kwasind;
But the mischievous Puck-Wudjies,
They, the envious little people,
They, the fairies and the pigmies,
Plotted and conspired against him.
LONGFELLOW'S *Hiawatha.*

[c] [illegible]

The adventures recorded in the two following Annals were communicated by a respectable farmer, far advanced in years (now no more), who resided in a well-known hamlet or "town," consisting of six houses only, situated at the confluence of the river Bush with the sea, and from that circumstance deriving its name, Bush-foot. This river, celebrated for its salmon-fishing, attracts, as might be expected, the lovers of "the gentle craft," in great numbers, each season to its banks; some of whom, with occasionally a few families of the so-called better classes, prefer the accommodations the "town" affords, to those of watering-places of greater size and pretension, on account of its vicinity to the Giant's Causeway, and other portions of the magnificent scenery of the Antrim coast; and who, at times, gladly avail themselves of the companionship of its singularly unsophisticated, quiet, and intelligent inhabitants. This companionship has insensibly refined the manners and language of the villagers, and accounts, in some measure, for the style in which our old friend the farmer told his tale. In him, the belief in Fairies and other supernatural beings was not a superstition, but a faith; and in all earnestness and sincerity he commenced his narrative, as follows:—

"I WAS tradin' at one time, back and forward on the coast of Scotland, in a smack belongin' to a merchant in Greenock; our cargo was sometimes fish, but mostly oil of different kinds, that we took from one port to another. I never can forget what happened to me one winter, many years ago.

We were off the west coast, and the weather was rough and stormy; it blew so hard one day that we had to run for it, and took shelter in a small bay in Islay, along with eight or ten fishing-boats, driven in by the gale to the same place. There were three men besides myself on board the smack. We got the oil-casks ashore, and hauled the smack up as far as we could on the beach, and kept her up with a leg on each side; and the three hands went to spend the remainder of the day and night with some acquaintances they had on the island, leavin' me in charge of the smack.

I amused myself watchin' the fishermen settlin' their nets and sortin' their fish, for they had caught plenty before the wind got up; and when it grew dark I went below, took my supper, and got into my berth for the night. I can't say how long I slept, until I was awoke by a noise on deck like people dancin'; and nice music, softer and sweeter than any ever I heard before, playin' at a little distance: at times I took it for the pipes, but no pipes ever came up to it for sweetness. After listenin' for a while, I got up and looked out; there was nothin' to be seen on deck, and the music sounded as if it was a mile off, and at last died away.

I went below, greatly surprised at what had happened, and was soon asleep once more in my berth. Again I was awoke by the dancin' over my head, and the music, that sounded louder than at first. I lay for some time listenin', and expectin' it would stop, but no such thing: at last I got up and called out, crossly enough, for them to leave that, whoever they were, or it would be worse for them. I had a pair of pistols in the cabin, and takin' one of them in my hand, I went up a second time; but nothin' was to be seen, and the music soundin' as before, at a great distance, soft as ever. I began to think it was some of the fishermen that were playin' these tricks on me,

so I says, "Boys, there has been enough of this; mind your own business, and let me alone from this out, or maybe you'll get the like of this about your ears;" and with that, I fired off the pistol, but no one spoke: all was quiet, except the music far away.

I lay down, and after a time fell asleep, but once more I was startled worse than ever; for I heard the oil-casks scringin' on the beach—which was shingly—as if they were goin' to be staved, rollin' backwards and forwards at a fearful rate. I charged the pistols, and takin' one in each hand, I went up, determined, whoever it was, to make them pay dearly for that sort of fun; but I declare I was scared when I saw nobody on, or in sight of the smack, and the barrels lyin' as we left them on the beach; but the music had stopped, and instead of it, I heard a noise like children laughin' and talkin' far off in the distance. All I could do was to rage and swear that I would shoot whoever made any more disturbance, and down I went to my berth; but there was no sleep for me the remainder of the night: sometimes the dancin' would begin, and the music; then that would stop, and the casks would begin scringin' over the shingles; then I would hear scrapin' and borin', as if they were makin' holes in the sides of the smack. Day broke at last, and when I looked out I saw some of the fishermen coming down the country to their boats. 'Well,' said they to me, 'you had pleasant company last night.' 'I had plenty of noise,' says I, 'but no company that I saw.' 'Well, we saw plenty of good company on and about the smack; but we left the place entirely to them and you, thinkin' it safest not to stay when we wer'nt wanted.' They saw the Gentle People dancin' on the deck to the music, and sportin' about the smack, and they went off, leaving their boats and the fish lyin' about."

"And you really think, Mr. H. it was the Fairies all the time?" I asked.

"To be sure it was," he replied; "and I would have seen them as well as the fishermen did, if I hadn't sworn and spoke so cross at the start. People should speak civilly to the Gentle People, or else say nothin'; for if you provoke them they will have their revenge, one way or other.

I was comin' home from Coleraine one night long ago, with my wife and the schoolmaster on the car. I was sittin' on one side, and they on the other. We saw a great light shinin' on the road a good way on before us. When we came up to it I saw nothin' on my side but the bright light: it was at a new road that had been made, where a hill had been levelled through an old fort that was there at that time. My wife and the schoolmaster saw a company of small ladies and gentlemen in a large room, blazin' with light, in the bank under where the fort was, some walkin', some sittin', but all talkin' and laughin'. None of us spoke, for fear, as we drove past: but the schoolmaster, to the day of his death, never forgot the sight he saw of the beautiful company in that blazin' room, and many a time spoke to my wife about it."

"Where do you think the Fairies came from?" I asked.

"Many of them have been in this country from the earliest time," he replied. "Fleets of them came over from Orkney and Norway, sailing in egg-shells; and it is a fashion still among the coun-

try-people to teach their children, after they have eaten an egg, to run their spoon through the end of the shell, to prevent the Gentle People using them again for boats to sail away from us."[d]

"Where do you think they live now?" I inquired.

"Mostly in their underground habitations; but since the gospel was preached in this country, it was too strong for them, and they are greatly dispersed; some say they have taken to the air, but God only knows.

"One mornin', some years ago, in hind-harvest, before day-break, Jemmy Thompson and I got up to look about some young cattle we had grazin' near the Bush; there had been a great deal of rain, and there was the largest flood in the river that any of us had seen; it was over the Cutts entirely when we went down. It was one of the spring-tides at the fall of the moon, at the time, and a westerly wind blowin' in pretty strong. I never saw a greater commotion at the mouth of the Bush than there was that mornin',—between the breakers as they came foamin' up, and the flood in the river. We stood lookin' at the wild picture before us, when all at once we saw a tall figure of a man standin' on one of the pillars in the middle of the Bush, with a long, loose grey cloak on him, his face turned next the strand, so that we could not see it. We were scared at first—Jemmy worse than I was—when we saw the man (as we took him to be) in such a place, where nobody could have got to him, even in a boat, in such a surge of water. Scared as I was, I hailed him, and asked how he got there. There was no answer. I hailed a second time, and asked could we help him: after a little he moved himself, but did not speak or turn his face to us. 'Come away, Alick,' says Jemmy, 'we're too long here:' and indeed by that time I was ready enough to go, for I was weak at the heart with fear, and Jemmy was worse. We turned home, never looking back. Jemmy went to his bed, but I did'nt; and when the family got up, and the breakfast over, I went in to see Jemmy. I found him in bed, and it shakin' under him, he trembled at such a rate, and the perspiration hailin' off him with the fright he got!"

"What do you think the figure was?" I asked.

"It was the *Grey Man*," he replied, "he has been often seen along this coast; there is a path called after him 'the Grey Man's path,' at Fair Head, as every body knows."

"Who or what is the Grey Man?

"I know very well what he was," replied he; "it was clear enough that mornin' for us to see the colour of the cloak he had on, and we could have seen his *cloven foot*, only he was standin' in the water that was over the pillar at the time!"[e]

[d] Reginald Scott, in his *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1584), says it was believed that witches could sail in an egg-shell, a cockle, or a muscle shell, through and under the tempestuous seas.—*Steevens, Note on Macbeth*.

[e] "The ghastly humour with which the "Deil" was associated in the popular Scottish mind, was, perhaps, more terrible than the awe which he inspired. Inexplicable as many of the phenomena of witchcraft seem to be, the key to the whole belief is the intense realism with which our ancestors thought of the "Enemy." He was not a principle of evil only, but a real, living, terrible personage, who could manifest himself in the flesh whensoever he pleased. In fact, he was "a familiar terror," and might pass out of the invisible into the visible world any moment."—*Chambers*.

The foregoing startling incident forms a striking contrast, in its details, to the former "Gentle" experience of our friend, the farmer. If, as the poet informs us,

> "From his brimstone bed, at break of day,
> A-walking the Devil had gone,"

the intense realism of his appearance to the two awe-struck and terrified spectators proves the fact, that a belief in this living and terrible personage still exists in the Church of which they were members.

> "FAREWELL rewards and Fairies,
> Good housewives now may say;
> For now foule sluts in dairies
> Doe fare as well as they.
> And though they swepe their hearths no less
> Than mayds were wont to doe;
> Yet who of late, for cleanlynesse,
> Finds sixpence in her shoe?"
>
> DR. CORBET, 1635.

The following Annals, redolent of the County Donegal, are given, as nearly as possible, in the words of the narrator, an elderly woman, of the Roman Catholic persuasion, born and bred in Innishowen, but settled down in the vicinity of Bushmills, in the Co. Antrim.

As might be expected from her antecedents, she was a sincere professor of the Fairy faith, one who loved and feared the Gentle People, and an honest chronicler of their sayings and doings.

Are there any Fairies about the Giants' Causeway? "Oh no," she replied, "but they say there's some above Bushmills, up the Bush river, at the Ness Rocks, and such like places; but there's far more, aye, plinty of them, in Innishowen, where I came from; and the rayson of that is, there's few churches there. The Gintry don't like to live near churches, or ugly Meetin'-houses; they like a scroggery, where there be's heaps of gentle bushes, and to be about the walls of ould castles that was destroyed at the time of the disolation of Ireland."

"They were the only Gintry in the world at one time, but a bigger people took place, and things changed by degrees; they were put down, and they live underground ever since.[f] If they are molested in their habitations, and they warn you about it, take the warning, or be sure it will be worse

[f] "Our Celtic and Gothic ancestors, whether Germans, Scandinavians, or Gauls, imagining there was something magical and beyond the reach of man in "mechanic" skill and industry, could scarcely believe that an able artist was one of their own species, or descended from the same common origin. This, it must be granted, was a very foolish conceit, but let us consider what might facilitate the entrance of it into their minds. There was, perhaps, some neighbouring people which bordered upon some Celtic or Gothic tribe, which, though less warlike than themselves, and much inferior in strength and stature, might yet excel them in dexterity, and, addicting themselves to manual arts, might carry on a commerce with them sufficiently extensive to have the fame of it spread pretty far.

"These circumstances agree with the Laplanders, who are still as famous for their magic as [illegible] for th[illegible] of their stature; pacific, even to a [illegible] of [illegible]; but of a mechanic industry which must have appeared very considerable. The stories that were invented of this people, passing through the mouths of so many ignorant relators, would soon acquire all the degrees of the marvellous of which they were susceptible.

"As the dwarfs were feeble and of small courage, they were supposed to be crafty, full of artifice and deceit. These fancies, having received the seal of time and universal consent, it was the business of the poets to assign a fit origin for such ungracious beings; this was done in their pretended rise from the dead carcase of a great giant. Maggots at first, afterwards God bestowed upon them understanding and cunning. By this fiction, the Northern warriors justified their contempt of them, and, at the same time, accounted for their small stature, their industry, and their supposed propensity for inhabiting caves and clefts of the rocks.

"Above all, the notion is not everywhere exploded, that there are, in the bowels of the earth, "Fairies,* or a kind

* I have, in this one place of the translation, applied the word 'Fairies' in our common English notion of it; but our author

for you. My mother tould us when we were near Gintle bushes, or the green rings that the little Gintry makes, to spake them fair and mannerly, and to say—'Come when you will, and go when you will, but your heels to me;' and we never forgot that. The childer used to be far more mannerly and gentler like then nor they are now, because they don't hear about the Gintle People as they did in my time. They were kinder in their behaviour to ould people, and liked to sweep up the floor before they wint to their beds, thinkin' the Gintle People might be on it before mornin': they don't think that way now, more's the pity, for they're far rougher in their ways, and uncivil like.

"My grandfather lived in Innishowen, and took a sore leg, and wrought with the doctors for many a day, and had to sell one of the cows to pay them; but no matter for that, the leg grew the longer the worse: so he got up one night before day-break, for he could'nt lie with the pain of it, and he went a piece along the road on the crutches. It was summer, and the road was dusty, and the times bad, and markets high. All at once he heard a sound as if somebody was batin' the dust off the boots or shoes; and he sees a little Gintleman, dressed in green, with beautiful top-boots, ridin' on somethin', and batin' the dust off his boots with an elegant cuttin' whip he had in his hand. 'Good mornin', good man,' says the little Gintleman. 'God save your Honour,' says my grandfather. 'What's the matter with you?' says the little Gintleman; 'you look but poorly.' 'It's a leg I have, please your Honour, that's killin' me outright.' 'Well,' says the little Gintleman, 'work no more with the doctors these times when money's scarce and markets high, but make a salve of herbs, after my directions, and you'll do.' So he tould my grandfather what herbs he was to gather, and thin he put his hand in his pocket, and gev him the full of it of silver.

'Who am I to thank for this kindness?' says my grandfather. 'I am the Commander of the small Gintry of Ireland,' says the little Gintleman, 'goin to war with the officers of the little Gintry of Scotland, on account of them raisin' the markets in that country, till the meal is seven thirteens a score.'

'God prosper your Honour,' says my grandfather, 'but when you're fightin', how am I to know who wins the battle?'

'I'll tell you what you'll do,' says the Commander, 'go up to the fort to-morrow evenin', and sit down under the Gintle bush that's growin' beside it, and put your ear to the ground, and listen, and you'll hear music. It will be loud and bould at first, and as long as you hear that, I'm bate; listen on, and when you hear music sweet and gentle, I'm winnin'.'

"So the Commander disappeared, and my grandfather wint accordin' to direction, the next

of dwarfish and tiny beings, of human shape, remarkable for their riches, their activity, and malevolence. In many countries of the North, the people are still firmly persuaded of their existence. In Iceland, at this day, the good folks shew the very rocks and hills in which they maintain that there are swarms of these subterraneous men, of the most tiny size, but most delicate figures."—*Mallet's Northern Antiquities.*

generally uses the French word Fees (or fairies) to signify, not the little imaginary dwarfish beings to which we appropriate the words, but to express the Fates or Destinies, or those inferior female Divinities who are supposed to watch over the lives and fortunes of individuals. In this, he seems to have had an eye to the Oriental fables, rather than to those of genuine Gothic origin: the duty of translator requiring me to follow him, I beg to apprize the reader of our author's application of the word."—*Translator.*

evenin', to the Gentle bush beside the fort; and he listened and heard music, loud and impident like, for a long time, and his heart failed, for he knew our side was a batin'; but after a while he hears the sweet, low music beginnin', and it put the other out entirely, and thin my grandfather clapped his hands, and shouted 'We've won!' and, sure enough, the markets fell, and the meal come down to three thirteens the score."

"Was the loud and impudent music the Bagpipes?" said I. "To be sure it was," was the reply, "and the sweet music was the harp all out.——

"My grandmother used to sweep up the hearth, and put on a fire, and set a creepy beside it for any of the little Gintry, or any friend (God knows) belongin' to her who was under the ground, that might like to come and sit at it in the night time. A little Gintlewoman, dressed in green, used to come, night after night, and sit, mournful like, by the fire; and my grandmother used to watch her goin' to the childer's beds, and happin' them if the clothes went aff them.

"One night my grandmother took it into her head, that may-be the little Gintlewoman might be hungry, and she got ready some tay, and put it on the dresser, to be waitin' for her: so, when the little Gintlewoman went down to the room, as usual, to see the childer, when she came up, my grandmother asked her, might she make so free as to requist her to take some refrishment. The Gintlewoman never spoke a word, but laid her hand on my grandmother's shoulder, and looked in her face, not angry, but stedfast, and grieved like, and went out, and never came back. It affronts the Gintry if you offer them meat, as if it was for the sake of that, or any lucre, that they do you a good turn; they have plinty of victuals in their own habitations underground, and they dont like any of ours to be evened to them.

"If any of their Gintle bushes happens to be cut down, the Gintry is sure to revinge it some way or an other. There was a boy in Innishowen that wanted a stick to mend his boat, and he set himself to cut a bush belonging to the Gintry. My grandfather warned him not to do it, but the boy was rash, and needed the stick, so he cut the bush, and repaired his boat. He went out in it to fish, and got three other boys to go with him, and my grandfather was in his own boat, fishin', not far from them. The day was fine, and the sea as smooth as a pan of milk; but he saw the boat with the boys in it tossin' and swayin', and pitchin' at a fearful rate, and them pullin' for the bare life to get her ashore; and they did, with enough to do, for they were within an ace of being drownded. After some time, the boy took out his boat again to the fishin', and got another boy to go with him; but, as true as we have all to meet death, they were both drownded, and the boat drifted ashore, and lay for years on the strand, nobody touchin' her.

"At last, when the matter was mostly out of people's minds, a bad year of firin' came on, and one of the neighbours thought he might make use of the ould boat; so he broke it up, and carried part of it home to help the fire. When it was put on, it crackled, and spit, and flashed, and flamed up to the roof-tree, and it was as much as they could do to prevint the house being burnt to the ground: so the neighbours gathered, and buried the rest of the boat, and thin there was pace with it."

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

Formulas of Marcellus. — The formula of which Professor Pictet has proposed a translation, [see *Journal*, vol. 4, p. 266,] namely, *Exeicumacriosos*, may be read thus in Irish. :—

Feic-se or *ec-se cuma criosos.*

Feic, imperative mood, "see;" *se*, "thou," (an intensitive affix); the initial *f* may have fallen into disuse among the Irish colonists in Gaul, as we find it has in some dialects of the modern Irish; or *eic* may be the original root of the word *feic*, the *f* being a dialectic prefix. The word *ec* in the formula is more likely to be the 2nd person of the imperative, than the preposition *ex*, which Pictet seems to prefer.

Cris signifies to heal, or, at least, to bind the lips of a wound. If this be the meaning of the word in the formula, *criosos* [*criosas*] is precisely the present tense, consuetudinal form, of the verb, having, as usual, the relative *a* understood; as in the example, *an fear* (*a*) *bhuaineas*, "the man who reapeth." The charm would therefore be read thus: *Ec-se cuma criosas*—"Behold the shape that healeth." If *criosos* be the genitive of a noun, it is a form not now known or used. It has a resemblance to the Greek genitive of certain nouns. Could the terminal *os* be the Irish *so*, "this?" we often meet with inversions of the kind.

One of the other charms (against any thing sticking in the throat), on which Grimm has recommended future inquirers "to try their teeth," is certainly a tough morsel. It is as follows:—

Heilon prossageri uome sipolla na builet onodieni iden eliton. [*Journal*, vol. 4, p. 268.]

A few words may be picked out of this, which are certainly Irish. *Brosg* or *brasg* signifies "to stop or impede," or "to stifle:" for example, *Do brosgadh 'san m-bàire è*, "he was impeded in the goal." *Spolla* means "a piece of flesh." *Buil*, "state, condition, fate," might, perhaps, be considered as the root of the verb *bi*, "to be," as it is identical in form with the present tense (negative and interrogative) of that verb. This, though pronounced uniformly, *ni bhuil*, is written by our grammarians, *ni bh-fuil, an bh-fuil*, introducing an *f* in an arbitrary manner where it does not appear to be necessary. But, be this as it may, it is certain that *buil* is often used as a noun; as *droch-bhail duit*, "bad fate (condition) to you;" *is deas an bhuil a ta ort*, "you are in a pretty state!"

We have now obtained three words, and with this stock let us examine the formula.

Heilon=ealodh-on "fly quick;" *prossageri=brasgaire*, "stifler, choker;" *uome=ua me (uam)*, "from me;" *sipolla=spolla*, "lump of flesh;" *na builet=na buil tu*, "be not fatal;" *ono=in a*, "to the;" *dieni=duine*, "man" (human being); *iden=eadhon*, "but" (or namely); *eliton=ealodh-on*, "fly away."

With reference to the first and last words, there will be found in O'Reilly's Irish dictionary the verb *ealaighim*, "I steal away, elope," and also the adjective *ealamh*, "quick, nimble."

which appears to belong to the same root. Both are, probably, akin to the German *eilen*, "to hasten." Some other Irish words, such as *eatlaim*, "I fly," may likewise be cognate.

Nevertheless, *heil* may be nothing more than the Irish *aill*, "go thou"—the imperative of an old Irish verb, likewise given by O'Reilly; and, by dividing the words of the formula a little differently, we arrive at another reading:—*Heil on*=*aill uainn*, "go from us;" *prossaggeri*=*bras go ro*, "very quickly;" *na baile*, do not madden; *tono dieni*=*dona duine*, "the unfortunate person;" *iden*=*eadhon*, "but;" *elit on*, go from us. In the French *allez-en*, "go away," we appear to have almost precisely the same form of expression.

C. M. O'Keeffe, Dublin.

Ancient Ploughs.—To complete my notes on ancient Ploughs, as given in the last number of the *Journal* (page 220), I may remark that I have seen a plough, which is used in the Canary Islands, exactly answering to the description of the old Roman plough. Dr. Clarke saw one of a similar kind in Bothnia; and another, which he termed the ancient Samnite plough, at Beneventum, in Italy. The latter plough was drawn by a man, who grasped the end of the draught-pole with both hands behind his back. This last fact, surely, brings us as near to the "garran's tayle" as we reasonably can require.

W. Pinkerton.

Depth of Soil in Ireland.—[Vol. 6., p. 281.] I think T. H. P. will allow, on referring to the paragraph he comments on, and on observing that I had previously compared Irish sylvan scenes with English, that I used the adjective "deficient" in the sense that, *compared* with England, Ireland is generally deficient in depth of soil. This comparison was, of course, made from my own observations. Colonel Hayes of Avondale's pleasing little book on *Planting*, &c., gives the dimensions of many noble trees in Ireland; but the fact that large trees are found in vallies and bogs, does not prove that the timber in general was large—any more than the existence of a few men of great stature proves that their general countrymen are gigantic. I think that travellers in the countries in question will have observed that there is a far greater extent of rich, plain land in England than in Ireland; and this species of soil carries, of course, the most luxuriant timber.—I beg, at the same time, to express my thanks to T. H. P., for his wish to correct apparent errors, which, indeed, it is always well to notice.

H. F. Hore.

Ploughing by the Horse's Tail.—Mr. Pinkerton may add to his curious account of this practice by referring to *Riche's Description of Ireland*, and to *Logan's Scottish Gael*. It is to be hoped that this accomplished contributor to Irish archaeologic literature, who brings so full an erudition, so frank a spirit of inquiry, and so much acuteness, to bear on points of social history, will oblige the world by supplying a void which the author of the recent *History of Civilization in England* (Mr. Buckle) evidently means to leave, viz., a history of civilization in Ireland.

H. F. Hore.

Ploughing by the Horse's Tail.—We have had ample details of this barbarous practice given in this Journal; but no instance of its being used [illegible]
[illegible]

following passage in the travels of M. Hommaire de Hell shows that it is known to the Tartars. Speaking of the almost impassable roads on the south-east of Russia, he says:—"Our Kalmucks only succeeded in extracting the waggon from the holes in which it was stuck fast, by yoking one of their horses to it *by the tail*. This is an infallible means, as we often found by experience. Nothing can resist the violent efforts of the unfortunate horse when he finds himself in that predicament."

VIATOR.

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

IRISH PEASANTS SPEAKING LATIN.—ANGLICUS inquires (vol. 5., p. 165) whether it be true that peasants have frequently been met with in the South of Ireland who understood Latin; and what object they could have in acquiring it. Croker, who wrote in 1824, mentions (in his *Researches in the South of Ireland*) that "amongst the peasantry classical learning is not uncommon; and a tattered Ovid or Virgil may be found even in the hands of common labourers." He adds, that "Cæsar, Justin, Julius, Florence, Terence, and Horace, are not uncommon Christian names" in that part of Ireland. He proceeds to describe a peculiar class of persons, well known under the title of "poor scholars," "generally the sons of reduced farmers, and natives of Ulster and Connaught, who, having swallowed all the classical information within their immediate reach, range through the bogs of Munster to complete their knowledge of Latin, and to acquire the Greek tongue. The village schoolmaster gains little from this class of students (who are often men as full grown and as old as the master himself); but the glory of possessing pupils who, when they return to their native province, will spread his fame, appears to him an adequate recompense. He even contributes his exertions towards their subsistence, and obtains for them gratuitous lodging in some neighbour's cabin." "These literary adventurers without possessing a single half-crown, will traverse the whole country, sojourning in every school." The motive for this "pursuit of knowledge under difficulties," was the desire felt by the Irish peasant that some of his children might one day become a priest. "Many of these poor scholars made their way to France, Spain, or Portugal; studied and were ordained in the colleges of those countries; and returned to exercise their profession in Ireland, where the Roman Catholic clergy are, with few exceptions, sprung from the ranks of the people." Since Croker's work was published, the introduction of the National Schools into Ireland has revolutionised the whole system. The village schoolmasters have vanished, and there are no more wandering students. But the taste for classical learning still exists in very humble life. A few years ago, being driven by a storm to take shelter in a mountain cabin in Donegal, I had myself an opportunity of observing this: for, on looking over a number of well-thumbed volumes in a corner, I was surprised to

find several Latin authors among them; and, on inquiring, was informed by the woman of the house that her husband (who was then absent) read them for his amusement. I question if an instance of the same kind could be found among the whole peasantry of England. SENEX.

TORY.—[Queries, vol. 6., p. 190.] I met with a derivation for this word in reading a pamphlet, little known here, entitled, *A Tale of the Huguenots, or Memoirs of a French Refugee Family; from the originall MS. of James Fontaine, translated by one of his descendants. New York.* The passage is as follows:—"The first year and half we lived in a mere cottage, and thatched with straw, [at Bear Haven, Co. Cork,] and we owe it to the good providence of God that, while we were so much exposed, we never suffered from the Tories, (or robbers), of whom there were many in these parts." To which the author appends the following note:—"The word *Tory*, having been long known only as a cant term, applied to a particular party, it may not be amiss to remark, that it is here used according to its original signification. It is derived from the Irish word *toruigh-im*, (to pursue for the purpose of violence); and in the days of Queen Elizabeth, we discover it first used to signify the lawless banditti who were so troublesome in Ireland during her reign. In England we find it applied for the first time by the opponents of Charles I. to the followers of that unfortunate prince, under an idea that he favoured the Irish rebels; and, by an easy transition, it became the distinctive appellation of the party who wished for the greatest extension of the royal prerogative." MAC.

QUERIES.

MAC CARTY MORE.—In the *Dublin Penny Journal*, vol. ii., p. 216, is the following paragraph, published in 1834:—"A descendant of Mac Carty More, King of Munster, had in his possession the crown, sceptre, and other regalia, appertaining to his ancient dignity and family. He had also a cup, said to have been made from the *cranium* of an ancestor of Brian Boroimhe, whom the Mac Carty had slain in battle: it was highly polished, and had a lid of silver. Another descendant of the great Mac Carty More is now living in very humble circumstances, in the county of Cork, and has in his possession the title-deeds of the vast estate of his family in that county."—What has become of these interesting relics of former days? ABHBA.

There was published, in 1789, a small volume of poems, by Thomas Dawson Lawrence, of Lawrencetown, near Banbridge. Could any reader of this *Journal* inform me where I could obtain or see a copy of this work? R. L.

CROMWELL IN IRELAND.—Mr. Wilde, in his *Beauties of the Boyne*, p. 105, says:—"Our learned friend, [the late] Mr. Hardiman, has made a collection of all documents relating to Cromwell in Ireland; and it is to be hoped that the Irish Archaeological Society will have funds enough to publish them." Is this hope, in which I heartily concur, likely to be realized? ABHBA.

At what particular point of the river Bann did William III. cross, on his passage to the Boyne? R. L.

Irish Dictionary.—"In 1750," as stated by Anderson in his interesting *Sketches of the Native Irish*, p. 98, "proposals were issued in Dublin for publishing an English, Irish, and Latin Dictionary, by a Mr. Crab, of Ringsend, near that city; but the book was never printed. Finding its way into the library of the late General Vallancey, it was purchased, when his books were sold, at the price of forty guineas, for a gentleman of Irish birth, Dr. Adam Clarke."—

Who was this Mr. Crab? and where is his MS.? I am anxious to know something about it. Abhba.

It is stated in Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* that the parish of Carnmoney, near Belfast, was anciently called *Coole*; and that, according to tradition, there was a town of considerable size, bearing that name, in the immediate vicinity of the present church; on the decay of which the parish took its present name. I have been lately informed by a respectable person residing near the place, that many reliques of antiquity are turned up yearly by the spade and plough-share, confirming the opinion that a considerable population once lived there. Can any light be thrown on this subject? or can any period be assigned for the existence of this town? P. Dillon.

Waldensian Gaelic.—Although I have carefully perused all the Geographies and Gazetteers I could gain access to, yet none of them speak of a dialect like Gaelic spoken either in Switzerland or Italy. In McLean's *History of the Celtic Language*, I see a specimen of this dialect, but what is his authority for it, I cannot tell. Perhaps some traces of it might be found in *Tessin*, *Valais*, or *Grisons*, or somewhere near *Lago Maggiore*. Chambers mentions that the district of *Grisons* is a very secluded part of Switzerland, retaining peculiar manners and language. Though the Romansch language is spoken there, I believe it is not confined to that canton; and the existence of some very old German or Scandinavian dialects has been ascertained in some remote vallies in several of the Swiss cantons. May it not be possible that the remains of the Celtic (if it ever really existed there) may still be found in some of the Alpine vallies? N. B.

Irish Historical Library.—The late Mr. Hardiman appended the following note to his "Catalogue of Maps, Charts, and Plans, relating to Ireland, preserved amongst the MSS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. 4to. Dublin 1824:"—"The printed maps of Ireland are numerous. . . . . On the subject of our printed Charts and Maps, much valuable information may be anticipated from the learned bibliographical researches of the [late] Rev. Edward Groves, the result of which will shortly appear before the public in his *Irish Historical Library*, now at press." Mr. Groves's researches have not appeared in print. Where is the MS.? and have we any prospect of possessing a good *Irish Historical Library*? It is a desideratum in the literature of the nineteenth century, but not likely, in a pecuniary point of view, to be a profitable speculation. Abhba.

END OF VOLUME VI.

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