

Breifny Antiquarian and
Historical Society

Journal

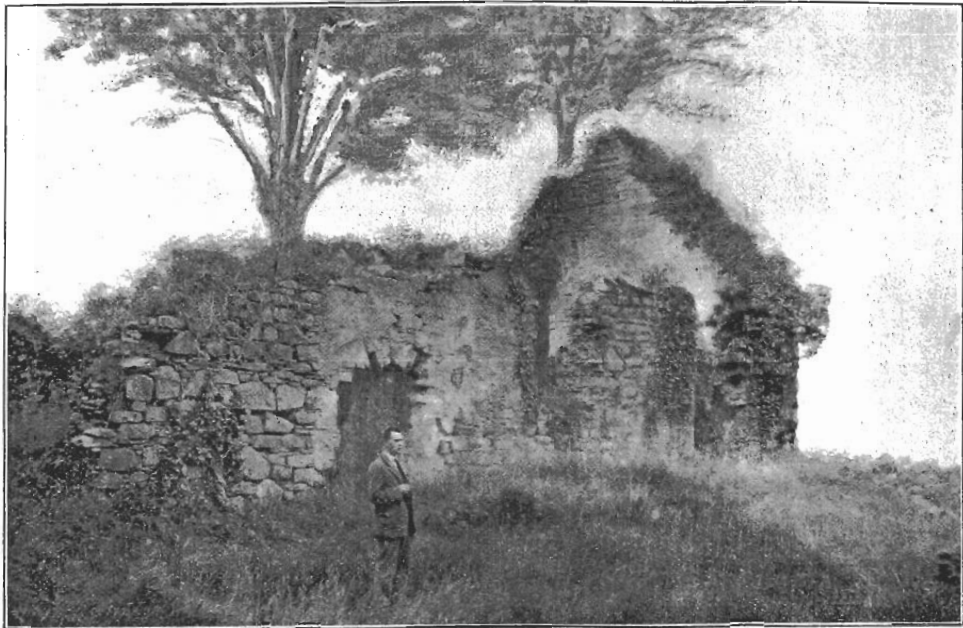
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THE CARRICKACROY DOLMEN.

VOL. III.

No. I.



THE RUINED CHURCH OF KILDRUMFERTAN IN 1927.

PHOTO BY]

[REV. P. CONWAY, MAGERA.

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and
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Report of Meetings.

FOURTEENTH GENERAL MEETING.

The fourteenth General meeting of the Breiffne Antiquarian and Historical Society was held in the Council Chamber, Town Hall, Cavan, on Monday, 20th December, 1926, Rev. R. J. Walker, B.A., Ballintemple, presiding.

Letters of apology were received from Rev. E. Masterson, S.J., St. Ignatius' College, Galway; Dr. F. P. Smith, Kevitt; Mr. A. E. R. McCabe, solicitor; Mr. P. O'Connell, M.Sc.

THE LATE REV. J. B. MEEHAN, P.P., M.R.I.A.

Mr. Thomas O'Reilly, Loughduff, proposing a vote of sympathy with the relatives of the late Rev. J. B. Meehan, P.P., M.R.I.A., Killinkere, said it was with a painful sense of the loss the Society and the country had sustained that he moved the resolution. They had known the late Father Meehan as a genial, charitable, and patriotic gentleman. He was the founder of this Society, was an ornament to it, and its main prop. He was genial on account of the friendship and affability with which he met his fellow man; he was charitable because he treated every man as a brother—and that is the mark of true Christian charity; he was a patriot because he considered every countryman of his as a brother and, though belonging to no party, he was respected by all parties. He was a type of man very much needed in Ireland at the present time: such a man will always be required to keep the great mass of the people united. Never was he heard to utter a harsh word of any man, and his love of country was so great that he founded this Society for the purpose of elucidating the fact that ancient Ireland was a highly civilized and cultured country, and that its works of art compared favourably with those of any of the ancient civilised nations of Europe.

Mr. R. V. Walker, B.A., Clones, seconded. He added that the greatest monument they could erect to the memory of Father Meehan—and he deserved a monument for his great work—was to make the Society which he founded the success he aimed at making it; that those who by reason of his urging and spurring did something should try to do voluntarily in the future at least as much as Father Meehan persuaded them to do in the past to promote the objects of the Society and to make it worthy of the founder.

The Rev. Chairman said that the late Father Meehan was a splendid type of Christian gentleman, and was worthy of the best which the Society could do to perpetuate his memory.

The resolution was then put and passed in silence, the members standing.

The Hon. Secretary (Mr. W. Reid) said the Committee met specially after the death of Father Meehan and passed a vote of sympathy with his relatives. The Society also sent a wreath.

THE LATE MR. F. J. BIGGER, M.A., M.R.I.A.

Mr. R. V. Walker, B.A., proposed a vote of condolence with the relatives of the late Mr. Francis J. Bigger, M.R.I.A., Belfast, a life member of the Society, and one of the biggest names among modern Irish antiquarians. The late Mr. Bigger was one of the biggest-hearted men he ever met. He took a particularly deep interest in Cavan and Leitrim, more especially in the latter county, where he did a considerable amount of research work, some of the results of which he revealed in his Inaugural Lecture in Cavan when he showed by means of elaborate maps the density of population in the period dealt with as exemplified by the forts—a line of investigation hitherto untouched. The Society was under very many obligations to the late Mr. Bigger.

Mr. Thomas O'Reilly seconded the resolution, which was then put and passed in silence, the members standing.

The following papers were submitted to the meeting, and passed for publication :

- I.—*List of the Rectors of Drumlane, 1622-1842.* By Rev. H. B. Swanzy, M.A., M.R.I.A., Newry.
- II.—*Notes on the Early History of Kildrumfertan.* By P. O'Connell, M.Sc., F.R.S.A.I., Clonmel.
- III.—*Twelve Burgesses of Belturbet, 1739-1841.* By R. V. Walker, B.A., Clones.

The first two papers are given in this *Journal*; the third is reserved for next issue.

The exhibits were a number of silver coins of the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James I., found in Marahill Bog, Crossdoney, and kindly lent by Mrs. Bennett, Marahill.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1927.

The Seventh Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, 26th May, 1927, in the Town Hall, Cavan. Rev. Dr. Comey, Adm., Cavan, and subsequently Rev. R. J. Walker, B.A., Ballintemple, presiding.

The other members present were :—Rev. P. O'Reilly, C.C., Maudabawn ; Dr. F. P. Smith, D.L., Kevitt Castle (Vice-President) ; Miss Bridie M. Smith, Curratubber ; Messrs. Thomas

O'Reilly, Loughduff ; W. H. Halpin, Solr. ; A. E. R. MacCabe, Solr. ; E. J. Smyth, Hibernian Bank ; T. J. Burke, B.A. ; T. S. Smyth ; Hugh Maguire, Ulster Bank (Hon. Treasurer) and W. M. Reid, Solr. (Hon. Secretary).

Apologies were received from Most Rev. Dr. Finegan, Lord Bishop of Kilmore ; Major Hamilton, Killeshandra ; Mr. R. V. Walker, B.A., Clones ; and Mr. P. O'Connell, M.Sc., F.R.S.A.I.

The balance-sheet presented to the Society by the Hon. Treasurer was deemed satisfactory.

The Minutes of the last annual meeting were read and signed.

The election of officers for the coming year then took place. Dr. F. P. Smith, D.L., was unanimously appointed President, and Rev. P. O'Reilly, C.C., Maudabawn, Vice-President. The following were appointed a Committee :—Messrs. T. O'Reilly, W. H. Halpin, E. T. O'Hanlon, H. O'Reilly, C.S.; and A. E. R. MacCabe.

Mr. J. P. Gannon was appointed Hon. Auditor.

FIFTEENTH GENERAL MEETING.

At the conclusion of the Annual Meeting a General meeting—the fifteenth—was held.

The members above-mentioned were present, together with some visitors.

The following papers were submitted to the meeting :—

I.—*The Episcopal Succession in the Diocese of Kilmore, 1560-1910.* By W. H. Grattan-Flood, Mus. D., K.S.G., Enniscorthy.

II.—*The Coming of the Ui Briuin.* By John P. Dalton, M.A., M.R.I.A., Dublin.

III.—*List of the Rectors of Drumlease, 1622-1860.* By Rev. H. B. Swanzy, M.A., M.R.I.A., Newry.

IV.—*The Early History of Killinkere Parish.* By P. O'Connell, M.Sc., F.R.S.A.I., Clonmel.

An interesting discussion followed. Three of these papers will be found in this number of the *Journal* ; the remaining one (IV.) will appear in the next number.

The exhibits were as follows :—

Bronze Sword, shown by Mr. T. O'Reilly, Loughduff.

Portion of Cannon Ball from Loch Oughter Castle, shown by Mr. T. S. Smyth.

Cavalry Sabre, discovered near Cavan, shown by Mr. J. F. O'Hanlon.

SIXTEENTH GENERAL MEETING.

The sixteenth General Meeting was held in the Town Hall, Cavan, on Tuesday, 20th December, 1927, at 5.30 p.m., Dr. F. P. Smith, D.L., occupied the chair.

The other members present were : Rev. Dr. Comey, Adm. ; Rev. R. J. Walker, B.A., Ballintemple ; Miss Bridie M. Smith, F.R.S.A.I., Curratubber, Cavan ; Messrs. P. J. Brady, M.R.I.A.I. ; T. S. Smith, and W. Reid, M.B.E., Hon. Secretary.

Letters of apology were received from Most Rev. Dr. Finegan, Lord Bishop of Kilmore, who wished the Society continued success ; Hugh Maguire, Ulster Bank, Hon. Treasurer ; Philip O'Connell, M.Sc. ; A.E.R. MacCabe, solicitor ; R. V. Walker, B.A., Clones.

Rev. Bernard Gillic, 611 Logan Avenue, Pueblo, Colorado, U.S.A., was elected a life member of the Society.

The following Papers were read and discussed :—

I. *Notes on the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Kilmore.* By Miss BRIDIE M. SMITH, F.R.S.A.I.

II.—*List of the Rectors of Inismag Rath, 1619-1859.* By REV. H. B. SWANZY, M.A., M.R.I.A.

III.—*Some Seventeenth Century Records of Killinkere.* By PHILIP O'CONNELL, M.Sc., F.R.S.A.I.

A lengthy discussion followed. Rev. Mr. Walker mentioned that one of the Fleming family sent a stone from the " Folly," near Bellanagh, bearing the date 1713, and it was used in the building of the Protestant church of Ballintemple. It has also an inscription in Irish characters, " By Force we Hold."

Rev. Dr. Comey, Adm., indicated the value of tradition. In order to reach the true history of Ireland tradition must be consulted. In the old days history was handed down by the *Seandaoire*, or storytellers. Every family had its own chief poet who constructed the genealogical tree and recited the glories of the past ; in the main the facts recorded were historically accurate.

Mr. P. J. Brady traced the development of the arch in church building from the days of the Romans. In the course of her paper Miss B. M. Smith referred to the beautiful designs on the arches in some of Kilmore's ecclesiastical ruins. She showed that Breiffne kept pace with the developments in ecclesiastical architecture, and might well be proud of some of its glories of the builder's art.

The congratulations of the Society were extended to Miss Smith on her election to Fellowship of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

The papers were referred to the Publication Committee for insertion in the *Journal*. They subsequently appeared in successive issues of the local paper, *The Anglo Celt*. Canon Swanzy's paper appears, among his other Lists of Parochial Clergy, in this issue of the *Journal*. The other papers are reserved for next issue, which will contain many other interesting papers on Breiffnian history.

THE PARISHES OF CROSSERLOUGH AND KILDRUMFERTAN,

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR CLANS AND CHIEFTAINS
IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES.

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

I.—CIVIL HISTORY.

The parish of Crosserlough corresponds with the old civil parish of the same name and now includes the parish of Kildrumfertan, which was, however, a distinct unit in pre-Reformation times. The parish is situated partly in the Baronies of Clanmahon and Upper Loughtee, but principally in the Barony of Castlerahan. As defined by the Plantation Map of 1609, and the Down Survey of 1654, the boundaries and limits of the parish approximate closely to those of the present day. The earlier history of the parish can be gleaned from the details of the varying fortunes and vicissitudes of its owners—the O'Reillys—who for centuries lived in the castle of Killnacrott. Toward the close of Elizabeth's reign the power of the O'Reillys was gradually broken; internal feuds and external pressure had weakened the native power, and Breiffne was forced under English jurisdiction.

The *O'Reilly Pedigree*, in detailing the O'Reilly property in East Breiffne, states that:—

It is to the descendants [Sliocht] of Aodh Crosaidh [Aodha Crosaidh] that Edmund, son of Shane, son of Eoghan of Liath Charadh [Liath Charadh, i.e., Lecharry] belongs; also Shane, son of Garret, son of Cahil of Druime Goill [Druim Goill, i.e., Drumgill], and Maolmordha, son of Donal, son of Maolmordha of Mithtri Caislean [Mithtri Caislein?]. Although Eoghan na feasoige [na téasóige, i.e., of the beard] was already the right and lawful lord, still he could not obtain [could not aspire to] the lordship if Richard Oge, Lord of Clanmahon and Breiffne [Cloinne Mathghamhna agus na Breifne] had lived, since he had ordered a fine of three score beeves [trí fichidh mart do chánaigh] on whoever would give him food or drink. On this account before leaving

the country Patrick O'Gabhan [Ó Gabhan] gave him a night's lodging at Loch Corr [Loch Corr] and early next morning news reached him that Richard Oge and many others were drowned in Loch Sheelin [Loch Slionn]. As to Eoghan, who succeeded to the lordship [tighearnais], he did not remember Rory [Ruaidhrigh] Richard Oge's son, but he gave him the Barony of Clanmahon from Clochan Chille Moire to Clochan Chille Fobhair [O chlochan chille móire go clochan chille fóbhair].

This occurred in the year 1418. The *Annals of Ulster*, under this year, record that Richard, son of Thomas O'Reilly, Lord of East Breiffne, was drowned in *Loch Sighleann* together with Eoghan, his son, Philip O'Reilly, Dean of Drumlane, and other distinguished people. Under the same date the incident is also noted by the *Four Masters*. Both entries agree that only one person was saved from drowning on this occasion, viz., Finnguala, wife of Richard O'Reilly, who "came safe by virtue of her swimming."

The *O'Reilly Pedigree* thus records the origin of the Baronial title—*Clanmahon* :—

From Mahon, son of Garret Ruadh comes the noble Lord of Clann Mahon [Tighearna uasal Cloinne Mathghambna] who pressed the English so tightly that almost every fortification they erected during the day was demolished during the night. In one day Thomas MacMahon levelled eighteen castles that the Tuites had erected [ocht gcaisleín deug do chuir na diúide suas]. It is he also who erected the Castle of the Loch [Caisleán Locha] and who laid under tribute all the country from Dublin to Drogheda [ó Bhaile Átha Cliath go Droicheadh Átha]. It is he also who sang :—*

An Englishwoman weeping over an Englishman,
 That is not the way I lament,
 A feeble wailing that pains not my heart,
 The Englishwoman's strange lament for the English,
 I feel the long grey day destroying castle and
 stronghold,
 By the side of the bright speckled Loch Léighin
 (Loch Léighin),
 Truly melodious to me the womanish wailing of the
 Gall,
 Thomas MacMahon in truth is king of royal Loch
 Slionn,
 The English were in straights (fa dhochair) in his
 time
 His tithe (cíos) was from Clochair to Cruimlinn.

The many references to Clanmahon in the *Pedigree* testify to the great extent of the O'Reilly possessions here. The O'Reillys

* This translation is a literal one.

maintained their lands in Castlerahan and Clannahon until the troubles of the 16th century weakened and destroyed the native power.

NATIVE RULERS IN THE 16TH CENTURY.

In 1538 an indenture was signed between the "King and Edmund McH. McEdmund O'Reyly, chief captain of Clonkeyle," and agreeing "to pay yearly to the king 20*d.* Irish out of each of the 16 ploughlands which he has in Clonkeyle."* But O'Reilly was obviously not enthusiastic over his unwilling bargain, and was in no hurry to fulfil his contract. On Oct. 31 of the same year, Lord Leonard Grey, Lord Deputy, wrote to Thomas Cromwell :

Since my last [letter] the Council and I assembled at Tryme [Trim] the 7th October, where we concluded a journey for eight days' victuals upon O'Reaille, who kept not his appointments with me. In case O'Reile conformed him to a reasonable order, the Council referred it to my discretion to go for the spending of the said victuals where I thought best. On the 8th I repaired from Tryme to Kenlys [Kells], where I appointed the host to meet me. On the 9th O'Reile came to me there, and we came to an agreement.†

Two years later—Jan. 2, 1540—Lord Leonard Grey, in reckoning his achievements, refers to the "Indenture between the King and Edmond McH. McEdmond O'Rayly, chief captain of Clonkeyll, who was to pay 20*d.* yearly out of every ploughland of sixteen ploughlands in the said country."‡

In 1553 Sir Thomas Cusacke, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, writing to the Duke of Northumberland relative to "the present state of Ireland," gives the following description of Breiffne :—

Next to the Annalee is a large country well inhabited called the Breany, wherein O'Raile is chief captain, who has seven sons. He and they may make 400 horsemen of the same name, and 1000 kerne, and 200 galloglass. "The country is divided between them, which joineth to the English Pale upon a country called Plounkett's country, betwixt which countries there hath been divers murders, stealths, and robberies by day and night committed." On the complaint of the inhabitants of both parties, in the absence of my Lord Deputy, I repaired to those borders. O'Reyly was accompanied with 400 horsemen and 800 footmen, whilst I had not more than 100 horsemen and as many footmen. I required him to come to me with a few horsemen, and accordingly he did. I commanded him to deliver such pledge unto my hand as I would name, and, though he was loth so to do, yet at length he condescended. Upon receipt of his

* *Cal. State Papers*, Carew MSS., 30 Henry VIII, dated Aug. 10.

† *Ibid.*, 31st October, 1538.

‡ *Ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1540.

pledge I made proclamation that every complainant at a certain day should meet to receive his due. On the next day of meeting I caused him to restore as much goods as were stolen and taken from the English Pale in 6 years before, which came to 400*l*. I also caused him to pay 200*l*. to the King as a fine for maintenance of such stealths. "The like hath not been that a man of such power as he is of, would redeliver without greater circumstance do the same, whereby it appeareth that the poor and simple people be as soon brought to good as evil, if they were taught accordingly"

.....*

This forced submission failed to keep the militant O'Reilly in subjection. The Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy, in a report dated 1562, describing "in what sort he found the kingdom of Ireland when he came thither," states that:—

O'Raylie had been also the year before at war, and was but newly reconciled (*sic*) by the great travail and diligence of the deputy.†

But the crafty Sussex, in the same document, formulates and presents some "reforms" necessary to reduce, as he says, "the wild Irish to some certain kind of obedience"; he suggests an alteration in the existing system of land tenure:—

It will be convenient to alter their states from Irish election to English succession, the reasons whereof do hereafter appear.

The election to the captainship of the country is the cause why the Irishmen do keep great numbers of idle men of war, that thereby they might be the stronger, hoping by their strength to be the liker to be elected upon a vacation. These men of war, being brought up and fed with idleness, cannot be restrained in time of peace from stealing, and a number of other enormities. To maintain them in this life they have finding and expenses upon the country, whereby be brought in coyne, livery, bonnough, and all other Irish exactions, which be the only grounds and causes of all the uncivil and detestable orders of that realm, and of the licentious disobedience to the Prince. The taking away of this election and granting of states in succession to the heir male, will give occasion to the captain to foresee that no man in his rule shall keep such force as he shall be able to disturb his son in his succession, and to others not to have will to keep idle men of war for that purpose, when hope of election shall be taken from them. Instead of the said exactions, the Irish captains could take a yearly penny rent of the inhabitants; and a perfect obedience to the Prince would ensue.

* *Ibid.*, May 8, 1553, 5 Edward VI. Annalee, or Annaly (*An Saille*), was approximately co-extensive with the present County Longford.

† *Ibid.*, 1562, 5 Elizabeth.

To bring this to effect, the matter is already put forward : O'Rayly, O'Donnell, O'Rurck, and McArtemore, being four of the greatest states of the Irish, have sought creation and states in succession, many other meaner lords have sought the like,*

This was the first really definite attempt to replace the old Irish system by the English system of land tenure. And, outwardly at any rate, some of the Irish chieftains feigned acquiescence in the new order of things. In 1584, when the Principality of Breiffne was divided into the counties of Cavan and Leitrim, under the scheme of Sir John Perrott, the O'Reilly clan continued to experience the brunt of the new authority. Kilnacrott, in the parish of Crosserlough, has been made famous by the celebrated Edmund O'Reilly—usually known as *Edmund of Kilnacrott*—who was deprived by Perrott of the chieftainship to which he was entitled by the Law of Tanistry. His more obsequious nephew, Sir John, was recognised as chieftain by the English crown on his surrendering East Breiffne and receiving it back subject to English tenure. In the *Fiants* of 1584 (28 Nov. XXVII. *Eliz.*) we find the following conditions of surrender specified :—

Agreement with Hugh reoghe O'Reyly, of Loghvony, Cahir gare O'Reyly, of Carrick, Mullmurry O'Reyly alias the prior's son, of Downedavane, and his brethren, in Co. Cavan, gentlemen. They will surrender the towgh [i.e., tuath] of Clonmahone now called the barony of Rathknavin, in the county of Cavan called Breny O'Reyly, to be granted to them in fee-simple. The freeholders and inheritors in the barony shall hold of them by knight service. The grantees shall have the moiety of the goods of felons in the barony, and the moiety of forfeited recognizances, and the whole goods of persons outlawed. They shall permit other grantees in the county quietly to enjoy their lands. They shall pay yearly as rent one goshawk and 47 good fat beeves, and serve on hostings with 10 horsemen and 20 footmen for 40 days. "Mullmurry O'Reyle's mark, Cahir Orelie's mark, Hugh reogh his mark."

In the *Fiants*, under the same date, is also specified the :—

Agreement with Edm. O'Reyly of Kilnecrott, Co. Cavan, gent. He will surrender the towgh [i.e., tuath] or barony of Castelrayne in the county of Cavan. Conditions as in the preceding. "Signum Edi Orelie."

Those conditions can hardly be described as anything but humiliating. There can hardly be any doubt that these indentures, signed under manifest duress, were meant to be evaded by their signatories : resistance would have been useless, and the subtle art of diplomacy was the only available policy. Some years previously—in 1566—Edmund O'Reilly and his brother Hugh

* *Ibid.*, 1562.

(i.e., Hugh Connallach)—who is referred to in the *Fiants (supra)* as Hugh reoghe O'Reily of Loghvony—were forced to sign, at Loch Sheelin, a most humiliating agreement, the text of which is as follows :—

Indenture between Sir Henry Sydney, K.G., President of the Council of Wales and Deputy General in Ireland, with the Council, of the one part, and Hugh O'Reigly, captain of his nation, and Edmund, his brother, tanist of the country of Brenny, of the other part.

- (1) They promise to prosecute their brothers, Cahir, Owen, and John O'Reigly, now the Queen's rebels, and to punish them with fire and sword (*nunc rebelles et eos ferro et flamma punire*).
- (2) Whatever the Commissioners appointed by the Lord Deputy shall adjudicate respecting spoils between the English parts and the inhabitants of the Brenny, O'Reiglye will perform and observe.
- (3) Whereas a contention exists between the Baron of Delvyn and O'Reiglye respecting titles and demands between them and their countries, O'Reiglye shall observe all the decrees and judgments which shall be adjudicated by the Lord Deputy's Commissioners.
- (4) He shall likewise perform whatever shall be decreed by the Deputy's Commissioners between the inhabitants of the country of Annaly and those of the country of Brenny, with reference to injuries both future and past.
- (5) Whereas O'Reiglye was bound to pay to the Earl of Sussex 1100 martes, a great part of which had not yet been delivered to the Earl's use, O'Reiglye shall deliver the rest of the martes not paid to the Lord Deputy before the Feast of St. John the Baptist next.
- (6) Whereas O'Reiglye's son, John, took a prey or 300 kine from the rebels (*praedam rebellicam*), O'Reigly promises that within 15 days he will deliver the same to the Lord Deputy in the town of Kellys [Kells], in Meath; or else he shall send his son John to the Lord Deputy, to be kept in ward until payment be made of the same martes.
- (7) Whereas the Lord Deputy took possession of the castle of Tullevyn [Tullyvin], lately in the occupation of Owen O'Reiglye, and has now committed it to Edmund O'Reiglye for the Queen's use, O'Reiglye will take care that the said Edmund shall not harbour the said Owen or any other rebel, or their goods, in the said castle or elsewhere. He shall maintain the said Edmund in possession of the castle.
- (8) O'Reiglye promises to dwell on the borders of this country and of the English parts, at the pleasure of the Lord Deputy, during the war and rebellion of his brothers

and Shane O'Neyll, in order that the English parts may be secured by his protection against the said rebels.

- (9) Within 15 days he will place in the Lord Deputy's hands the pledge who shall be privately agreed upon between them. Meanwhile the pledges now in custody of Patrick Cusake shall remain for the performance of these and all other articles.

In the camp at Loghsillen, 28 Nov., 9 Eliz.

The preceding portion is in Latin: the rest in English.

"The sign manual + of O'REIGLYE.

"EDMUND O'REIGLYE'S sign manual +.

"PHILIP O'RAILL.

"According to these indentures, John O'Reighly, son to old O'Reighly, was delivered to the Lord Deputy, as a pledge for the performance of these and all other articles, and now remaineth prisoner in the castle of Dublin.

"This is a true copy.—H. SYDNEY."*

Hugh Connallach O'Reilly died in 1583, and was buried in Cavan Abbey. The *Four Masters* refer to him as: "a man who had passed his time without contests, and who had preserved Breifne from the invasions of his English and Irish enemies." His son, John, aspired to the chieftainship after his father's death. Edmund O'Reilly, of Kilnacrott, brother of Hugh, should have succeeded according to the Irish Law of Tanistry, but his claim was brushed aside by Elizabeth's government and Sir John established in his place. Early in 1583 John O'Reilly, anxious to secure the chieftaincy, went to London to interview Elizabeth's Court on his own behalf. He was graciously received at Hampton Court Palace, was entertained and feasted there amid all the regal splendours of Elizabeth's fair and fashionable *entourage*, was invested with the order of knighthood, and returned home with letters from Elizabeth to Lord Deputy Perrott and the Council in Ireland directing them to support his claims.

After the peace signed at Loch Sheelin in 1566 (*supra*) the English authorities kept a close watch on the activities of Hugh and Edmund O'Reilly. For some time, at least, Hugh O'Reilly appears to have acquiesced, in sullen silence, in his uncomfortable position. In 1575 Lord Deputy Sydney reported to the Privy Council that O'Reilly was "the justest Irishman and his country the best ruled."† That the calculating Sydney had grave doubts as to the continuance of this tranquil state of affairs is apparent from a later report, dated from Dublin Castle April 27, 1576, stating: "O'Reilly [is] bedrid, at his death there will be great trouble."‡ Preparations were being rapidly perfected by the Privy Council for the establishment of English law in Breifne.

* *Cal. State Papers*, Carew MSS., 1566, 28 Nov., 9 Eliz.

† *Cal. State Papers*, Ireland, 1575, p. 85.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1576, p. 92.

On May 31, 1579, Treasurer Sir Edward Fyton wrote to Sir Francis Walsyngham, Secretary of State, that :—

“ O'Reilly's country [is] to be shired, where never writ was current, and almost sacrilege for any Governor to look in.*

On June 17, of the same year, Sir Edward Waterhouse reported to Walsyngham :—

The Brenny and Annaly shired. O'Reilly's speech in English and Latin. Three Barons of Austria, present, wondered at the attitude and behaviour of the Irish horsemen. O'Reilly knighted and to be made a Baron.†

In a letter dated June 26, from Lord Justice Drury to Walsyngham, and recording the same events, the native Irish are described with much care, and the impression made on the minds of the distinguished foreigners present is playfully canvassed :—

I retired myself, for the better entertainment of the said strangers [Austrian],‡ to Sir Lucas Dillon's house, seven miles from Kells, and there on “ Whitson Sondaie ” in the morning they presented themselves unto me O'Reilly, with his brother Philip, and his uncle Edmund, and thirty horsemen well furnished, came unlooked for to present unto me a submission and supplication, in the behalf as well of himself as of his whole country ; . . . wherein when I found such humility, and continuance of the fidelity which he hath of long time professed and in his own person performed, together with his conformity appearing therein, at this time (which by report he hath been moved to before, and refused) to have his people not only framed to English manners, but also his country made shire ground, and subject to law under Her Majesty's writ, weighing also his gravity in years, and good discretion in government, I thought it good to honour him with the title of knighthood, which he so humbly and thankfully received, as he vowed himself to continue and increase, by all means he could, his duty and obedience unto Her Majesty. But how strange the view of those savage personages (most of them wearing glibs, and armed in mail, with pesantses and skulls, and riding upon pillions) seemed to our strangers I leave to your wisdom to think of.§

Sir William Drury died at Waterford a few months after having written this letter.|| By an order dated from Kells, on June 6, he had already directed his Justices “ to hold sessions at the

* *Ibid.*, 1579, p. 169.

† *Ibid.*, 1579, p. 170, dated from Kilmainham, Dublin.

‡ Those were the Barons Gonderstдорff, Kolmennyche, and Kolyn.

§ *Cal. State Papers, Ireland*, 1579, pp. lv. and 171. Sir Lucas Dillon lived at Newtown, beside Trim, Co. Meath.

|| Drury was a *rara avis* of evil omen whose career of terrorism occupies much space in the *State Papers* of his time. Even in that brutal age he excelled his compeers in cruelty, and left behind him a name execrated and remembered only in connection with the atrocities for which he was responsible. Cf. Rev. M. J. Brennan's *Eccles Hist. of Ireland*, 2nd ed., p. 416; *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, Vol. III, p. 25.

Brenny." On Sept. 12, Chancellor Gerrarde, the Bishop (Prot.) of Meath [Dr. Hugh Brady], and Sir William Pelham, wrote from Ardraccon to Hugh O'Reilly informing him that they "had their forces ready yesterday to have come and defended the borders of his country," and ordering him "to apprehend all Spanish intriguers."* Sir Henry Wallop, Treasurer at Wars, informed Walsyngham on Nov. 23 of his meeting with the Lord Justice at Ardraccon where:—

O'Reilly came there by appointment to complain that Captain Hollingworth had preyed the Brenny. It is doubted that Philip O'Reilly and more are combined with the traitors.†

A few days later, Nov. 27, Sir Nicholas Malbie had to announce to Walsyngham that "O'Reilly is grown to disobedience."‡ However, on Dec. 31, the Queen wrote to Pelham "not to deal roughly with O'Reilly."§ At this time Turlough Lynagh O'Neill had been giving trouble to the English government and was threatening O'Reilly when the latter, through fear, refused to join forces with him. Hugh O'Reilly writing from Cavan to the Lord Deputy and Council on Sept. 3, 1580, sends "Turlough Lynagh's letter desiring him to come with the best in his country. O'Reilly will not fulfil his desires, and prays for aid."|| But O'Reilly's territory did not enjoy immunity from attack, for we find Sir Nicholas Malbie reporting to Lord Burghley on Sept. 21, 1581, that:—

Shane Oge O'Neill, taking the prey of O'Reilly, [was] slain. His brother Con taken. Turlough Lynagh assembles his forces to revenge them on O'Reilly, who is the best Irish subject in the land.¶

It is obvious that the support given to O'Reilly was merely for the purpose of holding the turbulent O'Neill in check.

Early in 1583, when O'Reilly's death was imminent, the English Privy Council were already anticipating trouble. On Feb. 24, Fenton, Secretary of State, wrote to Sir Lucas Dillon that:—

O'Reilly lieth past hope of life. Edmond and John O'Reilly claim as tanists by letters patent. Philip O'Reilly has brought in forces out of O'Donnell's country.°

Again, on March 25, the Lords Justices reported to Walsyngham:—

Sir Hugh O'Reilly at the point to die. The captainry to be divided between two of the competitors. ∴

* *Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1579, p. 186.*

§ *Ibid.*, 1579, p. 202.

† *Ibid.*, 1579, p. 195.

|| *Ibid.*, 1580, p. 248.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1579, p. 197.

¶ *Ibid.*, 1581, p. 320.

° *Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1583, p. 430.*

∴ *Ibid.*, 1583, p. 437. A recent work, embodying a vast amount of materials concerning the manifold activities of Elizabeth's very active Secretary of State—principally in relation to England—is: *Mr. Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth*, by Dr. Conyers Read, 3 vols. (Oxford University Press).

Hugh O'Reilly died soon afterwards, and on June 4, 1583, his son John appeared in Dublin to claim the right of succession. Sir Henry Wallop, in a recommendation to Walsyngham on his behalf, dated June 4, lavishes upon him the following characteristic encomiums :—

Right Honorable. this bearer, John O'Reilly, son and heir to the late Hugh O'Reilly, being now determined to do his duty to Her Majesty, hoping thereby the rather to obtain his father's place, whereunto in respect of his honest trade of life, he is most worthy of any man, for although he live in an Irish country, yet he hath always maintained himself very civilly, lives of his own lands and industry after the English manner, speaks the English tongue, maintains no thieves nor idle men about him, nor has at any time reserved or maintained any rebels. In respect whereof, and the rather to encourage others of his sort to do the like, I humbly beseech your Honour, for my sake, to further him what you may for the obtaining of his desire. Honest life is so rare a thing in these savage people, as when it is found in any special man of account among them. if reward follows not, there will be few or none hereafter that will imitate the same, but follow their own barbarous manner in oppressing all that live under them, robbing all that dwell near them, and maintaining none but thieves and idle kern about them, to the oppression of all poor men that labour for their living.*

On the same day Sir Edward Waterhouse commends O'Reilly to Walsyngham in no less glowing terms :—

It may please your Honour, this bearer John O'Reilly fearing that his uncle and competitor in the captainry of the Breny, should prevail against him in England, by his agents there, hath besought leave of the State here to repair to Her Majesty's presence, to show his right, as the eldest of his name, legitimately born, and the eldest son of the last O'Reilly. And thinketh that by Her Majesty's letter sent hither on his behalf, about the xith year of her reign, he ought to be successor to his father, but having desired my testimony of him to your Honour, I do justly and truly commend him for this, not only above any O'Reilly, but above all the Irish of Ireland, that since that grace shown him from Her Majesty, (nor I think in all his life before), he cannot be charged, that either he or any of his followers, have taken from any subject the worth of a groat (grote), but when Commissioners have ordered twenty thousand pounds to the Pale from his other kinsmen, this man and

* *Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1583, p. cvii.* This characteristic document, together with the succeeding one, are recorded in Old English. In transcribing them I have substituted modern forms for the archaic spellings of the originals; otherwise the texts are unaltered.

all his, have been untouched. He has been a builder, a planter, and a sower of the earth, and having a great part of the country, has notwithstanding kept his people from disorder; depending upon Her Majesty and the benefit of her grant, wherein I say no more than has been affirmed at the Council table, testified by the English borderers, and not denied by his adversaries, And so having discharged my conscience, I take leave. At Dublin the 14th of June, 1583.

Your honour's most bounden, ED. WATERHOUS.*

Encouraged by these important letters of recommendation, John O'Reilly vigorously urged his claims for the chieftainship, and was supported in his demands by the leading officials of state. A few weeks later, on June 16, Sir Nicholas Malbie writes from Galway to the Secretary of State that:—

O'Reilly's will be a happy country if Shane shall have the government, as in right he ought. Of 10,000 kine awarded against O'Reilly's country for spoils in the Pale, Shane O'Reilly was not touched with one.†

Meanwhile, the pertinacious John had gone to London to bask in the abundant favours of Elizabeth's Court, and on June 23 the Lords Justices wrote, from Dublin, to Walsingham:—

They [the Lords Justices] will not proceed in the division of O'Reilly's country till the return of Shane O'Reilly. Request that he may be well received at Court and speedily returned.‡

His reception at the English Court was inevitably favourable, and on June 30, Queen Elizabeth forwarded to the Lords Justices:—

Her favour to the bearer, Sir John O'Reilly, whom she has knighted. Warrant for settling the succession of the country of O'Reilly according to the instructions in the Council's letters. Bill of the descent, kindred, and alliance of John O'Reilly, son of Sir Hugh O'Reilly, deceased, with aids offered to him to maintain his right against Edmond.§

The claims of Edmund O'Reilly were thus brushed aside and instead of succeeding to the chieftainship he was to be merely tolerated as Tanist. The Privy Council, on July 2, presented to the Lords Justices:—

Authority to decide the succession to the captainry of the Brenny. Conference of Sir Henry Sydney with Shane O'Reilly. Edmund O'Reilly to be continued Tanist.||

The Lords Justices duly informed Walsingham, on Aug. 11,

* *Ibid.*, 1583, p. cvii.

† *Cal. State Papers, Ireland*, 1583, p. 451.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1583, p. 453.

§ *Ibid.*, 1583, p. 454.

|| *Ibid.*, 1583, p. 455.

that Sir John O'Reilly had arrived on the 8th, and requested him [Walsyngham] to despatch the letter from the Privy Council relative to the cause between Edmund and Sir John. On Aug. 20, Sir Henry Wallop announced to Walsyngham that the letter had been delivered on the 14th by "blind Crewse [Cruise] the harper."*

No time was lost in carrying out the decrees, and, on Sept. 12, the Lords Justices wrote to the Privy Council that :—

Sir John O'Reilly [was] established in his father's room to be captain over the Brenny. Edmond made Tanist with some privilege.†

A few months later, on Nov. 7, the Lords Justices informed the Privy Council of :—

The contention between Sir John O'Reilly and his uncle, who would not abide the order taken. Captain Anthony Deering and 150 soldiers support the Commissioners sent to the Cavan. Edmund O'Reilly has now repaired to Dublin contented to stand to the order.‡

Early in 1584 the formidable Sir John Perrott was appointed Lord Deputy by Elizabeth, and now the O'Reillys had a more relentless adversary to contend against. Wallop reported to Walsyngham on July 1 that Sir John O'Reilly and others, "have come in to do their duties to Perrot."§ The two rival chieftains, Edmund and his nephew, Sir John, now appeared in Dublin at a Parliament convened by Perrott. It was reported to the Council on Aug. 6 that :—

The O'Reillies, as well Sir John and Edmund and Philip, repaired to Dublin, and have submitted their controversies to Perrot's order.||

The decision of Perrott's Parliament was a foregone conclusion ; Sir John was granted the chieftainship of Breiffne, and the rejected Edmund was obliged to acquiesce, however unwillingly, in the irrevocable decrees of the iron hand that ruled from Dublin Castle. The *Annals of Loch Ce* have the following entry, A.D. 1584 :—

John, son of Aedh Conallach was made The O'Reilly by the Foreigners in presence of the sons of Maolmordha O'Reilly who were senior to him ; and the sons of Maolmordha destroyed the entire country through that.

The Lord Deputy was now perfecting his hold on the submissive O'Reilly and on Nov. 16 reported to Walsyngham : "O'Reilly's

* *Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1583, p. 464.* This Anglo-Irish harper is described by Stanihurst, in 1584, as the "most remarkable harper within the memory of man."

† *Ibid.*, 1583, p. 468.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1583, p. 477.

§ *Ibid.*, 1584, p. 517.

|| *Ibid.*, 1584, p. 522.

country erected into the county of Cavan.”* On Nov. 28 an Indenture was completed whereby:—

Sir John O'Reilly is to surrender O'Reilly's country, etc., and to receive by grant from Her Majesty the Towghe [i.e., Tuath] of the Loghetye called the barony of Cavan, and the Towghe of Tullaghegarvy, now called the barony of Tollevin,†

On the same date a letter from Queen Elizabeth was presented to the Lord Deputy with a warrant to accept the surrender of Sir John O'Reilly's lands, and to make him a regrant of same under the Great Seal. Pursuant of this authority the Lord Deputy requested Lord Burghley, on Dec. 4, to issue the warrant:—

To grant estates to Sir John O'Reilly and others in fee simple to their heirs general.‡

The economic effect of the unsettled state of affairs on the woollen industry in Breiffne is apparent from the complaint of George Beverley to Walsyngham on April 3, 1585, that:—

The late disagreements of the O'Reillys in the Brenny and the stirs in the North have much hurt the plenty and price of yarn.§

The Lord Deputy was still suspicious regarding the sincerity of the loyalty of Edmund O'Reilly, and in an “abridgement of confessions taken against the disturbers of the Parliament,” in June, 1585, we find, *inter alios*, Philip O'Reilly and Edmund O'Reilly “showing how they were persuaded to resist the bill for the suspension of Poyning's Act.”|| On Nov. 11, Perrott reported to Walsyngham that “Philip O'Reilly is in Dublin Castle”¶ —a prisoner and hostage.

Sir John O'Reilly, now established with Elizabeth's good graces in the chieftainship of Breiffne, perfected the several articles of agreement, just referred to, with Lord Deputy Perrott in which he agreed to surrender the principality of Breiffne O'Reilly to the Queen on condition of its being regranted to him by the Crown *in capite* subject to English tenure. In accordance with the terms of his acceptance of the chieftainship *Letters Patent*, or leases, were issued to the principal native landowners. The change in the relationship between the chiefs and the clans carried out during Elizabeth's reign is generally known as the policy of *Surrender and Regrant*. The chief of the clan was induced to surrender his lands to the Crown and he was then regranted the lands in one of two alternate forms; a regrant of the whole territory to the chief of the clan, or otherwise, a regrant of the clan lands to the chief and members of the clan in proportion to their respective clan privileges. The wisdom of English state

* *Cal. State Papers*, Ireland, 1584, p. 537.

† *Ibid.*, 1584, p. 539. Cf. *Fiants*, 28 Nov. xxvii. *Eliz.* (*supra*).

‡ *Cal. State Papers*, Ireland, 1584, p. 540.

§ *Ibid.*, 1585, p. 559.

|| *Cal. State Papers*, Ireland, 1585, p. 570.

¶ *Ibid.*, 1585, p. 585; the order for his committal is dated Nov. 3.

policy is manifested in this arrangement. By granting the clan-land to the chief his loyalty to the Crown was assured. If he renounced his allegiance the Crown forfeited the revenues of his lands. In regrating the lands to the clans in proportion to their hereditary rights the individual chiefs would wield less power, also numerous freeholders would be created which would bring the clans directly under the dominion of the Crown.* As St. John wrote to Salisbury, in 1607 :—

The poor Irish estimate more their landlord that they know than their King whom they seldom hear of ; when they shall be inured to know that they hold their lands immediately of the King they will neglect their chiefs, whom only they love now, and only turn their affection and loyalty to the King.†

However, in practice, the statesmen, fearing the creation of a peasant proprietorship, only reinstated the important clansmen as freeholders and the lesser members were ignored.

The *Fiants* of Eliz.‡—recording the names of those to whom leases and pardons were granted in accordance with the policy of surrender and regrant—preserve for us the names of the principal native landowners in the district of Crosserlough in the “spacious days” of Queen Elizabeth. Under the dates mentioned we have the following names recorded :—

1586 (19 Jan.)

KILDROMFEARTAN.—Donogho M’Shonyne I. Gowen ; James M’Shonyne ; Owen M’Hugh I. Gowen ; Nich. M’Shonyne I. Gowen ; Brian M’Shonyne I. Gowen ; Hugh O’Gowen ; M’Owen O’Gowen.

KILLNECROTT.—Turlagh M’Bryen O’Lynce.

COSRAH [Crossrah].§—Brian M’Melaughlen M’Geffrey O’Lynce.

1586 (June 12).

TOGHER.—Hugh Duff O’Sheredan, chief of his nation.

GRADAME.—Shane M’Cahill eveale O’Reilye.

AGHCONNIE [Aghaconny].—Tho. Brady M’Wm., horseman.

DROMEARDE [Drumard].||—Hugh Duff O’Sheredan M’Gille Iosa M’Tho. ; Ferrall O’Sheredan M’Gillese M’Tho.

* An effective exposition, from contemporary sources, of the leading features of Elizabeth’s policy of land tenure—which, although only discussing the operation of the system in West Munster, is of general application—is given in a recent work : *Gleanings from Irish History*, by W. F. T. Butler, M.R.I.A. London ; Longmans, 1925.

† *Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1607*, p. 304.

‡ *Fifteenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland* : Appendix.

§ In Kilbride Parish. In this paper the abbreviation “tld.”=townland.

|| In Ballintemple Parish. Many of the tld. forms in these lists are not easily recognisable, but the key to their identity is supplied by the Baronial Map of 1609 and the Down Survey Map of 1654 ; also by the Commonwealth Grants.

Towards the end of 1586 a large number of "pardons" and leases were granted, including :—

TOGHER.—Tirelagh O'Rely, son of Edm. O'Relye.

FYNWEY [Finaway].—Teig M'Owen O'Lynce.

CARRIGCROUGHE [Carrickacroy].—Wm. McCowchonnacht O'Lynce.

MOLLAGH AYSH [Mullaghcastle].—Shane M'Cowchonaght O'Lynce.

DROM RORAGHE [Drumroragh].—Hugh M'Donell oge O'Lynce.

GRADEM.—Patr. M'Teig M'Owen O'Lynce.

FYNWEY.—Tirlagh M'Teig O'Lynce.

LYSSDOWNBRYNNE [Lisnabrinnia]*.—Cahir Mc'Edm. O'Relye ; Connor M'Edm. O'Relye ; Brian M'Edm. O'Reylie.

LISSENENNY [Lisnananagh].†—Tirlagh O'Rely, son to Edmund (of Togher).

DROMEVADRA [Drumavaddy].‡—Teig boy M'Cowchonnaght O'Lynce.

KYNA [Keenagh].—Donell M'Farrall M'Patr. O'Lynce.

LIECARRA [Lecharry].—Hugh M'Cormuck O'Lynce.

KILLNECROTTA.—Molaughlin M'Cormock O'Lynce.

COWLEKILL [Coolkill].—Brian M'Teig O'Lynce.

DUCAYSHLANE [Duffcastle].—Cormock M'Manus O'Lince ; Patr. oge M'Manus O'Lynce.

KYLENECROTT.—Melaghlin M'Manus O'Lynce ; Neile M'Melaughlin O'Lynce, Tirelagh M'Hugh O'Lynce ; Farsie M'Gillpatrick O'Lynce ; Turlagh M'Cahill O'Lynce ; Edm. M'Cahill O'Lynce.

KYNYE [Keenagh].—Shane M'Brien O'Lynce.

KILLNECROTT.—Hugh oge M'Hugh O'Lynce ; Turlagh M'Shane O'Lynce ; Cahall M'Laughlin O'Lynce ; Patr. Crome M'Brien O'Lynce.

CARRIG CRÓE [Carrickacroy].—Teig royvagh O'Lynce.

DUTRASHLANE [Duffcastle].—Wm. Istroky.

KILNECROTT.—Tirelagh M'Neile O'Lynce ; Edm. duff M'Gyllparick M'Manus ; Patr. ryvagh O'Lynce.

FYNWEY.—[] M'Ustion O'Lynce.

DARRYLEH [Derrylea].—Hugh Duff O'Farrall ; Hugh Duff M'Farrall M'Wm. O'Lynce.

LEAHNEDRUAUGH [Latnadronagh].—Shane M'Gillese M'Shane O'Rely.

MULLOCASHTANE [Mullaghcastle].—Hugh duff M'Philip oge O'Rely ; Ferrall M'Turlagh O'Rely.

LYSSDOWNBRYNN.—Patr. oge M'Gillepatrick O'Lynce ; Shane M'Tirlagh O'Lynce.

* In Kilbride Parish.

† In Ballintemple Parish.

‡ In Denn Parish.

AGHENEHIDRE [Aghnahederny].*—Ferrall M'Bryen M'Dowelage O'Lynce.

LOGOWOGE [Legwee].†—Ferrall M'Mah. O'Lynce.

LYSSEDOWNE-ULCHAN.‡—Brian M'Sheffry O'Lynce.

TAWLETT [Tawlaght].§—Teig M'Tho. O'Lynce.

BALLAGHEHUMA [Ballaghanna].*—Shane M'Brian moyle O'Lynce; Donell M'Brien moyle O'Lynce; Ferrall M'Bryen moyle O'Lynce.

ACHLORVE [Aghaloory].§—Shane M'Tho. bury O'Lynce.

RAGHECHLOGHY [Raclaghy].*—Connor M'Redmon McRichard.

KYLLNECROTT.—Owen Roe M'Bryen O'Lynce; Hugh boy M'Bryen M'Sheffry O'Lynce; Cahill M'Shane M'Tirlagh O'Rely; Shane [].

KYLLNERMY [Killynure?].—Cahir M'Shane M'Tirlagh; Owen boy M'Shane M'Tirlagh.

AGHOCRYVINE [Aghacreevy].§—Teig M'Donell oge O'Lynce; Teige bane M'Brien O'Lynce; Shaffry roe M'Gyllepatrick M'Shane O'Lynce.

KILLNECROTT.—Mahowne M'Wm. O'Lynce; Melaughlin moyle M'Negowny; Felym oge M'Laughlin M'Negawnye; Hugh boy M'Geffry M'Manus O'Lynce; Patr. oge [].

AGHEWYE [Aghawee].—Philip M'Turlagh O'Lynce.

DUNGOMYN [Dungimmin].*—Connor M'Redmond garve O'Relye.

KILLDROMFEARTAN.—Tho. M'Shonyne I. Gowen.

TOWLYNE [Tonymion?].—Hugh M'Brien M'Sheffry O'Lynce.

CROSSERA [Crossrah].*—Brian M'Gyllepatrick M'Shane O'Lynce.

BALLANECROSSE.||—Edm. M'Connor O'Lynce.

1590 (8 Dec.).

KILLNECROTT.—Brian M'Edm. O'Relie, gent.

These lists, which are by no means exhaustive, afford ample evidence of the extensive property owned by the Clan Lynch in the district of Crosserlough at the close of the 16th century. The O'Reillys and O'Gowens (or Smiths) also possessed a considerable share. It is evident that the parish of Crosserlough—Edmund O'Reilly's native parish—received the due attention of the new legal authority. But the continuance of these precarious

* In Kilbride Parish.

§ In Ballymachugh Parish.

† In Ballintemple Parish.

‡ In Kilbride Parish, adjoining the tlds. of Lisnabrinna and Pollareagh, and now geographically represented by the tld. of Daly's Bridge, or Mountnugent. The 1609 Baronial Map has "Doonulcon," and the Down Survey (1654) has "Dunnullahann." In the Commonwealth Grants it is written "Dunnulchan" and is entered as *Glebe Land*. The *Cavan List* of 1709 (or 1790) has "Donolochan."

|| In Kilbride Parish, and now included in the northern portion of the tld. of Kilbride. The 1654 map has "Ballanagrosse," and Commonwealth Grants "Ballynagrosse." *Dalte na gcroipe*=tld. of the cross,

and illusory "pardons" necessitated the pliancy of the recipients, and their adherence to the shifting pageants and conformity with the everchanging formularies of the day.

The Lord Deputy continued to impose his authority on the temporising Sir John. Sir Richard Byngham, Governor of Con-nacht, wrote to the Chancellor on Aug. 30, 1586, that he [Byng-han] had requested the Lord Deputy:—

To send forces into O'Reilly's country, and the Annaly,
 for there they shall defend these parts, amaze the
 enemy, and succour us, if need be.*

Hostages were necessary as a guarantee of O'Reilly's continued loyalty, and in a list of the prisoners in Dublin Castle on Dec. 30, we find, *inter alios*, Philip O'Reilly and Connor O'Reilly, the latter being a pledge for Mulmorrhough O'Reilly. In his report to Lord Burghley, dated Feb. 19, 1587, Henry Duke, Sheriff of Cavan, states:—

It may now please you to be advertised that ever since the entry of the Lord Deputy into the Government here, I have been by his lordship's commandment and direction employed as sheriff in the Brenny, a country wherein the O'Reilly's are the chief, and before my coming thither a nursery of all Rome runners, and all others, robbers, spoilers, and burners of Her Majesty's good subjects of the Pale.
 †

Duke continues to paint a lugubrious picture of the disturbed state of O'Reilly's country before his coming to reform (*sic*) it. Sir Henry Wallop, writing to Lord Burghley, on Feb., 21, commends in glowing terms the success of Duke among:—

A very uncivil and barbarous people but by his industry and good behaviour (*sic*) amongst them, a very good entry is made to reducing them to civility and better course of living, then heretofore they have followed. ‡

The Earl of Tyrone informed the Lord Deputy, on July 10, that: "The Brenny men will not make restitution of anything I can justly challenge them."§ Henry Duke reported to the Lord Deputy on Jan. 9, 1588, that the brothers of the Earl of Tyrone were preparing to raid Breiffne, and furthermore that:—

Philip O'Reilly's men, with the freeholders and gentlemen of his barony, did rescue from my men such kine as they took for a distress for the Earl of Kildare's money, and that by special commandment from Philip (as they say), Philip's men do commonly report that your Honour will enlarge him. I assure your Lordship if he were at this instant at liberty that Her Majesty should command no more in the

* *Cal. State Papers*, Ireland, 1586, p. 150.

† *Ibid.*, 1587, p. 264.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1587, p. 268.

§ *Cal. State Papers*, Ireland, 1587, p. 398.

Brenny, nor in those parts of the North, than she did in Shane O'Neill's time. Two gentlemen of the O'Reilly's on Wednesday last, going to speak with my men at Cloneis [Clones], were met by Rorie M'Hugh Oge of Dartry, who set upon them, from whom they hardly escaped with their lives. Your Honour would scarce believe the sudden alteration of those parts, and it is like to grow worse ere it be long. My good Lord, whosoever will believe that the Irishry will be dutiful and obedient, although they swear it never so much, except there be a present force of men to command them, will be greatly deceived.*

On Jan. 16 we find a Commission to Henry Duke, John O'Reilie, knight, Edm. O'Reylie, Esq., and Tho. Beatagh, gent.; "to take the muster and array of the inhabitants of the County Cavan."† In a Declaration made before the Council on June 29, by Perrott, and describing the state of Ireland, he records that:—

The Brenny [is] in good terms, saving for murders and stealths which are sometimes committed. Besides, Edmund O'Reilly with open forces hath of late entered into the county of Longford and slain 10 persons at the least, and lost himself five or six persons. His Lordship [Perrótt] adviseth that it is not meet to diminish any part of the forces of the realm, but rather to increase them.‡

With the object of securing himself in the Lordship of East Breiffne, and in the certainty of abolishing the Tanistic succession, Sir John perfected a deed of feofment—dated 1st Aug., 1590, entailing the seignory of Breiffne O'Reilly on his eldest son Maolmordha (Myles)—surnamed *Alainn*, i.e.e, the comely§—who acquired the doubtful distinction of being the first "Queen's O'Reilly." Perrott was vigorously exerting himself to abolish all Tanistships, and to substitute the English Law of Primogeniture. He stated his proposals very fully before the Privy Council on May 10, 1590:—

In the time of my government I was commanded to take surrenders of such Irish lords as would make surrenders to Her Majesty of their seignories, and to grant the same back again to the same lords and their heirs male or heirs general. I persuaded [*inter alios*] Sir John O'Reily, and many other lords, to do so. The escheat of their lands will fall to the Crown, with ward, marriage, and relief, as in England The surrendering of their land, and taking the same back

* *Ibid.*, 1588, p. 467.

† *Fiants*, 16 Jan., xxx. Eliz.

‡ *Cal. State Papers*, Ireland, 1588, p. 526.

§ "Melmorrus, Oreilli principis filius, ob raram staturæ elegantiam, et miram faciei venustatem cognomento Pulcher."—P. O'Sullivan Beare.

Μαολμωρδθα Ορηέζθα the *O'Reilly Pedigree* calls him. Perhaps the scribe intended Μαολμωρδθα Ορηέζγε—a more accurate summation of his character.

again, must breed quietness, obedience, and profit. Love to their children will make them fearful to offend the laws, and desirous to build houses, purchase lands, and grow wealthy.*

Perrott died shortly afterwards and was succeeded for a short period by Sir William Fitzwilliam, who in turn was succeeded by Sir William Russell in 1594. In a review of the "State of Ireland," dated August of that year, the Lord Deputy reported that:—

The county of Cavan, otherwise called the Brenny, standeth in good obedience, though they have been greatly afflicted with the said rebels of Fermonnaughe and Monoughan.†

A document of June, 1595, showing the rents due to the Crown from certain Ulster lords, includes the names, *inter alios*, of Edmond O'Reyley, Philip O'Reyley, Sir John O'Reley, Cahir O'Reyley, Hugh O'Reyley, and Mulmory O'Reyley‡.

Early in 1596 Commissioners were sent by the Lord Deputy to treat with Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and a conference took place, on Jan. 20, at Dundalk. In his demands O'Neill insisted that pardon be given to all the chieftains who had assisted him in his wars, including, *inter alios*, Philip O'Reilly, "whose sureties might not be troubled for their bonds," to which the Commissioners assented.§

Philip O'Reilly was now at liberty (having escaped from Dublin Castle with the famous Red Hugh O'Donnell) and Hugh O'Neill was gradually gathering the Irish chieftains to his side. The Commissioners informed the Lord Deputy on Jan. 16 that: "It is reported here that Philip O'Rely is come to the Earl [of Tyrone]."|| The vacillating Sir John O'Reilly, now removed from the glare of Elizabeth's court, was beginning gradually to realise his unhappy position as a mere pawn on the chess-board of Elizabethan state policy. At the mercy of the whims and caprices of successive Lord Deputies, his position was rendered intolerable. Realising the consequences of the several enactments he found, when too late, that he had escaped the *Scylla* of military suppression only to fall into the *Charybdis* of legalised confiscation. He now openly renounced his allegiance to Elizabeth, and joined forces with her enemy, Hugh O'Neill. The first intimation of O'Reilly's transference of his allegiance to O'Neill was conveyed by the Commissioners (Wallop and Gardiner) to the Lord Deputy and Council in a note of Jan. 20, announcing that in a conference with O'Neill, on that morning, the latter had informed Hoare (the interpreter) that "Sir John O'Rely was joined with

* *Cal. State Papers*, Ireland, Carew MSS., 1590, p. 28.

† *Ibid.*, 1594, p. 93.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1595, p. 112.

§ *Cal. State Papers*, Ireland, Carew MSS., 1596, p. 134. The meeting took place a mile outside Dundalk.

|| *Ibid.*, 1596, p. 136.

him.”* The Lord Deputy in alarm immediately proceeded to send an army of occupation into Breiffne. This was, of course, a violation of the truce agreed to at Dundalk and, on Jan. 21, O'Neill sent a peremptory note to the Commissioners calling for an explanation:—

We understand a company of soldiers has gone into Co. Cavan. Should this be so, we shall account the truce to be violated.†

On the same day the Commissioners replied to O'Neill:—

We cannot reply to your demands until we have speech with you. We will satisfy you then as to the sending of soldiers to Co. Cavan.‡

They at once forwarded O'Neill's note to the Lord Deputy, adding:—

They [O'Neill and O'Donnell] insist on their former demands. They account the sending of our soldiers to the Cavan as a breach of the peace. No doubt that is urged by Philip O'Rely, their chief councillor. They have sent 200 of their shot [i.e., musketeers] to the Brenny.§

The Commissioners met O'Neill and O'Donnell on the same evening, and a prolonged discussion took place. In explaining their reasons for sending forces into Breiffne they told O'Neill that:—

The Breny is, was, and ought to be under only her Majesty's immediate obedience. And our commission could not take knowledge of Philip O'Rely's being with you, nor of any title he had or could make for himself by law or custom Unto which O'Donnell answered, “ But there is now another claiming the same by ancient custom of the country, who is with us.” They sent unto us [the Commissioners] Ovington to understand what moved the Lord Deputy to send unto the Breny two bands of soldiers. We answered we knew no interest any could claim in the Breny but her Majesty; also it was agreeing with the articles of cessation that her Majesty should victual any of her castles, of which the castle of the Cavan was one, to which purpose they were sent. But since we learn that Philip O'Rely came unto the Earl of late with 50 horsemen and 150 foot, but now they are returned to the Breny, with which the Earl hath sent 200 shot.||

The Commissioners furthermore record that: “ O'Donnell carrieth great rule amongst them, and Philip O'Relie is a great councillor.” On their reporting the results of the interview to

* *Ibid.*, 1596, p. 139.

† *Ibid.*, 1596, p. 140.

‡ *Cal. State Papers, Ireland, Carew MSS.*, 1596, p. 141.

§ *Ibid.*, 1596, p. 141.

|| *Ibid.*, 1596, pp. 143-144.

the Lord Deputy the latter was highly indignant, and replied that :—

The two companies were sent into the Breney to prevent incursions into the borders of the Pale, and to be a stay to the good subjects there. This is not a breach of the cessation.*

But O'Neill did not easily accept such excuses, and continued to insist on his demands. On Jan. 24, he wrote to the Commissioners :—

We pray you to send back for the soldiers that went to the Breney, for avoiding of inconveniences, and to take order that no forfeiture of bonds be taken against Philip O'Relie or any of his surname.†

To which the Commissioners replied :—

The soldiers sent to the borders of the Breney were only sent to victual her Majesty's castle and to lie upon the borders for the defence of the Pale, as was agreed upon in the articles of cessation. Touching O'Relie's bonds for his appearance, we will make his desire known to the Lord Deputy ‡

The negotiations meanwhile continued at great length. Both the Commissioners and the Lord Deputy had a very difficult role to play. On the one hand they had to deal with O'Neill, whose power in Ulster was to be reckoned with, and on the other, they were anxious to be able to present as favourable a report as possible to the haughty Elizabeth. On Jan. 29, O'Neill informed the Commissioners that unless O'Reilly, *inter alios*, received full pardon from the Queen he (O'Neill) could no longer conform to the articles of agreement. The Commissioners then propounded certain articles of agreement to O'Neill, some of which he accepted in a modified form. But the O'Reillys were not brought into conformity with the Commissioners' demands, and O'Neill had the better part of the bargain. On Jan. 30, the Commissioners reported to the Lord Deputy :—

We hear that O'Donnell has returned to Connaught, and that MacMahowne has gone into the Breney to establish Sir John captain and himself tawnist, which is likely to be true, as Philip demanded the same before his departure; so that there is little hope of their conformity §

In due course the Commissioners submitted their Reports to Queen Elizabeth, who signified her complete disapproval of the results of the conferences. She wrote an angry letter to the Lord Deputy—dated March 9, from Richmond—declaring her horror

* *Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1596, Carew MSS., p. 146.*

† *Ibid.*, 1596, p. 146.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1596, pp. 146-147.

§ *Ibid.*, 1596, p. 165.

and chagrin at the failure of the Commissioners to reduce O'Neill to subjection, and stating that she had prepared a reply :

to be made to the presumptuous demands of the rebels, such as shall be fit for rebels to receive ; and otherwise also we have yielded to such answers as are meet for offenders to receive, acknowledging their offences, and suing for pardon. you have at length in writing described the particular disorders almost in every part of the realm, and advertisement very uncomfortable from you, who hath had the authority otherwise to govern the realm than, for lack of regard in times convenient, now to present unto us so broken an estate of so great a part of our realm, as to have all Ulster wholly, saving two or three places, and all Connaught, saving as few places, wholly possessed with rebels, and likewise some of the counties next our English Pale in like danger.*

She then commissioned Sir John Norris and Secretary Fenton to meet the "said rebels" and proceed "to some final end." Instructions were issued by the Queen to Norris and Fenton to direct her replies to the various demands of the Irish chieftains. Accordingly, on March 20, the Commissioners communicated her reply to O'Neill :—

Touching a motion made by you and O'Donnell, in a letter to the late Commissioners, after the closing up of the treaty, concerning the receiving to favour of O'Reyley and others, that then had not made their particular submissions, her Majesty misliketh that any of you shall presume to capitulate or prescribe to whom or in what manner she is to bestow her mercy, yet she will pardon so many of these offenders as make their submissions, upon such conditions as she may think meet. . . . O'Reyley is to put in his submission, and to crave pardon and grace of her Majesty for himself and country.†

O'Neill accepted some of the conditions fully, peremptorily rejected others, and accepted the remainder, although in a very modified form. Elizabeth was by no means anxious to continue the war, and was hoping to obtain large fines from the Irish chiefs. Neither was O'Neill inclined to come to sudden conflict as, in the absence of help from Spain, he would probably be vanquished if England were to put forth her whole strength against him. So he protracted the discussions as long as possible. But Breiffne, situated on the borders of the English Pale, was in a state of continual attack. Sir John O'Reilly, who was defending Breiffne, died at Cavan on 1st June, 1596. A Commission sitting at Cavan in 1606 reported that Sir John had :—

departed from his allegiance [and] traitorously adhered to

* *Cal. State Papers, Ireland, Carew MSS., 1596, p. 166,*

† *Ibid., 1596, p. 172.*

Hugh, Earl of Tirone, and other traitors, and died a rebel at Cavan, 1 June, 38 *Eliz.**

After the death of Sir John the Brehon Law was restored for a short time in Breiffne, and Philip—son of Hugh Connallach, and second brother of Sir John—was nominated by Hugh O'Neill as: "O'Reilly over all Breiffne." But Elizabeth's government actively supported the claim of Maolmordha Alainn—son of Sir John—in opposition to Philip, and Edmund of Kilmacrott. Hugh O'Neill had concluded a truce with Elizabeth, but Philip O'Reilly refused to recognise it. The Lord Deputy ordered an armed force to hold Breiffne "now revolted." During an altercation with one of the O'Neills—arising out of a dispute over the restoration of some plunder—Philip was accidentally killed at Cavan on the 19th October, 1596. His loss was irreparable, as he was one of the ablest military tacticians serving under Hugh O'Neill.

An *Inquisition* held at Cavan on March 5, 1613, reported that:—

Philip O'Reily, late of Cavan, on the 1st day of August, in the 38th year of Queen Elizabeth, entered into rebellion, and was killed at Cavan on the 19th day of October following; and that, at the time of his death, he was seised in fee, in his domain of all that mountain or land called Slewgowry [*Sliabh Guaire*] in the Co. of Cavan, and that same came to possession of the Crown by reason of the forfeiture of the said Philip, and had not been granted by letters patent to any bishop, undertaker, or any person whatever, before the 1st day of April, 1613; and cannot distinguish the mears and bounds of said mountains from the several polls or parcels of lands adjoining †

A later *Inquisition*, taken at the castle of Tullyvin, August 21, 1618, defined the boundaries of the mountainous territory of *Sliabh Guaire*. ‡

Philip O'Reilly lived in the castle of Ballinacargy, at Ballyhaise. His wife, who was the sister of Lord Maguire, was one of the most capable and accomplished women of her time. When her husband was a prisoner in Dublin she travelled to London,

* *Patent Rolls*, 4 James I.

† *Patent Rolls*, 11 James I.

‡ *Patent Rolls*, 19 James I. The territory of *Sliabh Guaire* comprised the greater part of the parishes of Kildrumsherdan, Drumgoon, Drung, Lavey, Laragh, Knockbride, and portions of Killinkere and Killann. In the *Inquisition* of 1618 the tlds. are minutely specified as well as the physical features, rocks, streams, rivers, lakes, bogs, etc. Some of the place-names have been located by O'Donovan (*Cavan Letters*—Bailieboro', 9th June, 1836) but his work—entrusted chiefly to his assistant, O'Connor—is imperfect and inaccurate. From a topographical point of view the *Inquisition* of 1618 is of great importance. It proceeds in strict geographical order in an unbroken line over a large tract of country and records in detail the names of tlds. and sub-denominations. The problem of the identification of these names, many of which now seem to be obsolete, is one for local research.

had an interview with the haughty Elizabeth, and secured his release.

The death of Philip removed a serious obstacle from the path of Maolmordha Alainn who, fired with ambition and vain-glory, had the active support of the English government. The Lord Deputy (Sir William Russell) kept an illuminating *Diary* or *Journal*, of his term of office (1594—97) which is preserved in London among the *State Papers* of the period; it details very minutely the progress of events. He tells that on Sept. 27, 1595, "Philip O'Reylly's wife, Maguire's sister" was brought "a prisoner to Mellifont by the Lord of Slane." On Jan. 9, 1596, "six rebels' heads were brought in, including some of the O'Reylies'." The whimsical and sanguineous Lord Deputy was then feasting sumptuously in Drogheda, where, at the banquet, he was "presented with a mask." Next day the Lord of Slane was sent for and directed to bring in Philip O'Reilly:—

for the safeguard (*sic*) of himself and certain merchants who were bound for his coming in.*

But Philip O'Reilly was too wary a bird to be caught with chaff; he preferred the fastnesses of Sliabh Guaire as affording better security than any Sir William Russell could offer.

On Jan. 26, 1597, Sir William Russell reports that Captain Henry Streete, who was in charge of the garrison in Kells, sent in "35 heads of the rebels of the Breney, besides 10 more of the rebels' heads which were stolen away."† It is further stated that an attempt had been made to capture Kells. Letters were received by the Lord Deputy on March 22 of the same year from: "Molmorie O'Reylie, promising to perform some service in the Breney."‡ The following year the ambitious Maolmordha Alainn took his exit from the scene of conflict, and Breiffne was relieved for ever of his "services." He was killed in the Battle of the Yellow Ford, near Benburb, fighting on the English side against Hugh O'Neill, on August 14, 1598. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

THE 17TH CENTURY: DECLINE OF NATIVE POWER.

Edmund O'Reilly of Kilnacrott was now established by the Irish of Ulster as *The O'Reilly*. But his rule was a short and stormy one. In a review of the State of Ireland at the arrival of the Earl of Essex in April, 1599, and specifying the towns and castles then garrisoned by the Queen's forces, we find, *inter alia* :—

In the Breany the castle of Ballindarogge, late Philip O'Reylie's, all the rest is in rebellion Edmond

* *Cal. State Papers*, Carew MSS., Russell's *Diary*.

† *Cal. State Papers*, Ireland, Carew MSS., Russell's *Diary*.

‡ *Ibid.* The *Diary* is mainly a record of the outrages committed by his soldiers, the execution of his soldiers for cowardice, and the wholesale massacre of prisoners,

O'Reilie usurpeth the Breny, called the Co. of Cavan ; 500 foot, 60 horse.*

Edmond managed to maintain his authority until he was slain at Cavan, in April, 1601. He was buried in Cavan Abbey. A Commission of 1607 reported that he was "slain in rebellion at Cavan, 43 Eliz."† The *Four Masters* describe him as :—

an aged, grey-headed, long-memored man, and had been quick and vivacious in his mind and intellect in his youth. He was the last great chieftain of the O'Reilly clan who maintained the Brehon system in Breiffne, and the history of Breiffne contains no nobler character than that of *Edmund of Kilmacrott*.

In 1600 the notorious Lord Mountjoy succeeded the ill-fated Earl of Essex ‡ as Lord Deputy, and the war against the Irish chieftains was pursued with unabated rigour. The Lord Deputy hastened to re-impose English law on Breiffne, and on April 17, 1601, he wrote to Sir George Carew—*arcades ambo* :—

Since my last letter of the 4th instant, we have ransacked the Breny, and left there Sir Oliver Lambert planting of a garrison, which I make no doubt but he will despatch within a few days.§

On May 1, he informed the Privy Council that some of the O'Reillys had been reduced, "and a garrison planted in the Breny to bridle the rest." In 1601 a pardon was issued to "Wm. O'Linch of Croserlagh,"|| and in the extensive *Fiants* of 1602, we find, *inter alios*, "Brein M'Edm. O'Reyly, and Ferral and Tirlagh M'Edm. O'Reyly of Kelnycrotty ; Anne Nugent ; Onor Ny Mahune, wife of Orelly ; Shane Duff M'Thomas ; Ineise Duff M'Edmond ; Shall Duffe M'Edmond ; Gillpatrick Oge Duff ; and Cochonachte Smotach Duffe of Ferynyconill."¶ In the same year a pardon was granted to "Ferrall M'Edm. O'Reilie of Kilmacrott."° It is probable that the Ferrall M'Edm. O'Reily mentioned in both lists was the same person and that the name was entered on duplicate lists.

Edmund of Kilmacrott was married to Lady Mary Plunket, daughter of Robert, the fifth Baron of Dunsany, and their sons were Cahir, Terence, and John ; he was married, secondly, to Lady Elizabeth Nugent, daughter of the Baron of Delvin, and their sons were Charles, Myles, and Farrell. John, son of Edmund, was married to Catherine, daughter of Sir James Butler, and their son Brian, who married Mary, daughter of Baron Dunsany, and died in 1631, was father of the distinguished Maolmordha O'Reilly—commonly known as *Myles the Slasher*—who was, therefore, a great-grandson of Edmund of Kilmacrott.

* *Cal. State Papers, Ireland, Carew MSS.*, 1599, p. 299.

† *Patent Rolls*, 5 James I.

‡ *Vide Journal*, Vol. I, p. 310.

§ *Cal. State Papers, Ireland, Carew MSS.*, 1601, p. 42.

|| *Fiants*, 1 July, XLIII, Eliz.

¶ *Ibid.*, 9 June, XLIV, Eliz. The tld. of Farranconnell is in Kilbride parish ; it is the exotic "Bobs Grove" of modern O.S. maps. The P.M. has "Farniscom." and the *Down Survey*, "Farnaconnell."

° *Ibid.*, 23 June, XLIV, Eliz.

On the death of Edmund his nephew, Eoghan, son of Hugh Connalach, succeeded to the chieftainship, but Eoghan died towards the end of 1601. Maolmordha, fourth son of Hugh Connalach, succeeded and struggled on to hold the chieftainship until the Jacobean confiscations of 1609. He was the last chieftain of East Breifne, and his powers were severely limited. He lived, according to *Pynnar's Survey* (1618), in the castle of Commet (Kevit) near Bellanagh. His death took place in 1635. The *O'Reilly Pedigree* has it that:—

The four sons of Maolmordha, son of Hugh, were Cahir, Edmund, Hugh the Primate, and Donal.

DR. HUGH O'REILLY.

Dr. Hugh O'Reilly, son of Maolmordha and Honora O'Reilly, was born in 1580. He was ordained in 1618, and then set out for Rouen, where he continued his theological studies. Returning to Ireland, he was appointed Bishop of Kilmore in 1625, and in 1626 was consecrated in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda. Two years later—in 1628—he was translated to the Archiepiscopal See of Armagh. As Primate his task was an arduous one.* He laboured incessantly to mitigate the disabilities of the time. In 1637 he was imprisoned for convening a Synod. It is a noteworthy fact that Dr. O'Reilly was the first Irish bishop who endeavoured to supplant the Julian system of computation and have the Gregorian Calendar adopted in Ireland. But circumstances were not yet propitious, and he was unsuccessful. He ruled the Primatial See of Armagh for 24 tempestuous years, and died at Trinity Island, in Loch Uachtar, in 1652. He was buried in the Franciscan monastery of Cavan close by Owen Roe O'Neill and Myles the Slasher. "It was a holy thought," writes Rev. C. P. Meehan, the Franciscan historian, "to lay the bones of so true a prelate in the same loam with the great chieftains of his own race and kindred."†

DR. EDMUND O'REILLY.

The successor to Dr. Hugh O'Reilly in the Primatial See of Armagh was his distinguished kinsman, Dr. Edmund O'Reilly.‡ Born in Dublin in 1606, he graduated in a college there, and was ordained in 1629. He spent some time in Louvain, where he was a pupil of Cornelius à Lapide, S.J., the learned commentator on the *Prophecies* of St. Malachy, the authenticity of which he so ably defends. Returning to Ireland, he was appointed to a parish

* For letters written to the Pope by the Archbishop of Armagh and Owen Roe O'Neill see *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, Vol. II, p. 32. They are dated May 18, 1649—*Ex campo nostro apud Cavan*. See also Cardinal Moran's *Persecutions of the Irish Catholics*, p. 99.

† *Irish Franciscan Monasteries*, 5th ed., p. 183.

‡ Vide *Renehan Collections*, pp. 48 *et seq.*; Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, Vol. I, p. 226; Stuart-Coleman's *Armagh*, pp. 234-242.

in Dublin. In 1642 he was promoted to the office of Vicar-General of that diocese, but in 1653 was arrested and transported to the Continent. Appointed to the Primatial See, he was consecrated at Brussels in 1657. In 1658 he made an attempt to reach Ireland, landed in London, was discovered, and was obliged to return to France. However, in Oct., 1659, he succeeded in reaching Ireland and remained in disguise for about two years. About 1661 he was again banished and took refuge in Rome. In June, 1666, he again contrived to return to Ireland, reached Dublin, but was arrested towards the end of the same month and again transported to the Continent. He never returned and his death took place on the 8th March, 1669, at the Royal College at Saumur, in France, where he rests in the church of the B.V.M.

MYLES THE SLASHER.

To detail the military career of Myles the Slasher, and to enumerate his prodigies of valour during the wars of 1641-44, would require a lengthy article. His last great stand on the Bridge of Finea, in the Summer of 1644, when confronting the forces of General Monroe, is graphically described by O'Donovan:—*

In 1644 Myles was encamped at Granard, in the County of Longford, with Lord Castlehaven, who ordered him to proceed with a chosen detachment of horse to defend the bridge of Finea against the Scots, then bearing down on the main army with a very superior force—led by General Monroe. Myles was slain at the head of his troops, fighting bravely on the middle of the bridge.† Tradition adds that,

* O'Donovan's version will be found in *Duffy's Hibernian Magazine*, Feb. 1861.

† Castlehaven has forded the Shannon
 With the soldiers of gallant Owen Roe,
 And hurriedly marching to meet them
 Pressed forward the troops of Monroe.

* * * * *
 He fought till the dead and the dying
 Heaped high on the battlements lay.

He fell; but the foot of a foeman
 Passed not o'er the Bridge of Finea.

—*Popular Ballad.*

The village of Finea, in Westmeath, is separated from the village of Kilgolagh, in Cavan, by a long bridge—originally nine-arched—which spans the River Inny, as it flows from Loch Sheelin to Loch Kinale. The surrounding scenery is wildly beautiful. A ford on the river Inny gave the village its name—Fiodh an Atha, i.e., "the wood of the ford." It is so written by the *Four Masters*. The Gaelic form of Kilgolagh is Coill Gabhlach, i.e., "the wood of the fork." The village is well known on account of its ancient horse fairs (v. *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 61). It belongs to Drumbloman parish; the old Hospital, from which the parish took its name, was close by. The 1609 map has "Finnah" with an old castle indicated. "Killgolagh" with a castle—marked "Fenacastle"—is shown on the *Down Survey*. A handsome monument to the memory of the Slasher has been erected in the village of Finea. Some mounds on the banks of the Inny; a short distance below the Bridge, are pointed out by local tradition as the burial-place of those who were killed in the battle,

during this action he encountered the colonel of the Scots in single combat, who laid open his cheek with a blow of his sword, but Myles, whose jaws were stronger than a smith's vice, held fast the Scotchman's sword between his teeth till he cut him down, but the main body of the Scots pressing upon him he was left dead on the field. His body was discovered on the following day, and conveyed to the monastery of Cavan, where it was interred in the tomb of his ancestors.

A tradition, locally remembered in Crosserlough, has it that when Myles was killed his head was cut off and brought to Cavan where it was impaled on the railings of Cavan church. The tradition further states that a man (named Flynn) from Denn Parish took the head from Cavan and brought it to Crosserlough, where it was kept for years in a niche in the outer wall of the ruined church. But tradition is positive that the body of Myles rests beneath the shadow of the ivied tower in the old Abbey graveyard of Cavan, where alongside the body of Owen Roe O'Neill was deposited in 1649, and three years later—in 1652—the remains of the illustrious Primate Hugh O'Reilly.

THE BATTLE OF FINEA (1644).

A contemporary account of the battle at Finea, written by Lord Castlehaven himself, gives a summary of the principal events of the day. It will be remembered that Lord Castlehaven was fighting on the side of the Confederate Catholics from 1642 till the peace with Ormonde, in 1646. He thus records his campaign of 1644 in Longford and Cavan :—

The first rendezvous I made in order to this field, was about mid-summer, 1644, at *Granard*, in the County of *Longford*; where I had appointed 3,000 horse and foot, with two or three field pieces, to meet me; intending there to have expected the coming up of the whole army, which might be in four or five days time, for O'Neill was near encamped at *Portlester*, and the rest marching as ordered. My spies that met me at this rendezvous, and came in haste, agreed they had left the enemy near a certain mountain, threescore miles off; that they were 17,000 strong, with one and twenty days' provision, no cannon nor other baggage, and were ready to march. I thought myself pretty secure for that night; but before day, one from *Cavan* (which was but twelve miles distance) assured me, he had left the whole army of the enemy there, and that their horse and dragoons would be with me in the morning. On this advice I packed off as fast as I could, and gained *Portlester*, having ordered the rest of the army to come thither; and at that instant commanded a colonel with 5 or 600 foot, and 100 horse, to defend the bridge of *Fienagh*, that I might not be pursued: it was of stone, and a castle on our end. I sent with him

shovels, pickaxes and spades, with plenty of ammunition.

The enemy, according to my intelligence, came at sunrise into the camp I had left, and shewed themselves the next day before that bridge; but my unfortunate colonel sent over his horse to skirmish; and when they were far enough out, on a sudden the enemy mingled with them, which was the cause our foot could do nothing, but, through fear to kill their own, left bridge, castle and all, free for the enemy. However, it availed them little; for, finding me well posted, though O'Neill was of another opinion, their provisions shrunk, and being at least twelve days march from their own country, they stayed not to give me further trouble, but hastened homewards.*

In his narrative Castlehaven does not specify the name of the colonel whom he sent on that perilous mission of holding the bridge; but tradition supplies the omission.† And if history could be challenged to afford a parallel not less glorious—and certainly not more authentic—we could only find comparison in the Roman *Horatius* defending the Sublician Bridge, or the Spartan *Leonidas* confronting the Persian invaders at the Pass of Thermopylæ.

SIR JOHN O'REILLY'S DESCENDANTS.

Sir John O'Reilly had a younger son Hugh who was the father of the intrepid Colonel Philip O'Reilly, one of the leaders in the Revolution of 1641. Colonel Philip O'Reilly married Rose, sister of Owen Roe O'Neill and lived for a time in the Castle of Ballinacargy. He was attainted in 1642 and after the Act of Settlement was obliged to expatriate himself, retiring with his brigade to the Netherlands, where he served in the

* *Memoirs of Lord Castlehaven; or, Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland* p. 69—Dublin, 1815. First printed in London, 1684.

† Another tradition, preserved by some branches of the O'Reilly family in Breiffne, has it that Myles survived the Battle of Finea, that he escaped by spurring his charger over the battlements of the Bridge into Loch Sheelin, and that afterwards he went to France where he died. Some say he died at Louvain, others at Chalons-sur-Marne. There appears to be some confusion between two generals of the same name—Col. Myles O'Reilly, *the Sheriff*, and Col. Myles O'Reilly, *the Slasher*. The former was High Sheriff of Cavan when the Insurrection of 1641 broke out, and took a leading part in the wars against the Cromwellians. In 1652, after the *Act of Settlement* in which he is specified, he was obliged to take refuge on the Continent. He died about 1660 in the Franciscan monastery of Chalons-sur-Marne, and was buried there. His kinsman, Col. Philip McHugh O'Reilly died at Louvain in 1655. (Cf. Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, Vol. I, p. 198). In the wars of the period when Col. Myles O'Reilly is mentioned it is not always obvious whether *Myles the Sheriff*, or *Myles the Slasher* is intended. Whatever doubts may exist regarding the burial-place of Myles the Slasher, yet, all traditions are unanimous that (1) Myles fought a heroic fight on the Bridge of Finea, and that (2) he was a swordsman of almost superhuman power whose flashing sword inspired with terror the mandarins and marauders of the day.

Spanish army. His death took place 1655; he rests in the Irish Monastery at Louvain.

Hugh Roe O'Reilly, only son of Colonel Philip, was slain by the Parliamentary forces in Cavan in 1651. Colonel Philip had a younger brother, Maolmordha, who had a son Edmond Buidhe, who was now considered chief of the O'Reilly's. According to local tradition, Edmond Buidhe, on his succession in 1651, came to the ruined church of Kildrumfertan, where he knelt to receive a beautiful silver cross—a tribute from the Clans of Clanmahon. Tradition further adds that the presentation was made by a Father Bryan O'Reilly, a priest of Kilmore diocese.

Edmond Buidhe went to France in his youth, but returned to Ireland with James II in 1688, and was appointed a colonel of infantry and lord-lieutenant of Co. Cavan. He subsequently distinguished himself at the Boyne, at Limerick, and at the second siege of Athlone. After the capitulation of Limerick he retired with many of his own regiment to France, where he died in 1693. Local tradition says that Father Bryan O'Reilly was a faithful attendant on Colonel Edmond Buidhe during the campaigns of James II and that when the Irish Brigades went to France Father O'Reilly died at Cavan of a broken heart; it is said that he was buried in the O'Reilly vault in Kildrumfertan.

MYLES'S DESCENDANTS.

Myles the Slasher married Catherine, daughter of Charles O'Reilly of Leitrim, and was the father of Colonel John O'Reilly of Ballymacadd, Co. Meath, and Garryrobuck,* Co. Cavan, who was elected Knight of the Shire for the County of Cavan, in the Parliament held at Dublin on the 7th May, 1689. The latter raised a regiment of dragoons, at his own expense, for the service of James II, and assisted at the siege of Derry in 1689. He had two engagements with Colonel Wolsley, the commander of the garrison at Belturbet, whom he signally defeated. He fought at the Battles of the Boyne and Aughrim, and was included in the articles of capitulation of Limerick, whereby he preserved his property, and was allowed to carry arms [O'Donovan].

Colonel John O'Reilly died on the 17th Feb., 1717, and was buried in the churchyard of Kildrumfertan. The O'Reilly tombs in this churchyard are of great interest, and their inscriptions have already been noted and discussed † On one of the tombs, under the coat of arms, is the motto: *Dum Spero Spiro*,‡ which very

* Roebuck, in Kilbride parish, near Loch Sheelin. It is given under various forms, e.g., "Garrirobucke" (1609 map); "Garryrobucke" (*Down Survey*); "Garrirobert" (*Patent Rolls*, 7 James I); "Garrirobuck" (*Cavan List*).

† Vide *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 66.

‡ "So long as I breathe, I hope." Probably based on Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, IX, 10, 3: *Ut agrotolo dum anima est, spes esse dicitur*. ("Whilst there is life to the sick man, there is hope").

aptly designates the varying fortunes of this great family through the stormy years of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. The other tomb has the familiar motto of the O'Reillys: *Fortitudine et Prudentia*. It is uncertain under which of the two tombs the body of Colonel John O'Reilly rests: his epitaph is on both.

Thomas O'Reilly, of Baltrasna, near Oldcastle, Co. Meath, was the youngest son of Colonel John O'Reilly, and a Lieutenant in his father's regiment. He married Rose, daughter of Colonel Luke MacDowell, of Mantua, Co. Roscommon, and their youngest son was the distinguished Count Alexander O'Reilly of Spain. This Alexander was born at Baltrasna in the year 1722, and, it will be observed, was seventh in descent from the famous Edmund of Kilnacrott. At an early age he went to Spain and entered the Spanish service as a Lieutenant in the Irish Brigade. He soon achieved distinction as a military leader, and was given the title of Count. While serving in Italy he received a wound which made him lame for life.

In 1757 he joined the Austrian army and distinguished himself against the Prussians at Hochkirchen in 1758. The following year he entered the Spanish service and took a prominent part at the battles of Bergen, Minden, and Corbach.

War being declared between Spain and Portugal, Count O'Reilly re-entered the Spanish service and received the rank of Lieut.-General. In 1762 he defeated the Portuguese before Chaves. An English army under Burgoyne, arriving to the aid of the Portuguese, checked the Spanish successes, and in Feb., 1763, the Peace of Paris deprived O'Reilly of active military employment. While in the service of Spain he remodelled the Spanish army, and introduced into it a discipline hitherto unknown. In 1765 he was responsible for saving the life of Charles III in a popular tumult in Madrid. Promoted to the rank of Field Marshal, he was sent to Havannah as second in command, and in June, 1768, was appointed Governor of Louisiana, which had been ceded to Spain by France.* On his return to Spain Count O'Reilly was made Generalissimo of His Catholic Majesty's Forces, Governor of Madrid, and Inspector-General of Infantry. His success and rapid advancement excited the jealousy of certain Spanish officers, who were instrumental in having him removed from the gubernatorial chair and other positions of trust, but Charles III, who

* A paragraph in a recent issue of the *New York Herald*—Paris edition, Nov., 1926—states that Don Alexandre O'Reilly's *Proclamation Establishing Spanish Law in Louisiana*, published in 1769 and the first book printed in New Orleans, was sold for 1,750 dollars at the Anderson Galleries, New York. It was a feature of the final sale of the historical library of Simon J. Schwartz of New Orleans. Bound with the early imprint is another proclamation in the form of a set of instruments, relating to the functioning of the courts, which were drawn up under the direction of O'Reilly when appointed Governor of the Province.

held him in high favour, appointed him Governor of Cadiz and Captain-General of Andalusia.*

Readers of Lord Byron will remember the passage where the frenzied *Donna*, "her dark eyes flashing through their tears," invokes: "General Count O'Reilly, who took Algiers"† This is a historical lapse on the *Donna's* part. Count O'Reilly did not take Algiers—but Algiers very nearly took him when in 1775, while laying siege to that city he was almost surrounded by overwhelming forces and forced to retreat with his army and fleet, thus undergoing what Spanish generals have experienced in that unmanageable country at a very recent date.

The jealousy of the Spanish officers forced Count O'Reilly to retire soon afterwards on pension. In 1786 he employed Chevalier Thomas O'Gorman to compile for him a history of the O'Reilly family, for which he paid O'Gorman the sum of £1,137 10s., the original receipt for which was in the possession of O'Donovan. Count O'Reilly died on the 23rd March, 1794, at the little town of Chinchilla, in the Albacete Province of Central Spain.

Another illustrious member of the Baltrasna family was Count Andrew O'Reilly, who was born in 1742, and was son of James O'Reilly of Ballinlough Co. Westmeath. He distinguished himself in the military service of Austria, and was General of Cavalry in the Austrian service. He filled in succession all the military grades in the Austrian service, including, according to O'Hart, that of Field Marshal. Napoleon held him in high esteem, and referred to him as: "le respectable General O'Reilly." His death took place at Penzing, near Vienna, on 5th April, 1832, at the age of 90.‡

To the same family belonged the Most Rev. Edmund O'Reilly, Primate of Ireland, already referred to, who was born in Dublin in 1606. Also Edward O'Reilly,§ author of the well-known

* One of the principal streets in Havannah is named *Calle O'Reilly* after him. The visitor to Spain at the present day will find in the street names of Madrid, Barcelona, Cadiz, etc., many names of Irish exiles. Count O'Reilly was a generous patron of the Irish College, Salamanca. His ambition—according to the narrative of an Irish priest who met him there—was to lead a Spanish force against England, to land in Ireland and overthrow tyranny, "and the very first thing he swore to do was to burn to the ground his ancestral home, polluted by conforming kinsmen whom he would put to the sword." *Vide* Mrs. Morgan John O'Connell's *The Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade*, Vol. I, p. 303.

† *Don Juan*, Canto I, Stanza CXLVIII.

‡ Count Andrew O'Reilly was a Knight-Commander of the Imperial Military Order of Maria Theresa. His brother James, also in the Austrian service, was killed in the Turkish war of 1788. Andrew distinguished himself at the battles of Montebello, Marengo, and Austerlitz. For his career see J. C. O'Callaghan's *Irish Brigades*, Vol. I, p. 276.

§ This eminent Gaelic scholar died in Aug., 1829. It is generally agreed that he was born in Co. Cavan, but it has been stated, without authority, that he was born at Harold's Cross, Dublin.

works: *A Chronological Account of nearly Four Hundred Irish Writers* and an *Irish-English Dictionary*.

One of the O'Reilly tombs in Kildrumfertan bears an inscription—on an upright stone forming the end of the supporting rectangle—stating that it belongs to the O'Reillys of the "House of Belthrasanagh."* Under this tomb, in their ancestral parish of Crosserlough, rest the many generations of the O'Reilly family who, after "life's fitful fever," are having their last long peaceful sleep.

THE JACOBAN GRANTS.

Queen Elizabeth died in 1603, and was succeeded by her cousin James I. We have now reviewed the Tudor policy of Surrender and Regrant, and have discussed the position of Breiffne at the close of Elizabeth's reign. The coming of the Stuarts saw the adoption of a more sinister policy, a systematic attempt to degrade the native landowners and to plant the country with English tenants. The Jacobean confiscation of the Barony of Castlerahan in 1610 has already been described in these pages. A considerable portion of the parish of Crosserlough was assigned to the dispossessed Irish "natives" in lieu of their estates elsewhere.

In the first year of the reign of James I we find pardons granted, *inter alios*, to Shane Clerie, Gilleise Clerie, Shane M'Philip more M'Clerie, Patrick M'Gilleduffe M'Clerie, and Dorby Clerie of Tocher.† In 1604 pardons were granted, *inter alios*, to Daniel McKernan of Carne, Hugh McPrior O'Relie of Drumhalagh, and Owen McMulumore O'Rely of Gradam.‡ The king granted in 1609 to Marie, Baronesse of Delvin, Co. Westmeath, widow, and Sir Richard Nugent, Lord Delvin, her son, *inter alia* :—

Mullagycastle, 4 polls; Drumbee and Lisdoran, 2 polls; Dromnesclyne, 1 poll; Killnecroitt, a castle and 2 polls; Lisdonbryne [vide *Fiants*, supra], 1 poll; Lisneylaskagh, § 1 poll; Aghavonan [Aghawonan], || 1 poll; Dromrovorrach [Drumroragh], 2 polls; Cloggagh, ¶ 2 polls; Rossane [Rassan], 2 polls; Coulchill [Coolkill], 2 polls; Liecharie [Lecharry], 2 polls; Dromgill, 1 poll; Dorrelahin, 1 poll; Dorrelahin, 2 other polls; Killnecurr [Kilnacor], ° 2 polls. ∴

The grants from the king to Walter, Thomas, and Patrick Brady of Cavan, and dated 8 Jan., 1610, included one poll in each of the tlds. of Killenure [Killynure], Drumhallagh,

* *Vide Journal*, Vol. I, p. 68.

† *Patent Rolls*, 1 James I.

‡ *Ibid.*, 2 James I.

§ In Kilbride parish, and adjoining the tld. of Lisnabrinnia. It is so placed on the 1609 map. The modern O.S. map has "Corwin."

|| In Kilbride parish.

¶ In Castlerahan parish.

° In Loughtee barony.

∴ *Patent Rolls*, 7 James I.

Lissdonowsy [Lisdonnish], Gortnagullen [v. *Down Survey*, infra], Killederry [v. *Down Survey*, infra], Kiltogher [Killytogher], Coroneagh [Greenow], Agholappan [?], the moiety of Derry, one poll, and two polls in Togher. The same grantees obtained in Killinkere Parish the tlds. of Greaghcleagh, two polls; Aghne-cloghfin [Cleffin], one and a half polls; Carrigneveagh, one poll; Invegerogy [Invyarroge], and Carraghdownan [Corradoo], one poll; Togher, one poll; Drotramen [Drutamy], one poll. In Mullagh Parish the tld. of Carneregerrill [Cornaglare], one and a half polls. In all 1500 acres at a yearly rent of £11 4s. 0d.* Further grants in Loughtee Barony were allotted to the same.†

Shane McPhilip O'Reilly, in addition to grants received elsewhere,‡ was allotted in the tld. of Callew [Cullow] one half poll, 25 acres, at the yearly rent of 5/4; also a grant in Clontikarke [v. *Down Survey* infra].§

The grants to Owen McMulmorie O'Reilly, included, *inter alia* :—

Dirrileigh [Derrylea], two and a half polls; Kinagh [Keenagh], three fourths of a poll; Dowcaslan [Duffcastle], one poll; Quiacher [v. *Down Survey*, infra], one poll; Carneroan [Carrickacroy], one poll; Laghtnadronagh, two polls; Cullogh [Cullew], one quarter poll. In all 500 acres; yearly rent, £5 6s. 8d.||

The following lands were granted to Brian O'Coggye O'Reilly :—
Gradum, two polls; Sallachill [Sallaghill], Portane, and Aghaghy [Aghakee], one poll each; one of the two polls of Derrie [Derry]; Carrickgillechir [v. *Down Survey*, infra], two polls. In all 400 acres, at the yearly rent of £4 5s. 0d.¶

To Philip and Shane O'Reilly, brothers, were granted one poll each in the tlds. of :—

Pollorea, Dromeloman, Shraghenarnoge [v. *Down Survey*, infra], and Dromcassidy, together with seven-eighth parts of the two polls of Tonilahan [Tonylion], in all 300 acres at the yearly rent of £3 4s. 0d.°

* *Ibid.*, 8 James I; Cf. Hill's *Plantation of Ulster*, p. 343.

† Walter Brady was the first Sovereign or Mayor of Cavan, and his name appears in the Charter granted to the town by James I in 1611. Thomas Brady was one of the twelve burgesses of Cavan Corporation established by the same charter. The following grant was made to Walter Brady by Queen Elizabeth in 1584: "The office of constable and gaoler of the gaol of Cavan in Co. Cavan, with all such fees as the constable and gaoler of Tryme [Trim] has. To hold during pleasure. Security in £300 sterling for the safe custody of the prisoners." (*Fiants*, 12 Dec., XXVII. Eliz.)

‡ *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 303.

§ *Patent Rolls*, 12 James I. In the *Patent Rolls* and *Fiants* Callew is referred to as "Callew in Cloncale"—or "Clonkeyle." Cf. *Cal. State Papers*, 1538 (*supra*).

|| *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 9 James I.

¶ *Ibid.*, Cf. Hill, *Op. cit.*, p. 343.

° *Ibid.*, Cf. Hill, *Op. cit.*, p. 343.

The *Books of Survey and Distribution* (*infra*) show that many of these, or their descendants, were in possession of the same lands in 1641.

Edward Nugent was granted the following lands in "Clonmahown Precinct":—

Dromrade [Drumrath], one poll; Corlessely [Corlislea], one poll; Coolenessog [*v. Down Survey, infra*], one poll; three-fourths of the poll of Cornowe [*v. Down Survey, infra*]; in all 162 acres. Rent, £1 15s. 0d. English.*

In 1611 the king granted to Mulmorie McHugh Connelagh O'Reilly, *inter alia*, the lands of:—

Aghecone [Aghaconny], two polls; Clonmolt and Dromkelly, one poll; Shankelly [*v. Down Survey, No. 95 infra*], one poll.*

In the same year Gerald Fleming obtained the grant of:—

The town and lands of Creved or Crened [Crenard], † one poll; Cosetroose [Corstruce], half poll; † Ornyreogh [Urney], † two polls; Killsallagh, Lawoy, Liscally, † and Cleerebane, § being two polls; Coolenecargy [Coolnacarrick], one poll; in all 475 acres. Total rent, £5 1s. 4d., English.*

In a grant dated 5 April, 1629, "Patrick Smith *alias* Gowen, cleric" was assigned the rectory of Kildromfertin and three polls of the lands of Sallaghill.||

THE DOWN SURVEY: CROSSERLOUGH IN 1641.

In the general survey of confiscated lands in Cavan, and perfected by Sir John Davys in 1610, the Baronies of Castlerahan and Clanmahon were parcelled out to various English adventurers who promised to carry out a detailed scheme of Plantation.¶ The details of these schemes, as intended for operation in the Barony of Castlerahan, have already been described. The Parish of Crosserlough seems to have been specially set apart for the dispossessed Irish from the other parishes in the Barony of Castlerahan as well as from some of the other Baronies in Breiffne. In connection with the Jacobean confiscations a Baronial Map was drawn up in 1609—generally known as the *Plantation Map*—and is the earliest tld. map known to be extant.° This valuable

* *Patent Rolls*, 9 James I.

† Kilmore parish.

‡ Those tlds. are beside Bellananagh. On the *Down Survey* "Liskelly and Putaghe" are marked between Garrymore and Coolnacarrick, and in Ballintemple parish: "Putaghe" is the "Pottahee" of the Ordnance Survey. Adjoining "Ballanenagh" [Bellananagh] the *Down Survey* has an extensive tld. "Lisnalonge" ("Lisnolonge," P.M.) which is the exotic "Bellville" of the O.S. "Lawoy" is the "Legaweel" of the O.S.

§ Denn parish.

¶ *Inquis: Ultonia*, 1629.

° *Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 21 *et seq.*; pp. 127 *et seq.*; pp. 301 *et seq.*

° Zincographed at the O.S. office, Southampton, under the direction of Capt. Adē C. Scott, R.E., and Col. Sir Henry James, R.E., F.R.S.

and interesting map enables us to identify and locate with considerable accuracy the various tlds.—many of which are now obsolete—mentioned in the Jacobean grants. In 1654 the *Down Survey** Map was completed by Sir William Petty in connection with the Commonwealth Grants. The latter map was prepared with greater care than that of 1609. The Parish of Crosserlough as detailed on those early maps is of much interest and will now be considered. The numbers attached show the order in which the tlds. are placed in the Commonwealth Grants (*infra*); the tlds. are indicated by the same numbers on Petty's Map. The forms which occur on the 1609 Plantation Map will be indicated thus: P.M. Present-day O.S. forms are in brackets, thus: []. O.S.=Ordnance Survey tld. Index Map, 1916. C.L.=*Cavan Townland List* published in Cavan by Henry Ireland in 1709 (or 1790). (See *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 324.)

CROSSERLOUGH PARISH.

24. DRUMLOMAN, STRANANURNOGE, CRENAN, DRUMCASSADY, and PAULEERE.

These are grouped together without any boundaries indicated. The O.S. has Drumloman, Pollareagh, Creenow, and Drumcassidy. On the P.M. "Dromlomon," "Crinen," and "Pollorea" are marked as separate tlds., but Strananurnoge is not recorded. The latter is, however, mentioned in the Jacobean Grants (*supra*) and in the 1664 Hearth Money Rolls (*infra*), but seems to be no longer remembered locally. It was certainly adjoining Drumloman and Drumcassidy. The name is apparently Srath an Urnaidhe=the river meadow of the prayer-house or oratory (cf. Latin *oratorium*). "Dromloman and part of Srananornoge"; "Drumcassidy"; "Pullarea and part of Srananornoge, *alias* Creno" (C.L.)

G. GRADUM.—Petty marks this: "Protestant Land." The P.M. has "Gradan." Cf. *Fiants* (*supra*). "Graddam" (C.L.).

25. DEREENE [Derry]. "Derry" (C.L.).

26. TOGHER.—Same on P.M. Cf. *Fiants* (*supra*). "Togher" (C.L.).

27. KILLINOURE [Killynure].—"Keylamure" (P.M.). "Killynure" (C.L.).

28. Killtogher.—"Keilitagher" (P.M.). "Killytogher" (C.L.).

29. LISDOMOISH [Lisdonnish].—"Lisdonouse" (P.M.). Cf. *Fiants* (*supra*). "Lisdonuis" (C.L.).

30. DRUMHALLAGH.—"Dromahanagh" (P.M.). "Dromhallagh" (C.L.).

31. DERRILOGHAN [Derrylaghan].—"Derylahin" (P.M.). "Derrylane" (C.L.).

32. RASSAN.—Same on P.M., and in (C.L.).

* So called because the details were noted *down* on the spot by the surveyors. The original plates are to be seen in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris.

33. MULLAHCASLAN [Mullaghcastle]. Cf. *Fiants* (supra).
 "Mullaghcaslan" (C.L.).

34. COULEKELL [Coolkill].—"Coulcheil" (P.M.). Cf. *Fiants* (supra). "Coolkill" (C.L.).

35. CLOUNTECARKE.—This occupies the place of Kilnacrott, which, strange to say, is not marked. The P.M. has "Keilnacrot," with a tld. "Clonticose" adjoining. The latter denomination seems no longer remembered. Cf. *Fiants* (supra). In the C.L. we also find "Clonticark," with no mention of Kilnacrott. It is evident that Clountecarke was formerly recognised as a separate tld. The name was obviously derived from the somewhat swampy position of portion of the tld.—Cluanta na gCearc, i.e., the meadows of the hens (or grouse). Kilnacrott=Coill na Cruite, i.e., the wood of the humpy-looking hill; the word Cruit frequently occurs in place names and means a hump-backed hill.

Kilnacrott has been made famous by the celebrated Edmund O'Reilly—*Edmund of Kilnacrott*—who resided there, and whose chequered career has already been described in this paper. Of the O'Reilly Castle not a trace remains, but its site is traditionally pointed out near Kilnacrott House—now the Priory of the Premonstratensians, or White Canons of St. Norbert.

In 1609 the castle and lands of Kilnacrott passed from the possession of the O'Reillys and were granted by James I to the Nugents, Earls of Westmeath. After the Cromwellian confiscations—in 1666—the property was granted to the Clements family. In the early years of the last century the Mortons purchased it. Pierce Morton,* who, according to O'Donovan, had been a Professor of Mathematics in a college in U.S.A., inherited the estate from his elder brother. The estate then passed into the hands of the Lynches, and ultimately became the property of the Premonstratensian Canons in 1925.

* In answer to queries regarding the parish of Crosserlough, the following reply was sent by Pierce Morton to John O'Donovan (*Cavan Letters*, 1836, p. 54):—

SIR,

It would give me great pleasure, so far from esteeming it a trouble could I answer in any way satisfactorily your interesting questions respecting the names Mullaghcastle and Castleraheen and the historical facts you mention in connection with them. I am not aware of a castle or church having existed at Mullaghcastle, in Crosserlough parish, and should rather incline to your suggestion of the parish of Mullagh being the locality you seek for. I have an opportunity, however, of making enquiry just at this moment from the circumstance of Mr. O'Reilly of Beltrasna (a descendant of the Count O'Reilly you refer to) being with me for a few days, and will acquaint you with the result, as also with respect to Castleraheen. I shall at the same time have much pleasure in naming to you the best acquainted persons I can find for your purpose in this parish.

Your very obedient servant,
 PIERCE MORTON.

Kilnacrott,
 25th May, 1836.

36. DROMRORAGH.—“Dromrorah” (P.M.). The latter map has a ruined church marked in this tld. “Drumgoragh” (C.L.), an obvious misprint—*recte* “Drumroragh.”

37. LEACHARY.—“Leuchary” (P.M.) Cf. *Fiants* (supra). “Lecharry” (C.L.).

38. DRUMISLE [Druminisclin].—“Druminisklin” (C.L.).

39. DRINIGILL [Drumgill].—“Dromogil” (P.M.). “Drume-guill” (C.L.).

40. CORLAGHTCHERIN [Corlateerin].—“Carlatirine” (P.M.). “Corlattaheerin” (C.L.).

41. LATTERAGH DROMAGH [Latnadronagh].—“Lachenadroanagh” (P.M.). Cf. *Fiants* (supra). “Lattanadruanagh” (C.L.).

42. DOWCASLAN [Duffcastle].—“Dromchaslan” (P.M.) “Doo-caslan” (C.L.). There is an interesting Dolmen in this tld.

43. CONNOGHER.—This is not marked on the O.S. The P.M. has “Quiagher.” According to the *Down Survey* it was co-extensive with the present tld. of Kiffagh, which is not entered on the latter. Cf. *Jacobean Grants* (supra) and *Hearth Money Rolls* (*infra*). “Kivagher” (C.L.).

44. DERRYLEAGH.—“Derileigh” (P.M.). Cf. *Fiants* (supra). “Derrylia” (C.L.).

45. KENAGH [Keenagh].—“Cinagh” (P.M.). Cf. *Fiants* (supra). “Kynagh” (C.L.).

46. FINNOY [Finaway].—“Finmoo” (P.M.). Cf. *Fiants* (supra). “Finiveagh” (C.L.).

47. DRUMBE [Drumbee].—“Drumbee” (C.L.).

48. CROSSERLOGH.—“Carigicrosserlogh” (P.M.). Cf. *Fiants* (supra). The latter map marks an adjacent tld., “Lisboy” with a ruined church; this was obviously a sub-denomination of Crosserlough containing the parish church or hospital. Lisboy (Lios Buidhe—the yellow fort) is not marked on the *Down Survey*, nor have I found any other reference to it. A portion of the tld. is marked “Rocks, Red Bog and Mountaine.” The C.L. has two denominations: “Crosserlogh, *the Church*” and “Crosserlogh, *the Rocks*.”

49 (2). PART OF CROSSERLOGH.—This is included in the O.S. tld. of “Rockfield,” obviously a semi-translation of “Carigicrosserlogh.” Evidently “Crosserlogh, *the Rocks*” of the C.L.

L. KILLNALECK.—This is not marked on the P.M. of Castle-*rahan*, but the adjoining P.M. tld. in *Clanmahon* is “Killnelecky.” “Killnaleck” (C.L.).

C. + 1. DRUMSCRUDON.—“Drumskorida” (P.M.). Drum-scruddin” (C.L.).

C. + 2. CARGEHERONIN [Carrickacroy].—This seems to be a copyist’s error. The P.M. has “Carigicroah,” which is a closer approximation to the present-day form than that of the *Down Survey*. “Carrickacroy” (C.L.). A Dolmen which exists in this tld. is described elsewhere in this *Journal*.

KILLDRUMFERTAN PARISH *alias* CROSSERLOGH.
CLONMOGHAN BARONY.

90. CLONMILT.—The P.M. has the same. “Cloonmult” (C.L.).

91. DRUMKILLY.—“Dromkilly” (P.M.). “Drumkilly” (C.L.).

92. CORLISLEAGH.—“Corlissoly” (P.M.). “Corlislea” (C.L.).

93. DRUMRADE [Drumrath]. “Dromrad” (P.M.). “Drumbrade” (C.L.).

The following six divisions all adjacent to each other are grouped together as “Church Land.” In the *Commonwealth Grants (infra)* they are described as the “six Poles of Killdrumfertan.”

C. + 1. KILL.—This is marked “Cloggin” on the P.M., which also has the ruined church indicated. The *Down Survey* has a large tract of this tld. marked “Red-mosse bogg.” “Kildromfertin” (C.L.).

C. + 2. TIRRYVORNE.—This was the smallest of the six divisions, and apparently consisted of a tail-end of the “Red-mosse bogg” of Kill. It is not marked on the P.M.

C. + 3. CURREVANAN.—The P.M. form appears to be “Correuanuff.”

C. + 4. AGHEMORE.—Not marked on the P.M.

C. + 5. DRUMON.—“Dromion” (P.M.).

C. + 6. PURTACLARE.—“Portclorr” (P.M.). This tld., although still locally recognised, is not marked on the O.S. map.

These six divisions are now included in the “Kill” of the O.S. map.

94. AGHAWEE.—A ruined building—apparently a castle—is marked. “Aghoyogh” (P.M.). Cf. *Fiants (supra)*. “Aghuwee” (C.L.). There is a Dolmen in this tld.

95. DIREEN [Derrin].—“Derry” (P.M.). Alongside this tld., and adjoining Drumkilly, a division “Shankeil,” is shown on the P.M. Neither the *Down Survey* nor the O.S. have this recorded. It is given as “Shankelly” in the 1611 Brants (*supra*). “Dirren” (C.L.).

[49]. TEDICHAN.—“Tedoishan” (P.M. This is No. 49 in the *Commonwealth Grants* of Ballintemple Parish. “Tydichan” (C.L.).

96. DRUMHENO [Drumakinneo].—“Drommah” (P.M.). “Drumkino” (C.L.).

97. CORGLASSE.—“Corglas” (P.M.). Both maps have an extensive “Logh” indicated in this tld. “Corglas” (C.L.).

C. + 7. RAHARVERTHY [Rahaverty].—“Rahavurty” (P.M.). “Raharvarty” (C.L.).

DRUMANALARAGH.—This is Drumnalaragh adjoining Clonmult, and is included in the “Church Land” of the *Commonwealth Grants*. “Dromnolaragh” (P.M.). “Drumnelaragh” (C.L.).

The tld. of Drumhurk [Drumhirk], in Denn Parish, and in

the Barony of Loughtee, now included in this parish for ecclesiastical purposes, is marked "Church Land."

While the greater part of the Parish is in Castlerahan barony, a large portion is in Clanmahon and a smaller portion in Loughtee.*

The topography of the parish as indicated by the early maps does not differ substantially from that of to-day, with the exception of inevitable vagaries in the spellings of tld. names. The *Down Survey* has no record of the O.S. tlds. of Aghagegna, Aghakee, Clare ("Clara"—C.L.), Corbeagh ("Corbuh"—C.L.), Garrynoger ("Garrynurcher"—C.L.), Kiffagh ("Kivagher"—C.L.), Kilnacrott, Cullow, Portan ("Partan and Agharshoge"—C.L.), Sallaghill ("Sallaghill and Aghnegegna"—C.L.), or Tonylion ("Tonnylean"—C.L.). The tld. of Graddum has a large acreage and would appear to have included the present tlds. of Aghagegna, Cullow, and Corbeagh. The "Corougillichire" of the P.M. was apparently included in the same tlds. This tld.—not recorded by the *Down Survey*—is mentioned in the Jacobean Grants (*supra*); it seems to be the "Cormakilgar" of the C.L. Portan, Aghakee, and Sallaghill, all adjoining, are spelled "Partane," "Agosky," and "Shalakiel," on the P.M. "Corbeagh" on the latter map is "Coroueah." Portions, at least, of the O.S. tlds. of Kiffagh, Clare, and Garrynoger appear to be co-extensive with the "Connogher" of the *Down Survey*—the "Kivagher" of the C.L. Tonylion is "Tonilihan" on the P.M., and "Tonilahan" in the 1610 grants (*supra*). Adjoining the present tlds. of Derrylahan and Lisdonnish the P.M. has "Kilderry" of which neither the D.S. nor O.S. maps have any record; the 1610 grants (*supra*) have "Killederry" and the C.L. "Kildorry." Another P.M. tld., "Gartnagullin," adjoining Corbeagh and Togher and mentioned in the 1610 grants, is not on the O.S.; it is the "Gortnacullin" of the C.L. In the 1610 grants we find a tld. division "Agholappan"; the C.L. has "Aghulappan," but it is not recorded on any of the early maps and has not yet been identified.

Alongside Drumroragh the P.M. has "Aghlismolin," which seems no longer remembered.

The Clanmahon portion of the parish, i.e., Kildrumfertan proper, as marked on the *Down Survey*, contains 16 tlds., omitting Tedichan, which is grouped under Ballintemple parish. The

* According to the Ordnance Survey the acreages (statute) of the various divisions of the parish of Crosserlough included in the respective baronies are as follows:—

	A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.
Castlerahan ...	11,729	3	5,	including	62	3	0 water.
Clanmahon ...	4,445	1	35,	including	144	3	3 water.
Upper Loughtee ...	261	2	17				
Total ...	16,436	3	17				

present-day ecclesiastical parish contains a number of tlds which the *Down Survey* includes in Denn Parish. Cashel is included in Kilmore parish; the *Down Survey* has "Cashell" and the P.M., which has the same, marks a large circular fort or rath in the tld. Kilmainham is in Denn; "Killmana," *Down Survey*, and "Corcrogher and Kilmognan," P.M. "Aghaconny" is also in Denn; "Aghocunny," *Down Survey*, and "Aghaconny" P.M. The O.S. tlds. of Carrickabane and Corduff are not on the *Down Survey*, but appear to be the "Coruov and Coolenesog" of the P.M. The O.S. tlds., of Aughnahague, Aughadreena,* Ardkill † Drumbarry, Larigan, ‡ Aghadoon or Ravensfield, § and Drum-analaragh, || although in the ecclesiastical parish of Crosserlough are in Loughtee Barony, and this portion is grouped under Denn by the *Down Survey*, and Commonwealth Grants. Drumhurk ¶ is the only Loughtee tld. included in Crosserlough by the *Down Survey*. The Commonwealth Grants arrange those tlds. under their respective Parishes and Baronies.

Sir William Petty (1623—1685), who was the Director of the *Down Survey*, played his part in an exciting period. He was an Englishman, and came to Ireland in 1652 as physician to the Cromwellian army. In 1654 he was given the contract for the *Down Survey* which he carried out expeditiously, and for which he was paid a large sum of money with which he secured large grants of forfeited lands—the foundation of the Lansdowne estates in Ireland. He was a man of astounding versatility, and was, in turn, cabin boy, vendor of sham jewellery, seaman, physician, inventor, Fellow and Vice-Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford; Professor of Anatomy at Oxford, and of Music at Gresham College; Member of Parliament, surveyor, landed proprietor, statistician, philosopher, and political economist.

Whatever may be our opinions of Petty, we must admit that his writings, voluminous and detailed, preserve for us a vast amount of information concerning the Ireland of his day. He formed the very commendable habit of putting all his observations on paper, and when he died he left fifty-three chests of manu-

* "Agharina" (P.M.).

† The P.M. has "Corouenagh," "Coronyry," "Ariheilmore" (Ardkillmore), and "Ariheileuaga" (Ardkill-beg). All these denominations appear to be included in the two tlds. of Ardkill—*móin* and *beas*. "Ardkillbeg" and "Ardkillmore"—*Cavan List*.

‡ "Bleanlaraga" (P.M.); "Blenlary," *Registry* of 1704. The prefix seems to have dropped out of use. The *Cavan List* has "Blenlargin."

§ "Aghdefeagh" (P.M.); "Ravensfield" would be the correct English equivalent. "Aghadoon" is therefore incorrect: it should be Aghnaveagh, i.e., *Δεδο* *να* *ἔφιας* (genitive plural with eclipsis), i.e., the field of the ravens. "Aghunahay"—*Cavan List*.

|| "Dromlara" (P.M.). "Drumlarhu"—*Cavan List*.

¶ "Dromhuck" (P.M.). "Drumhurk."—*Cavan List*.

scripts—only a small selection of which have yet been published.* Statistics seemed to be his *forte*, and even the minutest details are recorded with the greatest care. With him statistics was a science. His estimates of the population of Ireland after the Cromwellian regime were prepared with great care, although the absence of machinery for collecting statistical information rendered his task very difficult. In his works he details the food, habits, dress, etc., of the people of his time. His *Down Survey* was accepted for all practical purposes until the establishment of the *Ordnance Survey*. Petty lived in Ireland between 1676 and 1685, mostly in Co. Kerry, where he owned large estates, and was the ancestor of the Lansdowne family.

THE COMMONWEALTH GRANTS.

Under the *Acts of Settlement and Explanation* the parish of Crosserlough was forfeited.† The *Books of Survey and Distribution* show both the names and occupiers in 1641 and to whom the forfeited lands were assigned. In the following lists the names on the left are the Proprietors in 1641; those on the right are to whom the lands were disposed under the *Acts of Settlement and Explanation*. The acreage of each tld., profitable and unprofitable, the reference to the title on Record and date of the Certificate, also the number of Roll Book and page therein, are recorded. The acreage is in Irish Plantation Measure. The letter C signifies Church Land; B, M, and L, bog, mountain, and lake, respectively. R (when in left hand column) means rocky land.

* A recent work which embodies much new materials, hitherto inaccessible, is *The Petty Papers—Some Unpublished Writings of Sir William Petty, edited from the Bowood Papers*. By the Marquis of Lansdowne, 2 Vols., 585 pp. London—Constable & Co. 1927.

† For an account of some of the main provisions of the *Acts of Settlement and Explanation* see this *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 275.

CROSSERLOGH PARISH, CASTLERAHAN BARONY.

		A. R. P.			A. R. P.				
TURLOGH REILLY, Irish Papist.	24	Drumloman, Strana- nurnoge			182	2	0	Richard Lewis, by cert, 6 July, 1666. Roll 2, p. 119.	
	24B.		Crenan, Drumcassedy and Pauleere ...	422	2	0	121		2	27
		Of the same ...	12	2	26	120	1	13	Unprofitable.
HENRY HECKELL, English Protestant.	G.	Gradum.						Lord Massarene, by cert. 10 July, 1668. R. 7, p. 928.	
	25	Dereene	93	2	16	93	2		16
	25B.	Of the same ...	60	3	24	Unprofitable.			
	26	Togher	225	2	0	225	2		0
ROBERT BRADY, Irish Papist.	BBB.	Three Parcels on the North side of same...			33	0	0	Unprofitable.	
	26B.	Of the same ...	58	1	24	Unprofitable.			
	27	Killinoure	149	2	32	149	2	32	
	28	Killitogher	151	3	0	151	3	0	
	28B.	Of the same ...	25	0	0	Unprofitable.			
	29	Lisdomishe	73	1	8	73	1	8	
PATRICK BRADY, Irish Papist.	30	Drumhallagh ...	82	1	4	54	3	38	Lord Massarene, by cert. 10 July, 1668. R. 7, p. 928.
						27	1	6	

		A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.		
31	} Derryloghan ...	144	0	0		144	0	0	} Thomas Cooch, by cert. 15 March, 1666. R. 4, p. 171.	
32		Rossan ...	291	16	0	{ 71 16 0	220	0		0	} Jane Clements for life and in remainder to John Martin, by cert. 4 Jan., 1666. R. 1, p. 737.
32B.	Of the same...	2	2	0	Unprofit- able.					
33	} Mullagh Caslane ...	228	0	24		228	0	24	} Thomas Cooch, by cert. 15 March, 1666. R. 4, p. 171.	
33B.		Of the same ...	152	0	32	Unprofitable.				
NUGENT, Earle of Westmeath, Irish Papist.	} Coulkell ...	136	2	22		137	0	0	} Jane Clements, by cert. 4 Jan., 1666. R. 1, p. 737.	
34		Clountecarke ...	249	1	8		249	1		8
35	} Dromroragh ...	269	3	32		{ 43 0 0	227	0	0	} Jane Clements, by cert. as above.
36										
37	} Leachary ...	125	1	8		125	1	8	} Abram Clements, by cert. as above.	
BBB.		3 Parcels of the same	27	2	0	Unprofitable.				
38	} Drumisse ...	49	0	0		49	0	0	} Jane Clements, by cert. as above.	
39		Drumgill ...	108	0	0		108	0		0
BB.	} 2 Parcels of the same	29	0	0	Unprofitable.					

PHILIP REILLY, Irish Papist.	40	} Corlaghtcherin ...	53	1	24	53	1	24	} Abram Clements, by cert. as above.		
			41	} Latteragh Dromagh	120	0	0	120		0	0
					41B.	} Of the same ...	131	2		0	Unprofitable.	Jane Clements, by cert. as above.
OWEN REILLY, Irish Papist.	42	} Dowcaslane ...	104	2	16	104	2	16	} Thomas Smith, by Patent, 7 June, 9 Charles II, R. 8. p. 121.		
			42B.	} Of the same ...	26	3	24	Unprofitable.			
OWEN REILLY, Irish Papist.	43	} Connogher ...	176	3	24	144	1	11	} Lord Massarene, by cert. 10 July, 1668. R. 7, p. 928.		
						32	2	13			
						130	0	0		} John Dalme, by cert., 2 Nov., 1666. R. 4, p. 458.	
90	0	0	} Henry Pallmer, by cert. 4 May, 1666. R. 1, p. 379.								
44	} Derrileagh ...	366		0	0	146	0	0	} Lord Massarene, by cert. 10 July, 1668. R. 7, p. 928.		

				A.	R.	P.			
	44B.	Of the same	...	85	3	24	Unprofitable.		
	44b.	Of the same	...	23	0	0	Unprofitable.		
	45	Kenagh	... ..	117	3	8		53	0 3
	46	Finnoy	... ..	149	0	32		149	0 32
JAMES	46b.	Of the same	...	16	0	2	Unprofitable.		
NUGENT,	46B.	Of the same	...	23	0	0	Unprofitable.		
Irish									
Papist.									
PHILLIP	47	Drumboe	... ..	126	0	0		126	0 0
REILLY,	47R.	Of the same	...	13	0	32	Unprofitable.		
Irish									
Papist.									
JOHN									
REILLY,	48	Curraghabreedy	... ..	59	2	16		59	2 16
Irish									
Papist.									
B. ✠	49	Crosserlogh	... ..	256	2	0		256	2 0
Church									
Land.	49R.	Of the same	...	17	3	8	Unprofitable.		
WILLIAM									
BEDELL,	49 (2)	Part of Crosserlogh	...	80	2	32		80	2 32
Bishop of									
Killmore.	M.	Of the same	...	17	0	0	Unprofitable.		

Henry Pallmer, by cert. 4 May, 1666. R. I, p. 397.

Lord Massarene, by cert. 10 July, 1668. R. 7, p. 928.

Henry Pallmer, by cert. as above.

Henry Pallmer, by cert. as above.

Lord Massarene, by cert. as above.

B. ✠.

Bishops' Land.

LORD LAMBERT, English Protestant.	L.	}	Killnaleske	140	1	8	140	1	8
Glebe Land. SHANE O'GOONE, Irish Protestant Minister.	C. ✕ 1		Drumscudon	138	3	8	138	3	8
	C. ✕ 2	}	Cargagheronin	142	2	0	142	2	0

KILLDRUMFERTAN PARISH, *alias* CROSSERLOGH, CLONMOGHAN BARONY.

PHILLIP MAC EDMD. O'RELY.	90	}	Clonmult	45	3	32	}	38	0	32	}	Richard Lewis, by
												cert. 6 July, 1666.
												R. 2, p. 119.
												John Armstrong, by
												cert. 13 Dec., 1667.
												R. 6, p. 177.
	91	}	Drumkilly	126	2	0	}	4	0	0	}	William Stephens, by
												cert. 2 Nov., 1666.
												R. 4, p. 458.
												John Armstrong, by
												cert. 13 Dec., 1667.
												R. 6, p. 177.

		A.	R.	P.				A.	R.	P.		
HENRY MAC FARRY O'RELY.	92	Corlisleagh ...	224	2	16				224	2	16	Richard Lewis, by cert. 6 July, 1666. R. 2, p. 119.
	BBB.		Three Parcels of same	16	2	0	Unprofitable.					
	93	Of the same ...	92	2	32				92	2	32	William Smith, by cert. 10 Aug., 1666. R. 3, p. 94.
	93B.		Drumrade ...	26	0	0	Unprofitable.					

THE SIX POLES OF KILLDRUMFERTAN, viz. :—

LORD	C. ✠ 1	Kill, 1 Pole ...	65	0	16				65	0	16	Church Land.
	C. ✠ B	Of the same ...	73	0	0	Unprofitable.			73	0	0	
	C. ✠ 2	Tirrevorne, 1 Pole ...	32	0	0				32	0	0	
	C. ✠ 3	Currevanan, 1 Pole	43	2	16				43	2	16	
	C. ✠ 4	Aghemore, 1 Pole ...	35	2	0				35	2	0	
	C. ✠ 5	Drumon, 1 Pole ...	43	1	24				43	1	24	
	C. ✠ 6	Purtaclare, 1 Pole ...	40	0	32				40	0	32	
	94	Aghewee ...	237	2	0				237	2	0	Richard Lewis. by cert. 6 July, 1666. R. 2, p. 119.
	94B.		Of the same ...	24	0	0	Unprofitable.					
									27	3	27	John Armstrong, by cert. 13 Dec., 1667. R. 6, p. 177.
	95	Direene ...	98	2	0							
										70	2	13	Lord Massarene, by cert. 10 July, 1668. R. 7, p. 929.

WESTMEATH.

					4	0	0		Faustin Cuppage, by cert. 19 Oct., 1666. R. 2, p. 156.		
49	Tedichan ...	...	114	0	16						
49B.	Of the same ...	...	8	3	8	Unprofitable.		85	0	0	John Tipping, by cert. 4 Jan., 1666. R. 1, p. 737.
								25	0	6	Lord Massarene, by cert. 10 July, 1668. R. 7, p. 929.
								38	1	19	Abraham Clements, by cert. 4 Jan., 1666. R. 1, p. 737.
PHILLIP MAC MULL- MORE O'RELY.	96	Drumcheno ...	...	115	0	6					
								76	2	27	Joan Clements, for her life and in remain- der according to will to John Spranger.
JAMES NUGENT, Irish Papist.	97	Corglasse ...	...	140	2	0		140	2	0	Sir Francis Peisley, with what Title he hath.
	97L.	Of the same ...	...	67	1	8	Unprofitable.				
C. ✠ 7		Raherverty ...	...	38	2	0		38	2	0	Church Land.
		Drumanaclaragh ...	...	102	0	0		102	0	0	
B.		Of the same ...	...	4	0	0	Unprofitable.				
L.		Of the same ...	...	22	2	0	Unprofitable.				

The Earl of Westmeath, as shown by the above lists, possessed considerable property in the Baronies of Castlerahan and Clamahan. Richard Nugent, second Earl of Westmeath, succeeded his grandfather, Richard, the first Earl, in 1642. Being in England at the time he returned to Ireland in 1644, took his seat in Parliament, and in 1645 raised a regiment of foot for the King's service. He was instrumental in bringing about the Peace of 1648-9, and, after Ormond's retirement, co-operated with Clanrickarde, being appointed general of all the forces in Leinster. He submitted to the Parliament on the Articles of Kilkenny in May, 1652, and was allowed to transport himself abroad; but on returning in 1659 he was arrested and imprisoned. He recovered his liberty and some of his estates at the Restoration, and died in 1684.*

The Castle of Carlanstown, in the Barony of Fore, Co. Westmeath, was the seat of the Nugent family, which was one of the great Catholic families of the time. This castle, even in its melancholy ruins, reflects the vanished grandeur of that chivalrous house.† Here was born in 1702 Robert, Earl Nugent—Lord Clare—one of the most capricious and facetious *litterateurs* of the early 18th century, and who was an intimate friend of Henry Brooke.‡

The Lambert family whose property in Cavan, Meath, Westmeath, etc., was very extensive, were descended from the notorious Sir Oliver Lambert, who was a nephew of Sir Henry Wallop, the Vice-Treasurer of Elizabeth's reign. He arrived in Ireland an adventurer with Essex in 1581. In 1601 he was sent to Breiffne which he duly "ransacked" (*State Papers*, 1601, *supra*), and where he was established as commander of the garrison. In the same year he was appointed Governor of Connacht, and enriched himself with the spoils of confiscation. Elizabeth had already assigned to him extensive grants in Cavan. In 1611 James I.

* Cf. Dunlop, *Ireland under the Commonwealth*, Vol. I, p. 71. Manchester University Press, 1913.

† In August, 1925, the present writer had the pleasure of visiting this castle in the company of one of our Life Members, Right Rev. Msgr. Richard Brady, of Loretto, Colo., U.S.A.

‡ Earl Nugent once declared that the happiest circumstances and proudest recollections of his life were: that he lived in the 18th century, and that he enjoyed the friendship of Henry Brooke. Some details of his career will be given later in a paper on Brooke. He died in 1788. In the church of Lickblæ, Co. Westmeath, Earl Nugent wrote the following epitaph on the tomb of his ancestors:—

Unmark'd by trophies of the great and vain,
Here sleeps in silent tombs a gentle train;
No folly wasted their paternal store,
No guilt nor sordid av'rice made it more,
With honest fame, and sober plenty crown'd.
They lived, and spread their cheering influence round;
May he whose hand this pious tribute pays,
Receive a full return of filial praise.

further augmented his share of lands with large tracts in Castle-
rahan and Clanmahon. This grant from the King to "Sir Oliver
Lambert, Knight, Privy Councillor," specifies the following lands
in the Parishes of Ballymachugh and Drumloman, but principally
in the Parish of Kilbride, and Barony of Clanmahon, in the vicinity
of Loch Sheelin:—

The town and lands of Carrick, 2 polls; Lissnedaragh, 2
polls; one-third of the 2 polls of Killgoala; Maghery
[Magheraboy], 2 polls; Corhartnagh [Cortrasna], 2 polls;
in Omard and Lossett, 3 gallons; three-fourths of the poll of
Corriloghan ["Coriloghan" P.M.; the "Fortland" of the
O.S.]; Cargaghbane [Gallonbane], Aghenehederny, Tullagh,
otherwise Tully [Tullyboy], and Killefassy, each 1 poll;
Aghowterrerry [Aghoutereery], 2 polls; Towrine [Turin:
"Thureene"—*Down Survey*], 1 poll; one-eighth of the 2
polls of Ballaghneecros [V. *Fiants* of Eliz., 1586, *supra*];
Ballaghanria *otherwise* Ballyhauna [Ballaghanna] 3 polls;
Crovor, 1 poll; Corarnogagh,* 1 poll; one of the 2 polls of
Garrisallagh; 1 poll of and in Coulyn [Conleen]; Knockes-
gallon and Tulliegan *otherwise* Toagon [Tullyagan], 1 poll;
Dunguum [Dungummin], 4 polls; Ardigowman,†, 1 poll;
one of the 2 polls of Clonbacogies [Clonbockoge]; Lissenar-
ruffe [V. note-*infra*], 1 poll; Farren-Iconinyeightragh
[Farranconnell: V. *Fiants* of Eliz., 1601, *supra*], 1 poll;
Tonemickiragh [Tonagh], 4 polls; one of the 2 polls of Pol-
lereogh [Pollareagh]; Enagh *otherwise* Nynagh [Enagh],
2 polls; Rathclaghagh [Raclaghay], half a poll; Clontiduffy,
half a poll. Total 2,000 acres; rent £16 English—the whole
river and soil of Loughsheelen, and all the islands adjacent
to the said lands. The premises are created the manor of
Lissnedarragh, with 600 acres in demesne; power to create
tenures; and to hold a court baron. To hold for ever of the
castle of Dublin . . . dated 26th June, 1611.‡

At Tullacullen [Tullygullin], in Drumloman Parish, he pur-
chased another 1,000 acres from Capt. Lyons and Joseph Jones.§
In 1617 he was raised to the Peerage, and created Lord Lambert,
Baron of Cavan. He died in London on the 9th July, 1618. A
grant, dated 16th February, 1621, from the King to "Hester,
Lady Lambert, wife of Oliver, Lord Lambert, deceased, and Charles
Lord Lambert, his son and heir," perfects the above grants
together with "the castle in Loughshiline lake called Castlene-
locgh," "one ruinous castle upon the mountain near Cavan called
O'Reylve's castle," and 1,500 acres extra in Clanmahon Barony

* "Corarnagah" on the P.M., and forming part of the tld. of Crover.

† The P.M. has "Ardigowman," with an adjoining tld. "Lissnarat"—in
which is marked a circular tort or *lios*. Both these tlds. are included in the
"Mountpallas" of the modern O.S. map.

‡ *Patent Rolls*, 9 James I.

§ *Pynnar's Survey*, 1619.

the yearly rent of which was fixed at £16*. Charles Lambert was raised to the dignity of Earl of Cavan in 1647. The principal seat of the Lamberts was at Kilbeggan, Co. Westmeath, and members of the family represented that Borough in the Irish Parliament from 1727 down to 1782.†

NATIVE OWNERS IN 1664 : THE HEARTH TAX ROLLS.

In the period 1641-1660, which we have just reviewed, the great Catholic land-owners had been dispossessed, and the great majority of them had emigrated to France or Spain. Those who remained at home showed no inclination to settle down as small farmers on the lands which they once possessed, but which now had passed from them in the sweeping schemes of Cromwellian confiscation. The new land-owners—mostly absentees—with no knowledge of Agriculture, were obliged, from economic necessity, to retain the great mass of Irish tenants, and in this way the tenants as a body retained possession of their lands. The Cromwellian project, writes Dr. Cunningham,

was devised so as to give the greatest possible shock to property ; labourers were allowed to remain that they might till and herd for those to whom the lands were newly assigned, but the old proprietors were to go.‡

But the position of those Irish tenants was an unenviable one, although certainly less precarious than in the succeeding century. Trade and industry were suppressed, and security of tenure depended solely on the vagaries and caprices of individual adventurers.

It must be borne in mind that in the wars the humbler class of cultivators generally escaped the change and destruction that fell on their superiors in station. The honey was too welcome not to secure the toleration of the working bees ; the English and Irish combatants looked down on them as slaves and churls, unfit for fighting, but apt to cultivate land and cattle, disinclined for war and revolution if not pressed into them by intolerable oppression ; they remained even through the Cromwellian transplantations the one comparatively fixed element in Irish social life, a settled sub-stratum.§

After the Restoration in 1660 the taxes imposed by Cromwell were abolished, and an entirely new system of taxation was substituted. The King was obliged to surrender certain rights, and in return the Parliament granted to him and his successors

* *Patent Rolls*, 19 James I. This grant included the Clanmahon portion of Kilbride parish, together with large areas in the parishes of Ballymachugh, Drumlohan, and Ballintemple. The details of the grant with tlds. specified, belong to the history of the respective parishes.

† *Vide Journal*, Vol. I, p. 41.

‡ *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, Vol. II, p. 366.

§ Sigerson, *History of Irish Land Tenures*, p. 36.

certain taxes and revenues which afterwards came to be known as hereditary revenue.

The Irish revenue was thus composed of two distinct parts, first, the ancient patrimony of the crown payable by prescription or custom sanctioned at common law, such as crown rents, port corn and composition rents, prizage, lighthouse duties and causal revenue; and second, the duties granted to Charles II. by Parliament in exchange for branches of the ancient revenue of the crown that had been found grievous to the subject, such as wardship and feudal dues, or in return for forfeitures. This second branch of the revenue included quit rents, customs in ward and outward, inland and import excise, fines, seizures and forfeitures, licences for sale of beer, ale and spirits, and hearth money.*

The hearth tax, which had been created in place of the revenue derived from the Court of Wards, was a tax of two shillings on every fire hearth. The revenue of the Court of Wards was generally paid by the rich, but the hearth tax was now imposed on the poor, and, owing to its oppressive nature, was the most unpopular tax of the 17th century. Certain people were exempt, e.g., widows not possessing more than four pounds worth of property, and living in houses of the value of less than eight shillings a year; also those who were unable to earn a livelihood by labour. The *Hearth Money Rolls* of 1664 specify the names of the householders in the parish of Crosserlough who paid the tax in that year.† The list is as follows:—

CROSSERLOGH PARISH.

GRADUM.—John O'Gowen, Patricke O'Gowen, Brian O'Donoghue, Philip O'Donogh, and Tirlagh Maguine.

PARTAN.—Hugh O'Gowen, and Cahell O'Gowin.

SALLAGHILL.—Thomas O'Boiland.

DYN.—Hugh Magartry, and —† widdow.

KILLINNURE.—Owen Brady, Hugh McCaffry, and Edmond Brady.

DERYLANE.—Charles Rely, Farrall McNequogh, Conor McNequogh, Hugh Lincy, and Phillip McNequogh.

RASSAN.—Phillip Lincy, Patricke O'Lincy, Brian O'Lincy, Tirlagh O'Lincy, and John O'Lincy.

CONAGHER.—Thomas Smith.

DIRILEA.—John Dalyn, and Patricke O'Kenally.

LANAUGH.—Patricke McCabe, Laghlyn McCabe, and John McCabe.

* O'Brien, *Economic History of Ireland in the 17th century*, p. 197.

† *Revenue Exchequer, Auditor-General's Collection*; P.R.O., Dublin. Dated at Cavan 28th May, 1664, under the seals of Tho. Whyte, William Moore, and Hum. Perrott.

‡ Blank in original.

- FFENWOY.—Hugh McShane boy Lincy, and Brian O'Soraghan.
 KILNECROTT.—Abraham Clements (two hearths), and Edward
 Freeman.
 DRUMRORA.—Owen McConor oge, Daniell Lincy, Thomas
 O'Lincy, Hugh O'Lincy, Conor O'Lincy, and Phillip O'Corgon.
 CROSSERLOGH.—Hugh McGaffny, Daniell McNequogh, John
 O'Govin, Brian O'Govin, Brian McGaffny, and Cohonaght
 McGaffny.
 KILNELECKE.—James O'Gowen, and John O'Cullon.
 CULKILL.—Hugh Relly, Hugh McGaragh, and Brian O'Relly.
 MULLAGHCASLANE.—Phillip Relly, Gilderna McGinaugh, Hugh
 Relly, Patricke O'Gowen, and Phillip McGinat.
 DROMBEE.—John Sladdy, and ———,* widow.
 DROMEGILL.—Edmond O'Gowen, Conor Magwire, Hugh
 McGaffny, Nicholas Amulhonill, Tirlagh McEnrow, Patricke
 O'Duginan, Conor doe O'Gowen, Patricke McColgon, and Brian
 McEnlea.
 DROMSCREDAN.—Brian O'Gowen, and Thomas Gowen.
 SRANANORNOGE.—Edmond O'Gowen, and Phillip O'Hosea.
 PULREAGH.—Brian McNequogh, and Owen O'Gowen.
 DROMLOMAN.—Knoghor McCahell, Conor McInleckin, and
 Cale O'Lincy.
 DROMINISKILIN.—Patrick Bullagh.

Total 78 Hearths : £VII : S. XVI.

This list, which only includes the Parish of Crosserlough in
 Castlerahan Barony, records 24 tlds., or little more than half the
 total number. Hence, it is obvious that large numbers escaped
 payment, or were exempt, or successfully resisted it. It is worthy
 of note that every taxpayer in this parish paid for only one hearth
 with the exception of Abraham Clements of Kilnecrott who
 paid for two. It will also be observed that the names are native,
 with the exceptions of Thomas Smith, John Dalyn (Dalme), and
 Abraham Clements, whose names have already been noted in the
Acts of Settlement Grants (supra). The forms of the surnames
 are, with a few exceptions, immediately obvious, as would be ex-
 pected from the fact that the tax-collectors were native. The
 lists for the other parishes of Castlerahan Barony have already
 been given in these pages.† It is a cheerless fact to record that the
 originals have been irrecoverably lost in the disastrous explosion
 which destroyed the Record Office in June, 1922, and that a path-
 way of historical and genealogical research was closed for ever
 to the historian.

The method of collection of the Hearth Tax gave rise to grave
 abuses, and rendered an oppressive tax still more intolerable. The
 revenue was not collected directly by Government officials, but was
 "farmed out" to private individuals who collected a great deal

* Blank in original.

† *Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 146, *et seq.*; pp. 311 *et seq.*

more than they paid to the government, and thus secured a handsome profit for themselves. The amount exacted was a quantity which varied in direct proportion to the avarice of the individual collector. In the Crosserlough lists we find two blanks where the names of the tax-payers are not recorded, and it is significant that in both cases the names omitted were those of widows. Certain deductions are obvious from this. Widows whose property was less than a certain value were definitely exempt from taxation.* Evidently the tax-collector, when in doubt as to the legality of his demand, or extortion, decided to create a vaguity and purposely omitted the name. Sir William Petty describes the farming out of the revenue as "a calamity on the people." The extortions of the 17th century Shylocks became so intolerable that eventually, in 1683, the farming system was abolished, and the revenues from that year were collected directly by Commissioners of the Crown.

On the basis of the Hearth Money Rolls various attempts have been made to estimate the population of Ireland at that period. The period of twenty years from 1640 to 1660 had witnessed confiscations, wars, pestilences and famines; the inevitable result was a serious drain on the population. The native Irish landlords had been dispossessed and the majority of them took refuge abroad, likewise the soldiers, the flower of the Irish army, who were exiled and entered into the service of France, Spain, and Austria. An immense number of women and children were sold into slavery and shipped abroad. In 1641 the Irish House of Commons reported that there were then "not enough men in this Kingdom to maintain agriculture and manufacture."† Eleven years later, in 1652, Petty estimated that 616,000 people had perished as a result of the wars. The Government entered into a contract with the merchants of Bristol, and men, women, and girls were forcibly seized and sold into slavery, thus condemned to a living death on the sugar plantations of the West Indies,‡ and on the blazing cotton-fields of the Barbadoes. Petty gives the number thus sold into slavery as 8,000, but double that number would be nearer the truth. In 1666 Father Grace found 12,000 Irish in the West Indian Islands.§

* 14 and 15 Carolus II, c. 17; 17 and 18 Carolus II, c. 18.

† *Irish Commons Journal*, Vol. I, p. 276.

‡ Cf. *Ligon's History of the Barbadoes*; Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*.

§ A valuable historical work, just published, *British Slavery and Its Abolition, 1823-1835*, by William L. Mathieson, LL.D., (London: Longmans, 1926) deals with the great struggle for the abolition of British slavery in the sugar plantations of the West Indies. The book is amply documented throughout, runs to over 300 pp., and the materials are sited dispassionately, being mostly extracted from official sources. Dr. Mathieson refers incidentally to the great preponderance of white slaves in the Barbadoes in the latter half of the 17th century, but does not explain who they were or whence they came. This is a serious omission in an otherwise remarkably impartial and excellent history. Fuller details could easily be supplied from the writings of Sir William Petty (*op. cit.*), or Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*.

A census was taken in 1659, an analysis of which gives the population of Ireland as half a million * Petty, who was an able statistician, estimated the population in 1672 at 1,100,000, in 1676 at 1,200,000, and in 1687 at 1,300,000 ;† but his estimates were based on the Hearth Money lists which were certainly very much under-estimated. It is impossible to reconcile Petty's estimate with the census of 1659, but, judging from the various estimates, and guesses, it is clear that the country was very sparsely populated. The Hearth Money lists enumerate 77 families in Crosserlough Parish (Castlerahan portion), and if we assume an average of 5 in each family, which was Petty's estimate, we would get as a result a population of 385. Calculating from the same data the populations of the other parishes in Castlerahan Barony in 1664 would have been : Lurgan, 410 ; Castlerahan and Munterconnacht, 505 ; Killinkere and Mullagh, 615. These figures are certainly too low, but contemporary writers are unanimous in describing the state of the country as wretched and underpopulated. Again, the census of 1659, which was taken with great care, places the population of Ulster at 103,923. The Earl of Essex, writing in 1599, from personal observations, tells that "about the Cavan and betwixt it and Kelles [Kells], the country is all waste so as there is nothing beyond Kelles to be defended, nor to relieve the garrison."‡ If this state of affairs existed in 1599 how much more devastated must the district have been after the Cromwellian wars. Westgarth, writing in 1690, says that :

"The whole country from Kells to Clownish (Clones) except a few at Cavan being only a wilderness with a few houses uninhabited."§

According to the Hearth Money Rolls for 1732 and 1733—which are not now known to exist—the population of Cavan would have been 41,030 the number of families was returned as 8,206 (6,237 Catholics and 1,969 Protestants). The total population of Ireland was then estimated as about two millions.|| But it is clear that any attempt to make an estimate of population from these lists can only be regarded as an interesting speculation based on uncertain data.

The economic condition of the peasantry was very low, and the Hearth Tax helped to make the conditions still more desperate. To escape the tax the people adopted various subterfuges. According to Petty's estimate 160,000 people had houses with no chimney, 24,000 had houses with one chimney, and only 16,000

* *Trans. Royal Ir. Acad.*, Vol. XXIV, part III, p. 319. This was the first occasion on which a systematic Irish census was attempted.

† Petty's estimates and deductions are discussed at length in his *Political Arithmetic, Political Anatomy*, and *A Treatise on Ireland*. Vide Hull's Edition of Petty's *Economic Works*.

‡ Vide *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 311.

§ D. C. Rushe, *A History of Monaghan for Two Hundred Years*, p. 19.

|| Vide Burnet's *Life of Bedell*, 2nd ed., 1736. Appendix.

people had houses with more than one chimney.* A detailed account of the mode of living is supplied by Petty, who incidentally mentions the custom of keeping butter in bogs to make it rancid. A writer in 1690 remarks that the people were strongly addicted to tobacco and snuff-taking, that windows were scarce, and that chimneys were only introduced "of late years."† Shortly afterwards the "window tax" was introduced to replenish the coffers of a depleted Treasury, and both windows and hearths had to be sacrificed to the exactions of the relentless tax-collectors.

In general, after the Elizabethan and Cromwellian wars there followed a period of severe economic depression, but during the reigns of Charles II. and James II. there was a slight recuperation. However, after the Williamite wars there followed still worse cataclysms, with a still further decrease in population, and the position of the peasantry—the settled sub-stratum—during the 18th century was far more precarious than during the preceding one. Although the ruin caused by the revolutionary wars was very great, yet the social and economic degradation which followed in the years of comparative peace would be, as even the English historian Macaulay, is forced to admit: "incredible if it were not attested by witnesses unconnected with each other and attached to very different interests."‡

II. ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

The present ecclesiastical parish of Crosserlough comprises the two pre-Reformation parishes of Kildrumfertan and Crosserlough. The former is situated in the Barony of Clanmahon, and the latter is in the Barony of Castlerahan. Both were recognised as ecclesiastically distinct units until the 16th century, when it became necessary to unite them for ecclesiastical purposes. Before this period each possessed its own parish church—or Hospital—with its own parochial jurisdiction. But the Hospital of Kildrumfertan was the more important foundation, and the termon lands attached to it were of greater value and extent than those of Crosserlough.

The interpretation of the name Kildrumfertan presents little difficulty: Cill druim Feartain, *i.e.*, the *Church of the (or, on the) ridge of the graves*. The term Fert (plural Ferta) signifying a tomb, was generally of pre-Christian origin, and in the present case, as will be seen, the name can be traced back to a very early period. The place which is called *Druim Feartain* in the Lives of the celebrated Bishop Carthach, or Carthage, can, with almost mathematical certainty, be equated with the present Kildrum-

* *Political Anatomy*, p. 9.

† *Journal of John Stevens*, 1689-1691. Edited by Dr. R. Murray, Oxford, 1912, p. 139.

‡ *History of England*, Vol. IV, p. 165. Edition of 1858.

fertan, although the identification has puzzled, and completely escaped, every commentator on the life of that great sixth century church-founder. Let us proceed to consider the evidence, which is very clear on the point.

In the *Martyrology of Donegal*,* under date March 5, we find:

“Carthach, bishop; one of his places was *Druim Feartain* in Cairbre Ua gCiardha, and to him belongs *Inis Uachtair* on *Loch Sileann*.”

St. Carthach was a distinguished *alumnus* of, and immediate successor to, St. Ciaran, first Bishop of Saigir, Offaly, and Patron of Ossory Diocese. On the death of St. Ciaran, about the middle of the sixth century (A.D. 540 according to Colgan†), it is recorded that St. Carthach succeeded him. The life of St. Carthach is rather obscure, and the extant details of his manifold activities are of a very scanty nature. He was a son (or possibly a grandson) of Aenghus, King of Cashel in Munster, and from the numerous notices of him must have acquired considerable celebrity in his time.‡ In the *Book of Genealogies* of Dubhaltach Mac Fírbhisigh (Duald Mac Firbis), in the Royal Irish Academy, is entered: “Carthach, bishop, of *Drum Feartan*.” The same authority states that *Inis Uachtair* belonged to him. In the *Felire of Aengus*§ we find *Inis Uachtair for Loch Sileann i nGregraidhe i tuaiscert Mide atá*. The church of *Inis Uachtair* is stated by various authorities to have been erected in the sixth century; Archdall assigns its foundation to about the year 540, while, a little after this period, St. Carthach is said to have presided over it as abbot.|| His feast day is recorded in all the *Martyrologies* under 5th March. The *Martyrology of Tallagh*¶ enters him, under this date, as “Carthach, son of Aenguss, of *Droma Ferdaim*.” The year of Bishop Carthach’s death is uncertain, but it has been conjectured from certain dates and circumstances, to have taken place about the year 580.° The foundation of numerous churches, as far apart as Kerry and Donegal, have been attributed to him.

The island of *Inis Uachtair* (Ἰνις Ὑακταίρ, i.e., upper or southern island) is in Loch Sheelin, and in the Parish of Killeagh, Co. Meath. This is now merged in the Parish of Kilbride. The island is now generally known as *Church Island*, although the older name is still remembered. On the island may be seen the ruins of St. Carthach’s church, surrounded by a cemetery, together with the remains of a detached building, which may have been the residence of the friars who, according

* Translated by O’Donovan. Edited by Todd and Reeves.

† *Acta Sanctorum Hibernia*, V Martii.

‡ Canon O’Hanlon’s *Lives*, Vol. III, p. 148.

§ Edited by Whitley Stokes, 2nd edition, 1905.

|| *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 716.

¶ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. XVII.

° Cf. Cusack’s *History of Kerry*, chap. IV, pp. 59-60; Lanigan’s *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, Vol. II, chap. XI.

to tradition, lived on the island. The *Martyrology of Donegal*, at Dec. 22nd, has the "Seven Sons of Dreitell, of *Inis Uachtair*." and again at Dec. 23rd: "The Twelve Pilgrims or *Inis-Uachtair*." The island is picturesquely situated at the southern end of Loch Sheelin;* the surrounding scenery displays in all its grandeur the wild luxuriance of nature. The verdant landscape in a delightful setting of woodland, lake and moor-land, has evinced the admiration of every visitor; the tourist or antiquarian who lingers around its historic shores cannot fail to be impressed by the wonderful panorama presented before him. At the eastern end of Loch Sheelin is a small, rocky island containing the ruins of what was once a strong castle. This island, which serves in extent for little more than the base of the building, is called "Crover Island," because of its proximity to the townland of Crover on the mainland close by. The castle was one of the strongholds of the O'Reillys, chieftains of Clanmahon. In the *O'Reilly Pedigree* we are told that the "Castle of the Loch" (Cairteán locha) was erected by Thomas MacMahon O'Reilly (a descendant of Garrett Ruadh), "King of royal Loch Silionn," who laid under tribute all the country from Dublin to Drogheda,† and in whose time "the English were in straits." This castle is marked on the 1609 map; the same map has the church of Inis Uachtair marked as ruinous. Even in its ruins this castle displays every mark of having once been a fortress of much importance. It was always referred to as the "Castle of the Loch." Its location was for some time a puzzle to O'Donovan, although he suspected its being in the neighbourhood of Loch Sheelin. This island (and castle) is included in the townland of Crover and Parish of Ballymachugh by the *Books of Survey and Distribution*. In 1641 the townland of "Crowar" (*Down Survey* form), containing 172a. 1r. 8p., was then in the possession of Lord Dunsany. When his estates were forfeited the greater portion of the townland, amounting to 164a. 1r., 20p., was granted, "in Remainder," to Edward Plunkett, and the remaining 7a. 3r. 28p., together with "Castle Logh part of the same" were granted to Lieut. Merrick Hart by certificate dated 27th July, 1666.‡

The identification both of *Inis Uachtair* and *Druim Feartain*

* Some interesting legends of Loch Sheelin and its islands, partly in prose and partly in verse, will be found in *Angling Excursions in Meath, Cavan, Westmeath, etc.*, by Gregory Greendrake, with additions by Geoffrey Greydrake—Dublin: 1832, 4th Edition, chaps. V. and VI. The authors' names are pseudonyms. "Greendrake" was a Henry Brereton Cody who achieved notoriety as a Government spy in 1798 and afterwards; he was the reporter, and mutilator, of Emmett's famous speech, and was editor of *The Warder*, a Dublin journal between 1820-30. "Greydrake" was a Thomas Ettingsall, who was a clever and witty writer in various Dublin periodicals. In this book he is responsible for the chapters dealing with Loch Ramor, Loch Gowna, etc.

† Another passage in the *Pedigree* has: "from Drogheda to Athlone."

‡ *Books of Survey and Distribution*—1641: Ballymachugh parish.

escaped the various commentators, including the painstaking Canon O'Hanlon, by reason of the absence of these names from the Ordnance Survey maps. This is not to be wondered at, seeing that these maps will be searched in vain for either *Inis Uachtair* or *Druim Feartain*. The *Martyrology of Donegal* (*loc cit.*) places *Druim Feartain* in the district of *Cairbre Ua gCiardha*. This ancient district of Cairbre Gabhrain, or Cairbre Gabhra, was situated in North-east Longford, including the baronies of Granard and Longford, and extending northwards into Breiffne.* It included a large district around Loch Sheelin and in the Barony of Clanmahon. The monastery of Slanore (Snamh-Luthir) at Cavan was in the district of Cairbre Gabhra, which embraced portion of the Barony of Upper Loughtee.† The district got its title from Cairbre, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. W. M. Hennessy identifies Cairbre Gabhra with the barony of Carbury, in North Kildare. This is a manifest error, although Carbury was another of Cairbre's possessions. O'Flaherty, who had an extensive acquaintance with Irish and Latin documents relating to early Irish history and topography, places Cairbre in North Longford.‡

The title *Druim Feartain* was obviously applied to the district around the present Kildrumfertan long before the dawn of Christianity in Ireland. The churches both of *Inis Uachtair* and *Druim Feartain* are in the same neighbourhood, were established by the same Bishop, and are coupled together in the early writings; hence, we may conclude with certainty that both were founded at the same period, that is, about the year 540, or the middle of the sixth century. The *Druim Feartain* of pre-Christian times became the *Cill Druim Feartain* of the Christian period. The original title *Druim Feartain* must have become obsolete at a very early period, and probably soon after the foundation of the church. It is an interesting example of the growth of words—name syntheses—so perplexing to etymologists; the older name was retained with the Christian prefix *Cill* attached to it.

In the course of time Kildrumfertan gave the title to the parish. The name is now sometimes abbreviated to Kill. But the old Civil Parish, always known as "Kildrumfertan *alias* Crosserlough," is thus entered on the *Down Survey* and in the Commonwealth Grants, and located in Clanmahon Barony. The Castlerahan division of the parish is marked "Crosserlough." That the original Kildrumfertan was much more extensive than the present townland of Kill will be observed from the Commonwealth Grants.

* For a very learned and exhaustive paper defining the limits of the ancient boundaries of the Dioceses of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise, compiled by John P. Dalton, Esq., M.A., M.R.I.A., one of our members, see the *Journal of the Ardagh and Clonmacnoise Antiquarian Society*, Vol. I (1926), pp. 9-70.

† Joyce's *Irish Placenames*, Vol. I, pp. 11-12; cf. this *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 167.

‡ *Ogygia seu Rerum Hibernicarum Chronologia*—1685,

But Kill was already recognised as a distinct townland at the time of the *Down Survey*.

The church, or Hospital, of Kildrumfertan, served the purpose of parish church until its confiscation at the time of the Reformation. It was probably a dependency of the great Abbey of Fore, Co. Westmeath, which was founded by St. Feichin early in the seventh century.* Many of the Hospitals of Breiffne belonged to this Abbey. When the Abbey was suppressed by Henry VIII. in 1539, the prior was found seized of :

The sum of £5 6s. 8d. arising from sundry rectories in the Breney [Breiffne] in O'Reille's country; the rectory of Dromfanrie, annual value, besides reprises, £4, and the rectories of Erney [Urney], Kilmore, Laragh, Lany [Lavey], Annagellif, and divers others, to the number of fourteen, situate in the County of Cavan were also found to belong to this priory.†

The Benedictine Abbey of Fore, to which these churches belonged, had been refounded by Walter De Lacy early in the 13th century. In 1612 James I. granted to Richard Nugent, Lord Baron of Delvin, *inter alia*, the priory of Fore together with "all the rectories in Cavan County belonging to the said monastery of Fower."‡ The Commission of 1609 (*n/ra*) found that two-thirds of the tithes of Ballintemple parish were paid to the prior of Fore. In Kildrumfertan the two-thirds of the tithes were, however, paid to the Bishop of Kilmore. Although it is not definitely stated therein that Kildrumfertan paid any tithes to the prior of Fore, yet, as the former is not included as among the many Breiffne dependencies of the Abbey of Kells, Co. Meath, we may infer that it was one of the fourteen which according to Archdall, and other authorities, belonged to Fore. It is very probable that the church of Inis Uachtair in Loch Sheelin, also belonged to the latter Abbey.

The Hospital of Crosserlough, which was also a parish church, was probably a dependency of Fore. The date of its foundation cannot now be ascertained, but it must have been established at a very early period. A cross must have originally stood near the old church for, as O'Donovan notes, the name *CRUIR AN LOC* signifies the *cross on (at, or near) the loch*. Such crosses were very frequently to be found in the vicinity of early Irish churches. The little lake still remains, and above it on the hill are traces of the early church, but no trace of the cross from which the townland and, in turn, the parish title is derived, can now be discovered.

* Cf. Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, Vol. III, p. 561. A Latin *Life of St. Feichin* has been published by Plummer, *Vita Sanctorum Hibernia*, II, 76-78. An account of St. Feichin has been edited by Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XII 318-353. An excellent description, with illustrations, of the ruins of Fore Abbey will be found in the 81st *Annual Report of the Commissioners of Public Works* (1913), Appendix.

† Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 715.

‡ *Patent Rolls*, 10 James I.

A local tradition (told to the present writer) has it that the cross surmounted the old church, and that at sunrise the shadow of the cross was thrown on the lake beneath. However, unless the cross was of huge dimensions this would not have been physically possible. O'Donovan, who visited this district in 1836, looked for it in vain. The same authority mentions that he had heard a :

little fable afloat [very likely this tradition] about the erection of the mother church of the Parish which accounts for the name after a very foolish manner, but as it is too indistinct I will not waste time to commit it to the durability of ink.*

The patron of Crosserlough is St. Bartholomew, St. Patrick is Patron of Kildrumfertan. No reference to Crosserlough has been found in any of the *Annals* or early documents.

In 1540 the Rev. Dr. John MacBrady, Doctor of Canon Law, was pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Kildrumfertan, and in that year was provided to the Bishopric of Kilmore by Pope Paul III., with permission to retain his parochial church.† The *Fiants* of Eliz. (*supra*) show that in 1586 a number of *Letters Patent* were issued in the district of "Kildromfeartan." It will be seen that the various spellings of the parish name in the early documents do not differ materially, and are in most cases substantially the same.

After the confiscations an *Inquisition* was held at Cavan on 19th September, 1590, to inquire into the values of the church lands.‡ This Inquisition found that :

the Termon or Hospital of *Kildromfeart*, containing eight polls or cartrons in the said county with their appurtenances should of right belong and pertain to our said lady the Queen her heirs and successors, and are worth 8 shillings Irish money *per ann.*

The same Inquisition found that the Termon, or Hospital, of *Crosserlough* containing four polls or cartrons were worth 4 shillings Irish money *per ann.* In Archdall's list of the Cavan Hospitals,§ evidently compiled from the Report of this Inquisition, precisely the same entries occur. The grant of Termon and Hospital lands in Cavan made by James I., in 1606, to Sir Garrett Moore, of Mellifont, Co. Lough, includes (*inter alia*) :—

the termsons or hospitals of Killdromefarrett, 8 polls, rent £1 ; Crosserlogh, 4 polls, rent 10 shillings ; Ballintample, 2 polls, rent 5 shillings ; Dromlomane, 1 poll, rent 2/6 ; Killbride, ½ poll, rent 1/3 ; Ballymachugh, 3 acres, rent 3 pence.||

A later Commission, which sat at Cavan on 25th Sept., 1609, assigned these lands to the Protestant Bishop of Kilmore, and his

* *Cavan Letters*, R.I.A.; dated at Cavan 27th May, 1836.

† *De Annatis Hiberniæ*, Vol. I, p. 258.

‡ *Excheq. Inquis.*, 32 Eliz., P.R.O. Dublin: Vide *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 220.

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

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

parochial incumbents. This Commission found that "the Bishop of Kilmore is entitled to the rents issuing out of certain parcels of land in the barony of Clonmahon, *alias* Drumloman, viz. :—*

The termon land of Ballytemple [Ballintemple], two polls, $\frac{1}{8}$; Kill, in the parish of Kill *alias* Kildromfert, 7 polls, $\frac{3}{4}$; Crosserlough, 4 polls, within the same parish, in the barony of Casterlahan, $\frac{3}{4}$ —that the Bishop of Ardagh, in right of his See, is entitled to the rent of $\frac{1}{6}$ out of the poll of land called Dromloman and out of the $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter termon land in the ballibetagh of Bally McHugh, 6 pence, both in the parish of Granard and County of Longford [*sic.*]—that the Bishop of Kilmore, in right of his See, is entitled to $\frac{1}{8}$ rent, issuing out of the $\frac{1}{2}$ poll of termon land of Kilbride, in the parish of Kilbride, † and that the chapel is claimed as the parish church within the diocese of Kilmore, but that said chapel and termon lands are claimed to be parcel of the parish of Castle-corr, to which the tithes are, and have been, paid for many years ; and in the same barony [*i.e.* Clanmahon] are the parishes of Ballitemple, containing 3 ballibetags, the parsonage impropriate and the vicarage collative, the tithes are to be paid in kind, $\frac{1}{3}$ to the vicar, and $\frac{2}{3}$ to the prior of the Abbey of Four [Fore], and the vicar to pay 12 shillings proxies to the Bishop ; Kill, *alias* Kildrumfert parish, containing 6 ballibetags, the parsonage, vicar, and tithes are paid as in the former parish, except the $\frac{2}{3}$ part of the tithes of the termon land of Kill which are paid to the bishop to whom the vicar pays 12 shillings proxies—that the chapel or ease of Drumloman, ‡ with 3 ballibetags in said barony are parcel of the parish of Granard, in Co. Longford ; and that the chapel and one ballibetagh of Balli-McHugh are in said parish, barony and county ; and that the small parcel of land called Drombarden, within said ballibetagh, is parcel of the possession of the late dissolved Abbey of Kells

By a Deed dated 6th April, 1612, Robert, Protestant Bishop of Kilmore, with the consent of the dean and chapter, demised to Sir Oliver Lambert, of Kilbeggan, Co. Westmeath, and Sir Garrett Moore, *inter alia*, seven polls of the lands of Kildromfert. § But these lands still remained the property of the Established Church, and the rents and profits belonged to the Bishopric of Kilmore.

The "six Poles of Kildrumfertan"—all Church Land—as specified by the *Down Survey*, included the six tlds. of Kill, Tirrevorne, Currevanan, Aghemore, Drumon, and Purtaclare. The total acreage, as given by the *Books of Survey and Distribution (supra)*, including the unprofitable land, is 332a. 3r. 8p.

* *Cavan Inquisitions*, 1609.—*Patent Rolls*, 7 James I.

† The parish of Kilbride is now in the Diocese of Meath.

‡ The parish of Drumloman (Mullaghoran) is in Ardagh diocese.

§ *Patent Rolls*, 11 James I.

The greater portion of Kill tld. is marked "Red-mosse bogg" on the *Down Survey* map, which has the entire tld. of Tirrevorne similarly indicated. At least 105 acres—73 in Kill and 32 in Tirrevorne—consisted entirely of bog. The remainder—227a. 3r. 8p.—would represent the profitable land as indicated by the *Down Survey*. According to the findings of the 1590 Inquisition the church lands of Kildrumfertan consisted of *eight* polls; the grant of 1606 has the same number. The 1609 Commission makes it *seven* polls, as also the grant of 1612, while the 1641 Survey has *six* polls. We have already referred to the problem of the indeterminate extent of the *poll* (or pole) as a standard of land measurement.* Owing to the absence of a fixed standard, and the inevitable resulting discrepancies, the estimations based on the data of the various Surveys can only lead to contradictory results. But in the case under discussion it is obvious that the six polls signified the six tlds., or separate denominations, which were included in the church property. The poll in this case could hardly have had reference to any definite unit of area since the poll of Kill—omitting the unprofitable land—contained 65a. 0r. 16p., whereas the poll of Tirrevorne had only 32 acres, or less than one-half. The 1612 grant would appear to have included the unprofitable portion of Kill tld.; this would make up the seventh division. If we assume, with a fair degree of probability, that the eight polls of the 1590 Inquisition represented eight divisions of some definitely recognised area, then, neglecting the unprofitable land, a little calculation would show a poll, in this case, to be about $32\frac{1}{2}$ acres.

The same Inquisition found that the church lands of Crosserlough contained four polls, that is, one-half the extent and value of Kildrumfertan. The *Books of Survey and Distribution* (*loc. cit.*) show that, in 1641, 618a. 2r. 0p. in Crosserlough parish were then in possession of the Established Church. However, the tlds. of Drumscudon and Cargagheronin (Carrickacroy), containing in all 281a. 1r. 8p., described as "Glebe Land" and then in possession of "Shane O'Goone, Irish Protestant Minister," were not part of the original church lands, but had afterwards been created "glebe lands," and the grants perfected in 1626. In 1641 the "Church Land" in the tld. of Crosserlough (and Part of Crosserlough) amounted to 337a. 0r. 32p., designated "Bishops' Land," and was then in the possession of William Bedell, Protestant Bishop of Kilmore. A considerable portion of the tld., amounting to 34a. 3r. 8p.—not included in this estimate—was unprofitable, consisting of "Rocks, Red Bog, and Mountaine."

The *Down Survey* shows that in 1641 the church lands of Crosserlough were considerably more extensive than those of Kildrumfertan, whereas in 1590 the reverse was the case. The problem would suggest various solutions. A poll in Crosserlough

* V. *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 206 and p. 219.

may have represented a larger unit than in Kildrumfertan, owing to the fact that the land in the latter may have been more profitable than in the former. But the evidence afforded by the *Down Survey* map, as well as by the *Books of Survey*, puts this supposition out of bounds. The obvious explanation is this: that the returns of 1641 do not represent what must have been the original extent of these termon lands. In many cases, e.g., in Lurgan and elsewhere, where the termon lands were of small extent, the Inquisition of 1609 in assigning them to the Bishopric of Kilmore increased their extent. Finally, when the grants of "glebe land" were perfected in 1626 additional lands were added so as to augment the property of the Established Church.

The 1609 Baronial Map of Clanmahon has the church of Kildrumfertan, then in ruins, marked as a substantial structure; the churches of Kilbride, Ballintemple, and Drumloman are also marked thereon, but are shown to be of much lesser dimensions. The tld. name Kildrumfertan is not recorded on this map. The tld. in which the church is situated is marked "Cloggin," an omission and substitution not easy to explain if we do not assume a copyist's error. No mention of "Cloggin" is to be found in any contemporary record, nor is it marked on the *Down Survey*. It is a matter of conjecture why the Jacobean surveyors should have passed over unnoticed such a well-established parish title, but they must have been either misled locally or else have had some local warrant for the name "Cloggin." The same map (1609) has marked the ruined church on Inis Uachtair in "Lough Sheelen," but without attaching the usual cross or symbol indicative of termon land.* None of the earlier maps, however, record the name of the island. The *Down Survey* map, as already noted, has Kill tld., together with the five adjoining divisions, marked as Church Lands.

The tld. of Crosserlough is marked as "Carigicrosserlogh" on the 1609 map of Castlerahan. The ruined church is indicated in an adjoining division marked *Lisboy*, lying between the tlds. of "Carigicrosserlogh" and "Drumrorah." The name *Lisboy* appears to be now obsolete, but was obviously, at that time, a recognised sub-denomination of Crosserlough. In the adjoining tld. of Drumrorah, the same map marks another ruined church. It is unlikely that two churches would have been erected in such close proximity, and it is probable that the building in Drumrorah may have represented a residence or monastery. On the *Down Survey* map a ruined church is marked in the tld. of Crosserlough; no building of any kind is marked in Drumrorah.

After the Inquisition of 1590, and the devastating wars towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, together with the Jacobean confiscations, the Cavan Hospitals were deserted, and fell into ruin. The church lands had been confiscated, and the church buildings

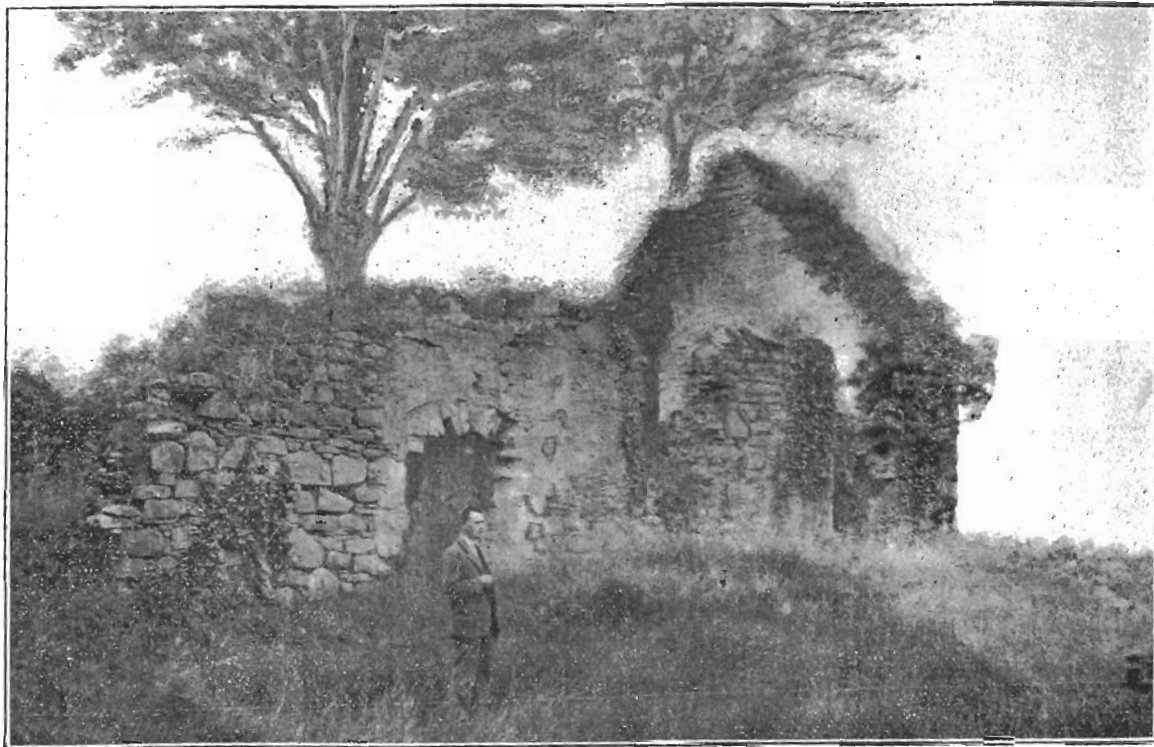
* Evidently this island, in early times, belonged to Co. Cavan, as also did the entire Loch Sheelin,

suffered the same fate. By 1603 the complete ruin of the churches had been effected. How complete was the work of confiscation is evident from the report of the Inquisition of 1620, which found that only eighteen churches in the Diocese of Kilmore were then in use for religious services, and, even in these, there had been none before 1612. The church of Kildrumfertan is numbered among the eighteen. But neither Crosserlough, Kilbride, Drum-loman, nor Ballintemple, are in the list. Neither are any of the Hospitals of Castlerahan Barony. The inference is obvious: the Hospitals had fallen into disuse and, after 1612, those of them which were required for religious services by the Established Church were repaired, and the remainder were abandoned to dissolution and decay.

KILDRUMFERTAN: EXISTING RUINS AND TOMBS.

The old church of Kildrumfertan, situated in a prominent position on the elevated ridge from which the tld. takes its name, is now in ruins. It is in a fair state of preservation, and the existing remains are sufficient to indicate that the original structure must have been a fairly substantial one. The building is rectangular, measuring 57 feet in length by 27 in breadth. The west end and gable are ruinous, but the east gable and the side walls are in good preservation. A doorway, together with two windows—the arches of which are now broken—are on the south wall. The east gable displays a well-preserved window in pointed Gothic. No traces of a window are to be found on the north wall. The accompanying illustration shows the ruined church viewed from the west.

A considerable portion of the east end of the church is walled off, indicating that the building, at one time in ruins, was at a later period repaired and shortened. In the 18th and early 19th centuries it was used for Protestant services. We have already noted that in 1620 the church was in use for religious services. In 1609 it was in ruins, as shown by the Plantation map, but after 1612 had been repaired and renovated. The transverse wall was apparently constructed at this period. It is obvious that the pre-Reformation church, then in ruins, was very extensive, and as the requirements of the time did not necessitate a large structure portion was cut off for church purposes, and the remainder was allowed to remain in ruins. This surmise is supported by the fact that the west end of the original church, now separated from the rest of the building by the more modern transverse wall, was in later years used for interments; it is on a higher level than the east end. A few ash-trees are growing in the interior of the church. Within the western enclosure is the elevated tomb of the Wilton family, with the capstone broken. This family at one time possessed extensive property in the district.



THE RUINED CHURCH OF KILDRUMFERTAN IN 1927.

PHOTO BY]

[REV. P. CONWAY, MAGHERA.

The church was continued for religious services until the present Protestant church, in the tld. of Carrickacroy, was erected early in the last century. It was then used as a school-house, and finally abandoned about a century ago. The comparatively well-preserved state of the ruins show that the church must have been kept in good repair. But the walls are certainly older than the 17th century, and manifestly belong to the pre-Reformation church. The church was built on a larger scale than the majority of the Hospitals of East Breiffne. This was due no doubt to the great ecclesiastical importance of Kildrumfertan in pre-Reformation times. Close by stands an old cross, which formerly surmounted the gable. It is crude in design and measures about two feet in height by one and a half in width.

A general survey of the ruined church and its precincts leads us to inquire whether the present ruins occupy the site of the *original* church of Kildrumfertan. The evidence is to the contrary. It has already been noted—and the evidence seems conclusive—that a church was founded here about the middle of the sixth century. The extensive graveyard here, as elsewhere, would determine the location of this early church. But the present ruins are clearly outside the ancient graveyard boundary. The present boundary wall, which encloses both church and graveyard, is a comparatively modern one. Traces of the older boundary can still be observed. The church is situated just outside the north-western boundary of the graveyard. It is significant that seemingly no interments took place in, or adjacent to, the church until the last century. At least there are only a few monuments comparatively modern. In the case of every other Hospital of East Breiffne, at least, the graveyard surrounds the ruined church.

The conclusion which suggests itself is this: that the original church of Kildrumfertan was situated in the graveyard to the south-east of the present ruins. This older church must have been a small structure; but all traces of it have long since disappeared. Even tradition, always a useful guide, does not remember it. At what period the present ruined church was erected it is now impossible to determine. But it was certainly earlier than the 16th century. The ecclesiastical importance of Kildrumfertan requiring a more elaborate edifice would lead to the older building being abandoned and very probably dismantled. The newer structure would become the parish church. Neither history nor tradition helps us to confirm or deny this conjecture, but an examination of the immediate vicinity of the church forces us to recognise its probability.

The cemetery is very extensive and contains many tombs of great interest. Reference has already been made to the mausoleums of the O'Reillys of Baltrasna; there are two, both facing north to south. The tomb farthest from the entrance gate is the more elaborate, and records the name of Colonel John O'Reilly who was "elected Knight of the Shier for the County of Cavan in the

year 1689," and who died 17th Feb., 1717, leaving 5 sons and 2 daughters.* The second tomb has a lengthy inscription which also records the name of the same Colonel John O'Reilly. Why his name should be inscribed on both, and under which of them he rests, are problems which furnish materials for speculation. Another O'Reilly tomb is pointed out near the old church ruins. It has no inscription, but according to local tradition it was specially constructed for a Lady O'Reilly who died in Dublin about a century ago, and who is reputed to be its sole occupant.

A massive horizontal slab, deeply sunk in the clay,† marks the grave of a distinguished ecclesiastic, the Rev. Dr. Hugh Edmund O'Reilly, who was Vicar-General of Kilmore under Dr. Patrick Tyrrell, Bishop of Clogher, its administrator. Dr. O'Reilly suffered much during the Puritan regime, and died in 1688. The inscription in raised lettering, now only partly legible, reads :—

**DOM DOM HUGO CAROLI
EUGENI TERENTI EDM
UNDI O'REILLY
. M.R. ME FIERI FECIT
6 AUG ANNO DO 1688**

Near the head of the slab is an incised cross, underneath which is depicted a Rosary in bas-relief. Underneath the inscription, and near the bottom, are displayed a spade and hammer. Between these latter emblems are depicted a skull and crossbones, with the words : *Memento Mori*. The initials M.R., in the fourth line of the inscription, obviously represent "Miles Reilly"—"who got this monument to be erected." He may have been identical with the Miles Reilly who is mentioned in the will of Dr. Hugh MacMahon, the Primate—who died in 1737—and who was the Primate's trusted friend.‡ Miles, who was a grandson of the above Col. John O'Reilly, died in Dublin, Feb. 4, 1775, at the age of 68. He was buried in the mausoleum above described, and on which his name is recorded.

No earlier date than 1688 has been observed.§ Under a large overhanging whitethorn are some inscribed horizontal slabs marking the burial place of the Smith family of Garrymore. The Smith coat of arms, elaborately worked, is displayed, together with the motto : *Tenebras Expellet et Hostes*. Here is pointed

* The inscriptions have already been noted : Vide *Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 68 *et seq.*

† The writer discovered this monument, partly by accident, in the summer of 1926. The spot was pointed out by local tradition as the grave of a distinguished priest and pastor of Kildrumtertan. When the debris was cleared away, and about a foot in depth of soil removed, the stone was unearthed. Thus the tradition was amply verified.

‡ Vide *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol. I, p. 151.

§ A collection of these epitaphs will be found in next issue of *Journal*.

out by local tradition the grave, *inter alios*, of a Father Smith, evidently belonging to this family, who was pastor of Kildrumfertan in the 18th century. His name is remembered with great veneration in the district, and his grave is still a place of pilgrimage. Clay from the grave is often taken away for cures, and many such are reputed to have been effected by its application. His name is not recorded on any of the slabs, but he may have been identical with the Father Terence Smith who was P.P. in 1704 (*infra*.)

On the roadside, about midway between Kilnaleck and Kildrumfertan, is a vertical inscribed stone locally called "the monument." It reads:—

**PRAY FOR Ye
SOUL OF PA
TRICK MURPHY
WHO DEPARTed
THIS LIFE FEB
Ye 2d 1748
AGED 39 YEARS**

No tradition seems to be attached to it. Another wayside inscription is to be seen at Crosserlough (*infra*).

CROSSERLOUGH: RUINS AND TOMBS.

The Hospital, or parish church, of Crosserlough was situated in an elevated position in the tld. of the same name. The church was already in ruins in 1609. On the Plantation map of that year it is indicated in the tld. of *Lisboy* (τιορ βυιρε, i.e., yellow fort), a sub-denomination of Crosserlough—or "Carigicrosserlough," as it is written thereon. Traces of the fort can still be detected alongside the graveyard. The ruined church is also marked on the 1654 map.

Of the old church there remain only the foundations, a few feet high in parts and covered with moss. The existing fragments are barely sufficient to enable us to determine its original dimensions. The church was rectangular, measuring 60 feet in length by 22 in width. The orientation is east to west. It is now impossible to locate the position of the doorway, or to determine the style of building. No mention of this church being then used for religious services occurs in the 1620 list, from which we can infer that it had been finally abandoned after the Inquisition of 1590. Hence its almost complete disappearance. Furthermore, an inscription on an upright monumental slab in the interior of the church bears the date: 1712, clearly indicating that at that time the church, already in ruins, was being used for in-

terments. By 1712 the building would have already been abandoned for over a century.

An extensive cemetery surrounds the site of the church. Although no tombs of such elaborate design as the O'Reilly mausoleums of Kildrumfertan, just described, are to be met with in Crosserlough, yet the inscribed stones in the latter graveyard seem to be the more numerous. The earliest date observed is 1710. Many of the epitaphs are deeply sunk in the ground.* A horizontal slab has the following inscription :—

**Pray for the Soul of the late
Revd Bryan Lynch who depd
this life March 21st 1814
Aged 61 years.**

In the tld. of Crosserlough and about a mile to the south-west of the old church is a stone cross, crudely sculptured, with the inscription :—

**PRAY FOR THE SOVL OF
NELLY SMYTH ALIAS BR
ADY WHO PARTED THIS
LIFE APRIL Ye 11 1744 AGE 55
REQUIESCAT IN PACE**

It is to be found alongside a large whitethorn in a field, a short distance from the road. The cross measures about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 3 feet. An inscription almost identical, and obviously recording the name of the same person, is to be found among the Crosserlough epitaphs (*quod vide*). Such wayside crosses were once very common in Ireland. In the adjoining parish of Kilbride, near the village of Dalysbridge, there are several. Others are to be seen in Oldcastle parish. An inscribed stone which stands near Kildrumfertan has already been referred to.

MASSROCKS AND CHURCHES.

After the Inquisition of 1590 when the churches of Kildrumfertan and Crosserlough were confiscated—the former passing into other hands and the latter falling into ruin and decay—no Catholic church existed in the parish for almost two centuries. During the Penal times Mass was celebrated furtively in secluded glens and other inaccessible places. According to local tradition a Mass-rock existed on a rocky prominence in the tld. of Aghawee, between Kilnaleck and Drumkilly.

In the tld. of Drumscredan, and alongside the new road leading from Keenagh to Crosserlough, may be seen a low mound of earth beside a large whitethorn bush. This is pointed out as a Mass-rock of the Penal times. There is a well close by.

* A collection of these epitaphs will be found in next issue of this *Journal*.

Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, when the O'Reilly power had been weakened, and in the reign of James I, the Penal enactments were in full blast in Breiffne. Richard Brady, Bishop of Kilmore (1580—1607), was obliged to live in seclusion, and from his death in 1607 until the appointment of Dr. Hugh O'Reilly in 1625 the See was vacant. During this period the diocese was ruled by Vicars-General, but the details of the history of the diocese of Kilmore in those years are of a very scanty nature. The condition of affairs which existed in Kilmore in 1629 may be gleaned from the *Relatio Status* of Dr. Hugh O'Reilly (who had been translated to the Primatial See of Armagh in 1628) and forwarded to Rome in that year. Dr. O'Reilly says that recently Mass was celebrated "either in the open (*sub dio*) or in unbecoming places."* In the same document Dr. O'Reilly states that he had directed that chapels be built in every parish. But the rigour with which the Penal enactments continued to be enforced made this impossible.

Tradition does not tell us whether any churches existed in the parishes of Crosserlough and Kildrumfertan during the 17th or early 18th centuries. Such edifices if they did exist—which is most improbable—would have been mere temporary mud-wall structures. During the latter half of the 18th century, when the Penal laws were being gradually relaxed, a small thatched chapel was erected in the tld. of Cullow, at the junction of the tlds. of Crosserlough, Duffcastle, and Cullow, and close by the site of the pre-Reformation parish church. This unpretentious structure served as parish church until a larger and more commodious church was erected on the same site in 1830. About 1880 this church was accidentally destroyed by fire.

A graveyard surrounds the site of this church, and was established about a century ago when the older graveyard was becoming congested. There is a fine monument to the memory of Rev. Thomas O'Reilly, who was Adm. from 1825 to 1840, and who died P.P. of Killeshandra in Oct., 1849. Another monument marks the grave of Rev. Bernard MacManus, who officiated in the parish for twenty years, and died June 28, 1883.

No trace of this church now remains. The stones were removed and utilised in building the adjacent schools. The then pastor of Crosserlough, Rev. John Boylan, set about the erection of a new church and for this purpose went on a very successful lecture tour of U.S.A. where he collected funds for the purpose. The present handsome church, designed in the early Gothic style of the 13th century, was commenced in 1884 on a site close by the former building. It was consecrated by Most Rev. Dr. McGennis on Nov. 25, 1888. There is a mural tablet to the memory of the founder. Another mural tablet commemorates the Very Rev.

* *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol. V., p. 81.

Francis Lynch, P.P., V.F., Killdrumsherdan, Cootehill, who died Feb. 26, 1901, aged 56, and in the 28th year of his priesthood.

About the middle of the 18th century a small chapel was erected in the tld. of Drumkilly. It continued in use until the present church was erected by Rev. John Murray in 1846-47. The older church, which stood close by, was afterwards used as a school until the present schools were erected during the pastorate of Rev. John Boylan.

A mural tablet in Drumkilly church commemorates the Rev. Patrick Galligan, P.P., Carrigallen, who died 20th Jan., 1877, aged 49 and in the 22nd year of his sacred ministry. Rev. Matthew Ferguson, C.C., who was transferred from Templeport in 1875 and died in 1879, is also interred here. A mural tablet records the name of Rev. Patrick O'Reilly whose tragic death occurred in 1825 (vide *infra*); his name is still revered in the parish.

In 1882 a chapel of ease was erected in Kilnaleck.

SUCCESSION OF PASTORS.

In 1540 the Rev. Dr. John MacBrady, Doctor of Canon Law, was pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Kildrumfertan, and was provided to the Bishopric of Kilmore by Pope Paul III on 5th November of that year. Permission was granted to him to retain his parochial church.* His predecessor in the Bishopric of Kilmore was Dr. Edmund Nugent, O.S.A., Prior of Tristernagh, Co. Westmeath, who succeeded in 1530. In 1539 Bishop Nugent surrendered the Priory of Tristernagh to the Royal Commissioners of Henry VIII and was promised a pension, payable out of the revenues of Tristernagh. This surrender was considered as evidence of heterodoxy—although, perhaps, at that time merely regarded as a purely civil contract—and accordingly Dr. MacBrady was provided to the Bishopric. Bishop MacBrady allowed his predecessor to enjoy the spiritualities and temporalities of the Bishopric, and merely retained for himself the revenues of the parish church of Cavan. Bishop Nugent died in 1550, and Bishop MacBrady had his temporalities restored in 1551. His death occurred in 1559.† In the Bull of Provision of his successor—Dr. Hugh O'Sheridan—the See of Kilmore is described as "vacant by the death of John MacBrady of happy memory" (*per obitum bonæ memoriæ Joannis MacBrady olim episcopi Kilmoren*).

For over a century after the death of Dr. MacBrady we have no record of the pastors of Kildrumfertan. From the death of Dr. Owen MacSweeney in 1669 until the accession of Dr. Michael MacDonagh in 1728 the Diocese of Kilmore was administered by vicars. Dr. Patrick Tyrrell, Bishop of Clogher, was Administrator of Kilmore from 1678 until 1689, when he was translated

* *De Annatis Hiberniæ*, Vol. I. p. 258.

† *Vide Journal*, Vol. I, p. 51.

to Meath. The Vicar-General of Kilmore under Dr. Tyrrell was Dr. Hugh Edmund O'Reilly, pastor of Kildrumfertan. There were then only two Bishops in Ulster, Dr. Tyrrell and Primate Plunket, and vigorous efforts were being made to effect their capture. From the *Carte Manuscripts*, and other sources, we learn of the elaborate schemes prepared for their apprehension. Lord Deputy Ormond, writing to Sir Hans Hamilton on October 28, 1679, declares that: "It would be an extraordinary service to the King and of great advantage to me" if Primate Plunket and Dr. Tyrrell, "might be apprehended." Furthermore, he offers a "reasonable reward" for their discovery. Sir Hans Hamilton in his reply, dated November 1, 1679, states that he "will leave no means unattempted to obey your commands," and adds: "I have laid out also for Tyrrell who if in this country [Co. Armagh] or Cavan will also be found. But his absconding places I know not so well as the others." Primate Plunket was arrested in Dublin on December 6, 1679, but Dr. Tyrrell successfully baffled his pursuers and remained hidden in the glens of Cavan, Monaghan, and Tyrone.

The Vicar-General, Dr. Hugh O'Reilly, did not escape the vigilance of the authorities, who eagerly sought his apprehension. In 1681 we find him a prisoner in Cavan Jail. It would appear that Dr. Tyrrell had contrived to maintain a correspondence with Dr. O'Reilly while the latter was in prison and that the prison authorities had intercepted some of the letters. However, Dr. O'Reilly seems to have succeeded in having letters conveyed out surreptitiously, which fact was suspected by the prison officials. The following curious letter from the Council to Humphrey Perrott, dated at Cavan, June 28, 1681, reveals the anxiety of the authorities to glean information regarding Dr. Tyrrell:*

It is thought fitt at this Board that the letters directed to Edmund Rely prisoner in the Gaole of Cavan from Patrick Tyrrell be returned to you and that you examine Rely whether he doth know the said Tyrrell and of what calling or profession he is and if a clergyman whether he bee a Bishopp and of what place he bears his title and whether the titular Bishopp of Clogher be called Tyrrell. You are likewise to examine the said Rely concerning the great pacquett of letters said to be conveyed out of the Gaole.

We have no record of the results of the inquiry, but no doubt the quest was fruitless, and Dr. Tyrrell managed to retain his liberty. The Council seem to have been possessed of only very scanty information, otherwise they would have immediately identified the "Patrick Tyrrell" of the correspondence. In his letters Dr. Tyrrell adopted various *aliases*—*Scurllog* and later *Stapleton*

* Rev. W. P. Burke's *Irish Priests in the Penal Times (1660-1760)*, p. 80.

—which proved veritable enigmas to his pursuers.* On this occasion he seems to have abandoned his disguise. The missing letters suspected of having been smuggled out of prison would have, as the authorities suspected, revealed the identity, as well as the place of refuge of Dr. Tyrrell.

How long Dr. O'Reilly remained in prison is not recorded. But the difficulties which he encountered may be surmised from a contemporary account of the Rev. Robert Plunket—a scion of the Loughcrew family and a relative of the Primate—who was pastor of the neighbouring parish of Kilbride at the same period. Dr. Patrick Plunket, Bishop of Meath, writing to the Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, June 22, 1669, proposes the Rev. Robert Plunket as coadjutor to the Bishop of Kilmore (Dr. Owen MacSweeney) who was then old and infirm.† The letter refers to the fact that, for six years, Father Plunket “dwelt by day in the caverns and rocks,” and only at night could he celebrate Mass and visit his flock.

Dr. O'Reilly died on August 6, 1688, and was interred in Kildrumfertan. His monument—a massive horizontal slab with raised lettering—has already been described (*supra*). The Latin inscription records his full name: Hugh Charles Owen Terence Edmund O'Reilly. The skull and cross-bones displayed, together with the motto *Memento Mori*, possess a singular adaptability to such a chequered and hazardous life, in a dark and dismal age.

In Jan., 1689 Dr. Tyrrell was translated to Meath, and Rev. Bryan Brady, P.P. of Laragh and Dean of Kilmore, was appointed Vicar-General. The latter already acted in the same capacity from early in 1676 until the accession of Dr. Tyrrell in 1678.‡

In 1704 the Rev. Terence Smith was registered at Cavan as P.P. of Kildrumfertan, and was probably the immediate successor to Dr. Hugh O'Reilly. He was then aged 58, was ordained in 1671 at Ardpatrik, Co. Louth, by Primate Plunket, and was living at Blenlary§ the year of the Registration. His sureties, for £50 each, in accordance with the Penal statute were Connor Reilly of Dromkilly and Cahir Reilly of Aghawee.|| As his name

* *Memoir of the Ven. Oliver Plunket*, by Cardinal Moran : Second Edition, p. 310.

† *Ibid.*, p. 3.

‡ *Memoir of the Ven. Oliver Plunket*, by Cardinal Moran : Second Edition, p. 238.

§ This is the tld. of Largan ; the 1609 map has “Bleanlaraga,” and the *Cavan List* (1709?) has “Blenlargin.”

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

Connor Reilly of Dromkilly must have been a man of property and trust. In the 1704 List we find him, *inter alios*, surety for the following pastors : Rev. Patrick Brady, P.P., Denn ; Rev. Terence Smith, P.P., Kildrumfertan ; Rev. Connor Reilly, P.P., Annah ; Rev. John Garraghan, P.P., Drumgoon ; Rev. Thomas Clery, P.P., Killann ; Rev. Murtagh Gargan, P.P., Mullagh ; Rev. Connor Riley, P.P., Drumloman and Ballymachugh.

In the 1715 List he is entered, *inter alios*, as surety for Rev. Walter Dease, P.P., Kilbride, and Rev. Daniel Reilly, P.P., Knockbride.

does not occur in the 1715 list of Cavan priests it is probable that he was dead or exiled before that year. The date of his death has not been ascertained, but he was probably buried in Kildrumfertan. Here, under an inscribed horizontal slab which marks the burial-place of the Smith family of Garrymore—at Bellananagh—tradition points out the grave of a Father Smith whose reputed sanctity has ensured his memory to be warmly cherished down the centuries. His name is not recorded on any of the slabs, but, very probably, he is identical with the Rev. Terence Smith.

The next pastor of whom we have any record is the Rev. Dr. John O'Reilly, Doctor of both Civil and Canon Law (*Juris utriusque Doctor*), Dean of Kilmore. In a Report dated March 21, 1744, the High Sheriff of Cavan, Samuel Moore, describes him as "parish priest of Croseclogh," and then living at Drumkilly.* At this period the Penal Laws were being rigorously enforced. He is again mentioned as Pastor in the *Relatio Status* of Most Rev. Laurence Richardson, Bishop of Kilmore, dated 9th June, 1750.† The date of his death has not been ascertained.

In the latter part of the 18th century the Rev. Eugene Brady was P.P. of Crosserlough. He is mentioned in 1774, and again in 1775, in the old Parish Register of Castlerahan as granting matrimonial licences. He died some time before 1800, and is said to have been buried at Crosserlough. The parochial records were destroyed when the parish church was burned about 1880 and only very scanty details of the pastors survive. In that disastrous fire a very interesting chapter of Kilmore diocesan history has been irrecoverably lost. The earliest existing parish register commences in 1843.

As far as can be ascertained Crosserlough was made a mensal parish about 1800. In the list of the Catholic clergy of the diocese of Kilmore furnished to Lord Castlereagh in the year 1801 we find Rev. Bryan Lynch, curate of Crosserlough,‡ Father Lynch died March 21, 1814, aged 61 years, and rests under a large horizontal slab in the old graveyard of Crosserlough (*supra*).

In 1814 a Rev. Hugh O'Reilly was pastor. His name appears in the list of subscribers to a volume of poems by James Martin, printed in Cavan in 1816.*

About 1815 the Rev. Patrick O'Reilly was appointed C.C. or Administrator. He took a prominent part in every movement for the welfare of the people, and although a century has elapsed since he passed away—a century which has witnessed many sweeping changes, and epoch-making events to distract popular attention—yet his name is as familiarly pronounced, and his

* Burke, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

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

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

§ *Vide Journal*, Vol. II, p. 308.

memory as warmly cherished, by the people as if they had personally known him and witnessed his zealous efforts on their behalf. His labours were cut short, and his death occurred on March 10, 1825. It is generally believed that he was murdered—a victim to the unhappy sectarian strife of the day. His dead body was discovered on the roadside in the tld. of Aghawee, between Kilnaleck and Drumkilly. His mural tablet in Drumkilly church has the following inscription :—

In Memoria eterna erit Justus
Ab auditione mala non timebis.

Sacred to the Memory of the Revd.
Patrick O'Reilly. For nine years and
upwards he discharged the duties of
his Sacred Ministry with zeal and
advantage to his flock.

He was distinguished for every virtue which could dignify human nature. A charitable feeling for the distressed poor would not permit him to make any earthly Store—Great was his Zeal in improving this House of God. His efforts to rescue his country from degradation induces a belief that he suffered death by violent hands on the 10th March 1825 in the 36th year of his age.

In grateful remembrance of his transcendent virtues his affectionate flock have caused this testimonial of their sincere esteem to be erected.

Requiescat in Pace.

Rev. Thomas O'Reilly succeeded. From the *Visitation Book* of the Most Rev. Dr. Browne, Bishop of Kilmore, we find that Rev. John O'Connell was C.C. in 1828, this being his first curacy.* In 1831, according to Dr. Browne, the Catholic population of the parish was 7131. Father O'Reilly was transferred to Killeshandra as P.P. in 1840 and died there in Oct., 1849. A fine monument to his memory has been erected in the newer cemetery of Crosserlough.

The next Adm. was the Rev. John Murray, who had already been C.C. He was a great church builder and erected the present church of Drumkilly in 1846-47. In 1852 he was transferred as

* He was uncle to the late Very Rev. Patrick O'Connell, P.P., V.G., Drumgoon, who died June 25, 1923.

P.P. to Kinawley where he died March 13, 1858.† In 1843 Rev. Peter Clarke was C.C. and it is related locally that he drove with the Crosserlough contingent to O'Connell's monster Repeal meeting at Tara on August 15, 1843.

In 1852 Rev. John O'Reilly succeeded, and in the following year was transferred elsewhere. Rev. Edward Lynch was Adm. from 1853 until his death on Jan 11, 1859. The next Adm. was the Rev. Francis O'Reilly, who was transferred to Killann in 1861.

Rev. Thomas Mulvanny, who was born at Lisduff, in Lurgan parish, and who had been C.C. of Urney and Annageliffe, was transferred to Crosserlough as Adm. in 1861. He died Dec. 30, 1863, aged 43 and was interred in Maghera church, where a memorial window with mural tablet commemorates him.

In 1864 the mensal parish was transferred from Crosserlough to Castlerahan by Most Rev. Dr. Conaty, and Rev. John Boylan, who had already been transferred from Ballinamore to Crosserlough in 1861, was appointed P.P.

Rev. John Boylan was one of the most remarkable men of his time. Born beside Crosserlough, about 1820, he studied for the priesthood in Maynooth, where he was ordained in 1853. In all the agrarian agitations of the last century Father Boylan was always a consistent friend of the tenants. In 1867 he issued a series of pamphlets on the Land Question which were eagerly sought after at the time and obtained a large circulation in U.S.A., preparing the way for the three visits that were to follow to that country. On the first two occasions his mission was to raise funds by means of lectures for the Diocesan College of St. Patrick, Cavan, and on both visits his efforts were highly successful. His third and last visit to U.S.A. was to collect funds that he might erect a parish church worthy of the parish of Crosserlough. His visits to Belfast, Glasgow, and Manchester, brought to the building fund over a thousand pounds. During his pastorate he erected two magnificent churches, twelve parochial schools with teachers' residences, and two parochial residences.

Father Boylan was a polished and effective public speaker, a silver-tongued orator, an indefatigable worker, and a great favourite with audiences in the lecture halls of America. His death took place on Sept. 1, 1899, at the age of 78 and in the 46th year of his sacred ministry. He rests underneath a mural tablet in Crosserlough parish church.

Very Rev. Patrick Lynch succeeded in 1899. He died Dec. 9, 1909, aged 66, and a handsome monument marks his grave beside the parish church.

Very Rev. Hugh Brady succeeded in 1909.

† The date of his death is erroneously entered as 1852 in *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 223.

The list of pastors for this parish, as far back as they have yet been traced, would, arranged tabularly, read as follows :—

LIST OF KILDRUMFERTAN AND CROSSERLOUGH
PARISH PRIESTS.

KILDRUMFERTAN.

—	1540	1559	Rev. Dr. John MacBrady.
—	1681	1688	Rev. Dr. Hugh O'Reilly.

KILDRUMFERTAN AND CROSSERLOUGH.

—	1704	—	Rev. Terence Smith.
—	1750	—	Rev. Dr. John O'Reilly.
—	1774-75	—	Rev. Eugene Brady.
—	1801	1814	Rev. Bryan Lynch, Adm.
—	1814	—	Rev. Hugh O'Reilly, Adm.
1815	—	1825	Rev. Patrick O'Reilly, Adm.
1825	—	1840	Rev. Thomas O'Reilly, Adm.
1840	—	1852	Rev. John Murray, Adm.
1852	—	1853	Rev. John O'Reilly, Adm.
1853	—	1859	Rev. Edward Lynch, Adm.
1859	—	1861	Rev. Francis O'Reilly, Adm.
1861	—	1863	Rev. Thomas Mulvanny, Adm.
1864	—	1899	Rev. John Boylan.
1899	—	1909	Very Rev. Patrick Lynch.
1909	—	—	Very Rev. Hugh Brady.

Owing to the loss of the Parochial Registers, the ecclesiastical history of the parish in the 18th century cannot now be detailed as comprehensively as otherwise it might have been. For much interesting information, and valuable traditions, I am indebted to Mr. Thomas Smith, of Drumkilly, whose intimate knowledge of local history was invaluable in connecting the scattered threads of the history of the district.

PHILIP O'CONNELL.

The Episcopal Succession in the Diocese of Kilmore, 1560-1910.

By CHEVALIER W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD, Mus.D., K.S.G.

[Read 26th May, 1927.]

(Continued from this *Journal*, Vol. I., pp. 49-52.)

Hugh O'Sheridan was provided to the See of Kilmore on February 7th, 1560, and is described in the Papal Brief as "a priest of the Diocese of Raphoe and Canon." By privilege he was allowed to retain his canonry. He suffered much in his latter years, and died suddenly in the winter of 1579.

On the death of Bishop O'Sheridan the Holy See provided Richard Brady, O.F.M. (Bishop of Ardagh) a native of Breifne, to the vacant See. Bishop Brady, who was a very eminent man, is thus described by Father Mooney*, then Irish Franciscan Provincial, one of his companions in the Franciscan Monastery of Multifarnam, Co. Westmeath :

[Bishop Brady] sprang from the noble house of his name, which for many an age ruled with princely sway in Brefney-O'Reilly. At a very early period of his life he distinguished himself as a jurist, for, indeed, he was profoundly versed in the canon and civil law. Family influence and talents such as his would, doubtless, have raised him to eminence had he chosen a secular career ; but caring little for the fame or fortune which he might have won so easily in the Senate or in the Forum, he renounced the world, and took our poor habit in the Convent of Cavan. His piety, learning, and prudence were the theme of every tongue ; and although he never left Ireland† or sought for himself any dignity, the

* *Noctes Lovanienses* ; Duffy's *Hibernian Magazine*, March, 1861, p. 129. Father Mooney, who wrote in 1617, gives a vivid account of the lives and sufferings of his contemporaries. His Latin Manuscript History of the Irish Franciscan houses—preserved in the Burgundian Library, Brussels—has been translated and published with a vast amount of additional details by the late Rev. C. P. Meehan, M.R.I.A., under the title : *The Rise and Fall of the Irish Franciscan Monasteries* (First Edition—Dublin, 1869), a work which embodies great research, and is a valuable source of information on the ecclesiastical history of Ireland in the 16th and 17th centuries. It has since passed through many editions. The chapter dealing with the history of the Monastery or Multifarnam includes a long and detailed personal account of the life of Bishop Brady from the pen of Father Mooney.

† Sir James Ware, in his sketch of the life of this Bishop (Harris' *Ware's Bishops*), erroneously asserts that he came from Rome with Papal Bulls, commanding the Irish Catholics to take up arms against the English Government.

Supreme Pontiff promoted him to the Bishopric of Ardagh on the 23rd of January, 1576. Resigning that diocese, he was translated to the See of Kilmore. . . .

His translation to the See of Kilmore is dated March 9, 1580, receiving a Brief from Pope Gregory XIII. dated March 12, 1580, granting him certain faculties previously given to his predecessor "Hugh of happy memory." So weak was the English power in the Diocese, owing to the power of the O'Reillys, that Bishop Brady exercised his jurisdiction for a few years without hindrance from the civil authorities, until he was at length deprived by Queen Elizabeth (who appointed John Garvey as bishop) in 1585, yet he continued to act as before, and the pseudo-bishop, John Garvey, was unable to get possession. In a *State Paper* of 1592 is the following account.*

In O'Reilly's county is Richard Brady, Bishop of Kilmore, who exercises his authority there, though that country is governed by English laws and officers.

Archbishop Miler Magrath of Cashel, in a document dated December 17, 1590,† has a similar statement. On May 13, 1591, there is a letter from Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam, and others to Chancellor Hatton and Burghley, stating that :

they had used all the means which they could devise for the apprehension of the Popish Bishop of Kilmore
The bishop is most secretly harboured by the Nugents, especially by the Baron of Delvin.

On October 1, 1601, English soldiers captured Bishop Brady at Multifarnam and put him in chains. In the following year he was again arrested at Multifarnam by the notorious Francis Rochfort, but as he was decrepit and unable to walk or stand, he was beaten, flung into a brake of briars, and left there for dead. Father Mooney (*op. cit.*) devotes many pages to the life and sufferings of Bishop Brady :

whose virtues and sufferings [he subjoins] should never be forgotten by the future historian of our calamitous times.

After the death of Dr. Raymond O'Gallagher, Bishop of Derry, who was slain in 1601, Bishop Brady, as Senior Suffragan of the Province succeeded to the office of Vice-Primate.

During the last years of his life Bishop Brady endured much. Father Mooney tells us that he was arrested *three* times by the English authorities, who, on two occasions released him on the payment of a heavy fine ; on the third occasion his habit was torn off, and he was, as already stated, thrown into a thicket. Bishop Brady lived mostly at Multifarnam, and never left it except when going

* *Rawlinson MSS.*, c. 98, p. 20 ; Brady, *Epis. Succ.*, I., 281,
† *Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1588-1592*, p. 375.

on a Visitation of his diocese. In the Examination* of Teig O'Corkran, taken at Camp, near Devenish, on August 11, 1606, the Examinat stated that "lately he went to Multifernan to the supposed Bishop Bradie." Sir John Davys, writing to Salisbury on November 12, 1606, informs him that :†

Richard Brady is the titular Bishop of Kilmore ; he is very aged, but lurketh for the most part in Westmeath. Early in the year 1607 the aged Prelate resigned the See of Kilmore, and died in the Monastery of Multifarnam in September of the same year. In compliance with his own wishes he was buried, says Father Mooney (*op cit.*) :

in the usual burial place of the friars, that is to say, in the cloister, and right under the door leading to the church.

No inscription remains to mark the last resting place of this great Franciscan Bishop of Kilmore.

From 1607 to 1625 there was a vacancy in the See, and at length, on June 9th of the latter year, Hugh O'Reilly (son of Maolmordha O'Reilly) was provided as Bishop. This prelate was consecrated in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda, in July, 1626, by Dr. Thomas Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin. After three years (and two years after his consecration), on May 5th, 1628, he was translated to the Primatial See of Armagh, and confirmed on August 31st, of the same year.‡

Archbishop Hugh O'Reilly was a most remarkable man and prelate. Of this great Breiffne ecclesiastic, Cardinal Moran writes :

Hugh O'Reilly, a descendant of the old Irish monarchs, was at this time Primate and Archbishop of Armagh. . . . He frequently administered Confirmation in the woods or on the hillsides. . . . When at length the Province of Ulster was over-run by the Puritan armies he chose for himself a silent retreat in the little island of the Blessed Trinity in the County of Cavan, where, after suffering incredible hardships (*post plurimas aerumnas in eo recessu patientissime toleratus*) he died in 1652, aged 72 years.§

In 1637 he was imprisoned in Dublin Castle for convening a Synod, and was detained for six weeks in a painful captivity. In a letter from the Archbishop himself to Dr. O'Dwyer, in Rome, on October 24, 1637, he states that as yet his health had hardly recovered from the severe shock it received in the damp dungeon of the Castle.||

Dr. O'Reilly rests in the Franciscan Monastery of Cavan, but as his monument, if such ever existed, has been long since swept

* *Cal. State Papers, Ireland*, 1606, p. 566.

† *Ibid.*, Carew MSS., 1606, p. 18.

‡ Further details of the life of Dr. Hugh O'Reilly will be found elsewhere in this *Journal*. Vide *History of Kildrumfertan*.

§ *Persecutions suffered by the Catholics of Ireland*, p. 99.

|| *Moran, Archbishops of Dublin*, Vol. I., p. 402.

away when the ancient Abbey was invaded and uprooted, the exact location of his tomb is not definitely known, but is traditionally pointed out in the choir of the ruined church.

Dr. Eoghan MacSuibhne (Owen MacSwiney) was provided to the See of Kilmore on September 18, 1628, but was not consecrated till 1630. He had been Vicar Apostolic of Derry since 1626, and on December 17, 1626, he wrote an interesting Latin letter from Paris to Rome in regard to appointments to the Ulster Episcopate.* The See of Kilmore, in 1630, was the poorest in the Province of Armagh, and the Bishop petitioned the Holy See for the restitution of certain tithes accruing from the monasteries of Kells and Fore, in the diocese of Meath. This petition was backed up by Archbishop O'Reilly of Armagh (who himself had been Bishop of Kilmore), and in a letter dated December 2, 1630, he explained that most of the Church lands in Kilmore had been sequestrated, while the episcopal revenues did not exceed 600 French florins yearly, of which sum 100 was paid by the Prior of Fore.

Bishop MacSwiney, on March 2, 1634, wrote to the Holy See asking to be translated to the diocese of Derry, of which he had been Vicar-Apostolic, but his request was not complied with. Two years later, in 1636, in a *Relatio* presented to Rome the diocese of Kilmore is described as containing 40 parishes, with 28 parish priests exercising care of souls. There was no Cathedral city, and the chief town was Cavan where there was formerly a Franciscan Friary, but now only a few of the Friars remained, who, however, did not live in the old Convent but in private houses. The Chapter of the Diocese had died out, and the only dignitaries were the Dean and Archdeacon.†

Writing to Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter dated April 1, 1630, Bishop Bedell states that :‡

The Primate himself [Dr. Hugh O'Reilly] lives in my parish [Kilmore]; the bishop [Dr. MacSwiney] in another part of my diocese further off. Every parish hath its priest, and some two or three apiece.

In a letter to Archbishop Usher, dated September 18th, of the same year, he further states :§

There are, besides the titular Primate and Bishop, of Priests in the Diocess of Kilmore and Ardagh 66, of Ministers and Curates but 32.

During the Cromwellian regime Bishop MacSwiney suffered much. For several years he was the only resident Catholic Bishop in Ireland. An examination of the records of the time shows that Bishop MacSwiney was the only Bishop left in Ireland from

* *Irish Franciscan Monasteries*, by Rev. C. P. Meehan, 5th Edition, p. 405.

† Moran's *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, pp. 192 and 208.

‡ Burnett's *Life of Bedell*, 2nd Edition, 1736, p. 35.

§ *Ibid*, p. 46.

1654 until October, 1659, and from the end of 1661 until October or November, 1662. In the year 1649, writes Dean Cogan :*

there were four Archbishops and twenty-three Bishops in Ireland ; during a portion of Cromwell's reign there was only one, viz., Dr. Swiney, of Kilmore—who was unable to seek safety by flight, in consequence of age and infirmity.

In a Report laid before the Propaganda in July, 1669, it was stated that :†

the bishop of Ardagh, after his return from exile, consecrated two hundred priests for various dioceses in Ireland, as at that time there was no other Bishop resident in that Kingdom save the infirm Bishop of Kilmore.

Dr. MacSwiney attended the Synod of Kells, which was presided over by Archbishop Hugh O'Reilly, on March 22, 1642. He also assisted at the Synod of Jamestown, Co. Leitrim, on August 12, 1650, and signed that famous declaration drawn up on the occasion. We learn from the correspondence of Bishop Bedell that in 1629 Dr. MacSwiney was living close to Kilmore. From an Examination‡ of Hugh O'Relie of Agholein [Aghalion in Castlerahan Parish] on July 21, 1663, it appears that Dr. MacSwiney "papish titular bishop of Killmore" was then living on the mountain of Slieveanierin, Co. Leitrim. At that date he was decrepit and bed-ridden and incapable of discharging any episcopal functions. After a few years he was given an able assistant in the person of Rev. Dr. Thomas Fitzsimons, who was appointed Vicar-General of Kilmore by Archbishop Edmund O'Reilly on June 25, 1666. As Dr. MacSwiney was wholly incapacitated by old age and suffering from attending to the spiritual wants of the diocese, the administration was committed to Dr. Fitzsimons. However, his government of the Diocese was not acceptable to all and the Provincial Council of Armagh on May 25, 1669, passed sentence of deposition against Dr. Fitzsimons. On June 22, 1669, Dr. Patrick Plunket, Bishop of Meath, writing to the secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda informs him that :

The Bishop of Kilmore, being continually infirm in body, and sometimes, too, in mind, is not able to repress the dissensions which have arisen in his diocese, the only remedy would be to give him a coadjutor.§

Dr. Patrick Plunket was deputed to investigate the matter, but before his arrival in the Diocese Dr. MacSwiney had passed away. After a long and strenuous episcopate he died on October 18, 1669, and was buried, with the permission of the Protestant Bishop—Dr. Maxwell, in the old Cathedral of Kilmore.

* *Diocese of Meath*, Vol. II., p. 104, ct. *Renehan's Collections*, p. 54.

† *Brady, Episcopal Succession*, Vol. I., p. 293.

‡ *Burke, Irish Priests in the Penal Times*, p. 2.

§ *Cardinal Moran's Memoir of the Ven. Oliver Plunket*, second Edition, p. 3.

From 1669 to 1728 the See of Kilmore was governed by vicars, or administrators.* A week after the death of Dr. MacSwiney Dr. Patrick Plunket convened the clergy of Kilmore, on October 25, 1669, and declared Dr. Fitzsimons lawful Vicar-General of the diocese. It is well to note that Blessed Oliver Plunket, as Primate, confirmed Dr. Fitzsimons as Archdeacon and Vicar-General a few days after the arrival of the former in Ireland on March 7, 1670.†

Dr. Fitzsimons, who was a native of Meath,‡ was a Professor of Theology in Brussels for fifteen years, and bore the reputation of being "learned, unostentatious, and prudent" (Moran, *op. cit.* p. 235). He is referred to by Blessed Oliver Plunket in a letter of March 16, 1672, as "a learned and exemplary man, a good theologian and canonist" (Moran, *op. cit.*, p. 176). In the same letter he is recommended as competent and suitable to hold a Bishopric. At the Synod of Clones, August 23, 1670, there is mention of his attending as "Thomas Fitzsimons, Archdeacon and Vicar-General of Kilmore" (*op. cit.*, p. 144).

In a *Relatio* of the Diocese dated March 6th, 1675, the Primate, Dr. Plunket, states that (*op. cit.*, p. 171) :

The diocese of Kilmore is 50 miles in length, and 20 in breadth ; there are in it about twenty-six parish priests, and two houses of Franciscans. All the Catholics, with the exception of two, are only tenants. The Vicar-General is Thomas Symons, a very learned and eloquent man. He was professor of theology in Belgium.

Dr. Fitzsimons had been nominated Vicar-Apostolic of Kilmore at a Congregation of Propaganda on September 16th, 1672, but the matter was postponed. Already, on December 30, 1670, the Primate writing to Dr. Brennan, in Rome, recommended Dr. Fitzsimons (*op. cit.* p. 217) :

Mr. Thomas Fitzsimons deports himself so well in this province, that I know no one more deserving than he is.

For about 5 years Dr. Fitzsimons worked zealously in the diocese of Kilmore, and was highly esteemed by Blessed Oliver Plunket. Between the years 1672 and 1675 the administration of Dr. Fitzsimons proved very unsatisfactory, and caused much trouble in the diocese. Some worthy priests of the diocese, who had been deposed by Dr. Fitzsimons appealed to the Primate, who held an investigation resulting in the deposition of Dr. Fitzsimons on May 12, 1675. The change in the career of Dr. Fitzsimons is sufficiently explained by Blessed Oliver Plunket in some of his letters. Early in the year 1675 Dr. Fitzsimons, was seized with violent attacks of dysentery, lasting for more than two

* Ct. Maziere Brady, *The Irish Reformation*, 1867, p. 69 ; Burke, *op. cit.* p. 267.

† Moran, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

‡ Cogan, *Diocese of Meath*, Vol. III., p. 646.

months. Intense illness had affected his mental faculties, and reduced him to a state of childish imbecility (Moran, *op. cit.*, p. 237).

The Primate now appointed Rev. Bernard Gaughran as Vicar-General, with Rev. Bernard Brady as his assistant. Writing to the Internunzio in a letter dated December 2, 1676, the Primate, Blessed Oliver Plunket, informs him that for sound reasons he had removed Dr. Fitzsimons from the office of Vicar-General of Kilmore, and adding that, after an attack of sickness, the latter "has never been sane of mind." The Primate continues :

The Vicar whom I appointed to succeed him and who still continues, is Bernard Geaghron, who is 60 years of age, a man of holy life, and who was at other times Vicar-General. During the past spring, however, as he was rather infirm, I appointed, as his assistant, Father Bernard Brady, who is 38 years of age, and has been a rural vicar for 12 years. He is a man of sound judgment ; and as the diocese of Kilmore is 58 miles in length, the good old Geaghron was not able to discharge all the duty.

Some friction ensued, and the Archbishop of Cashel received instructions from the Holy See to examine the controversy and report on it to the Sacred Congregation. He furnished this report to Rome on April 6th, 1677, and the controversy came to an end. On February 1, 1678, Propaganda refused the nomination of Dr. Fitzsimons, and handed over to Dr. Patrick Tyrrell, O.F.M., Bishop of Clogher, the administration of Kilmore. The appointment of Dr. Tyrrell ended the difficulty—as it not only deprived Dr. Fitzsimons of his Vicar-Generalship, but it solved the crux arising from the poverty of the Sees of Clogher and Kilmore, which gave a barely tolerable sustenance to Dr. Tyrrell. Not long afterwards Dr. Fitzsimons retired to Belgium where he died at Brussels in 1680.

Dr. Patrick Tyrrell, of Clogher, administered the diocese of Kilmore from 1678 to 1689, when he was translated to Meath. Dr. Tyrrell belonged to Fertullagh, Co. Westmeath, and was "a man renowned, even on the Continent, for his knowledge of ecclesiastical jurisprudence" (Moran, *op. cit.*, p. 148). At the Synod of Ardpatrick, August, 1678, he signed the Acts as "Bishop of Clogher and Administrator of Kilmore" (*op. cit.*, p. 153). In connection with the Diocesan Synod at Cavan, held June 7th, 1687, he is referred to as "Bishop of Clogher, Vicar Apostolic, Administrator of Kilmore."* Dr. Tyrrell was not, of course, at any time, Bishop of Kilmore ; he was Apostolic Administrator of the diocese, *i.e.*, Adm. by Apostolic authority. There are some interesting notices of Dr. Tyrrell in Cardinal Moran's *Memoir of the Ven. Oliver Plunket*, also in Dean Cogan's *Diocese of Meath* (Vol. II., pp. 140-151).

The Vicar-General of Kilmore, under Dr. Tyrrell its administrator, was Rev. Edmund O'Reilly. On June 28, 1681, we find that

* Renehan, *Collections*, p. 160.

Father Edmund O'Reilly was a prisoner in Cavan Gaol, and that, even under such difficult circumstances, he was able to maintain a correspondence with Dr. Tyrrell. The conditions under which Dr. Tyrrell exercised his episcopal functions, while in hiding in the glens of Monaghan and Cavan, are revealed in the correspondence between Ormond and Sir Hans Hamilton, which is given in Burke's *Irish Priests in the Penal Times* (pp. 77-80). Dr. Edmund O'Reilly died in 1688 and rests in the churchyard of Kildrumfertan.*

Dr. Tyrrell's translation to the See of Meath is dated January 21, 1689 (he had been preconised on December 20, 1688), and Dr. Bernard Brady, Dean of Kilmore, was confirmed as Vicar-General. In the Registry of Priests for 1704, Bernard (Bryan) Brady appears as P.P. of Laragh, and residing at "Lisstavín" (Lisatawan). He was ordained in 1666 by Bishop Plunket of Ardagh, and was 66 years old in 1704. This is the Vicar-General who had been appointed by Blessed Oliver Plunket. In the Primate's letter dated December 2, 1676, quoted above, Dr. Brady is described as then aged 38; in 1704 he would have been 66, and this is the exact age recorded in the Registry of that year. He held office from 1689 until his death which occurred in May, 1710. In the same year he was succeeded by the Rev. James Brady.

On August 22, 1711, Dr. Hugh MacMahon, Bishop of Clogher, was given the Diocese of Kilmore in administration, and continued as such until his translation to the Archiepiscopal See of Armagh on August 6th, 1714. He was Canon of Cassel in Flanders, and was appointed to Clogher on March 15th, 1707, his consecration taking place abroad. He writes from Cassel to the Congregation of Propaganda, on May 10, 1714, and signs himself Bishop of Clogher and Administrator of Kilmore. He mentions that he had been arrested in London on his journey to Cassel, in the Diocese of Ypres, of which his uncle was Provost of St. Peter's Church, but had providentially escaped, and has arrived in Cassel in the first week in September, 1712. Towards the end of 1713, when Dr. MacMahon was nominated for the Primacy, the Executive Council in Dublin made elaborate preparations to arrest him. Writing from Dublin Castle on October 25, 1712, to Capt. William Barton of Thomastown, Dundalk, J. Dawson informs him that the Primate had lately arrived in the country and was residing near Carrickmacross.† In his reply, dated October 30, Capt. Barton informs Dawson that he had raided the house of Cullough Duff MacMahon, "about three miles from Carrickmacross," but found no trace of the Primate. In November of the same year J. Dawson writes that the Lords Justices had received information that the Primate was living in the counties of Louth

* See History of Kildrumfertan in this *Journal*.

† Burke, *Irish Priests in the Penal Times*, p. 273.

and Monaghan ; but the Primate again escaped. The Penal laws were now in full blast, and all ecclesiastics had to live in hiding. In 1720 another determined attempt was made to capture him, but it failed ; he left the district and went to reside in a distant part of the province.

Archbishop MacMahon held the administration of Kilmore until 1728. His death took place in 1737. It may be mentioned that he administered the diocese of Dromore from 1731 until the time of his death. He was a man of great literary ability ; his best known work is the *Jus Primatiale Armacanum* which established permanently the right of the Archbishops of Armagh to take precedence over those of Dublin.

Th Vicar-General of Kilmore, under Dr. MacMahon, was the celebrated Rev. Dr. Michael O'Reilly, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh. For nearly twenty years he was the sole administrator of the diocese, and his period of administratorship coincided with the time when the Penal Code was in full force in Ireland. Of his early years we have very few records. He was born in County Cavan, and studied at Rome. According to Renehan* a correspondence between Dr. O'Reilly and Primate Hugh MacMahon is still preserved in the Library of Propaganda. Returning to Ireland during the reign of Queen Anne, he immediately set about to counteract the evil effects of the Penal Code. His accomplishments are thus detailed by Renehan (*op. cit.*) :

Superior talents and industrious application to study, had earned for him an accumulation of academic honours during his course of philosophy and divinity ; and before his departure [from Rome] he had graduated as Doctor of Theology, and of both Canon and Civil Law. His native diocese, Kilmore, was, for two years, if I mistake not, without a bishop when Dr. O'Reilly returned home. The learning and humility of the young doctor, his prudence, united with untiring zeal and an heroic disregard of personal danger, soon attracted general attention, and he was appointed parish priest of Cavan, and Vicar-General of the vacant diocese by the neighbouring bishop [*i.e.* Dr. Hugh MacMahon] who was charged with its guardianship. The Primate of that day, Dr. Hugh MacMahon, honoured him with his especial confidence and intimacy ; to his judgment his Grace submitted his famous *Jus Primatiale Armacanum*, and so highly did he appreciate his approval, that he took care to prefix it to the work in print. The terms in which the approbation is conveyed shew that the Primate's esteem was not misplaced, nor undervalued. The testimonial, although brief, sufficiently displays the strong and well-stored mind, the classic taste for Latin composition, and the affectionate respect and admiration of its author for the venerable archbishop.

* *Collections*, pp. 100-103,

The exact date of Dr. O'Reilly's return to Ireland, or of his appointment as P.P. Cavan, and V.G. Kilmore, is not given by Renehan, but by inference from the statement just quoted we may infer that his appointment took place about the year 1713, when Dr. MacMahon was transferred to the Primacy of Armagh. From this until the end of 1730 the Diocese of Kilmore remained under the sole administration of Dr. O'Reilly (cf. Renehan, *ob. cit.* p. 101).

In Dr. Hugh MacMahon's great work *Jus Primatiale Armacanum* is to be found the letter of Dr. O'Reilly, referred to by Renehan. It is signed *Michael Reilly, Juris utriusq. Doctor, et Vs. Gs. Ks.* ; these are abbreviations for *Juris utriusque Doctor et Vicarius Generalis Kilmorensis*. This letter is not dated, but, from its position in the text, seems to have been written in 1725.

An interesting account of the career of Dr. O'Reilly will be found in the *Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh*, by James Stuart.* Dr. O'Reilly was appointed to the Bishopric of Derry, by brief dated April 24, 1739. At length, on the death of Dr. Ross MacMahon, Dr. O'Reilly received from Pope Benedict XIV. the unsolicited Bull of his translation to the Primacy of Armagh, his Brief being dated January 23, 1749. Dr. O'Reilly published two excellent Catechisms, one in Irish and the other in English. These Catechisms were very popular, especially in Ulster, and display profound scholarship. As Dr. Derry, Bishop of Dromore (1801-1819), remarks †

He published two catechisms, one in Irish, the other in English ; and though there have been many others written and printed since that period, his work (particularly in Ulster) has the ascendant.

It has been stated by Brady (*Epis. Succ.*, Vol. I., p. 320) that Dr. Michael O'Reilly was at one time P.P. of Drogheda, but this can hardly be correct. After his elevation to the Primacy he resided in the parish of Termonfechin, near Drogheda, and his death took place in the year 1758. He was buried in the Chord cemetery, outside St. Laurence's Gate, Drogheda. We regret to add that no inscription marks the last resting-place of this distinguished and venerable Kilmore ecclesiastic.

Since the year 1669 Kilmore diocese had been without a bishop, and for the space of 59 years it was ruled by administrators. At length, in the year 1728, Dr. Michael MacDonagh, a Dominican Friar, was appointed to the vacant bishopric, and consecrated on the 12th December of the same year by his patron Benedict XIII., who was also a Dominican. Dr. MacDonagh was then in his 29th year. He remained for some time afterwards in Rome, where he was one of the Pope's Domestic Prelates, and was also, for a time, confessor to the young Pretender—Charles Edward Stuart. Towards the close of 1730 Dr. MacDonagh returned from Rome.

* New Edition, 1900 : Revised by Rev. Ambrose Coleman, O.P.

† Stuart's *Armagh*, pp. 267-268.

He was one of the consecrating Prelates of Bishop O'Shaughnessy of Ossory in 1736, in Channel Row Nunnery, and lived mostly in Dublin with his Dominican brethren. In July, 1739, he was arrested and imprisoned, but, fortunately, escaped, and a reward of £200 was offered for his apprehension. On his arrival in Rome he gave a *Relatio* of his diocese, and announced that notwithstanding the rigours of the Penal laws, he intended to return to his diocese and labour for his flock.* He did return to Ireland in 1741, and we learn from official documents that in 1744 he was living in Channel Row Dominican Convent, Dublin, under the name of "Clarke." In a report from the High Sheriff of Cavan, Samuel Moore, dated March 21, 1744†, it is stated that the "Bishop of Killmore, known by the name of Clarke, lives in Dublin." The High Sheriff of Co. Leitrim, Arthur Ellis, in his Report, dated March 26th of the same year, states that the Bishop of Kilmore, "Michael MacDonagh, otherwise Clark," lived in "Abbey Street," in Dublin (*op. cit.* p. 444). In a return of the priests of Sligo, dated March 9, 1744, we find (*inter alios.*) "Michael McDonagh, Bishop of Kellmore and one Ryly his Vicar-Generall" (*op. cit.* p. 437). Even under the *alias* "Clarke" the identity of Dr. MacDonagh was not a secret.

From the document of March 21, 1744, just referred to, we find that in that year the Rev. Hugh Duggan, P.P. of Kilmore, was Vicar-General, and was living in the townland of Drumheel in the same parish. In the same year the Rev. Dr. John O'Reilly, J.U.D. (*Juris utriusque Doctor*) Parish Priest of Crosserlough, was Dean of Kilmore and lived in the townland of Drumkilly. Two others are mentioned as Vicars-General about this time. In the document of March, 9, 1744, quoted above, we find "one Ryly" described as Vicar-General; it is probable that he was identical with Rev. Dr. John O'Reilly of Crosserlough. Again, in the Report of Arthur Ellis on 26th March, of the same year we find reference to a Rev. "James Martin, near Temport [Templeport?]." reputed Vicar-General of Kilmore. Owing to the persecutions it is clear that in the absence of Dr. MacDonagh the ecclesiastical administration of the diocese devolved on the Deans and Vicars. So fierce was the persecution that in 1746, having made his will‡ on September 12 of the same year, Dr. MacDonagh fled to Lisbon. In his will he directed that his body "be inter'd in the church of Munterconachty [Munterconnacht]," but his wish had to remain unfulfilled. He died at Lisbon on November 26, 1746, aged 48, and was buried there, in the church of the Irish Dominicans.§

Rev. Dr. Laurence Richardson, O.P., was appointed Bishop of Kilmore by Brief, on February 6th, 1747, and was consecrated on

* Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, Vol. I., p. 285.

† Burke, *Irish Priests in the Penal Times*, p. 291.

‡ *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol. I., p. 182; Vide this *Journal*, Vol. II. p. 300.

§ *Hibernia Dominicana*.

May 1 of the same year in the chapel of the Dominican Convent, Dublin, by Most Rev. Dr. Linegar, Archbishop of Dublin, assisted by Dr. Stephen MacEgan, Bishop of Meath, and Dr. James O'Gallagher, Bishop of Raphoe. He furnished an interesting *Relatio* to the Holy See dated from Dublin June 9th, 1750.* This valuable document is preserved in the Archives of the Congregation of the Council, Rome. In it Dr. Richardson emphasises the poverty of the priests and people of his diocese, and states that the Bishop has no permanent residence; furthermore, that on Visitation it is difficult to find lodgings, or a place for refection. The houses are, he says, miserable hovels (*humilibus et miseris domunculis*), and none of his people own even the smallest field. The picture of Kilmore Diocese presented by Dr. Richardson in 1750 is, indeed, a lamentable one. This eminent prelate died, after a prolonged illness, in the Dominican Convent, Channel Row, Dublin, on January 29, 1753, aged 52, and was interred with his Dominican brethren in the cemetery of St. James's, Dublin. No trace of our great Dominican Bishop's grave seems to have survived in St. James's churchyard. It was probably swept away when the present Protestant church was erected.

Dr. Andrew Campbell succeeded Bishop Richardson by Brief dated April 3, 1753. Dr. Campbell was P.P. of Togher, Co. Louth, and every year left his parish in charge of a Dominican Friar, while for three months, he performed the visitation of his Diocese. He laboured most zealously for his flock, and visited every part of his diocese regularly. Cardinal Moran relates of him that being an expert player of the bagpipes he usually went around dressed as a Highland piper to divert suspicion from his real calling, and the better to minister to his flock. There is a tradition in Lurgan Parish that Dr. Campbell, on Visitation and passing through Virginia with his bagpipes and Glengarry cap, was met by a rowdy party of English soldiers who commandeered him and brought him to the local inn where for hours he regaled them with a feast of music.† Highly delighted, and quite unaware of the identity of the "piper," the soldiers made a collection for him, and he continued his journey. A portrait, in oils, of the Bishop, in the garb of a Highland piper, is in St. Patrick's College, Cavan. It is the work of a Mr. Harman, but does not claim to be authentic. In the old Parish Registers of Lurgan and Killinkere will be found marriage dispensations granted by Dr. Campbell. The pages of these Registers testify to his great diocesan activities even though hampered by the Penal laws. His Vicar-General was Rev. Anthony Smith, P.P., Laragh, and later Rev. Patrick Masterson, P.P., Cavan. Bishop Campbell, who lived mostly at Claristown, Parish of Dunany, Co. Louth, died in December, 1769. His missal is still preserved in Kilmore diocese.

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

† Vide this *Journal*, Vol. II., p. 40.

Dr. Denis Maguire, O.F.M., Bishop of Dromore (since 1767) was translated to the See of Kilmore on March 20, 1770, and laboured zealously for 28 years. From his will, which was made on May 20, 1798, it would appear that he was a native of Killassar, in Kilmore diocese. His name is frequently mentioned in the old Register of Killinkere. He died in Enniskillen, December 23, 1798, aged 76 years, and was buried, at his own request, in the old Abbey of Devenish, near the graves of his brothers Bryan and James. In 1792 Bishop Maguire felt unequal to the strain of his Episcopal duties, and was given a Coadjutor in the person of Rev. Charles O'Reilly, who was appointed as such with the title of Bishop of Fussala, *in partibus*, on May 17, 1793.

Dr. Charles O'Reilly succeeded to plenary jurisdiction as Bishop of Kilmore on December 23, 1798, but only lived a year and three months, as his death occurred at Cootehill—which he made the *sedes episcopalis*—on March 6, 1800. His place of residence is still pointed out a few miles from Cootehill, in Drumgoon parish. He made his will on February 17, 1800, “residing in Cootehill, in the parish of Drumgoon, Co. Cavan,” and directed that his body be interred in the churchyard of “Killsherdenny” (Killdrumsherdan), in the grave of Rev. Bryan MacFarrell Reilly, and to have a decent tombstone placed “with coat of arms and a suitable inscription.” Rev. Bryan MacFarrell Reilly, here mentioned, was very probably identical with Rev. Bryan Reilly, who was P.P. of Killdrumsherdan in 1704. He was then aged 65, was ordained in 1671 at Rossmagh, Co. Lough, by Primate Plunket, and lived at Cornecrew [Cornacarrow]. He was still living in 1715, and was evidently a relative of the bishop. In the historic churchyard of Killdrumsherdan, near Cootehill, and to the right of the path leading in from the main entrance, will be seen a handsome raised tomb covered with a massive inscribed slab; under this tomb, together with other distinguished ecclesiastics, lies Dr. Charles O'Reilly, Bishop of Kilmore.

Dr. James Dillon succeeded. He was born in Armagh diocese in 1738, and was appointed Coadjutor Bishop of Raphoe in 1796. His consecration took place on May 22, 1796, the consecrating Prelate being Most Rev. Dr. Richard O'Reilly, Archbishop of Armagh, assisted by the other bishops of the Province. On the recommendation of the Primate he was translated to Kilmore in audience of August 10, 1800. His rule was less than six years, for his death occurred in 1806, at his residence, Church Street, Ballyconnell.

Rev. Farrell O'Reilly, P.P., Drumlane, was elected Bishop of Kilmore on October 4, 1806, and confirmed by the Pope on December 14, 1806, his Brief being dated January 16, 1807. On August 24, 1807, he was consecrated by the Primate; the other bishops who assisted at the ceremony were: Drs. Plunket of Meath, Cruise of Ardagh, Murphy of Clogher, O'Donnell of Derry, O'Dwyer of

Dromore, McMullen of Down and Connor, and MacLoughlin of Raphoe.

Dr. O'Reilly was born in or about the year 1741, and was the son of Terence O'Reilly and Honora O'Reilly, *alias* Clarke. The place of his birth has been a matter of doubt, but recent inquiries reveal the fact that he was born in the parish of Moybolge, and in the neighbourhood of the present church of Tievurcher, near Bailieboro'. The evidence on this point is very strong. A persistent local tradition has it that on one occasion, when on Visitation of the parish, and in the old church of Tievurcher, which occupied the site of the present one, he was heard to remark that, after the ceremony of Confirmation, he would walk up the hill to see the place where he was born. The descendants of some of those who were then confirmed by Dr. O'Reilly are still alive, and vouch for the fact that their parents heard this from Dr. O'Reilly himself. Again, his parents and brothers are buried in the neighbouring churchyard of Moybolge. Their monument in that historic graveyard tells us that it was erected by Dr. Farrell O'Reilly, P.P., of Drumlane, and his brother, the well-remembered Rev. Francis O'Reilly, P.P., of Lurgan, who died in 1808.* It is clear that the monument was erected by Dr. O'Reilly before his elevation to the Episcopate. This was his family burial-ground, hence we may conclude with certainty that he belonged to the district. We learn from the inscription that his father, his two brothers, Bryan and Owen, and evidently his mother also, all died in the same year, 1775. This would seem to indicate that they were the victims of one of the many devastating plagues that followed in the train of 18th century famines.

Bishop O'Reilly is said to have written a Gaelic *Catechism*. At any rate, in the Catalogue of the British Museum, and also in the Catalogue of the Cambridge University Library, he is mentioned as the author of such a work. A Gaelic *Catechism* in the National Library, Dublin, is said to be based on his work. And, it is well known that Dr. O'Reilly was a good Gaelic scholar. An earlier Gaelic *Catechism* by Dr. Michael O'Reilly has been already referred to.

After a rule of eleven years Bishop O'Reilly applied for a Coadjutor, and was given Rev. Patrick Maguire, O.F.M., under the title of Bishop of Sozopolitanus, on November 23, 1818. Dr. Maguire was uncle of the well-known controversialist, Father Tom Maguire. In the 1801 list † of Kilmore pastors we find Rev. Patrick Maguire, O.F.M., P.P., Templeport. In the same list we find Rev. Farrell O'Reilly, P.P., Drumlane. This Coadjutor, Dr. Maguire, died April 25th, 1826. Rev. James Browne, who had been a Maynooth Professor, was appointed Coadjutor on March 4, 1827, and was consecrated on June 10 of the same year. Bishop O'Reilly, died at

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

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

Bailieboro' while on Visitation, on April 30, 1829, aged 88, and was buried in his family burial place in the graveyard of Moybolge. In a small walled-in enclosure, north of the ruined church, and resting on four small pillars, may be seen his massive horizontal tombstone. Underneath rests, *inter alios*, his brother Rev. Francis O'Reilly, P.P., Lurgan. Alongside rests the Very Rev. Patrick O'Reilly, P.P., Cavan, and V.G., Kilmore, who died in 1843. Many distinguished priests of Kilmore diocese rest close by.*

Dr. James Browne automatically succeeded to the vacant See on April 30, 1829, and received faculties as Bishop on June 21. Dr. Browne was a native of the Diocese of Ferns; he was born in the year 1786 in the parish of Mayglass, Barony of Forth, Co. Wexford, and belonged to an old and respected Wexford family. His preliminary education was received at a local hedge school, and after a brilliant course of study at Maynooth, he was ordained in 1813, and immediately took up missionary work in his native diocese of Ferns. Recalled to Maynooth in the following year he was appointed Junior Dean, and in 1816 was promoted to the responsible position of Professor of Sacred Scripture, which position he occupied until 1827 when called to the higher and more responsible duties of the Episcopacy.

On his arrival in Cavan he was assigned the Parish of Drumgoon as his mensal parish, Father Peter O'Reilly, P.P., transferring to Drung. In 1843 he removed the *Sedes Episcopalis* to Cavan, and was the first bishop, of whom we have any record, to live in Cavan and to possess a settled home there, for centuries. The older people of Kilmore diocese, who knew Bishop Browne, and who were confirmed by him, can recall his activities. He was a zealous worker, and his *Visitation Book*, which commences in 1827, is the record of a continual round of pastoral Visitation. The want of a Diocesan Seminary had long made itself felt, and at length, in 1838, the present Presbytery, Cavan, was offered for sale, and Dr. Browne secured it. The College—under the patronage of St. Augustine—was opened August 28, 1839. He also initiated a scheme of church-building, and many of the present churches in the diocese were erected during the years of his episcopate. In March, 1863, he was given a Coadjutor, Rev. Nicholas Conaty, P.P., Castlerahan, who was consecrated on May 24, 1863. Bishop Browne died on April 11, 1865, in the 79th year of his age, 52nd of his priesthood, and 38th of his Episcopacy.

Dr. Nicholas Conaty succeeded to plenary jurisdiction on the death of Bishop Browne, and ruled the Diocese of Kilmore until his death on January 17, 1886.

Very Rev. Bernard Finegan, P.P., Drumlane, succeeded; and was consecrated June 13, 1886. His Episcopate was a very brief one, and he died in the following year, on November 11, 1887.

* Vide this *Journal*, Vol. II., p. 217.

Very Rev. Edward Magennis, P.P., Drumlane, was appointed Vicar Capitular on the death of Bishop Finegan, and succeeded to the Bishopric. He was consecrated April 15, 1888, and ruled until his death, which occurred on May 15, 1906.

Rev. Andrew Boylan, C.S.S.R., succeeded. Having laboured for many years in the Philippine Islands he was recalled, and appointed to the Bishopric of Kilmore. He was consecrated on May 19, 1907. But he ruled for less than three years, and passed away on March 25, 1910.

Most Rev. Patrick Finegan, D.D., succeeded, and was consecrated September 11, 1910.—*Quem Deus incolumem servit.*

W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

Thomas MacBrady, Bishop of Kilmore (1480-1511).

By RT. REV. MSGR. RICHARD BRADY, Loretto Heights College,
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The following incident and its result may be of interest to some readers of the *Journal*. In a delightful conversation with an esteemed friend and prominent member of the Breiffne Antiquarian Society, on the occasion of a recent visit to Ireland, the subject of the diocese of Kilmore was introduced. My friend inquired, apparently in a jocular manner, whether I had ever heard that one of the bishops of this diocese was the son of a predecessor in the same See. I expressed mild surprise as well as ignorance of the subject. My friend retorted that there is a passage to this effect in the *Annals of the Four Masters*. He produced the volume and read the following paragraph :—

The Age of Christ, 1511. Thomas, the son of Andrew MacBrady, Bishop and Erenach of the two Breifnys during a period of thirty years ; the only dignitary whom the English and Irish obeyed ; a paragon of wisdom and piety ; a luminous lamp that enlightened the laity and clergy by instruction and preaching ; a faithful shepherd of the Church—after having ordained priests and persons in every degree—after having consecrated many churches and cemeteries—after having bestowed rich presents and food on the poor and the mighty, gave up his spirit to heaven on the 4th of the Kalends of March (or August), which fell on a Tuesday, at Druim-da-ethiar, having gone to Breifny to consecrate a church in the 67th year of his age—and was buried in the monastery of Cavan, the day of the week being Friday.

Pointing to the first lines, my good friend made the remark : “ Here it is : ‘ Andrew MacBrady, Bishop and Erenach of the two Breifnys.’ Is it not clear that Andrew, father of ‘ Thomas, was the Bishop of Breifny ? ’ ” And he added that some writers of note have so construed these lines.

With due respect to my friend as an authority on such matters, I ventured to state that it was Thomas, instead of Andrew, to whom reference as Bishop was made in this passage, since the clause, “ son of Andrew MacBrady ” should be considered as simply parenthetic. We agreed it was within the range of possibility, however, that *de jure* this Andrew could, when still a clerk, have been lawfully married, and, after the decease of his wife, have been promoted to sacred orders. But my claim was that, as an historical fact, such an inference in the present case could not be correctly drawn from the paragraph above quoted.

With the *Four Masters* and *De Annatis Hiberniæ* (Costello) before us, I continued to reason briefly as follows :—

1. Bulls were expedited on the 9th of March, 1444, for the promotion of Andrew MacBrady, a clerk in acolyte's orders, and archdeacon of Triburnia, to the bishopric of the same. (From the context, it seems clear that the date given is according to the old style ; which would mean the 9th of March, 1445, new style). The Honourable Robert de Martellis, a citizen and merchant of Florence, on the 17th of March, 1445, promised the *Camera Apostolica* and the College of Cardinals that within the next ensuing eight months he would either restore these said Bulls sealed, as they had been consigned to him, or pay their tax of common and minute services. (*De Annatis Hiberniæ*, p. 256).

2. Thomas MacBrady was appointed to the See of Kilmore, October 20, 1480. Pope Sixtus IV. made this choice after mature deliberation with his brethren, the Cardinals, in view of the merits of Thomas, who is described in the papal document as “ archdeacon of said church of Kilmore, of noble race, *born in legitimate wedlock* and of legitimate age, and who, on trustworthy evidence, is recommended to him for his literary acquirements, integrity of life and conversation, etc.” (*Reg. Sixti IV.*, N. 603). He died at Dromahaire, on the 26th of February or the 29th of July, 1511, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. (*De Annatis Hiberniæ*, p. 257 *et sq.* ; *Four Masters*). Considering the extreme dates assigned for his death and the extremes given for his age (between 66 and 67 years), we discover, by subtracting 67 years from February 26, 1511, and 66 years from July 29, 1511, that the date of Thomas MacBrady's birth was later than February 26, 1444, but earlier than July 29, 1445.

Admitting the truth of the two preceding paragraphs, the inference should be obvious ; and there seems little necessity of labouring the argument. Andrew MacBrady was not consecrated for some weeks or months after the Bulls were expedited, and entrusted to the Hon. Robert de Martellis on March 17, 1445. Can it be reasonably presumed that, under the circumstances mentioned, he would have been appointed Bishop in 1444 or 1445 ; can it be presumed that he would have accepted the appointment and consented to be consecrated a short time later, if his supposed son Thomas (*born in legitimate wedlock*) were actually born between the two dates specified ?

This argument receives corroboration from an entry in *Acta Consistorialia* under the year 1568. In this year the See of Derry was vacant by the death of Eugene O'Dogherty. Two priests from the diocese were candidates for the vacant See. These were Cornelius O'Carolan and an abbot named Magonius (*i.e.* Manus) O'Donnell. The latter had the approval of the Chapter of Derry, and had received letters of recommendation from the bishops of Raphoe and Kilmore. “ But,” it is stated in the *Acta Consistorialia*, “ there is this difficulty. His father was bishop of the said Church, although not the immediate

predecessor." (Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, Vol. II, p. 335 *et sq.*). It is worthy of note that neither O'Carolan nor the Abbot Magonius (Manus) was appointed, but the illustrious Redmund O'Gallagher was transferred from the See of Killala to that of Derry. There was a difficulty, an objection to the appointment of the abbot, on account of a law prohibiting succession to benefices in such circumstances. Would not the same objection apply and have been urged, in 1480, against the appointment of Thomas MacBrady, if his father had been his predecessor in the see of Kilmore?

There is another argument which seems conclusive. For the sake of clearness, I may quote again a pertinent portion of the text from the *Four Masters* :—

Thomas, the son of Andrew MacBrady, Bishop and Erenach of the two Breifnys during a period of thirty years ; . . . and was buried in the monastery of Cavan, the day of the week being Friday.

Although some interpreters, after a cursory reading of the first lines, may infer that the Andrew here mentioned and Andrew, former Bishop of Kilmore, were one and the same individual, I venture to assert that there is not a shadow of a reason in the text for this opinion, nor a scintilla of evidence to sustain such a conclusion.

When the reader critically peruses the text and asks himself the question, "To whom do the offices of Bishop and Erenach here apply?" the difficulty will vanish. Evidently, the answer should be that they are certainly applicable to Thomas, but not to Andrew. The whole text refers to Thomas, from the mention of his father's name down to the time and place of his death and burial. Nothing is here predicated of Andrew except, incidentally and by implication, that he was the father of Thomas. Certainly, there is nothing whatever to indicate that he was ever a bishop.

Moreover, the Andrew MacBrady mentioned in this paragraph could not have been the Andrew who was formerly Bishop of Kilmore. For, as is evident, the individual here referred to as "Bishop and Erenach" was Bishop and Erenach of the two Breifnys "*during a period of thirty years.*" This bishop could not have been Andrew (1445-1455), since he held this office for not more than ten or eleven years. Hence, it is perfectly clear that the offices of Bishop and Erenach, mentioned in this paragraph in the *Four Masters*, can be applied only to Thomas as it is not disputed that he governed the diocese of Kilmore for thirty years (1480-1511).

As Thomas MacBrady was of noble race, it is not remarkable that the annalist should mention the name of his father; and this should be a satisfactory reply to the few who have raised the objection, "why should the name of the father be stated if he were not Andrew, the Bishop?" The most surprising fact, in my estimation, in regard to such a simple passage, is that it should ever have been made the subject matter for such a serious misinterpretation.

RICHARD BRADY,

The Coming of the Ui-Briuin

(AN INQUIRY INTO THE EARLY RELATIONS OF
BREIFNE, CONNACHT, AND TARA.)

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

Just as the progenitor of the Eoghanacta unfolds himself in the person of the mighty Eoghan Mor, son of Mogh Neid, so in like manner does the redoubtable Conn Ced-Chathach stand at the head of the generations of Connachta * as the founder of their fortunes, and the hero-parent of all their princely lines. Conspicuous among those lines as actors in the stirring, and often widely-fluctuating, dramas of Gaelic history were the Ui-Briuin of Connacht, a prolific race that sub-divided into numerous branches, and extended their sway over many wide domains. Of them were the Ui-Briuin Breifne, or the Ui-Briuin who swayed Breifne, as kings and lords, from the sixth century down to the disastrous era of the Tudors, when the structure of Gaelic dominion in Ireland—long previously battered, and breached, and shaken to its foundations—finally crumbled to utter ruin.

Though the term Gaedhel as a racial name-word had not come into being in the time of Conn Ced-Chathach, Conn and Eoghan nevertheless were the prime artificers of the political transformations that eventuated in the sovereignty of the new orders of rulers in Ireland, whose descendants subsequently adopted, and gloried in, the national designation of Gaedhil. Dynasts of primitive states, that is of societies developing picturesquely through the Homeric stages of civilisation, have everywhere, and in all ages of the world, delighted to patronise and pamper the professional class of men whose function it is to extol the ancestry of their patrons. Around the successors of Conn and of Eoghan there gathered, as a matter of course, retinues of the same parasitic order—troops of court-minstrels and tale-reciters skilled in the arts of glorifying the past of the Gaedhil—and it was assuredly the inspiring power of the songs which these entertainers

* "O shliocht Chuinn, laochraidh gan locht,
Atha an t-ainm Cuigedh Chonocht."

"(From the Race of Conn, champion without fault, comes the name of Connacht Fifth"). See *Cucoigríche Ua Clerigh's Poem*, printed in O'Curry's *Manusc. Materials* (at p. 563); and, for other references (Cormac's Glossary, *Bk. of Leinst.*, &c.), O'Curry's *Man. and Customs*, pp. 10, 11,

chanted, and of the romances which they wove, that generated in after years the felicitous conception of the existence of an aboriginal Gaedhel Glas. The further linking up of Gaedhel Glas, through his invented grandfather, Fenius Farsaidh, with Japhet and Noah, could not have been effected before the Gaedhil were evangelised, and instructed in the Scriptural record.

The uprise of the Connachta, or people of Conn, led to the renaming of Conn's native province.* The region which since Conn's age has been known as Connacht, or—as it is now generally misspelled—Connaught, was previously styled *Coiced Olnegmact*, that is, the Olnegmact "Fifth." Summing up succinctly certain pieces of information transmitted through our ancient literature, † Roderick O'Flaherty relates that Connacht, at the earliest period of which we have record, belonged to three main family stocks, namely, the Gamanraide, the Fir Craibe, and the Tuatha Taiden; that the same stocks were collectively denominated Fir-Olnegmact; and that their tripartite occupation of the province gave rise to the expression, "the three Connachts" ‡. With these chief sections of the Olnegmact O'Flaherty associates some minor folk-groups, and identifies them all, in the gross, with the Damnonii, or Fir-Domnann.§

The origin of the term *Coiced*, or Fifth, as applied to Olnegmact, demands a brief explanation. The oldest of our native chronicles|| tells that, at the dawn of the Christian era, "five illustrious kings" apportioned Eriu among themselves, partitioning it for the purpose into five royal domains. The names of the pentarchs were Conchobar MacNessa, Ailil MacMata, Cairpre (Niafer) MacRossa Ruaidh, Eochaid MacLuchta and Cu Roi MacDaire. The old-Irish for *five* being *coic*, and that for the corresponding ordinal being *coiced*, the five kingdoms thus formed were appropriately styled *Coicid*.¶

The title of every individual *Coiced* varied oftentimes in Gaelic writings. Thus the western *Coiced*° was sometimes called *Coiced*

* See Thurneysen, *Die Irische Helden und Koenigsage*, p. 76.

† Many of the fundamental texts will be found in Prof. O'Maille's Study of *Medb Chruachna*, in Vol. XVII of *Zeit. fur Celt. Philologie*. I insert this note at the last moment, for my own Paper was written nearly a year before the 1927 Zeitschrift reached me (in January, 1928).

‡ "Tres præcipuæ fuerunt familiae, viz. Gamanradii, Firraibii, et Tuatha-taidhen; a quibus Connactia in ternas Connactias distincta, et hi Fir-Olnegmact etiam sunt appellati." (Ogygia, p. 175). See also Keating, II, p. 184. O'Flaherty, *more Scotico*, enlarges Olnegmact into Fir-Olnegmact.

§ *Ibidem*.

|| This document is in the *Book of Ballymote* (Facsimile Copy), pp. 9 and 10. The manuscript has been edited, with a translation, by Dr. B. MacCarthy in the Todd Lectures Series of R. I. Academy, Vol. III, pp. 278-286.

¶ *Coiced* used as a substantive, to mean a fifth-part, becomes *coicid* in the gen. sing. and in the nom. and acc. plur.

° This word is commonly rendered in English by province; but the term *province* (derived from the Latin *provincia*) does not adequately convey the meaning of *Coiced*.

n-Olnegmact, sometimes Coiced n-Aillelo (the Coiced of Ailill), sometimes Coiced Medba (the Coiced of Medb), and sometimes Coiced Cruachna (the Coiced of Cruachan).* The fact that the coiced names meant by these several names were all one and the same becomes evident when we recall that Ailill and Medb were husband and wife, that they ruled from Cruachan, and that they claimed to be chief sovereigns of the Olnegmact. Geoffrey Keating, writing in the 17th century, uses the expression Cuigead (Coiced) Chonnacht; but, in doing so, he takes liberties both with history and chronology. The Connachta, like the Eoghanachta, emerged among the old populations of Ireland as a convulsive force whose dynamic effects were shown in the disintegration of the Coiced, and the disruption of the governments that had sustained their precarious equilibrium. Under the concurrent impacts of Eoghanachta and Connachta the political structure of Erin, as framed in the age of heroes, collapsed, bringing down in its fall the races whose deeds shine with an unfading lustre through the dawn of our history.

The home-kingdom of the Connachta included Breifne, because the Ui-Briuin of Breifne were themselves a pushful arm of the Connachta. But how did Breifne stand in relation to the Olnegmact? The question leads into a very obscure corner of our proto-history; but the inquiry cannot be shirked if an attempt is to be made at arranging the historical background of Breifne in some sort of orderly perspective. A few fragments of Annals that we happen to possess fortunately shed a faint light on the era of Ailill and Medb. But for that period our chief sources of guidance consist in gossipy scraps of information, rather appetising than satisfying—often, indeed, repelling by their mutual contradictions—which a diligent searcher may glean from the pages of our heroic tales. In the Chronicle already cited from the Book of Ballymote Medb's husband is styled Ailill MacMata. In the Annals of Tigernach his sobriquet is MacMagag.† The particular Magu, or Mata, in question was a lady who, as Mata of Muirese,‡ attained a great notoriety in the generation preceding that of the still more notorious Medb.

Ailill and Medb were intruders among the Olnegmact; and one cannot help wondering by what artful means they managed to set up, and to maintain themselves, in Cruachan. The story, as summarised by O'Flaherty from the most reputable originals at his command—and it is certain that, with the single exception of his great contemporary Dubhald MacFirbis, no man of his day had a better manuscript equipment for studying the long-vanished Olnegmact—may be condensed as follows:—

* See Hogan's *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, pp. 79, 80.

† *Revue Celtique*, XVI. The form used in O'Conor's Edition of these Annals is Madach (*Rev. Script. Hib.* II, p. 12).

‡ "Magach porro (quibusdam Mata) de Muresca" *Ogygia*, p. 269.

Shortly before the commencement of our era the three constituent populations of the Olnegmact had for kings, respectively, Fidach macFeig, who governed the Fir Craibe ; Eochaid Allat, who swayed in Irros Domnann ; and Tinni MacConrach, who ruled the Tuatha Taiden.* Fidach's kingdom lay at the south side, and reached to the Shannon ; Eochaid's stretched along the coast, from Galway Bay to the river Drowse ; while Tinni's patrimony not alone covered the plain of Roscommon, but crossed the Shannon and extended well into the present Leinster. The superior fertility of Tinni's lands naturally ensured him precedence among the triumvirs ; and from his fortress of Cruachan he exercised some degree of suzerainty over all the Olnegmact. In virtue of this power he advanced Mata of Muirese's son, Ailill Finn, to the headship of the Gamanraide, when that office became vacant by the death of Eochaid Allat.

Mata, or Magu,† was herself of the Gamanraide, being the daughter of another Ailill, a Fir Domnann chief. Mata begot a numerous progeny ; and some of her sons, e.g., the famous Cet MacMagach, ranked among the foremost champions of their age. As wife of Ross Ruadh, king of Leinster, Mata became also the mother of Cairbre Nia Fer, Finn File—from whom descended the subsequent line of Leinster kings—and Ailill, sometimes styled Ailill Mor, the husband of Medb.

Medb, like Mata, had many husbands in her time,‡ among them being Conor MacNessa, and Tinni MacConrach, over-king of the Olnegmact. When Tinni disappeared she married Ailill, son of Mata and of Ross Ruadh ; and through this union Ailill became joint sovereign with Medb of the Olnegmact Coiced. Such is the account that has been foisted on us by early savants of the Gaels in explanation of the mode whereby Medb and Ailill got established at Cruachan. Century after century the legend has been trustfully rehearsed and accepted, for no Gaelic historian would have troubled to hunt up diverse testimonies for the purpose of detailed comparison, or to analyse the texts at his disposal with a view to testing the credibility of their contents. The Gaelic Doctor of History took the material that he knew, or liked, best—and that, as a rule, was the material most in favour in his own school or learned circle—redacted it by the help of his accumulated store of traditions, and set out the emended product with the tone of finality that becomes an authoritative narration. The same time-honoured method was faithfully copied by Geoffrey Keating ; and it has been adhered to, with but little modification, by Keating's disciples, that is to say, by the great majority of the purveyors of early Gaelic history from his time

* See O'Flaherty and Keating, *locis citatis*.

† *Magach* is the genitive of *Magu*.

‡ Her character will bear exhibition in O'Flaherty's Latin better than in English : " *virago potens, longæva, ac libidinibus imprimis famosa* " (*Ogygia*, p. 267).

to the present day. We persist, therefore, in giving credence to spurious fosterings, dowry-bestowals, eric-impositions, and marriage alliances, as the immediate causes of epoch-marking events—dynastic revolutions, extensive acquisitions of territory, and the like—for the reason that the influence of reiterated indoctrination has made us unsuspecting of the intrinsic hollowness of such fictions.

In the *Cath Boinde* Tale ("Battle of the Boyne")* Mata is introduced as a man, the son of an Ernai chief named Sraibcend MacNiuil, and of Eile, a daughter of Eochaid Feidlech. Medb herself, it will be remembered, was a daughter of the same Eochaid; and, according to the *Cath Boinde*,† Conor MacNessa was Medb's first husband. It is furthermore told that Medb deserted Conor,‡ and that the long-protracted war between Ulster and Connacht was first provoked by this betrayal, not—as the Ulster epics affirm—by the seizure of Donn, the famous Cuailgne bull. When the *Cath Boinde* Tale opens the Olnegmact over-king is "Tindi mac Conrach Cais do Domnandchaib," i.e., Tinne, son of 'Conra (Cas), of the Domnandchaigh. It is well worth while noting that the people whom the *Leabhar Gabhala* and Keating—and, for that matter, all Gaelic chroniclers and historians—style Fir Domnann, retain in this ancient saga the more primitive name of Domnandchaigh. In another old battle-tale of the heroic cycle§ the same appellative appears as Domnandaid (=Domnandaigh); while corroboration of O'Flaherty's census of the major component-states of the Olnegmact is there specifically supplied. In *Cath Airtig* the composite population is styled *Fir Ol nEgmacht*, and the fact is attested that "the three Connachts" (*teora Connachta*) comprehended the Domnandaid, the Fir Craibe and the Tuatha Taidhen.

Before returning to that individual of doubtful sex who lives in legendary history as Mata, or Magu, I may be permitted to register here one or two important conclusions that issue, by no means dubiously, from the data which I have just set down. In the first place, we are enabled to perceive in the combination

* This battle was fought nearly 17 centuries before William of Orange defeated James II at the Boyne. The old tale, like the *Tain Bo Flidais*, is a western saga—one of the very few sagas of the Olnegmact that have survived.

† This Tale has been edited and translated by Joseph O'Neill in *Eriu*, Vol. II. (See p. 175 *et seq.*)

‡ Even a contemporary would have some difficulty in reckoning the number of Conor's wives. Four of them were daughters of the reputed monarch, Eochaid Feidlech.

§ *Cath Airtig* ("The Battle of Airtech"): edited and translated by R. I. Best in *Eriu*, Vol. VIII. (See p. 176). For the consideration of those who take the name "Medb" to be a political symbol (e.g., Prof. O'Maille, *loc. cit.*) I would note that Cartismandua, the contemporary queen of the British Brigantes, was certainly not a *symbol*, and that her portrait, as sketched by the historian Tacitus, presents marked features of resemblance to that of Medb, as depicted in our heroic tales.

Fir Domnann another instance of a practice to which Gaelic professors were immoderately addicted in mediæval, and indeed in earlier, times, that namely of associating an ornamental *Fir* with primitive folk-names. In previous papers I have shown that *Fir Gaileoin* is a later amplification of *Gaileoin*, that *Monach*, the Gaelic equivalent of *Manapii*, was in like manner enlarged to *Fir Monach*,* and that an erudite glossarist at some time or other converted *Erainn* into *Fir Erainn*.

Further examples might have been added in illustration of the garnishing propensity of the Gaels that manifested itself in this particular usage. Thus in a Dinnsenchus poem on Tara, *Feni* is presented as *Fir Fene*.† In the Book of Lismore *Orbraighe* appears as *Fir Orbraighe*. In a Gaelic poem printed in the Introduction to Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions* *Fir Gailenga* does duty for the older *Gailenga*. In all these combinations *Fir*, being obviously redundant, is consequently separable from the name-word without prejudicing its connotation in the slightest degree.

Is there any valid reason why we should exclude *Fir Bolg* from a principle of such general application? The appellative *Bolg*, as has been seen, continued to function as an archaic term in Gaelic prose and poetry even in the fifteenth century; and, considering that the men of *Domnu*, who are commonly styled *Fir Domnann*, retain in more than one extant saga their prior designation, *Domnandaigh*, we are fairly warranted, I think, in presuming that the analogous form *Bolgaigh* (*Bolgae*),‡ though as yet undetected among the recesses of our old-manuscript literature, was in like manner once a current term of early Gaelic speech.§

It is furthermore to be noted that the conjectural identification

* O'Dubhagain's "Da rig for maith leirg Monach" = "Two kings over the good slopes of Monach," *Irish Top. Poems*, (p. 32), shows that the primitive name of Fermanagh was *Monach*, not *Fir Monach*.

† *Todd Lectures*, VIII, p. 14.

‡ Putting x for the undiscovered primitive form, and applying the rule of three method,

Fir Domnann : *Domnandaigh* :: *Fir Bolg* : x.

by linguistic analogy x should = *Bolgaigh* (i.e., *Bolgae* or *Belgæ*).

§ The phrase *co rig m-Builg*, found in the Book of Leinster copy of the *Tain Bo Cualgne*, (see Windisch's *Tain*, p. 687) shows *Bolg* as a genitive, whose nominative (*Bolg*) must stand either for a place-name, or for a folk-name taken in the singular number. This form is the only exception I have so far seen to the principle stated by me in a previous paper, viz., that *Bolg* has resisted inflection; and yet it may be only a seeming exception, for a little farther on in the text we come on *co hOengus m-Bolg* ("to Oengus of the *Fir Bolg*") where *Bolg* clearly functions as a genitive. It is evident that in neither case could *Bolg* mean a sack, or any object of the kind; while the curious form *Builg* recalls the *Builc* of Nennius's "*Builc cum suis*." The freakish genitives *m-Bolca* and *molg* (Windisch, pp. 687, 688) seem to be verbal sports. In *Geinealach Chorca Laidhe* I find the folk-name *Ui-Builc* ("descendants of *Bolg*"), while the *Bolg* of Aenghus *Bolg* appears in the genitive as *Builcc*, *Bhuilc* and *Builcæ*. (*Miscellany of Celtic Society*, pp. 16 and 22.)

of the two peoples which is implied in O'Flaherty's Latinising of Fir Domnann as Damnonii receives quite a sufficiency of corroborative support from the more primitive name, Domnandaigh, borne by the Fir Domnann in Gaelic. The Fir Domnann are thus shown to have been, by race, cognates both of the Dumnonii and of the Damnonii, whom Ptolemy locates respectively in the south-western corner of Britain, and in North Britain, around the river Clyde.* In South Britain the county name Devon serves as a permanent memorial of the area occupied by the ancient Dumnonii.

Seeing that all three names point back to an eponymous Dumno(s), or Domno(s), the scattered populations which they denote must necessarily have been of Celtic origin; though, ere settling in Ireland or in Britain, they may possibly have absorbed and assimilated some admixture of non-Celtic breeds. The primary *Dumno* supplies the ground-form of many personal names, such as Dumno-rix.† and Dumno-bellaunus,‡ that are known to have been in use in Gaul and Britain, and appears just as conspicuously in Domhna(l), one of the most familiar of Gaelic family names. It would seem that in Ireland the *mh* of Domhna(l) was often labialised;§ and, curiously enough, in Gallic inscriptions *Dumno* is generally lettered *Dubno*.

Again, from the *Cath Airtig* we can learn that the generic name of the *teora Connachta*, viz., Fir Ol nEgmacht, or Ol nEgmacht, was a compound word. This would indicate that the element Ol was detachable; and, being so, that element would doubtless have often been suppressed in popular speech. The truncated form n-Egmacht would thus have become a more or less usual designation of the people concerned.|| Ptolemy, as we have seen, places the Érdini in Breifne, and peoples the adjoining region to the south of them with Nagnatæ.¶ It can hardly be an accident that the substitution of n for m in n-Egmacht^o will render the word phonetically an almost exact duplicate of *Nagnatæ*. This means that, in Ptolemy's ethnography of Ireland, the propinquity of the Ernai—or occupiers of the basin of the Erne—and of the Olnegmact is duly confirmed.

* On this identity see also Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, p. 597, and W. Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XII, p. 129.

† See Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.*, I, Chaps. 2, 4, etc.

‡ A British king mentioned in *Monumentum Ancyranum*. (A translation of this remarkable document is printed as an Appendix to Shuckburgh's *Life and Times of Augustus*, see p. 300).

§ Domnald Mor O'Brien and Domnald Mac Giolla Phadrug of Ossory are each styled Duvenaldus by Cambrensis, who, of course, wrote the name phonetically.

|| Analogical instances are producible even from present-day usage. Thus one might have frequently heard "The Black and Tans" of recent notoriety spoken of as "The Tans."

¶ See *Journal*, Vol. II (1923), p. 77.

^oThe interchange of liquid sounds (l, m, n, r) is frequent in Wiro languages. For instances in our own toponymy see Joyce's *Place Names*, I, p. 48, etc.

Phonology apart, there can be no doubt whatever that the Ernai whom the Dinnsenchus of Loch n-Erne allocates to Breifne dwelt in close contiguity to the Gamanraide branch of the Olneg-mact. The seat of the Gamanraide chiefry is everywhere stated to have been Irros Domhnann, or Irros of the Donnandaigh. Keating writes *Irros*, or *Irrus*, in the form *Iorros* ;* and if he had warrant for doing so the word may by origin have been a compound of *iar* and *ros*, that is, a compound which would mean *western peninsula*. Irros Domhnann is often taken to stand for the barony of Erris in Mayo ; but this barony, though it preserves the old name, is only a comparatively small part of ancient Irros Domhnann. The primitive territory reached from Galway Bay to Sligo Bay, and had within it the present Carra (Ceara) barony in Mayo. The original territory, therefore, comprehended most, if not all, of County Mayo, and in addition the maritime baronies of County Sligo. Thus extended Irros Domhnann was none the less a peninsula ; and, while remaining a peninsula, it could not have included Breifne. But whether the *ros* of Irros does, or does not, stand for a peninsula, Breifne and Irros Domhnann never appear in our literature otherwise than as two distinct and mutually exclusive regions. Politically united, even before the rise of the Ui-Briuin, they seemingly did become ; but at no time were they fused into a single governmental area.

Reverting to Ailill Mac Mata, we have seen that the *Cath Boinde* saga makes him a grandson of Sraibcend Mac Niuil of the Ernai, through Sraibcend's son Mata. Ailill's grandmother, therefore, would have been a sister of Medb, that is to say, Ailill's consort at Cruachan would have been his own grand-aunt. This part of the story overstrains our credulity ; but the allegation that Ailill was of Ernai extraction is by no means destitute of probability. The three *Ruadchoin* (" Red Wolf-Dogs ") of the Ernai who slew Conall Cearnach at Ballyconnell were members of Ailill's household, being there maintained as his life-guards, and as tools for his vengeful designs. It is unlikely, to say the least, that Ailill would have employed, and kept in his mansion, professional assassins hired from among a people to whom he was wholly unrelated by blood. That ties of friendship and of hospitality united closely the courts of Cruachan and of Temair Luachra may be inferred from several of the heroic tales. Ailill and Medb, for example, were feasting at Temair Luachra on the very occasion when Conor and the Ulaid, having rushed south from Dun da Bend in a riotous, drunken fit, set fire to Cu Roi's renowned fortress. †

It would seem, moreover, that Ailill's grand expedition to Ulster for the capture of the Cuailgne bull has been regarded by some redactor, or redactors, of the *Tain* as if it were mainly

* See e.g., Vol. I, 118 ; Vol II, 184.

† *Mesca Ulad* (Todd Lectures, Vol. I).

a hosting of the Ernai. When, the night before the battle of Gairech, the two armies encamped face to face, the Morrigan, daughter of Ernmas,* appeared between, and in pursuance of her evil rôle proceeded to embitter and intensify the strife in which they were engaged. Conor and his warriors she addressed thus :

“ Hail to the Ulaid ;
To the Erna woe.”

Then, turning round, she spoke to the ears of Conor's adversaries :

“ To the Ulaid woe ;
But hail to the Erna.”†

Sraibcend and his son Mata—relates the *Cath Boinde*—were slain at the battle of the Boyne, and the survivors of their family—including Ailill, who was then a mere child—were accorded protection at Cruachan. Ailill grew up a comely and a valorous youth ; and his grand-aunt Medb, though at the time she had a Gamanraide husband in the person of Eochaid Dala, fell violently in love with him. Ailill slew Eochaid Dala in a duel, and replaced him at Cruachan as Medb's partner in matrimony and in sovereignty. The aggrieved Fir Domhnann conspired “ to banish Ailill, and all the Ernai who were with him, out of Connacht ” ; but they were foiled in the execution of the plot.

Notwithstanding the confusion created by the invention of such ludicrous “ marriage ” legends ‡ the historic gist of the communication may possibly, by observant care, be segregated from the adventitious ingredients, and tolerably visualised in its main features. The three sections of the *Olnegmact*, it seems clear, were chronically at feud over the question of the conflicting claims of their respective kings to the primatial status in Connacht ; and, while the triangular contention raged, a clever outsider managed by playing them one against another to usurp the coveted dignity. This outsider was Ailill MacMata ; and, all things considered, there is no real ground for rejecting as worthless the testimony that he was an Ernai adventurer.

The sovereignty of Ailill and Medb in Connacht rested for its base on the Tuatha Taidhen. It is unlikely, indeed, that Ailill possessed any effective authority outside the bounds of the Tuatha Taidhen, though, so far as is known, the Fir Craibe did not openly resent his pretension to pose as nominal overlord. The Gamanraide chief Ailill Finn, on the other hand, not alone behaved as an independent king, but defied on occasions the

* A war fury, or goddess, whose husband was a battle deity of the ancient Irish. See *Leabhar Gabhala*, p. 157.

† See Joseph Dunn's translation of the *Tain Bo Cualgne*, p. 345.

‡ The Death-Tale of Conall Cearnach (*Zeitschrift für Celt. Phil.*, I, p. 106) further complicates the tangle of Mata, Magu, and the two Ailills, by making Magu and Mata of Muirese both women, and the mothers respectively of (1) Ailill MacMagach, and (2) Ailill MacMata Muirsci. This would identify No. (1) with Ailill Finn, and No. (2) with Medb's husband.

massed might of Cruachan. When Fergus MacRoigh came to reside in Cruachan he set the two Ailills at deadly enmity by indulging in a wanton intrigue with Flidais, the faithless wife of Ailill Finn. Ailill of Cruachan, desiring to avoid relentless warfare, sought a conference with Ailill Finn at the gate of his own stronghold in Irros Domnann. But Ailill Finn spurned the invitation. "I will not go," he said, "the pride and arrogance of that man outside is great."* The complete version of the Tale, as edited by Professor Mackinnon in the *Celtic Review*, tells that, in the war which ensued, Ailill and Medb overcame Ailill Finn only by the help of three other Great-Coicedes of Ireland. In this warfare the men of Breifne fought on the side of the Gamanraidhe; and, according to the Glennasan text, "the seven Breslenns of Breifne," in the heat of one fierce encounter, "challenged the men of Ireland"—i.e., the men of the four Coicedes arrayed against them—"to a duel." †

The Breslenns of Breifne must have been a formidable fighting body in those days. Shortly before the outbreak of hostilities in the west the forces of the two Munsters ‡ and of Leinster had assembled at Cruachan, to be in readiness for Medb's mobilisation against Ulster, in the memorable expedition provoked by the unpurchasable bull of Cuailgne. Enraged by Ailill Finn's insolence Medb set out, at the head of the four united armaments, to chastise him. Ailill Finn, seeing his citadel threatened with destruction, despatched envoys to summon to its defence the full strength of his dependents and allies; and prominent among the warriors who received, and responded to, the call were "the seven Breslenns of Breifne with their 300 champions of like name, between mountain and sea." § We may, I think, hazard the surmise that the three hundred Breslenns of Breifne who then marched to Ailill Finn's aid, under the leadership of seven Breslenn-Captains (*Secht Breisleannaigh*), constituted a fighting guild, or knighthood, of somewhat the same pattern as the Craobh Ruadh of Emain Macha. If the distinctive epic-tales of Breifne's heroic age had reached us—and Breifne bards of those momentous times, as well as of the generations thereafter supervening, must surely have commemorated in song and tale the excelling feats of their own stock of supermen—we should most likely see the Breslenns of Breifne figuring among their *dramatis personæ* as first-rate impersonators of Erin's olden championship and chivalry.

After many unsuccessful assaults the besiegers captured the Gamanraide citadel, and cut down Ailill Finn, together with seven hundred of his stoutest warriors. Among the slain were

* *Ir. Texte*, II (2) p. 211. Leahy's *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, II, p. 114.

† *Celtic Review*, III, 297.

‡ The formula *da Coiced Mumhan* ("two Fifths of Munster," or "two Munsters") is a familiar expression of Gaelic writings. *Vide infra*, p. 13.

§ *Celtic Review*, III, 126.

the seven Breslenns, and another notability of the same stalwart breed, namely, Ailill of Breifne.* The stronghold thus effectually stormed was situated in Ai, or Ciarraighe Ai, a district roughly corresponding to Costello barony of Co. Mayo;† and it was for that reason, no doubt, the Breslenns and Ailill have been described in some redactions of the Tales as “of Ai,” instead of “of Breifne.” Being leagued with Ailill Finn they would, not unnaturally, have got mixed up in legend with the roll of his regular military establishment.

After an interval of several years another Ailill of Breifne fell at the battle of Airtech,‡ fighting for Medb and Ailill Mor against the Ulaid. Conor MacNessa and Cuchulainn were then dead. The Donn himself, whose matchless beauty had brought countless woes on Erin, and defiled her plains with heaps of the slain, had expired in a fit of madness. But though the contests of the Tain had come to an end the inextinguishable animosity of Coiced Ulad and Coiced Olnegmact was but too ready to burst again into flame the moment any fresh misunderstanding arose that might serve as a plausible *casus belli*. Conall Cearnach, the last of the Red Branch paladins, led the Ulaid at Airtech, and had for one of his principal lieutenants, “Fiachu, son of Laidgen, king of the Fir Bolg.”§ Medb’s commanders-in-chief were Cet MacMagach, and MacCecht, *alias* Monodar Mor, brother of the deceased Tinni—Medb’s previous husband—the same MacCecht whose fratricidal sword had slain Tinni at the battle of the Boyne; || while around them were ranged, at the head of their respective companies, “Ailill of Breifne,” “Aengus king of the Fir Bolg,” and other doughty chiefs.¶

Ailill of Breifne fell at Airtech, by the sword of Conall Cearnach; and there, too, was slain Aengus, king of the Fir Bolg, by Cuscraid, son of Conor MacNessa. Cet MacMagach brought down Fiachu, king of the northern Fir Bolg; and at both sides numbers of stalwart war-lords were stricken to death. But “the battle went against the Fir Ol nEgmacht”; “and,” adds the Ulster Tale, “it was in this battle of Airtech the Fir Domnann were finally destroyed.”° “Though they”—the Fir Domnann and associated sept of the Olnegmact—“were three tribes through division.” says the other saga from which I am at present citing,

* Leahy’s *Heroic Romances*, II, 118.

† H. T. Knox (*History of Mayo*, p. 8) identifies the site with the rath of Castlemore (Ailech Mor), near Ballaghaderreen. The Ciarraighe—a people of later date—were reputed descendants of Ciar, a son of Fergus and Medb.

‡ The battle fought at Airtech, a district corresponding to the parish of Tibohine, near Castlereagh, was the last of the long series of encounters between the Ulaid and the Olnegmact that are recorded in the Tales.

§ *Cath Airtig*, p. 182.

|| See *Cath Boinde*, p. 180; and Coir Anmann, p. 358.

¶ *Cath Airtig*, pp. 182-3.

° *Eriu*, VIII, 184.

“they were one tribe by origin, namely, the children of Genand, son of Dela, son of Loch, and they were Fir Bolg by race.”*

Here, in the era of Medb and Ailill, we come face to face with the genuine Fir Bolg, Fir Domnann and Gaileoin—the actual living people in whose veins flowed the hottest of militant blood, and not the fleshless phantoms whom the O’Clerys and Keating project back nearly two thousand years into the recesses of pre-Christian antiquity. When we grasp this fact, and reflect on its ethnological import, we shall begin to understand the ground-plan of early Irish history, and to perceive the nature of its relationship to the artificial ground-plan that has been crudely drafted for us by Gaelic historians. Once the true ground-plan is apprehended old legends that heretofore must have seemed utterly fabulous, or meaningless, to many will frequently assume a sober, matter-of-fact aspect, and recommend themselves to our notice as serviceable and sound material for the uses of historical construction.†

Thus the Dinnsenchus of Carn Chonaill relates that the *muintir Umoir* (“Umor’s people”) came from Britain, in Cairbre Niafer’s time, to Meath, “centre of the Gaels,” and got extensive tracts of land from Cairbre; and the Book of Ballymote version of the legend explains that the immigrant suppliants were descendants of the exiled Fir Bolg who had taken refuge in Man, Rathlinn, and the Western Isles of Scotland after the battle of Mag Tured. The battle of *Mag Tured na-Fhomorach* was fought, according to the reckoning of the Four Masters, some 1800 years before the time of Cairbre Niafer; but the cautious O’Flaherty reduces the number of years to about 1200. Estates Commissioners charged with the administration of recent Land Acts have often been at a loss to identify, and even to discover, the true heirs of colonies of evicted tenants who were turned adrift during the Plan of Campaign period, a social crisis that has not yet receded into the past by more than a generation and a half. The fact, therefore, that the exiled Fir Bolg should have preserved their racial individuality and homogeneity for more than a millennium may well excite our amazement. The strong probability is that the expatriation of the Fir Bolg was still tolerably fresh in living memory at the date when those returned exiles appeared before

* *Eriu*, II, pp. 181-3.

†The Fir-Bolg “invasion” of the *Leabhar Gabhala* is simply an artificial *anticipation*, devised at long range, of the actual Belge-Germani colonisations of the centuries immediately preceding and following the reign of Augustus Cæsar. When divested of its false chronology the story will stand the test of history, and thereby make good its claim to embody a genuine tradition. The invaders are traced from Nemedh, through Starn, Loch and Dela—the Tuatha De Danann being traced from the same Nemedh, through Iarboneil, the Prophet—and, as it happens, the Celtic deity Nemetos was specially venerated in the continental cradle-land with which these Papers have associated the race.

Cairbre Niafer, and presented their petition for restorations of territory.

Cairbre, we are informed, located the Clann Umoir in certain districts of Meath; but he imposed heavy rents on them, and subjected them to the conditions of an oppressive vassal-tenure. For the rents and the services which the restored Fir Bolg bound themselves to render to Tara Cairbre demanded, and was given, the pledged guarantees of four of the most prominent battle-champions then plying their noble craft in Erin.

“ Cairpre took four sureties as well,
in respect of the service of his great stronghold.

Cet mac Magach from Mag Maein
Ross mac Dedad from Druimm Cain,
Conall Cernach, hard of thews,
and the man of feats, Cuchulaind.”*

It seems perfectly obvious that, in going security for the Fir Bolg Clann-Umoir, Cet MacMagach of the Gamanraide, Ross MacDedad of the Munster Ernai, Conall Cernach and Cuchulainn of the Ulaid, each and all acknowledged the existence of a bond of consanguinity, as between the returned exiles and themselves.

Another lesson of profound importance may be learned from the same saga. The Clann Umoir—it is told—being unable to endure the burdens imposed on them by Cairbre Niafer, betook themselves to the protection of Medb and Ailill. The irate Cairbre summoned at once the four guarantors to his presence, and ordered them peremptorily either to deliver to him the absconding Fir Bolg, or to bring the heads of their four chiefs to Tara. Obedient to his mandate the four stoutest war-veterans of Erin duly complied with the second of Cairbre’s orders. Would this prompt compliance have been forthcoming if Cairbre Niafer were nothing more than a *ri-Coicid*, or king of a Fifth? In Ulster Tales Cairbre is styled *ri Temrach* (“king of Tara”), and assigned regency over the *Luaigni Temrach*, or Luaigni of Tara.† If Cairbre had been merely king of a Fifth—even though the particular Fifth embraced all Leinster—or nothing more than king of the Luaigni of Temair, his edict would have been contemptuously flouted by Cet MacMagach and by Ross MacDedad, just

* Todd Lectures, Vol. X, p. 443.

† Professor MacNeill (*Phases of Irish History*, Chap. IV) makes Cairbre “king of North Leinster,” and claims two of the five coiceds for Leinster, thus setting at naught the oft recurring expression *da Coiced Mumhan* (“two Fifths of Munster”) of our historic literature. See e.g. *Mesca Ulad*, p. 43; *Caitheirim Conghail Clairinghaigh* (Ir. Text Society’s Publications, Vol. V), p. 2; *Caitheirim Cellachain Caisil*, p. 2; *Forbhuis Droma Damhghaive* (in *Revue Celtique*, Vol. 43); Tigernach (in *Rev. Celt.* XVIII), p. 384; *Silva Gadetica* I, p. 331; Keating, Vol. II, pp. 158, 184, 318; etc., etc.

as well as by the haughty Cuchulainn and Conall Cearnach ; for each and all of them would have resented the *fiat* as being utterly preposterous and *ultra vires*.

The tenth century poet, Cinaeth Ua hArtacáin, "Head of the learned of Leath Chuinn" * styles Cairbre Niafer "Ardri na n-Gaideal," or High-King of the Gaels. † Cairbre was succeeded at Tara by his son Erc ; and of him Dubthach Ua Lugair, Chief Poet of King Laegaire, sang in the fifth century, "Erc Mac Cairpre, famed king of Erin." ‡ Ulster sagas belittle the imperial status of Tara for the reason that the Ulaid, whom they chiefly celebrate, failed to capture Tara's throne ; and the spirit which manifested itself in the *suppressio veri* of the romancers led Ulster's early chroniclers to indulge pertinaciously in the *suggestio falsi* habit until the last fragment of their own Fifth had been shattered politically. In the tenth and eleventh centuries they still registered the shrunken *Crich Ulad*, east of the Bann and Glenn Ríge rivers, as an *Coiced*, that is, The Fifth *par excellence*, § and sometimes even distinguished it as *Coiced Erenn*, or "The (paramount) Fifth of Ireland." ||

Cairbre Niafer was one of "the five illustrious kings" who carved Ireland into Fifths ; and in our literature his own Fifth of Leinster always bears some one or other of three several and synonymous designations, viz., Coiced Cairpri, Coiced Laigen, and Coiced n-Gaileoin. ¶ At the date of the battle of Rosnaree Cairbre ruled from Tara ; ** but he did not rule from Tara in the capacity of *ri coicid Laigen*. At that date Finn MacRossa, Cairbre's brother, was king of the Laigin, or of Leinster. †† Moreover, the "Leinster" (i.e. the territory of the Laigin) of those days did not include Tara. When Cairbre was slain by Cuchulainn at the battle of Rosnaree Finn MacRossa led off his Laigin, or Gaileoin, troops ; and, as he marched south, Iriel Glunmhar, Conall Cearnach's son, hotly pursued him with a detachment of the Ulaid. On reaching the frontier ford of Leinster Fidach Fergach (the Wrathful) executed a right-about movement with the retreating army, and gave Iriel battle, The Saga relates : "Long is the

* See Tigernach's *Annals*, 975 A.D. By "Tigernach" I mean, in the present paper, the Chronicler—whoever he was—by whom these early records were digested. Eoin MacNeill's convincing argument in *Eriu*, Vol. VII (pp. 30—110), effectually disproves his identity with the assumed "Tigernach of Clonmacnoise."

† O'Curry's *Man. Materials*, p. 515. —

‡ *Ibidem*, p. 483.

§ See e.g. *Annals of Ulster* for years 923, 932.

|| *Ibidem*, 933, 1062, 1096. In 1101 the little kingdom is set down as *Coiced Ulad*, though it was then geographically but a fraction of Conar MacNessa's Coiced Ulad.

¶ See Hogan's *Onomasticon*, pp. 279, 280.

** See *Cath Ruis na Ríg*, Ed. by Rev. E. Hogan (Todd Lectures, IV), p. 49.

†† "Find mac Rosa ri coicid lamdeirg Laigen" (king of the Fifth of the red-handed Laigin). *Ibid.*, p. 27.

reach that the Ulaid are making towards us,' said Coiced Laigen. And it is from this that Rige Laigen is the name of that river."* *Rige Laigen* is now the Rye Water, a stream that flows east by Kilcock and Maynooth, to join the Liffey at Leixlip. Coiced Laigen, as here personified, did not speak until Coiced Laigen was *reached*; and as to where that happened no doubt can possibly arise, for the water spanned by the ford in question received its name, Rige Laigen, from the length of the *reach* (*rigi*) made by the pursuing Ulaid.

Tara, therefore, lay well north of Leinster in the era of the Ulster Tales; and, that being so, a king of Tara would not then necessarily have been, as such, king of any part of Leinster. For some undefinable time after the formation of the Coiced Cairbre held the kingship of *all* Leinster, not merely of a moiety of Leinster. When Cairbre assumed the kingship of Tara his brother Finn File succeeded him as *ri Coicid Laigen*, and ruled as Leinster's king until he was cut down at the battle of Finnchoradh.† After the battle of Rosnaree Erc—Cairbre Niafer's son—according to the boastful narrative of the Ulster epic "placed his head on the breast of his grandfather,‡ and asked his father's land from him. And he obtained that thing from Conchobar." § The land in question could not have been Leinster, for the Ulaid did not seize, or even invade, Leinster. In song, tale and chronicle Erc invariably appears as king of Tara, or king of Erin, never as king of Leinster. Erc's patrimonial land,—the land which Conor deigned to leave in his undisturbed possession—was the domain of the Luaigni of Temair; and it was the same Luaigni domain that constituted the nucleus of the later kingdom of Meath.

The Ulaid in Conor MacNessa's time, it would appear, seriously weakened the hereditary position of the Laigin at Tara. But neither Erc nor Cairbre Niafer can have been more prostrated by reverses than was Charles VII of France at the crisis when Joan of Arc unfurled her standard before the walls of Orleans. In history, notwithstanding, Charles the VII has not forfeited, even for a day, his rightful place among the recognised kings of France. Conor MacNessa aspired to the sovereignty of Tara, and his obsequious retinue sometimes flattered his vanity by addressing him as *ri fene*,|| or king of the free-born men of Erin. So, too, did every English monarch, from the feeble Henry VI

* *Ibidem*, pp. 53, 55.

† See the Tale *Bristech Mor Muirtheimne* in Gaelic Journal, Vol. II (at p. 146). A copy of the old tale *Cath Findchoradh*—which was long believed to have been lost—has been discovered by Miss M. E. Dobbs, and published in *Zeit. für Celtische Philologie*, Vol. XIV, pp. 398—420.

‡ Erc's mother was a daughter of Conor MacNessa.

§ *Cath Ruis na Rig*, p. 55.

|| See Windisch's *Tain Bo Cualgne*, p. 133.

down to the mentally deranged George III, arrogate to themselves, in default of the crown of France which the Maid of Orleans had set securely on Charles's head at Rheims, the empty title of King of France. The formulæ of the Ulster Tales, when they appertain to a people with whom the Ulaid were in conflict, cannot always be taken at their face value. In Ireland, as elsewhere, the existence of hostility, or of rivalry, between two communities inevitably betrayed both into the practice of speaking of one another in derogatory terms.

The Luaigni Temrach complete the list of the 46 ignoble tribes whom Conn's grandfather, Tuathal Techtmar, is said to have enslaved. Yet the Luaigni were still the recognised *fian*-force of Erin when their swords destroyed the Leinster dynasty at Tara, and raised Conn to the vacant throne. Uirgriu, son of Lugaid Corr, was Chief of the Luaigni, or, in other words, was general-in-command of Tara's prætorian guard, when the aspiring Cumhall sought to wrest from him at Cnucha his hereditary office of Grand-Marshal of Ireland. Cumhall fell in the battle, struck down by Goll, son of Morna, who had come from Connacht, at Conn's behest, to uphold the Luaigni,

“ For to them had belonged the Fianship
of the men of Fal,
By the side of every valorous king.” *

“ Luaigni Temrach, sil na righ (Luaigni of Temair, seed of kings) ” those noted warriors are styled in the Book of Leinster.† In ancient Ireland there were numerous bodies of *fiana*, but in popular tradition the *fiana*, or *fianna*,‡ of Finn MacCumhaill so overshadowed the others that they became from an early date the *fianna par excellence* (Fianna h-Erend), and eventually the only *fianna* remembered in the folk legends. Yet of all the *fiana* communities of ancient Erin the Luaigni of Temair were undoubtedly the most renowned and the most powerful. It was by them the mighty Finn himself, son of Cumhall, was slain at Ath Brea on the Boyne.§ Just as Finn's *fianna* were the military arm of that able consolidator of Gaelic sovereignty, Cormac

* See *Macgnimmartha Finn* (in *Eriu*, I, p. 180, etc.). The Luaigni were the first *Fiana Fail* of our history, their most celebrated successors being the *Fiana* of Cumhall's son, Finn.

† Facsimile, 386 (b).

‡ The declension is:—

Nom. and Accus. *fian*; gen. *feine*; dat. *fein*. Plural—Nom. and Accus. *fiana*; gen. *fian*; dat. *fianaib*. The single “n” of early manuscripts was doubled by later scribes.

§ “ Aided Finn oc Ath Brea for Boind la fein Luaigne ” (Bk. of Leinster, *ibid.*). (See Tigernach, in *Rev. Celt.*, XVIII, p. 838. Finn's slayers were the sons of Uirgriu. See Kuno Meyer's *Fianaigecht*, p. 99).

MacAirt, so in pre-Gaelic Ireland the pontiff-kings* of Temair were maintained in authority by the formidable spears of the Luaigni. As mercenaries they were rewarded, not by a regular scale of pay measured out by the day or by the month, but by a princely gift of sword-land.

The division of Ireland into Fifths marks the culminating point of the island's conquest by La Tène bands of invaders. They came in detached parties, reaching our shores in a series of waves that flowed hither intermittently from the continent during the centuries immediately preceding and following the Roman advance into transalpine Celtica. In Ireland the major bodies inevitably contended, one with another, for possession of the soil, and from time to time entered into compacts for the settlement of its relative distribution. The doctrine that the whole country was conquered in a single pitched battle by an individual, homogeneous "race," and thereupon subjected in its entirety to the sway of the conquerors, conflicts with all the analogies presented by the early history of nations of which we have definite record. It was not thus the Anglo-Saxons established themselves in Britain; nor was this the mode whereby the co-called Teutons built themselves dominions all over western Europe.

Moreover, the incursive hordes did not postpone the partitioning of the land among themselves until every unsubmissive tribe of natives was subdued. When the Celts had gained a footing in Asia they divided Asia Minor among the three constituent stocks of their confederacy.† Politically the operation meant no more than an agreed determination of the areas from which they were individually to have the right of exacting tribute and revenue. Henry II did not *conquer* Ireland; yet he parcelled Ireland's surface among a chosen few of his barons, enfeoffing them with lordships as spacious as those over which the Coiced kings had erstwhile ruled. We may feel assured that, in their own councils, the rapacious aliens who first flocked hither with an equipment of iron war-weapons similarly endowed themselves by anticipation with sovereignty over our island long ere they had secured its effective ownership. As a land-grabbing federation of prospectors they divided *prospectively* the country which they were

* *Vide infra*, p. 32. The rebirth of the title *Fianna Fail* at the present time is of particular interest here as illustrating the nature of the sentiment which led to the revival, in the 13th and subsequent centuries, of the name *Teuton*, and to its adoption, through pride in the achievements of the Teutonic Knights—yet without a vestige of ethnological warrant—by the non-Slavic and un-Latinised populations of northern Europe, as a most expressive symbol of hostility to the dominance of Italian influences and traditions in the politics of the Holy Roman Empire. Just as the Fiana of Finn MacCumhaill were annihilated at the battle of Gabhra by Cairbre Lifechair (284 A.D.), so did the actual Teutons of Marius, whose name has been thus restored, perish almost root and branch in the carnage of the memorable battle of Aquæ Sextiæ (102 B.C.). This should be remembered when we read of the "Teuton Race."

† *Livy xxxviii*, 16.

bent on appropriating ; but, in the circumstances, the allocations of territory made at the outset must have been of a temporary nature, for the ordinances of co-partners in spoliation are necessarily too unstable to last.

In all likelihood several futile endeavours to apportion the country were tentatively made at successive intervals of time before the conclusion of the permanent pact that produced the five Coiced of our proto-history. The list of original toparchs associated by Keating with the Coiced includes men who, while of the same royal houses as the five regents already enumerated, belonged to the preceding generation.* In Tigernach's record, too, rulers are ascribed to the two Munster Fifths who stand, in the chronological order, before CuRoi Mac Daire.† The explanation of these discrepancies doubtless is that the business of Coiced shaping was protracted by quarrels among the parties concerned in its settlement, and that some provisional agreements were made and broken during the contentious stages of its progress.

It was the traditions descending from the period now under review that supplied the inspiration of those imposing chapters of the *Leabhar Gabhala* which narrate, with such an abundance of circumstantial detail, the specious story of Ireland's early colonisations. The Fifths therein assigned to the mythical Slainghe and his four commandant-brothers are separated by precisely the same boundary marks as those which part the Coiced of the "five illustrious kings."‡ The guileless Keating writes down, as indubitable data of history: "Gann takes the province of Eochaidh Abhradhruaidh, from Cumar-na-dtri-n-uisge to Bealach Chonglais; Seangann takes the province of Curaoi, son of Daire, from Bealach Chonglais to Luimneach."§ This can be understood literally only on the assumption that Gann and Sengann were endowed with a prophetic insight which enabled them to peer into the far-distant future. If absurdity is to be avoided in the rendering of Keating's communications the time factor must be suppressed, and the older personal names must be construed as symbolical. The true purport of the revelations will then come to light, the message disclosing itself modestly as a reflexed duplicate of known facts.

Of the fabled Slainghe, similarly, we can make no use except as an ethnic symbol. He stands for the pioneer Gaileoin, or Laigin—that is, for the oldest of our Hibernian Germani—and for nought besides. But, as thus interpreted, he will sometimes repay with timely help the inquirer who cultivates his acquaintance. Slainghe, as a pentarch, is assigned Coiced Gaileoin, or Coiced Laigen; while Gann is given Coiced Ecdhach Mac Luchta, or the Munster

* Keating, II, p. 158.

† *Rev. Hibernic Scriptores*, II, p. 12.

‡ See *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 76.

§ Keating, Vol. I, p. 106.

Fifth whose sea-front lay between Cork harbour and the junction of the Suir, Nore and Barrow.* How does this apportionment of territories harmonise with the Ulster Tales and other ancient documents of our literature? When Lugaid, son of Curoi Mac Daire, slew Cuchulainn at Muirtheimne the obligation of revenging the deed devolved on Cuchulainn's foster-brother, Conall Cearnach. Conall flew south after the home-faring Lugaid, and overtook him at the Liffey. Curoi's son demanded, as his right under the laws of championship, that the life-and-death combat should be fought in Munster; and, Conall assenting, Lugaid appointed the plain of Airget-Ros as the battle-ground. And in Magh Airget-Ross, beside the bridges of Ossory (*in droictib Osraige*),† Conall, unable to vanquish Lugaid in fair and honourable fight, compassed his death by means the most perfidious.‡ But too deservedly has Conall's unscrupulous behaviour on the occasion been stigmatised by an old Glossator as "murder and disgrace and treachery." §

Ossory is thus proved to have belonged to Munster in the era of Curoi and Cuchulainn; and Ossory, though in after years a refractory and rebellious appanage of Munster, failed to break loose from Munster's grip until a comparatively late date. In St. Patrick's time Ossory, though then apparently affecting an independent status, was external to Leinster. The Tripartite Life records: "He left a blessing with Hui-Censelaig and with *all Leinster*, and after this he ordained Fiacc the Fair in Slebte, into the bishopric of the Fifth (in choicid). He then went by Belach-Gabrain into the land of Ossory (*hi tir n-Osraigi*) and founded churches and cloisters there." ¶ The old distinction between *Crich Laigen* and *Tir n-Osraighi* had certainly not become obsolete when St. Fiacc was ordained bishop of *Coiced Laigen*. Again, the Deisi having been harboured in Leinster for about two centuries after their expulsion from Tara by Cormac MacAirt, were ejected, on the death of Crimthann, king of Leinster, by Crimthann's sons. The old Tale relates: ¶ "and in a rout they (Crimthann's sons) drove them out into the land of Ossory" (*ocus doscartsat im-maidm as hi tir n-Osairge*). The Leinster princes desisted from pursuit once the Deisi had entered Ossory, and took no further heed when the Deisi set up their huts at Miledach, on the Ossory side of the Barrow, near *Cumar-natri-n-Usce*. The Leinster princes thus demonstrated that, in their and king Crimthann's time, that is to say, in the fifth century, Ossory lay outside the bounds of Leinster.

* See Journal, Vol. II, p. 76.

† See *Book of Leinster*, Facsimile, folio 122.

‡ See *Aided Conchulainn*, as abridged and edited from the Book of Leinster by W. Stokes, in *Revue Celtique*, Vol. III.

§ See O'Curry's *Manuscript Materials*, p. 479.

¶ *Tripartite Life*, Vol. I, p. 195.

¶ Published by Kuno Meyer in *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XIV, pp. 104—135. (See at p. 114.)

Slainghe, according to Keating's quaint narrative, took "Cuigeadh Laighean," Gann took "Cuigeadh Eachach Abhradhruaidh," Sengann took "Cuigeadh Chonraoi mic Daire," Genann took "Cuigeadh Chonnacht," and Rughraide took "Cuigeadh Uladh." In real fact Slainghe and his invented brothers took possession of no land in Ireland, for the entities so styled in the Leabhar Gabhala's symbolic notation never existed here in human flesh and good. It was the makers of the Leabhar Gabhala who "took" the several Fifths—the genuine Fifths of history—and labelled each of them anew, using for the purpose a factitious set of names, presumably derived from the mythic ancestry of the invaders. By means of this happy device they were enabled to duplicate the iron-age conquest of the country, and thus to invest Gaelic royalty with a specious hue of hoary antiquity. Verification of the boundaries assigned by Keating to the Fifths which were carved out by "the five illustrious kings"—the Fifths, namely, of Leinster, Ulster, Olnegmact, and the Two Munsters—is forthcoming at many points from the pages of our ancient tales and documents.(*).

"Thirty kings of the Laigin," says Tigernach, "ruled over Erin, from the time of Labraid Loingsech to that of Cathair Mor."† Cathair Mor comes within the penumbra of our annalistic history, and he is there commemorated as the last sovereign of the Leinster line who reigned in Tara. The Leinster dynasty of high-kings was extinguished when Conn Ced-Cathach slew Cathair Mor at the battle of Tailtiu, in the second century of our era; and the Connacht—or usurping—dynasty, which owed its inception to Conn, and its consolidation to Conn's able grandson, Cormac MacAirt, lasted, despite some sinister interruptions, for eight proud centuries. Reckoning from Labraid Loingsech to Cathair Mor, inclusive, the sum total of generations that make up the connecting pedigree amounts but to 26; and the orthodox

* The theory formulated by Professor MacNeill, (*Phases of Irish History*, Chap. IV), that the Fifths included two Leinsters and only one Munster, is becoming the accepted dogma of our present generation of historians. Curiously enough, the speculative arguments used by the Professor in support of this theory rely mainly on statements of *Cath Ruis na Rig* and of the Deisi saga, the two texts which, as I have shown, prove that, along the Tara meridian, Leinster's frontier reached north only to the Rye Water, and that at the south-west Leinster did not transcend the *Cumar na tri n Uisce* limit. The really pertinent and decisive sentences of those texts seem to have been overlooked by the learned Professor. Furthermore, on the basis of a misidentification of the place-name *Grian* Dr. MacNeill extends Ossory west to Pallasgrean in Co. Limerick. The *Grian* of the phrase "O Gabrán co Grein" (See Keating, II, 231) was *Grian Airbh*, now Grean, or Grane hill, a few miles south of Urlingford (Consult O'Donovan, *F. Masters*, 891 A.D.; Father Hogan, *Onomasticon*, p. 461; Dr. Carrigan, *Hist. of Ossory*, p. 13; Father Dinneen, Keating, IV, 326). But, seeing that Ossory was demonstrably an integral part of Munster in the heroic age, the question of Ossory's range in the western direction is immaterial to the issue here under consideration.

† *Rev. Hibern. Scriptores*, II, p. 6. *Rev. Celt.* XVI, p. 402.

roll of high-kings includes only seven of the names appearing among all those generations of Labraid's royal progeny. Tigernach's enumeration of 30 high-kings of Labraid's blood, for the tract of time between the coming of the Laigin and the death of Cathair Mor, thus glaringly conflicts with the teaching of our later historiographers. Tigernach's personal predilections, though doubtless kept well under control, would naturally have attached him by sentiment to the side of Leath Chuinn, and would have disposed him rather to disparage than to exalt the Laigin.

When Tigernach, therefore, dishonoured in advance the Gaelic register of high-kingship which, as embodied in the *Reim Rioghraidhe*, has long been esteemed a primary source for the materials of our ancient history, he was constrained to do so, we may feel perfectly assured, by some document of coercive authority. Knowing full well that that document would not have been found among the one-sided archives of Emain Macha, the archives on which Tigernach had to rely for most of his information about the eras preceding the subversal of Erin's Fiftths, we may furthermore feel confident that Tigernach had access equally to records that conserved some fragments of the traditions of Leinster and Leath-Mogha.

On this point the early literature lends remarkable confirmation to Tigernach's testimony. When Tara is unveiled by the narrator of *Cath Ruis na rig*, we see enthroned there, not any of the potentates paraded by the *Reim Rioghraidhe*, but a Leinster sovereign named Cairbre Niafer. In flat contradiction to the story of the *Coir Anmann* and of the *Leabhar Gabhala*, that Eremon designed Temair, and built there a palace (Tea-Mur) for his cousin-consort, Tea, is the statement of the early Ossianic poet, Caoilte MacRonain, "Slainghe of the Fir Bolg of fame (was he) by whom Tara was raised." * The reconstructors of Gaelic history allocated Slainghe to Dinnrigh on the Barrow, though they refrained from denying him the honour of being Erin's earliest over-king. If we take Slainghe to stand for the Germani vanguard of the La Tène hosts, the whole scheme of events becomes clearly intelligible. The Germani naturally selected the richest champaign land in Ireland for the seat of their oppidum, and having established themselves there they retained, in constitutional theory at least, if not always in actual fact, the premier status among the new colonies of invaders until Tara's sceptre passed to Conn Ced-Chatach.

In Labraid Loingsech, the reputed importer of the Laigin—twenty-two hundred lance-men, armed with green-blue spears of iron †—we encounter another symbolic individual, whose special office it is to impersonate a second influx of Germani. The period of 1400 years which the Four Masters interpose between Slainghe

* See Petrie's *Essay on Tara Hill*, p. 28.

† Keating, II, 167.

and Labraid Loingsech is reduced by O'Flaherty to 1025 years. But, as O'Flaherty doubtless knew, the belief was once prevalent among Gaelic antiquaries that, if the men were not actually contemporaries, the invasions which they symbolise cannot have been separated by more than a generation or two. In fact, a Dinnsenchus poem to which Dr. Charles O'Connor makes allusion introduces Labraid Loingsech in the capacity of Slainghe's *dux*, or captain-general.*

The origin of the strife for the possession of Tara is referred to the rivalry of Laegaire Lorc and Cobhtach Cael Breagh, two sons of the legendary Ugaire Mor. The Book of Leinster assigns to the year 207 B.C. the assassination of Laegaire Lorc by his Cain-hearted brother; and Tigernach relates that, in revenge for the crime, the fratricide Cobhtach was subsequently burnt to death at the hostel of Tuaim Tenbath, in Magh Ailbe, by Labraid Loingsech, grandson of the murdered Laegaire. Our manuals of history, built up from the depositions of Keating and his school, inform us that Cobhtach perished amidst the flames of his palace at Dinnrigh. Yet Tigernach avers that the consumed building was a *hostel*, not a royal palace. Moreover the Book of Ballymote copy of the Coir Anmann locates Labraid Loingsech's feat of incendiarism not at Dinnrigh, but "at Cobhtach Cael of Brega's house in Magh Trega."† Indeed the man's very name, Cobhtach Cael Breg (Cobhtach the Slender of Brega), associates him residentially with Magh Breg, the opulent plain that encompasses Temair Breg, rather than with Dinnrigh.‡

The *Senchas na Relec* ("History of the Cemeteries"),§ in specifying the burial-places of Erinn's royal stocks, records: "Oenach Cruachan, it was there kings of Tara were used to bury until the time of Crimthann (*inter alios*) Cobhtach Coel Breg and Labhraidh Loingsech, and Eocho Fedhlech with his three sons, and Ailill MacMada with his seven brothers." And again, "the two coicedes which the Clann h-Eremoin possessed were *Coiced n-Galeoin* (i.e. Coiced Laigen) and *Coiced Olnecmacht* (i.e. *Coiced Connacht*). Coiced n-Galeoin in the first place was taken by the race of Labraid Loingsech; the descendants of Cobhtach Coel Breg, however—their *flesc lama* (hand-measure, or proper endowment) was *Coiced Connacht*." Furthermore, "whenever, therefore, the kingship of Erin was held by any of the offspring of Cobhtach Coel Breg

* "*Lageniæ* nomen deducit (poema) a *Laughin* hasta, quia Galengii, hastis armati, ad prælium ducebantur a Duce *Labhradio-Loingseach*, Slangii cœvo. Extat et hoc ipsum poema in Codice Stowense *Dinseanchus*." (O'Connor's *Rerum Scriptores Hibernicarum*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 58, note).

† See *Irische Texte*, III, p. 364.

‡ "To his son Cowhagh Kylebry was allotted the countrey of Brey, where the lordship of Taragh stood" (*Annals of Clonmacnoise*, 42).

§ This very ancient tract, preserved in our oldest manuscript compilation, the *Lebor na h Uidri*, has been published by Petrië in his *Essay on the Round Towers*, pp. 97—101.

Coiced Connacht was his *ruidless* (patrimonial estate); and for this reason they were interred at Oenach na Cruachna." *

Putting aside, for the present, the conventional, or reconstructed history, † and piecing together the testimonies that have here been extracted from the oldest literature, we come in sight of a people who, on being overthrown by the Laigin in Magh Breg, held on to Cruachan, a fortress that from the first had served them as the fundamental base whence the more aspiring of their rulers sought to achieve imperial sway in Erin. In telling that Cobhtach Cael Breagh was burnt to death in Magh Trega the saga does not say, or suggest, that Cobhtach's people were extirpated from Magh Breg. While the folk-masses whom Cobhtach's apocryphal figure represents had to relinquish Tara, and to content themselves thenceforth with Cruachan as their principal metropolis, there is no reason to presume that they were expelled from their seats beyond the Shannon. The Tale-Redactors, whose primary business was the portrayal of epic incident and character, are often unconscious witnesses to the unity of our early history, and to the true lines of its development. At the point now reached the various saga dramatisations fit into one another with a closeness of correspondence that can hardly be regarded as fortuitous.

The Olnegmact confederacy of the heroic period, as has been seen, included among its major component-states the Tuatha Taiden, a people who, as the owners and sustainers of Cruachan, must have ranked with the aristocracies of their time; and the lands of the same Tuatha Taiden stretched out beyond the Shannon as far as Temair-Broganiadh. ‡ A line drawn due east from Cruachan cuts the Shannon near Newtownforbes, and enters the County Longford through the very district, Magh Trega, where, according to the Ballymote version of the saga, Cobhtach Cael Breg was slain. §

Cobthach Cael Breg, therefore, was identified in the original

* *Ibidem* p. 100. The Ulaid kings buried at Tailtiu, and the Laigin kings at Oenach Ailbe (Carman).

† The reconstructors ignored likewise, or perhaps knew not of, the Cruit-nigh kings, eight in number, who ruled Erin, alternately with the Laigin, before the elevation of Conn. (See *Rerum Hibernic, Script.* II, 33: *Revue Celtique*, XVII, 8). This remarkable record of Tigernach merits close examination; but it is pertinent here only as evidencing that the Laigin hegemony was not uniformly continuous. All Irish regnal lists have been swollen by the inclusion, in addition to *de facto* kings, of candidate-claimants who were held by their own calendarists to be *de jure* kings of the particular realm, or realms, in dispute.

‡ Supposed by Fr. Hogan to have been at Tara townland, in Durrow parish, King's Co. Tara in Meath was styled Temair Breg, and sometimes Temair Fail. The old Tale *Suidigid Tellaich Temra* ("Settling of the Manor of Tara") mentions Temair Broga Niadh and Temair Breg as two distinct places in early Meath. (See *Erriu*, Vol. IV, p. 150.)

§ The same district is called Moytra in an Inquisition of the 10th year of James I.

traditions both with Tara and Cruachan, but not with Dinnrigh or Leinster. He stands for a separate invasion wave of the period that witnessed the coming of the Laigin in their most formidable strength; and the contents of his legend would imply that the followers of Cobthach were established here, in possession of Magh Breg, before the arrival of the men of Labraid. The genealogies of all the "Eremonian" families of Ireland converge in Ugaine (or Augaine) Mor, the reputed father of Lægaire Lorc—Labraid Loingsech's grandfather—and of Cobthach Cael Breg. The 23 generations of mythical ancestors that precede Ugaine in the ascending line to Eremon serve, therefore, no further use in the gorgeous tapestry of the genealogists than that of an ornamental fringe. From Labraid issued the Leinster "Eremonians." From Cobthach sprang all the other "Eremonian" stocks of Ireland; and from Cobthach's alleged descendant, Conn Ced-Chathach, came the imperial breeds of Connacht, Meath, and Ailech, who held the sovereignty of Ireland in Christian times. When the genealogists constructed their schemes the expressions "race of Conn" and "race of Cobthach Cael Breg" meant virtually one and the same thing.*

The *Senchas na Relec* tells us that Coiced Olnegmact was the *flesc lama* (patrimonial land) of *Clann Cobthaig Coil Breg* ("The Race of Cobthach Coel Breg"). Among the Coiced Olnegmact populations of the heroic narratives the "race of Cobthach Coel Breg," *eo nomine*, never comes into view.

"Of the race of Conn Mor, son of Fedhlim,
Are the hosts of Cruachan of the smooth plain,"†

wrote Giolla Iosa Mor MacFirbis, about the beginning of the fifteenth century. Cruachan thus belonged, at three successive points of time, (1) to Cobthach Coel-Breg's race, (2) to the Tuatha Taiden, and (3) to Conn's race. But Conn's race are avowedly one and the same breed as the race of Cobthach Coel Breg. Should it not follow then that, if the Olnegmact Tuatha Taiden were not identical with both one and the other, the Tuatha Taiden must, in the first place, have expelled Cobthach's race from Cruachan, and afterwards have been themselves ejected, in turn, by the previously dispossessed people?

This conclusion could not be gainsaid were it not that, from the beginning, the Gamanraide and the Fir Craibe shared with the Tuatha Taiden the sovereignty of Cruachan, and at an early date ousted the Tuatha Taiden from the Olnegmact overlordship.

* In the standardised genealogies the Ernai of Munster and the Dal-Fiatach of Ulster affiliate with the many-forked *Clann Chuinn* ("race of Conn"), the common stem of the pedigrees dividing into two main branches at Aengus Tuirmech, six generations below Cobthach Coel Breg; but older antiquaries, as I have already shown, held other views as to the relationships of the Ernai.

† See *Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, Ed. by O'Donovan, p. 179.

The argument, therefore, must be shaped on broader lines ; but if we substitute Olnegmact for Tuatha Taiden in its wording the resultant conclusion should be able to withstand all legitimate tests. In a former paper I affirmed that the lordly Gaels, who are brought to Ireland by their historians under the ostentatious leadership of the sons of "Mil of Spain," would seem, on investigation, to have been a home-grown order of men, bred among the Belgæ-Germani colonies that, after transplantation, bore the modified appellations Fir Bolg and Gaileoin in their new homeland. Here at hand, in the genesis of the great Conn Ced-Chatach himself, the justice of that inference is seen to be exemplified and vindicated.

Of all the Gaels the proudest in rank, and for long centuries the most potent in authority, were the prosperous off-shoots of Conn's family. Several other ruling houses were admitted into the patrician register of Gaelic nobility ; but above them all in dignity towered the blood-royal descendants of Conn and of Eoghan Mor. For these, in fact, was specially invented the genealogical birth-badge, emblematic of class privilege and of political prerogative, which displays among its adornments the pseudo-ancestral figures of Mil and Gaedhel Glas. Yet, do what we may, we can connect the race of Conn with the race of Cobthach Coel of Brega only through the medium of the Olnegmact. To the Tuatha Taiden, as distinct from their co-partner septs in Connacht, Conn's origin cannot be traced ; but from the indignity of an Olnegmact parentage the evidence before us will not permit Conn to escape.

Cruachan was in the territory of the Tuatha Taiden. But it was the Gamanraide of Irros Domnann that built the fortress of Cruachan ; * and Duaid MacFirbis informs us that the name of the architect was "Bolc, son of Blar." † The Gamanraide, moreover, regained more than once supremacy at Cruachan ; and to their junior branch, the Clann-Morna, belonged Aedh, son of Garad, the last king of undisguised Olnegmact extraction who swayed from Cruachan. ‡ The Clann-Morna were descended from Sanb, son of Cet Mac Magach, the Gamanraide chief after whom the Tuatha Taiden domain was named Magh Sanb.§ This Sanb was sufficiently powerful in his time to rescue the Cruachan sceptre from the posterity of Medb and Ailill, and to hold it until his death at an advanced age.||

After Sanb a great-grandson of Medb and Ailill called Eochaid—the last of his family—ruled at Cruachan ; and from him the Olnegmact kingship passed to the Fir-Craibe, who in five genera-

* Keating, II, 186.

† See O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, p. 222.

‡ *Ogygia*, III, Chap. 70.

§ The *Annals of Clonmacnoise* (p. 42) make Magh Sanb extend to Meath.

|| *Ogygia*, III, Chap. 55.

tions produced seven provincial sovereigns,* the central figure in the sequence being Conall Cruachna, the alleged fosterer or tutor of Conn Ced-Chatach.† A new family of competitors, bearing the name Corcu-Firtri, then sprang into prominence, and usurped the Connacht headship. The Corcu-Firtri, whose title the genealogists derive from Lugaid Firtrea, a descendant of Fiacha Suighde, were simply Gailenga or Luigni of North Mayo and South Sligo under a more typically Gaelic designation. The Gailenga are proved by their name, which differs but inappreciably from Gaileoin, to have been a settlement of Germani, or, in other words, to have been kinsmen of the people of Slainghe and of the people of Labraid Loingsech. The Gailenga or Luigni formed, seemingly, the rearguard of the series of Germani invasions that, commencing with Slainghe, waxed stronger under Labraid Loingsech, and perhaps attained their maximum momentum under Eoghan Mor. The Gailenga, most likely, reached Ireland in the wake of the Eburones, or Eoghanacta; for their reputed progenitor—the supposed originator of their racial patronymic—was Cormac Gaileng, son of Tadg, son of Cian, son of Oilill Olum, who was the son of Eoghan Mor.

A daughter of Cormac Gaileng, named Trea, wed, it is told, a descendant of Fiacha Suighde called Lugaid, who was thenceforth styled Lugaid Firtrea; ‡ and the progeny of Lugaid—that is, in effect, a substantial section of the progeny of Cormac Galeng—became in consequence the race of Firtrea, or the Corcu Firtri. Seeing that Fiacha Suighde was Conn Ced-Chathach's brother, and that Trea was Cormac MacAirt's mother, the Corcu-Firtri must be reckoned a comparatively late-born stock; and as such they are, *ipso facto*, inadmissible to the register of Olnegmact tribes. But, while the date and circumstances of their first appearance exclude these intrusive folk-groups of Corann from the census of the Olnegmact, the marriage alliances that have been woven into the story need not be taken too seriously. *Gaileng* is the genitive case of the plural noun *gailenga*; and Cormac Gaileng, therefore, means simply Cormac of the Gailenga. The Gailenga did not derive their patronymic from this Cormac, but Cormac took his surname from them.

We may safely interpret the alleged matrimonial connections as meaning no more, and no less, than a close military and political alliance between the family of Conn and the widely-diffused Gailenga or Luigni. Two sons of "Lugaid Firtrea"—that is two brother chiefs of the Corcu-Firtri—attained, or were advanced in succession, to the Cruachan throne after Aedh, the last of its Fir Craibe occupiers; and then Aedh, son of Garad, of the

* O'Flaherty gives, in detailed pieces, an inventory of the early Connacht kings. Keating also supplies the names of some.

† See *Cath Muighe Leana*, p. 14.

‡ See *Ogygia*, p. 334; and *Journal*, Vol. II, pp. 367-8.

Gamanraide recovered the dignity for his house. After this Aedh came a Corcu-Firtri prince whom O'Flaherty names Condeus; and to him as overlord of Cruachan succeeded Muiredach Tirech, the grandfather of Brian, from whom have sprung the Ui-Briuin. We may infer from the scrappy particulars of the relation that the Olnegmact maintained their territorial consequence in Connacht until the fourth century, and that the last stock of them to be submerged politically were the Gamanraide.

Of the race of Conn few, if any, have achieved a higher renown than Dathi, the ard-righ grandson of Niall Naoi n-Ghiallach who was slain beyond seas in 428. In the literary sphere no family has shed a brighter halo on Conn's race, or has done more to illumine the history of the Gaels, than the MacFirbisigh of Lecan, a household preeminent for long centuries in its reputation for hereditary scholarship. In 1417 Giolla Iosa Mor MacFirbis, the doyen of Gaelic historians in his day, and perhaps the most distinguished of all the generations of his learned family, compiled the Book of Lecan, and enriched it with a poem of 231 quatrains, which he composed in commemoration of the numerous branches of Conn's race.* Among the noble stocks there enumerated are:

“The Hy-Amhalgaidh, host of lances,

Of the great Milesian Gamanraidhe.” †

The MacFirbisigh themselves belonged to the Ui-Amhalgaidh group of Ui-Fiachrach; and these Ui-Amhalgaidh were descended from King Dathi through his son—or grandson ‡—Amhalgaidh. In tracing the Ui-Amhalgaidh from “the Gamanraide of great Mil” § Giolla Iosa Mor MacFirbis not alone derives the Clann-Firbisigh, and their great progenitor Dathi, from the Gamanraide, but he deepens our astonishment by connecting the Gamanraide racially with “Mil of Spain.”

Somebody may urge that Giolla Iosa Mor's exploitation of the Gamanraide in the couplet cited is only meant for a poetic *cheville*. The Gamanraide were the dynastic *gens* of the Fir Domnann, that is of a plebeian folk whom the Clann-Miled are said to have enslaved. The Fir Domnann, avers the *Leabhar Gabhala*, came to Ireland, as associates in invasion of the Fir Bolg, several centuries before the arrival of “the sons of Mil,” the destined lords of the country. Would a poet-historian, of the first rank, who put faith in the fables of the *Leabhar Gabhala*, have adulterated the aristocratic veins of the Ui-Amalghaid

* This poem, commencing “Imda gablán do chloind Chuind” (“Many an offshoot of the race of Conn”) is printed in O'Donovan's *Hy Fiachrach*, pp. 176—299.

† *Ibidem*, p. 291. I give the lines as translated by O'Donovan.

‡ Duaid MacFirbis, who compiled the pedigree in 1666, could not decide whether the Amhalgaidh in question was a son of Dathi or of Fiachra Elgach (one of Dathi's sons). *Ibidem*, p. 101. *Vide infra*, p. 44, note †.

§ “h-I Amalgaid, Sloig na sleg, do'n Gamanraid moir Milead”. This couplet may throw light on the *apologia* which I have already cited from a MacFirbis chronicler (*Journal*, Vol. II, p. 361).

with the blood of the Gamanraide for the mere purpose of a rhetorical flourish? Giolla Iosa Mor MacFirbis, I suspect, had probed more deeply into the original sources of Conn's parentage than any, or all, of his learned contemporaries and successors among the literati of the Gael; and I opine further that, in colligating Dathi's offspring with the Gamanraide, Giolla Iosa was guilty rather of letting slip a tradition that had come to him from the much-misrepresented past than of an aberration in the use of poetic licence.

It was not the Gaels who kept alive the names of the old Olnegmact kings by whom Cruachan had been swayed down to the time of Cairbre Lifechair, Cormac MacAirt's son and successor at Tara. The purpose and *motif* of our orthodox Gaelic history would have been much better served by obliterating the Olnegmact and the extant list of Olnegmact kings, for the postulated race of Cobthach Coel Breg and Conn Ced-Chatach might then be set out in proud, unbroken continuity. Just as these particulars, by some chance or other, trickled through the nets of Gaelic artificialisers of history, so too might fugitive scraps of pre-Gaelic record that are no longer in existence have descended to the fifteenth century among the copious archives of the MacFirbisigh. Putting the phantasmal Mil aside for the present, and fixing our eyes on the realities, we see before us two genuine stocks of our ancient history, the Gamanraide and the Ui-Amalghaid; and the testimony of a great MacFirbis Ollamh is that these stocks were racially identical, the Gamanraide being the progenitors of the Ui-Amalghaid. The Ui-Amalghaid were offspring of Dathi, and, through Dathi, of his ancestor Conn Ced-Chatach. The obvious conclusion is that the forefathers of Conn belonged to the Gamanraidhe.

Curiously enough our history as standardised by the O'Clerys and Keating lends definite confirmation to this inference. That history tells that the seed of Eremon was preserved from extinction by Tuathal Techtmar who, born in Alba—whither his mother had escaped from the massacre of Magh Cro in Breifne—came thence to Ireland, conquered and subjugated his enemies from end to end of the land, revived through his children the breed of Eremon, and restored the sunken fortunes of his house. Tuathal, says Keating, set out from Alba for Ireland, at the head of a large host; "and they put into port at Iorrus Domhnann, where they met Fiachaid Casan with his brother."* Fiacha and his brother were two guerilla desperadoes who had rallied the outlawed adherents of Tuathal's cause, and who, in anticipation of Tuathal's arrival, were ravaging the country on his behalf. Even O'Flaherty scouts the story of the pregnant queen's flight to Alba;† but the

* Vol. II, p. 245.

† "Ut iis placet, qui fabulam de Tuathalio filio in utero matris servato cuderunt" *Ogygia*, p. 302.

landing in Irros Domhnann, and the phenomenal victories subsequently achieved by Tuathal in a century of hard-fought battles, O'Flaherty duly narrates.

In the epic of Clann-Miled there is, perhaps, no more spectral personage than the Tuathal Techtmar of our historians; but the designers of the epic, I feel convinced, knew well what they were doing when they made Irros Domhnann the pivot and fulcrum of Tuathal's operations in Ireland. Tuathal stands in the family pedigree as the grandfather of Conn Ced-Chathach; and Tuathal's legend in itself would suffice to create the suspicion that Conn was cradled in Irros Domhnann.

The rôle accorded to Tuathal Techtmar in Irish history would furthermore suggest that a period of stress and strife, fomented by some earlier attempts of Conn's people to capture Tara, preceded the fall of Cathair Mor and his dynasty. Tuathal Techtmar figures as the foremost actor in the dramas arising out of the Magh Cro tragedy; and as the ruthless avenger of the massacre alleged to have been perpetrated by the Aithech Tuatha he plays in those dramas his most resplendent part. Among the so-called Aithech Tuatha are numbered many populations who were, for a certainty, not Aithech Tuatha in the time of Tuathal's grandson, the usurper Conn, or even in the time of Brian's grandfather, Muiredach Tirech. The Luaigni, for example, appear in the Aithech Tuatha register; but if the Luaigni had been enslaved by Tuathal Techtmar they could not have elevated Conn to the throne of Tara.

The much-reviled Cairbre Cinn Cait was, like Uirgriu, chief of the Luaigni,* and in virtue of being the holder of that proud office he ranked at court amongst the noblest in the land. Just as the prætorian guard of Rome shielded the throne of the Cæsars so did the Luaigni garrison Tara; and Cairbre, as their prefect, was consequently Warden of the hieratic stone, Fal, and of its royal officiators.† Finn MacCumhaill was military custodian of Tara under Cormac MacAirt, and Finn's social standing may be inferred from the fact that, twice in succession, the Ardri, Cormac, gave him a daughter in wedlock. Cairbre Cinn Cait himself, we have no reason to doubt, mounted the Tara throne; but, in all probability, he did so at a crisis when Tara's security was imperilled by insidious attempts at usurpation, and when, through failure of martial leadership among the dynastic family of the Laigin, a strong hand was needed at the State's helm. Cairbre gave convincing proof of being, in vigour and capacity for government, a born ruler of men; for he presided at Tara, untroubled by revolt or molestation, to the end of his days, and died peacefully in his bed.

* See *Coir Anmann (Irische Texte, III)*, p. 387.

† In this connection, it may be worth while to observe that the name Cairbre Cinn Cait appears among the notabilities of the Tuatha De Danann.

Though the Leinster stock are set down as Eremonians, and though we are told that the royal race of Eremon perished at Magh Cro, or Magh Bolg, in Breifne, with the exception of three unborn babes, no Leinster queen becomes visible among the fugitives from the scene of slaughter, nor have the Laigin nobles ever been brought into the nefarious plot, either as abettors or victims. In overlooking this important detail the fabricators of the story have betrayed the secret that Cairbre Cinn Cait—assuming that he did, in fact, resort to sanguinary and unscrupulous measures against Tara's assailants—was acting primarily on behalf of the Laigin. The discrepant allusions to the episode that are extant in our chronicles and sensational tales would indicate that more than one memorable feat of slaughter on a gigantic scale marked the closing stages of Laigin dominance at Tara. The fiction of a national banquet, dispensed by Erinn's serfs or vassal tribes, which Keating's disciples still set out as a reputable tenet of out proto-history, is of interest mainly as illustrating the incompetence of its constructors to forge an artistic or plausible substitute for the suppressed record of events. But there is no sufficient ground for depriving Magh Bolg in Breifne of participation in the fame, or infamy, which was left behind as a legacy by the copious bloodshed of that period, though the memory of the whole series of transactions is kept alive only by a vague and falsified report.

As general-in-chief of the Luaigni Cairbre Cinn Cait may be presumed to have had camps, or military residences, at various stations. And one of his principal outposts would, doubtless, have been planted at Magh Bolg; for, because of its distance from the Laigin territory, that region would have been more likely than any other to be used as an attacking base by conspirators who had designs on Tara. It was at the same side, apparently, Conn Ced Chathach entered Tara's demesne lands when he contended for the crown with Cathair Mor. An ancient tale informs us that, while Conn was *riġ-damhna*, or heir-apparent, he resided at Cenannas, or Kells.* Conn could not have fixed his quarters at Kells except by the favour, or with the consent, of the Luaigni chief, who was then, if not Uirgriu, probably Uirgriu's father. But, having sapped the loyalty of the Luaigni, Conn might have rested a while at Kells before he advanced to Magh Agha, or Tailtiu, for the final contest with Cathair Mor.† At all events, his appearance at Kells warrants the presumption that, when march-

* See *Fotha Catha Cnucha*, printed in Windisch's Irish Grammar, p. 136, and translated in Gaelic Journal, Vol. II. Sir James Ware says that Kells was known as "the key (or gate) of that side of Meath" (*Bishops*, p. 138).

† The institution of *riġ damhna* would seem not to have existed before the ninth century. See MacNeill's *Celtic Ireland*, p. 117. The so-called "battle of Tailtiu," in which the Clann Miled are said to have overthrown the Tuatha De, is, I believe, in its origin an anticipatory copy of this capture of Tailtiu by Conn. See *Journal*, Vol II, p. 359.

ing from Connacht, he came round by Breifne, and reached Meath *via* Magh Bolg.

Why should even Giolla Iosa MacFirbis have been loth to proclaim the descent of his people from the Gamanraide, albeit those people were a branch of Conn's family-tree? "This," vouches the *Tain Bo Flidais*, "was the third race of heroes in Ireland, viz., the Clann Gamanrad of Irros Domnann, and the other two were the Clann Dedad of Temair Luachra and the Clann Rudraige of Emain Macha."* The Gamanraide once on a time, supported by the champions of Breifne, held the forces of all Ireland at bay for seven murderous days, around Ailill Finn's palace in Irros Domnann. The great Conn himself, I doubt not, would have felt rather proud than ashamed of having sprung from the Gamanraide. But Conn cannot have belonged to the senior line of the Gamanraide, for he is unmentioned in the roll of Cruachan kings. In all likelihood Conn was a dashing young chief of the royal stock of Gamanraide, who, having gathered around him a strong company of free lances, made Tara, rather than Cruachan, the goal of his ambition. Possibly he, or his, had attempted rebellious ventures in the west before he planned the brilliant *coup* that gave him possession of Tara. Tuathal Techtmar, it is told, launched his triumphant campaigns by defeating and slaying Sanb Mac Cet Mic Magach at Dumha-Sealga in Magh-Ai. It is told further that he followed up this achievement by vanquishing the four sons of Trithem at Magh Slecht in Breifne, and by many other crushing defeats inflicted on his foes in Breifne, Umhall, Ceara, Aidhne, Badhgna, and Magh Luirg.† The part assigned to Sanb, son of Cet MacMagach, in this drama will not stand a chronological test, for Sanb must have died of old age—if not otherwise sent to his grave—years before the uprise of Tuathal Techtmar, as dated by O'Flaherty.

Having succeeded by some means or other to win the Luaigni to his side, Conn encountered and slew Cathair Mor, the last Laigin king of Tara, and founded on the famous citadel of Magh Breg a new dynasty, the stateliest and most durable that Tara has known. For some time past the doctrine has been gaining ground that Tara was a place of no political consequence before the establishment of the so called Milesian hegemony: that, in fact, the fabled supremacy of Tara is a myth of Gaelic invention which, in the words of Josef Baudis, was "intended to invest the seat of the parvenu conquerors with some of the splendour of antiquity." ‡

The nature of Tara's early kingship is undoubtedly obscure; but the position of Tara—a commanding natural mound standing

* See Leahy's *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, p. 120.

† *Ogygia*, p. 302; and MacFirbis, pp. 49, 50. O'Flaherty's Trithem is called Trichim by MacFirbis.

‡ *Eriu*, VIII, p. 102.

centrally within a spacious expanse of the richest champaign land in the British Islands—must surely have marked it out from our remotest beginnings as one of the most eligible sites in the country for a national centre of government. Monsieur Baudis, in the same paper, arrives at the conclusions, “(a) that before the coming of the Milesian race, Tara was anciently a place of importance, and (b) that the importance of the king of Tara was due to his priestly nature” ;* and he does so on the strength of certain statements contained in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* and in *De Shil Chonairi Moir*, two Heroic Tales of more ancient date than the Ulster *Tain Bo Cuailgne*. The second of these Tales tells of a stone called *Fal* which stood at the head of the chariot-course in Tara, and relates that “when a man should have the kingship of Tara, it (*Fal*) screeched against his chariot axle, so that all heard it.” This bit of information is accompanied by others of like import ; and the Tale wherein they are preserved belongs, not to the Ulster cycle, but to the still older Conaire, or Erainn, cycle.

The existence at Tara of a stone which was believed to manifest supernatural properties on occasions when the fitness of candidates for the office of kingship had to be determined may, therefore, be legitimately regarded as a genuine tradition of pre-Gaelic Ireland. Mons. Baudis holds, on the evidence, that the pre-Gaelic kingship of Tara was “in its origin a priestly kingship.” The “priest-kings” of M. Baudis would correspond quite well with the superior, semi-divine order of men who were known to Gaelic historians as the *Tuatha De Danann* ; and, for that reason, a certain passage contained in the oldest extant version of the *Leabhar Gabhala* would seem to have a particular relevancy at the present stage of our inquiry. The passage reads :—

“It was the *Tuatha De Danann* brought with them the Great *Fal*, i.e., the Stone of Knowledge which was in Tara, from which Ireland is called the Plain of *Fal*. He under whom it would cry out was the king of Ireland. *Cuchulinn* cleft it and it did not call out under him or under his fosterling, i.e., *Lugaid*, son of the three Fins of *Emain* ; not did the stone call out from that day to this, save under *Conn* alone. Its heart then burst out of it from Tara unto *Tailtiu*, so that is the heart of *Fal*.” †

The *Leabhar Gabhala* is the official charter of the Gaels—a composition having for *motif* the vindication of Gaelic dominance by endowing the dominators with an indisputable seniority in the decisive qualifications of age and racial distinction. The *modus operandi* of its construction consisted in utilising old fragments of tradition that were suited to the purpose in view, and in clothing them with a richly-wrought integument of fiction. It was not by the use of wholesale invention the lettered

* *Loc cit.*, p. 107.

† *Eriu*, VIII, p. 106.

Gaels constructed their national epics. They did not build these fabrics *in vacuo*, or evolve them solely from unreal products of the creative imagination. Had they attempted to do so they would have strained the credulity even of the new oligarchy whom they were seeking racially to exalt. Gathering up the tangled strands of existing tradition the fabricators readjusted and re-pleated them, interwove them with material of their own spinning, and decorated the web with an artificial embroidery which, by pandering to the family pride of their patrons, ensured in due time for the counterfeit tissue a lasting place in public credit and favour.

The methods of forgery used are well illustrated by the old fiction known as *Baile an Scail*, that is the Ecstasy (or Prophecy) of the Spectre.* The Heroic Tale *De Shil Chonaire Moir* relates that the two magical flagstones of Tara, Blocc and Bluigne, drew apart when they accepted a candidate for the high-kingship, so as to allow his chariot to go through, and that Fal, at the end of the drive, screeched against the chariot's axle. In *Baile an Scail* Blocc and Bluigne become the druids Bloc and Bluicne. Accompanied by three druids, of whom Bloc and Bluicne were two, Conn Ced-Chathach, it is told, ascended the hill of Temair at sunrise, and stood on a stone at its top. To his surprise "The stone screamed under his feet so as that it was heard all over Temair." † One of the druids in due course explained: "Fal is the name of the stone. It was out of the Island of Foal it was brought. It was in Temair of the Land of Fal it was set up. In the land of Tailltiu it shall abide for ever; and it is that land that shall be the sporting fair-green as long as there shall be sovereignty in Temair." Then appeared Scal (the Spectre) who revealed to Conn his coming sovereignty at Temair, and the sovereignty of each and all of Conn's descendants. They entered the house in Tara, and saw a young woman there with a diadem of gold upon her head. "And the maiden who was in the house before them was the sovereignty of Erinn for ever."

The *Bruiden Da Derga* is admittedly as old as—and in matter older than—any tale of the Ulster cycle; yet it has much to say of Tara, telling us among other things that a bull-feast was held there on the occasions when kings of Tara were elected. "Go to Tara to-night," said the seer Nemglan to Conaire, "tis fittest for thee. A bull-feast is there, and through it thou shalt be king." ‡

* This curious fragment is printed, with a translation, in O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, pp. 618—622; and by Kuno Meyer (without a translation) in *Zeitschrift f. Celt. Phil.* III, pp. 458 *et seq.*

† O'Curry's *Manuscript Materials*, p. 620. In his *Essay on Temair Breg* Prot. Macalister propounds the theory that "the 'Voice of Fal' was the sound made with the instrument well known to anthropologists as the bull-roarer." (*Proc. of R. I. Academy*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 344).

‡ The bull-feast ceremony at Tara is also mentioned in *Serglige Conchulaind*, one of the very oldest of the Ulster Tales,

Tara, no doubt, is assigned but a subordinate place in the Ulster sagas ; but, as Monsieur Josef Baudis points out, in these sagas " everything is regarded from a distinctly Ulster point of view." " Consequently," he adds, " they may have deliberately ignored the position of pre-historic Tara, because of the unacceptable claims of contemporary Tara."* The *Baile an Scail*, in telling us that " the stone screamed under his (Conn's) feet," conveys in poetic language a cardinal fact of the teaching of early Gaelic story-tellers, the fact, namely, that the sceptre of Tara, which the house of Labraidh Loingsech had long held, and which the house of Rudhraige Mor had violently coveted, then passed in perpetuity to Conn and his race.

Conn Ced-Chatach † was evidently as wily as he was brave. In him were blended the natural gifts of an Odysseus with those of an Achilles ; and policy had probably not less to do with establishing him at Tara than the achievements of his much be-lauded valour. But it behoves us to discount considerably the glowing tales which trumpet Conn's commanding potency in Erin. In all likelihood Conn's power at Tara was, constitutionally at all events, as restricted as the authority which Cairbre Niafer had there wielded during his troubled reign. While Conn sat at Tara another adventurous chief, Eoghan Mor by name, sprang up in the South, and by force of arms made himself for a period a co-partner of Conn in sovereignty over Erin. ‡

Conn and Eoghan, we are assured, divided Ireland between them ; and the assurance is well deserving of credit. But if by Ireland be meant in this connection effective ownership of Ireland's soil, and governmental control of Ireland's people, Conn and Eoghan assumed joint rights of appropriation which did not belong to them—rights, in fact, which they were never able to acquire. The Clann-Dedad, the Laigin, the Ulaid, and the Olneg-mact, still ruled in their respective Coiced, unshaken each and all by the designs and the pretensions of Eoghan and Conn. Eoghan's son, Oilill Olum, succeeded in attaining the head-regency of Munster, and the sway of the Clann-Dedad concurrently came to an end. But more than a century had to elapse, and four generations had to go by, before a prince of Conn's line took possession of Cruachan as king of Conn's native Coiced.

Though Conn must have been of royal blood, he was nevertheless essentially an upstart ; but when an upstart gets on top his social disabilities—the very audacity of his projects in the struggle for self-advancement—only add to his *eclat*, and heighten the pride of his family connections. The Clann Morna of the West, responding to Conn's summons, helped Uirgriu of the Luaigni Temrach to destroy Cumhall, father of Finn, at the battle

* *Erin*, VIII, p. 103.

† This epithet means, not " of the hundred fights," but " fighter of a hundred."

‡ See *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 179.

of Cnucha;* and, again, the Fir-Craibe king, Conall Cruachna, and his sons, as well as the Clann Morna, fought for Conn at Magh Leana on the day when his great rival, Eoghan Mor, was slain.† On receipt of Eoghan's demands at Conn's camp, "Conn," says the old Tale, "summoned his councillors about him to speak to him, namely, Conall and Goll, and the men of Cruachain, and the heroes of Magh Aoi."‡ The negotiations proved abortive, notwithstanding Conn's willingness to make most humiliating concessions to his adversary; and the dispute had eventually to be committed to the arbitrament of the sword. "It is certain," said Conall Cruachna, when heartening Conn before the decisive battle, "you shall have the generous protective hosts of Connacht with all their might on this occasion; for it is certain that every one of their nobles who is your senior, is a tutor to you; and every one who is younger than your age, of their children, are all foster-children to you; and all their champions who are of the same age with you, are all your fellow companions."§ But, still apprehensive of defeat, Conn, notwithstanding Conall's encouragement, offered to surrender Leath Chuinn to Eoghan, if left in possession of Tara and Connacht. "Let him leave me," he instructed the envoys who conveyed his peace proposals, "the province of Connacht unshared; and the territory of Teffia; and Tara with its profits; for by those I was fed since my birth."|| Eoghan Mor rejected these terms, and fell in consequence by the blows of Conn's foster-brothers from Connacht.

As the generations passed by the old tribes of the west ceased to be styled Olnegmact and became universally known as Connachta, or Conn's people. Under Conn's descendants the chiefs of these old tribes were subsequently shorn of their regal status, while the nobles and freemen were disfranchised and reduced to vassalage. But they had not to endure the ignominy of wholesale eviction or displacement. In the fifth century, when Maine Mor, great-great-grandson of Colla da Crich, usurped a vast principality west of the Shannon, Connacht was still in the hands of the Fir Bolg.¶

In mediæval times Fir Bolg communities abode around Sliabh Badgna and Sliabh Echtge, as vassal servitors of the O'Kelly overlord of Ui-Maine.** The *Cath Boinde* names the three chief divisions of the Olnegmact, Gamanraide, Dal n-Druithni and Fir-

* See *Macgnimartha Finn* in Ossianic Society's Transactions, V, p. 291.

† *Cath Muighe Leana*, p. 100 et seq.

‡ *Cath Muighe Leana*, p. 67. All the other "Councillors" mentioned belonged to Meath and Teffia.

§ *Ibidem*, p. 101.

|| *Ibidem*, p. 105.

¶ See Extract from the old-Irish Life of St. Grellan, printed by O'Donovan in the Introduction to his *Tribes and Customs of Hy Many*. The same Life (*Beatha Ghreallain*) has now been published in full by the Bollandists, in the fourth November volume of their *Acta Sanctorum*, pp. 488—495.

** See *Journal*, II, 170.

Craibe, and in so doing shows that the Dal n-Druithni were most probably the leading sept of the Tuatha Taidhen. In course of time the Dal n-Druithni sank to be the conveyers and custodians of the O'Kelly's wine.* It was Cormac MacAirt who initiated the displacements of the Olnegmact when he gave Corann to the Gailenga, or Luigni.† That large area, co-extensive with the present diocese of Achonry, had previously been peopled by the Fir Domhnann and the Gaileoin.‡

Though Conn Ced-Chathach doubtless secularised Tara the Fal Mor and the stones Blocc and Bluigne would nevertheless have remained objects of superstitious awe and reverence until St. Patrick preached before King Laegaire. Conn, like Henry of Navarre—Henri Quatre of France—raised himself by daring deeds to the monarchic summit of his ambition. And, just as Henry the Fourth's lustre pales in contrast with that of his grandson, Louis XIV, the most eminent of the Bourbons, so is Conn's fame eclipsed by the loftier and more sterling distinction of his able grandson, Cormac MacAirt, the real architect of Gaelic supremacy in Ireland. Skilled in the arts of handling his fellow-countrymen, Cormac dazzled their imaginations by the profuseness of his liberality, and conciliated their wayward tempers by an equally lavish hospitality. "Cormac," says the Preface to an ancient poem on Tara,§ "gave presents to one thousand persons each day, besides poets and musicians, in gold and silver, and chariots and horses and garments." ||

The magnificence of the banquets and ceremonial assemblies over which Cormac presided invested Tara with a splendour which was never rivalled either in its previous or its subsequent history. Unfortunately for Tara, economic laws were as stringently operative in ancient Ireland, though perhaps not so well understood or so closely studied, as they are to-day; and economic principles will not sanction indefinitely the expenditure needed for festivities of frequent recurrence, when enlarged to a national scale.¶ The sumptuary prestige of Tara naturally declined after the reign of Cormac, for Cormac's successors were evidently

* "The Dal Druithni have the carrying of the wine from the harbours of the west of Connaught to the seats of the arch-chief." (*Tribes and Customs of Hy Many*, p. 91).

† These were an entirely different people from the Luaigni, one being—"People of Loch" (father of Dela), and the other—"People of Lugh."

‡ "Has regiones et Corannæ partem, a Camnoniis et Galeniis catenus inessas legimus." *Ogygia*, p. 334. O'Flaherty latinises Gaileoin as Galenii, while the C of Camnonii is here obviously a misprint for D.

§ Printed in Petrie's Essay on Tara Hill (*Transactions of R. I. Academy*, Vol. XVIII).

|| *Ibidem*, p. 199.

¶ *Teste* Keating, who writes: "About this time Cormac, son of Art, king of Ireland, felt a scarcity of meat, having spent the rents of the Provinces because of the extent of his household staff" (Vol. II, p. 319). Keating's source was *Forbuis Droma Damhghaire*, now published in *Revue Celtique* for 1926. (See pp. 12—14.)

unable to maintain the costly standard of the precedents which he had set in the entertainment of his guests at state functions. Hence we read that the banqueting hall of King Laegaire at Tara was but one-third of the extent of the celebrated hall of Cormac.* Niall Naoi-Ghiallach, the same document tells us, visited Tara thrice, and thrice in succession took there the hostages of Ireland. Niall, it is to be feared, neglected the affairs of Ireland, and concentrated his activities on foreign expeditions, whence he generally returned with rich cargoes of gold, silver, and other valuables, as well as with shiploads of captives to be sold far and wide into slavery. He was probably seen at Tara only on the occasions when he went there in regal state to hold the *Feis*,

Though the poets repaid Cormac's munificence by enshrining his name in eulogistic verse, and abstained from censuring his extravagance, it is far from unlikely, nevertheless, that the bounteous and much-applauded monarch overstrained the resources of Tara's treasury. Yet we should not on that account credit him with wilful or reckless improvidence, for in the moulding of Cormac's measures and designs a far-seeing statesmanship invariably cooperated. As representing the primitive type of kingship that endured under the Gaelic constitution Cormac would compare much less suitably with a Bourbon or a Tudor sovereign than with the early French kings of the house of Hugh Capet—sceptred figure-heads who looked up to, rather than down upon, the more powerful dukes and counts of their own ill-compacted realm. In Connacht, Ulster, Leinster and Munster he enjoyed no administrative rights of government. In actual fact Fiachu Muillethan, king of Munster,† both defied Cormac, and signally defeated him in a battle which, after full preparation at both sides, was fought as a deliberate trial of strength. On another occasion the Ulaid rose out in strong force against Cormac, exacted hostages from him, and made him fly for protection to the Connachta.‡

Distrusting the Luaigni Cormac chose for his military arm the Fianna of Finn MacCumhaill; and as a counterpoise to the schemes of the turbulent Luaigni he surrounded Tara with settlements of his own kinsfolk, the western Gailenga and Luigni.§ The baronies of Lune (Luigni) and Morgallion (Gailenga Mor) in Meath retain the names of two of those transplanted colonies. The endowment lands of the Gailenga Mor, there is much reason to surmise, were selected with the view of warding off assaults on Tara from the Breifne side, by barricading the gateway through which Conn Ced-Chathach would seem to have effected entrance

* Petrie's *Tara Hill*, p. 197.

† There was then but one Munster kingdom, the two Munster crowns having been united by Fiachu's grandfather, Oilill Olum.

‡ Keating, III, 363. Tigernach, in *Rev. Celt.* XVII, p. 16.

§ See *Ogygia*, III, Chap. 69.

when he marched round from Connacht to measure swords with Cathair Mor. Those Gailenga lands stretched north beyond the present limits of Meath, and extended through the barony of Clankee to Sliabh Guaire, near Cavan town.* As thus placed, the Gailenga owned the ill-famed Magh Bolg, a danger spot that was long and bitterly execrated by Conn's race.

The Gailenga wing of County Cavan overlapped the descendants of the old Ernai, from whom the Breslenn champions of Breifne may be presumed to have sprung. These Ernai, without a doubt, had an oppidum at, or near, Cavan; and the particular seat, most likely, was their headquarters east of the Erne. The old gloss of the *Felire* of Oengus names the same oppidum Ernaide, and describes it as being in "Sliabh Guaire of Gailenga." † *Ernaide*, it should be noted, had become a long-established place-name of Sliabh Guaire before the district got absorbed into Gailenga; but chronological inversions of the kind exemplified in this note, though calculated to mislead unwary students of our early topography, are sometimes difficult to avoid.

The same name-word, Ernaide, adhered with equal tenacity to a fertile district between the rivers Finn and Derg, where Ernai chiefs once held sway, ruling from a dun situated near the northern frontier of their territory. The Annals of Ulster record (496 A.D.): "The rest (death) of Cormac, bishop of Armagh, successor of Patrick." A scribal annotator explained, in the margin of the manuscript: "Epscop Cormac Crich-in-Ernaidhe." The Four Masters style the same comharb-bishop "Corbmac a Chrich in Ernaidhe"; and O'Donovan, who correctly renders the epithet, "Cormac of Crioeh-an Earnaide," elucidates thus—"i.e., the territory of the Oratory or little Church."

The Crich-an-Earnaide in question corresponds, in so far as it is traceable, to the parish of Urney, near Ardstraw, lying west of the river Mourne in the County Tyrone and stretching into the barony of Raphoe in Donegal—a parish which comprises upwards of 14,500 acres. ‡ *Prima facie* the explanation that would derive the title of such an extensive land-area from an "oratory or little church" is clearly undeserving of credit. The Irish word Urnaidhe, or Ornaidhe, meaning *oratorium*, survives all over

* See Stokes's *Calendar of Oengus*, p. 156. Sliabh Guaire was a pretty extensive district, including apparently the hilly core of the barony of Upper Loughtee.

† "ocus ernaide nomen civitatis ejus hisleib guaire hingailengaib" (*loco citato*). In describing Goiraidh Ua Raghallaigh, king of East Breifne in the 12th century, as "king of Machaire Gaileng," and Donuchadh, son of Art an Cailleac (Art the Cock) Ua Ruairc, king of Breifne in the 11th century, as "king of Connacht and Gaileng," the monastic conveyancers who drew the Irish Charters of the Book of Kells seemingly regarded Gailenga of Co. Cavan as politically synonymous with East Breifne. (See *Irish Archaeological Miscellany*, Vol. I, pp. 128—131.)

‡ This Urney parish has nearly double the extent of the Urney parish in Cavan. (See Lewis's *Topog. Dictionary*).

Ireland, in the dual forms *Urney* and *Nurney*, used as place-names denoting localities associated with the sites of early oratories.* But the localities so denoted, though some of them have in modern times been formed into parishes for purely ecclesiastical purposes, are invariably of limited or inconsiderable extent. Of the ancient, or *civil*, parishes enumerated in Irish diocesan records two, and two only, bear the name *Urney*. One of these comprehends the present town of Cavan, and the other lies in Tyrone and Donegal, around an axial line running from Strabane to Castlederg.

Just as obscurity has been cast on folk-names by the practice of prefixing *Fir* to primary appellatives, so in like manner has the use of *Crich* as a topical *prænomen* tended, not infrequently, to embarrass the proper understanding of our topographical nomenclature. As thus employed the symbol *crich* may help us in determining the age of a document, for its introduction did not begin before the early mediæval period of our literature. The term *Mughdornai*, for example, served in early writings to denote, primarily, the descendants of Colla da Menn as well as, secondarily, the territory occupied by the sum total of their family branches.† The Annalists convert the territorial designation into *Crich Mughdorna*: and the compound word survives as the name (Cremorne) of a barony in Co. Monaghan. But the Cremorne barony is only a fraction of the original kingdom of the Mughdornai. Similarly, the *Crich in Ernaidhe* of the Four Masters, spacious though its extent is shown to have been by the extant, yet doubtless much diminished, area of the corresponding parish of Urney, was but an insignificant fragment of the patrimony of the long-submerged Ernai of Breifne.

Tignach lifts this reasoning well above the level of mere speculation, and bases it on firm testamentary ground, by his record of the *obit* of Bishop Cormac to wit: "Epscop Cormac in Ernide; comarba Patric, pausavit."‡ Would the staunchest confider in O'Donovan have the temerity to plead that a successor of St. Patrick in the primatial see of Armagh might have been known to his contemporaries as "Cormac of the Oratory," even could it be shown that a little shrine did actually exist in the border district near the Foyle, which is acknowledged to have been Bishop Cormac's birth-place? Father John Colgan hits the mark unerringly in this instance, by describing Bishop Cormac

* See Joyce's *Place Names*, I, 321.

† See Genealogical Table, *sub finem*. So, too, *Laigin* and *Ulaid* stood, respectively, for Leinster and Ulster (as well as for the ruling nations of those Coicedes) ere the new-tangled designations *Crich Laigen* and *Crich Ulad* were invented.

‡ O'Conor's *Rerum Hib. Script.*, II, 125. *Revue Celtique*, XVII, 123. Dr. O'Conor, evidently taking the *in* of *Ernide* to be an *m*, and said *m* to be an abbreviated *mac*, latinises the name, "Cormacus filius Ernide" i.e., "Cormac, son of Ernid." The Bk. of Leinster describes this Comharb as "primus abbas de Chlaind Chernaig."

as "de regione Ernaidhe." * Ernaidhe was a *region*, or—like the Ernaidhe of Gailenga in Cavan—a *civitas*, that is to say, a little territory owned by a separate civic community. Two patches of the dominion of Ptolemy's Erdini, it is thus seen, retained unmistakably in the fifth and sixth centuries the native designation of that long-forgotten people who, in olden times, colonised the basin of the Erne, maintaining contact at one side with the Voluntii (Ulaid) of Emain Macha, at another with the Nagnatæ (Ol n-Egmact) of Cruachan and Irros Domnann, and at a third with the Vennicnii of the Donegal highlands and coast †—a people who, if I do not mistake in my diagnosis of their identity, played a notable part in the early history of our country. ‡

Seeing that the Ernai who dwelt north of the Erne had a royal station near Strabane they must have occupied a considerable part of the present County Tyrone, as well as a marginal tract of Donegal. These Ernai would seem to have got politically fused with the Ulaid some centuries before the Collas drove the two populations together east of the Bann and Glenn Righe rivers; § for in *Cath Airtig* it is told that, when Cuscraid, son of Conor MacNessa, was dividing his lands he gave the country near Loch Erne to his brother Maine. ||

Cormac MacAirt and his house, as has been seen, relied mainly on Connacht in their seasons of peril, and, when in distress, turned always to Connacht as their safest refuge. Eventually Cormac's great-grandson, Muiredach Tirech (Muiredach the Land-grabber) assumed the kingship of Connacht, and transmitted that dignity to his son, Eochaid Muighmeadhon. This usurpation it was, and not the vindictive measures attributed to the surreptitious Tuathal Techtmar, that inaugurated the depression of the Olnegmact populations to the status of Aitech Tuatha. In Connacht the prolific progeny of Eochaid Muighmeadhon had to be accommodated with lands in their own right; and for the princelings of every generation new confiscations had consequently to be enforced until the lordships thus carved out practically covered the whole of Coiced Olnegmact.

Eochaid Muighmeadhon's spouse was Mongfinn, a princess of the house of Eoghan Mor; and by her Eochaid begot four sons,

* *Acta Sanct. Hib.*, I, 359. Canon O'Hanlon (*Lives of the Saints*, II, p. 601) suggests, not too sapiently, that *Crich an Ernidhe* "may be a corruption of *Crioch Leoghaire*." This inept suggestion seems to have been prompted by the hagiologists who make Cormac a son of Prince Enda, and, therefore, a nephew of King Lægaire. Enda's usurped lordship was the present barony of Raphoe, a corner of which is included in the parish of Urney.

† See *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 77.

‡ I mean the Fomoraiigh. I have worked out this thesis in a Paper contributed to the forthcoming issue of the *Galway Historical Journal*.

§ Fiatach Finn, progenitor of the Dal Fiatach, was presumably a hereditary chief of the same (Northern) Ernai. See *Journal*, Vol. II, pp. 185-6.

|| *Eriu*, VIII, p. 174.

Brian, Fiachra, Ailill and Fergus. From Brian, the eldest of the family, descended the various stocks of Ui-Briuin. But to Eochaid another, and a still younger, son was borne by Cairenn Casdubh, a bondmaid of royal parentage, whom he had brought home as a captive from one of his raids to Britain.* Of Cairenn's boy the king-poet Cuan Ua Lothchain relates: "Yellow as standard gold refined was the splendour of the noble locks of Nial Mac-Echdach."† As Niall Naoi n-Ghiallach that golden-haired youth subsequently surpassed all his forefathers in renown; and at Tara he received hostages not alone from the five subordinate kings of Erin, but likewise from four tributary kings of Alba. Brian, being the first-born of the family, should have inherited the crown of Tara; but Niall's dashing qualities and commanding personality so captivated his father and the nobles of Erin that, overlooking both his baseness of birth and his immaturity in years, they chose him for crown-prince.

Magnanimous by nature Niall, on attaining the sovereignty, made Brian his chief legate in war and delegated to him the kingship of Connacht.‡ But Fiachra, and his son Nathi, or Dathi, being smitten with jealousy because of his preferment, rose out against Brian; and he fell in a battle fought near Headford in County Galway.§ Of Brian's twenty-four sons the youngest, Dui Galach,|| was his especial favourite; and this Dui held the sceptre of Connacht for nineteen years¶ until he was slain in battle under the Curliu mountains. Dui Galach was a contemporary and a convert of St. Patrick; and he it was who gave land, near Ballinasloe, to the Apostle's disciple, St. Grellan.° for the monastery which became the ecclesiastical capital of Ui-Maine. With one exception the sons of Brian, it is said, received baptism from St. Patrick;∴ and aided his evangelising labours in the west. To Dui Galach belongs the distinction of having been Connacht's first Christian king,** though his predecessor, Amal-

* See *Ectra mac Echdach Mugmedoin* (in *Eriu*, Vol. IV), p. 93.

† *Ibid.*, p. 95. This evidence shows that Niall was, anthropologically, of the true Wiro type.

‡ See *Aided Crimhainn Meic Fidaig*, translated by S. H. O'Grady in *Silva Gadelica*, II, p. 375.

§ The battle of Damhcluain. See O'Donovan's *Hy-Fiachrach*, p. 95; and, for fuller particulars, *Silva Gadelica*, I, 333, and *Zeit f. Celt. Phil.* XIV, 253.

|| Commonly styled Duach Galach. *Duach* is the genitive of *Dui*.

¶ See Bk. of Leinster list of Connacht kings, at p. 41 of facsimile copy.

° See *Beathach Ghrallain*, in *AA.SS. Bollandiana* (1925), at p. 490; and extract from Irish Life of St. Grellan in O'Donovan's *Hy Many*, p. 8.

∴ See *S. Benigni Vita Gadelica*, in *AA.SS. Bollandiana* (1925), pp. 175, 176; and Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*, p. 207 (*Vita Benigni*).

** Keating amplifies the hagiologist by relating that St. Patrick with twelve bishops attended at Dui's inauguration as king of Connacht.

gaidh—the great Dathi's brother—is sometimes credited with the honour*.

Amalgaid died in 440, "the first king of Connacht *after the faith*" † and it may be taken as certain that Dui did not succeed him immediately; for Ailill Molt, Dathi's son, is invariably numbered among the kings of Connacht. But Dui, at all events, was the first king whom the Clann Briain, or Ui-Briuin, gave to Connacht; and had he not been both *galach* (valorous) and *garg* (fierce), as the Book of Ballymote ‡ attests, his chances of snatching the kingship from Fiachra's line would have been slight indeed. The prestige of Dathi and of Ailill Molt, both of whom attained the monarchic dignity §, ensured for the Clann Fiachrach, as against the Clann Briain, a decided advantage at the start in the struggle for supremacy in Connacht. For upwards of three centuries the Clann-Fiachrach, though sometimes displaced or hard pressed, succeeded in maintaining the lead; and then again, in the eighth century, they pushed to the front for a brief period, before finally succumbing to the Ui-Briuin. But from about the year 790 onwards the descendants of Brian enjoyed unchallenged hegemony in Connacht.

The offspring of every son of Brian had the right to be accounted members of the Ui-Briuin *gens*. But of Brian's twenty-four sons some passed away childless, while the posterity transmitted by many more disappeared in a few generations. From his son Conall Orisen sprang the Ui-Briuin Umhaill, whose chiefs were the O'Malleys. From Conall Glu came the Ui-Briuin na Sinna (of the Shannon), who had the O'Monahans and the O'Beirnes for reguli. The Ui-Briuin Ratha, who issued from another son of Brian, occupied seats near Clare-Galway, under O'Dalaigh and O'Callanan lordlings. But these were only side rills as compared with the great central stream of Ui-Briuin, that flowed from Dui Galach as its originating source. Dui's son, Eoghan Sremh, figures in the Book of Ballymote among the kings of Connacht; ||

* See e.g. O'Donovan's Note to F. Masters, *sub. anno 449*. The authorities cited by O'Donovan at p. 310 of his *Hy Fiachrach* would only prove that Amalgaid's seven sons were converted by St. Patrick; while the *Tripartite Life* would imply that Amalgaid himself was not then living. MacFirbis (*ibidem*) says, somewhat ambiguously, that Amalgaid "believed on St. Patrick" ("do chred do Naomh Padraig"). † *Chronicon Scotorum*.

‡ See, at p. 58, a poem on the Christian Kings of Connacht.

§ Clann Fiachrach poets also reckoned Dathi's brothers, Erc Culbuidhe and Amalgaid, among Erin's high-kings. (See *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 93.) The inconsistencies which all our regnal lists, both major and minor, present are the natural result of rivalries for headship among the leading families, from top to bottom of the political order, for the lists were composed by poets and chroniclers steeped in the prejudices of the particular families to whom they were severally attached.

|| He is not in the Bk. of Leinster list, the explanation being, no doubt, that he was unacknowledged by the Clann Fiachrach. Ui-Briuin inspiration is still more patently betrayed by the fragmentary codex of "Tigernach," which, while ignoring Niall, instals Brian as high-king for nine years. (See *Revue Celtique* XVII, p. 389.)

but neither Eoghan's son Muiredhach Mal, nor his grandson Fergus, attained the provincial suzerainty. Fergus, however, begot three sons, Dui Tengumha, Eochaid Tirmcharna, and Fergna, who were all men of uncommon note and, as events proved, served as pillar-props whereon to rest the fabric of Ui-Briuin dominance in Connacht that subsequently rose to towering height. Notwithstanding the opposition of Clann Fiachrach, Dui Tengumha and Eochaid Tirmcharna acquired in turn the headship of Connacht; while Fergna extended the family's influence by seizing a new lordship in Breifne.

Fergna was the progenitor of the Ui-Briuin of Breifne; and from him that branch of the Ui-Briuin took the appellation Clann-Fergna.* As alternatively entitled after Fergna's son, Aedh Finn, the same people were known by the name Sil Aedha Finn.† Aed Finn makes some appearances in the records of his time. Thus, in the Life of St. Berach of Tarmonbarry, he is seen acting, at the instance of Aedh, king of Connacht (son of Eochaid Tirmcharna), and in association with Aedh, king of Teffia, as arbitrator in an important suit brought by the saint; ‡ and again, in the *Imtheacht na Tromdhaimhe* ("Proceedings of the Great Assembly") Aedh Finn comes prominently to view as the patron of Dallan Forgaill, and the jealous rival of Aedh Dubh, king of Airghialla.§ No dates can be assigned for Aedh's regnal term in Breifne; but he apparently enjoyed a long reign, and we may infer from the data here given that he survived until late in the sixth century.

Through Fergus's sons the infant stream of Ui-Briuin nobility branched into three vigorous currents that speedily overflowed and submerged many of the decaying Olnegmact populations. The multiplying Clann Fergna divided and sub-divided into numerous septs, of which the chief were the O'Ruaircs and the O'Raghallaighs. The descendants of Dui Tengumha settled in Magh Seola, east of Lough Corrib, in two major family-groups, under the chieftaincy of the O'Flahertys. But it was from Eochaid Tirmcharna issued the premier stock of Ui-Briuin, namely, the Sil-Muiredhaigh O'Conors, and their offshoots, the Clann Cathail O'Flanagans, the Clann-Maolruanaidh Mac-Dermots and MacDonoghs, as well as various other families of the Gaelic aristocracy of the west. Having beaten down the Ui-Fiachrach, north and south, before the end of the eighth century the breed of Dui Galach held universal sway in Connacht as its paramount lords from that date until the advent of the Anglo-Norman De Burghs.

* *Book of Fenagh*, p. 281. Giolla Iosa Mor MacFirbis (*Hy Fiachrach*, p. 178) calls them "Sil Fheargna, na fir a tuaid," i.e., "Seed of Fergna, the men of the north."

† *Ibidem*, p. 82.

‡ See *Vita Sancti Berachi* in Plummer's *Vitæ Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, II, pp. 81-3.

§ Ossianic Society's Publications, Vol. V.

When were the Ui-Briuin first introduced to Breifne? Some are apt to assume that the racial seed was planted there by the ancestral Brian himself ;* but this assumption is unwarranted and untenable. If Brian had migrated to Breifne, and there settled down, his offspring could never have competed with the powerful house of Dathi for the sovereignty of Connacht. The brothers Dui Tengumha and Eochaid Tirmcharna could not possibly have wrested the headship of Connacht from the martial progeny of Ailill Molt, nurtured from boyhood on expectations of the ardriship, had distant Breifne been their birth-place and domicile. The residential seat of Fergus and of his three worthy sons was evidently in the west ; and their patrimony, as might easily be shown, was the territory of the ancient Tuatha Taidhen in Galway and Roscommon. It was there consequently Fergna, the junior member of the family, must have grown to man's estate.

Both the historical and the saga literature testify that, after Brian's death, predominance in Connacht passed to the family of his brother, Fiachra Foltsnathach.† The rebellious Fiachra, it is told, appropriated all north-west Connacht, even during Brian's life-time, leaving to Brian and his 24 sons only the south-eastern half of the Coiced.‡ When St. Patrick preached in the west he found Brian's children dwelling, not in Breifne—not even in Mayo or Sligo—but in Roscommon and Galway.§ While the ascendancy of Fiachra's line lasted no dream of expansion in northern directions would have been realisable by the progeny of Brian ; and all extant evidence negatives the supposition that they effected any push of the kind.

During the fifth century Tara's sceptre was shared between the families of Fiachra, Niall's brother, and of Laegaire, Niall's son. The order of succession was : 1, Niall ; 2, Dathi, son of Fiachra ; 3, Laegaire, son of Niall ; 4, Oilill Molt, son of Dathi ; 5, Lugaid, son of Laegaire. Closely watching events, the household of Eoghan meanwhile gathered strength in the north ; and then, when the hour for action arrived, Eoghan's grandson, Muircertach Mac Erca, " Hector of the Ui-Neill,"¶ stepped to the front, and seized the sovereignty of Erin. The vacancy was created in 508 by the death of Lugaid who, like his unredeemed father, was killed by a thunderbolt, " after he had renounced the Tailchenn," that is, St. Patrick.¶¶ The seed of Laegaire thenceforth generated only Meath princelings. But the race of Dathi and

* *Phases of Irish History* (MacNeill), p. 129 ; *History of the Irish State* (A. S. Green), pp. 53-4.

† In these genealogies two Fiachras are to be distinguished, one from another, viz., Fiachra Foltsnathach, Dathi's father—i.e., Brian's brother—and Fiachra Elgach, Dathi's son, from whom came the MacFirbisigh.

‡ See, e.g. the Tale *Eachtra Chonaill Gulbain* in *Zeit fur Celt. Phil.*, XIV (at p. 225).

§ See *Trip. Life* I, 107 ; II, p. 319 ; and *AA. SS. Bolland*, loc. cit.

¶ See O'Donovan's Note to *Four Masters*, sub anno 504.

¶¶ Tigernach,

Oilill Molt still maintained a station in the west whose power was a restraining curb on the Ui-Briuin, and a standing menace to Ui-Neill dominance in Tara. To the overthrow of that race Ailech's war-lords resolutely bent their energies, and eventually the cherished purpose was accomplished by the brothers Fergus and Domnall, two invincible sons of Murcertach MacErcá. It was these young lions of battle who defeated and slew, first, Oilill Molt's grandson, Eoghan Bel, near Sligo in 546, and, secondly, Eoghan Bel's son, Oilill Inbanda, at Cuil Chonaire in 549. Fergus and Domnall, in the sequel, reigned jointly over Erin; and to them and their father the distinction belongs of having founded the splendid dynasty of Cinel Eoghain high-kings.

Crushed down by the two overwhelming disasters the descendants of Dathi had to cede overlordship in Connacht to the descendants of Brian, and Dui Teuguma, son of Fergus, mounted the Connacht throne. The colonising ambitions of the Ui-Briuin, being no longer held under check, were thus free to operate; and it was at this auspicious juncture Dui's brother, Fergna, migrated to Breifne. The transformation of Breifne into Ui-Briuin Breifne dates from the northward migration of Fergna and his attendant retinue of prospectors; and that migration may safely be referred to the middle of the sixth century.

If we set side by side the political maps of Connacht as sketched, respectively, for the second or third century, and for the seventh century of our era, we shall be able to perceive at a glance the true meaning of the suppressions and the enslavements of old population-groups which the orthodox historians of the Gaels have ascribed to Tuathal Techtmar. The Tract on the Aithech Tuatha, for example, relates that Tuathal, when he had vanquished the pre-Gaelic inhabitants in every quarter of Ireland, imposed the yoke of servitude on them, and distributed them throughout the country as rent-payers, in forty-six penal colonies. Among the number is scheduled: "Tuath Fer Domnann in the country of Ceara, and in Ui Amalgad, and in Ui Fiachrach north, from the river Rodb to the river Congnach, in Carpri of Drom Cliabh."§ An uninstructed reader would naturally gather from this circumstantial statement that the Fir Domnann were transported, some to the Ui-Amalgaid country, some to that of the northern Ui-Fiachrach, some to the Ui Cairpri lands around Drumcliff. Every reasonably informed student of our history knows that the Ui-Cairpri of Drumcliff were brought into being by Cairpre, a son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, that the Ui-Fiachrach were non-existent before the time of Fiachra, Brian's brother; and that the Ui-Amalgaid owed their genesis to Amalgaid, a brother of Dathi.

In the same document we read, "Tuath Masraighe on Magh

§ O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*, I, p. 29.

Sleacht in Ui-Briuin Breifne” ; and from it we learn, *inter alia*, that tuaths of the Mic Umor (Children of Umor) were planted among the Ui Briuin of Magh Seola and among the Ui-Briuin of Umhall. Conditions of slavery cannot be enforced on a convict settlement unless slave-masters are set over it in sufficient number to repress every symptom of mutiny and of insurgence. The Gaels did not police, or regimentalise, subject states according to the methods devised by Roman consuls, and ever since universally applied by European governments. Having overcome a victim community the encroaching party of Gaels appropriated the territory, compelled the dispossessed population to yield them rent and service, and beat down sporadic outbreaks of resistance with a strong hand. In the nature of things a *tuath* of serfs could not have subsisted, as such, if not subordinated to an executive of territorial superiors. Where, throughout the whole length and breadth of Ireland, is any trace discoverable of a ruling aristocracy descended from Tuathal Techtmar, other than the flourishing family-groups that were comprehended in the race of Conn ?

The Masraighe were autonomous in Magh Sleacht in 464, when they raided Meath and slew Conall Gulban ;* nor did their hereditary franchises suffer impairment until the Ui-Briuin Clann-Fergna entered their lands. The Gamanraide similarly remained lords of Iros Domnann until they were dispossessed in Tíreragh (Tír Fhiachrach) by Fiachra, brother of Niall,† in Tirawley (Tír-Amhalghaidh) by Amalgaid, brother of Dathi, in Carbury of Drumcliff (Cairpre Droma Cliabh) by Cairbre, son of Niall, in Tirerrill (Tír Ailello) by Ailill, another brother of Niall and of Brian. So, too, were the offspring of Umor undisturbed in Magh Seola, and in Umhall, until two sons of Brian captured their patrimonies and converted them into two Ui-Briuin estates. Thus were the ancient Olnegmact and the folk-groups of Breifne brought piecemeal under the sway of the Ui-Briuin, the Ui-Fiachrach, and the Clann Neill.

Throughout the greater part of Leath-Chuinn (Conn's Half) the same process of proprietorial replacement was repeated ; while in Munster the Clann Degaid, or Ernai, sank in like manner under the descendants of Eoghan Mor. It was not the so-called Aithech-Tuatha who were “distributed” in the course of this revolution. The dispersal appertained only to the Connachta and the Eoghanacta, who spread themselves as dynasts over the existing population-groups, shattered the old orders of nobility, and by means of close-knit family federations acquired an enduring ascendancy in the commonwealth. Conn and Eoghan were the founders of Gaelic Ireland, the progenitors of the stocks who, in a transcendent degree, constituted “the noble Gael.” Eoghan

* See *Book of Fenagh*, pp. 89 and 139.

† Ceara (Carra barony in Mayo) was part of this kingdom before the decline of the Ui-Fiachrach.

and Conn were the realities by the imaging of whom our epic romancers evolved the *simulacra*, Eber and Eremon, "sons of Mil of Spain."

Tuathal Techtmar, just as distinctly as Mil or Eremon, is a figment of bardic history.* The forgers of Tuathal's saga betray themselves irremediably by overlooking a detail of cardinal importance. While allocating the serfs to their several habitats, they leave the deported colonies to their own resources for three centuries, until task-masters are bred for them in the era of Ireland's emancipation from the bonds of paganism. Among the folk-appellations of these taskmasters the name of Tuathal Techtmar is nowhere to be seen. Indeed the fabulist who first conceived the spurious Tuathal, and assigned him his rôle in history, wantonly, yet foolishly, libelled the repute of the Olnegmact warriors from whom the Clann-Chuinn themselves sprang, as well as the character of all the hero-breeds of ancient Ireland; for who would believe for one moment that the sturdy fighting-men of Erin's five Coicedes, among whom still flourished the races of Cet Mac Magach and of Curoi MacDaire, could have been hammered into servitude from end to end of the land by a single horde of volunteer filibusters from Alba, led by a prince who was barely grown to manhood?

During the century or two when the Clann-Chuinn—i.e., the Clann Colla, the Clann-Neill and the Ui-Briuin—were expanding most rapidly Leath Chuinn must inevitably have been convulsed with many outbreaks of insurrectionary strife. It is not to be supposed that the Gamanraide of Irros Domnann all at once subsided meekly under the heels of the usurping Ui-Fiachrach and Ui-Amalgaidh, or that the sturdy Fir Craibe of Aidne submitted without a blow to the southern Ui-Fiachrach, or that the *Sen-tuatha* of Breifne—the Masraighe, the Catraighe, the Glasraighe, and their less-known associates in occupation—timidly surrendered, or vacated, their strongholds and fastnesses at the approach of the Ui-Briuin. Being utterly destitute of cohesion, and too witless to band themselves together in a combined effort of resistance, the old populations were crushed to impotence, one by one, during the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries; but there can be no doubt whatever that the era of racial aggrandisement which witnessed their subjugation was ensanguined by much bloodshed, the concomitant of armed exertions, widespread and obstinate, which the petty states made, first, to defend themselves against aggression, and afterwards to shake off the yoke of thralldom.

Numbers of the local conflicts which then disrupted the national concord were, doubtless, well remembered in after years; and,

* I do not mean to deny the possible *existence*, among Conn's forefathers, of a chief so named. My contention is that no forefather of Conn had act or part in the wholesale enslavement of the "Aithech Tuatha."

when viewed in retrospect, the fights and disorders of the entire period would naturally have clumped themselves in the recollection of the victors into one lurid set of experiences that imperilled the initial stages of their development. Herein, I suspect, lies the explanation of the long catalogue of "battles," said to have been fought and won by Tuathal Techtmar. O'Flaherty credits Tuathal with the slaying, single-handed, of the four sons of Trithem, a Breifne magnate, at Magh Sleacht, and also with the bringing down of many other Olnegmact chieftains in contests fought in Umhall, Breifne, Ceara, and Cruachan-Aigle.* Trithem, or Trichim,† and his sons were, no doubt, representatives by blood of the long defunct Breslenn knighthood of Breifne. We are under no obligation to reject the tradition that Trichim's sons were slain while defending Breifne at Magh Sleacht; but the occurrence, when its historic bearings are considered, will correlate, in point of time, rather with the epoch of Fergna's incursion than with the century to which the apocryphal Tuathal has been assigned.‡

It is not improbable that the engagement which Keating § calls "the battle of Cluain Muirisc in the north of Breifne," wherein the prehistoric Tighernmas is given the victory, was fought at, or about, the same period; but Keating, I fear, is mistaken in the location to which he refers this particular battle-site. Muireisc was a well-known region in Coiced Olnegmact, and a region which the Gamanraide had good reason to cherish. Mata of Muireisc, Cet's mother, is shown by her name to have been a native of that old Domnandaigh seat, lying centrally along the sea-coast in the territory which, when lost to the Gamanraide, became known as Tir Fhiachrach, or Tিরeragh.¶ But it must be acknowledged that the best Gaelic antiquaries, misled perhaps by traditions descending from the time of Ailill Finn, when the Gamanraide and the men of Breifne were knit together by closest ties of chivalry and championship, sometimes erred, like Keating, on points of Fir Domnann topography. Thus Duaid MacFír-bis registers, among the exploits of "Tuathal Techtmar," a crushing defeat said to have been inflicted on Breifne at the battle of Badhna.¶¶ Badhna, a mountainous tract in the present County Roscommon, belonged to the sub-kingdom of the Tuatha Taiden, and the men of Breifne would not have encountered "Tuathal" there except in the capacity of auxiliaries or allies of the native chiefs.

* "Quatuor filii Trithemii e Damnoniis ad Moysleucht in Breifnia præter plures alios in proeliis in Umallia, Breifnia, Keara, et ad Cruachan-aigle." *Ogygia*, p. 302.

† Thus MacFír-bis, p. 50.

‡ O'Conor's "Tigernach" dates his reign from 130 to 160 A.D.

§ Vol. II, p. 121.

¶ There was another Muireisc in Umhall, right under Cruachan-Aigle, or Croaghpatrick.

¶¶ "Cath Badhna iri Breifne," MacFír-bis, p. 50.

Among the many blunders which Keating has perpetrated in his *Foras Feasa ar Eirinn* perhaps the most egregious of all is one which relates to Breifne history. Giving, from some old manuscript in his collection, a list of the sovereigns and toparchs who attended the Convention of Druim Ceta, he includes the following: "Raghallach, son of Uadaidh, who was king of Tuatha Taidhion and of Breithfne Ui Ruairc as far as Cliabhan Modhairn; Ceallach, son of Cearnach, son of Dubh Dothra, king of Breithfne Ui Raghallaigh"*. Raghallach, son of Uada, was slain in 650,† after he had reigned over Connacht for about a quarter of a century. The celebrated convention of Druim Ceta was convoked in 575 by the high-king then in power, Aedh MacAinmire, a near kinsman of St. Columcille. It is evident, therefore, that Raghallach could not possibly have taken part in the deliberations at Druim Ceta; for, at that date, if Uada's son was not still unborn, he must have been of tender age, or at most a beardless youth. Raghallach's father, Uada, was king of Connacht; and so was Uada's father, Aedh, son of Eochaid Tirmcharna, cousin and contemporary of his namesake Aedh Finn of Breifne. Connacht's king at the date of the convention was Aedh Mac Echdhach Tirmcharna; and that Aedh lived until 577, when he was slain by his own people, the Ui-Briuin.‡

Whether the same Aedh sat with Aedh MacAinmire and St. Colum-Cille at the northern synod history does not relate; but in all probability he did, for his family affairs had much to do with shaping Colum-Cille's destiny. Besides Uada, Raghallach's father, Aedh had another son named Curnan; and it was the slaying of this Curnan by the monarch Diarmaid MacCearbhaill, while the young man was under Colum-Cille's protection, that provoked the sanguinary battle of Cul-Dreimhne, near Drumcliff, in County Sligo.§ The slaughter of Cul Dreimhne took place in 561;§ and Raghallach's grandfather, Aedh, fighting there in person, shared in the memorable triumph which the northern Clanna Neill then achieved over Erinn's high-king.

Raghallach, son of Uada, is therefore misplaced when he is made to participate in the proceedings at Druim Ceta. But this is a mere trifle in comparison to the anachronisms and incongruities of Keating's further statement. Keating's "Ceallach, son of Cearnach, son of Dubh Dothra," appears in the Ui Briuin Breifne genealogies as Ceallachan, *alias* Seallachan, son of Cearnachan. Keating, in fact—or rather the authority from whom

* Vol. III, p. 82.

† *Annals of Ulster*.

‡ *Annals of Ulster*.

§ Four Masters, 555 A.D. According to Keating Curnan had committed a homicide at the Feis of Tara—a crime then punishable by death.

|| *Chron. Scotorum*.—In saying that the battle "was gained over Diarmaid and over the Connachta," Keating again transgresses (see Reeves's Adamnan, p. 248). The victors were Fergus and Domnall.

he copied—divested the names Ceallachan and Cearnachan of the diminutive termination (*an*) that generally adheres to them in the pedigrees. The Four Masters record, under date 888, "Tighernan, son of Seallachan, lord of Breifne, died"; and again, under date 893, they enter the *obit* of Ruarc, son of Tighernan, lord of Breifne." * In a note to the latter entry, which deserves to be cited here, O'Donovan defines, with scrupulous exactness, the position of this Ruarc in the family sequence of his line, writing thus: "He is the ancestor after whom the family of O'Ruairc, or O'Rourke, have derived their hereditary surname. According to the Books of Lecan and Ballymote, Tighernan, the father of this Ruarc, was the son of Seallachan, who was the son of Cearnach, or Cearnachan, who was son of Dubhdothra, son of Dunchadh, son of Baeithin, son of Blathmhac, son of Feidhlimidh, son of Creamhthann, son of Scannlan, son of Aedh Finn, son of Feargna, son of Fearghus, son of Muireadhach Mal, son of Eoghan Sriabh, son of Duach Galach, son of Brian, son of Eochaidh Muighmheadhoín, monarch of Ireland in the fourth century."

Seallachan, or Ceallach, † son of Cearnachan and grandson of Dubhdothra, is thus shown to have flourished in the ninth century, that is, three centuries after the eventful synod of Druin Ceta. Moreover, Ceallach (i.e., Seallachan), whom the Annals describe as lord of Breifne, would not, in the event of a division having then been made of the territory, have had East Breifne for his particular chiefdom. Cearnach, or Cearnachan, son of Dubhdothra, had another son named Maelmordha, and from this younger brother of Seallachan descended the O'Reilly lords of East Breifne, as well as the various Muintir Maelmordha septes who were subsequently associated with them in occupation thereof. ‡

If Keating had been treating of Munster his deeper knowledge would have saved him from sinning against chronology and genealogy in the flagrant manner here exemplified; but he seems, metaphorically speaking, to have been at sea when he launched into Breifne's history, having evidently devoted little study to the origins of that remote kingdom. The place-name *Tuatha Taidhen* had presumably become obsolete before the sixth century; while Breifne O'Ruairc, as a regional designation, could not have come into use before the tenth century. Keating, therefore, annihilates a long tract of time when he co-ordinates the areas that were thus denoted, linking them together as constituent segments of a composite realm. But for assigning to

* The correct dates are 892 and 898 respectively.

† MacFirbis writes the alternative name in the form Ceileachan.

‡ The Raghallach from whom the O'Reillys (Ui-Raghallaigh) derived their family name was a great-grandson of this Maelmordha. He should not be confounded, therefore, with Raghallach, king of Connacht in the seventh century.

Raghallach the territory of the ancient Tuatha Taidhen as his home kingdom Keating, I am willing to believe, had trustworthy warrant; for the available evidence now extant would point to that old Third of Connacht in particular as the division most likely to have been the regal portion and the residential seat of the house of Eochaid Tirmcharna.

Though Keating's deliverances will not invariably bear microscopic analysis the charm of his narrative must always endear him to our affections. His love of the old *Seanchus Eirinn* forbade him to doubt, or to tamper with, the contents of a Gaelic manuscript; and his occasional lapses only prove him to have been immutably faithful to his texts. In the art of pictorial grouping Keating takes the lead of all his nation's story-tellers; and from him, therefore, more pleasantly than from any other rehearsers of the complex tale, may the history of the Gaels be learned, as the Gaels themselves would have wished it to be known. His summing up of the composition of Conn's race will admirably serve the purpose of bringing this present inquiry to a close.

In strictness all Conn's people come under the one comprehensive denomination of Connachta; but in ordinary usage the designation Connachta, or Fir Connacht, got restricted to the ruling stocks of Conn's native Fifth, that is Coiced Olnegmact. Keeping this fact in mind Keating divides the Clann Chuinn broadly into three chief branches, viz., the Oirghialla, the Clanna Neill, and the Connachta, or Fir Connacht.* In the same limited application the Connachta included only the Ui-Briuin, the Ui-Fiachrach, the Ui-Amalgaid and the Ui-Aillelo.† The Oirghialla were the first *stirps* of the Clann Chuinn that branched from the parent stem, being the descendants of the three Colla brothers, sons of Cairbre Lifechair—and therefore cousins of Muiredach Tirech—who, having recruited an army of seven battalions among the Olnegmact, shattered Coiced Ulad at the battle of Achad leth Feirg in 332, and appropriated from the vanquished Fifth territories which would approximately correspond in extent with the two episcopal areas of Armagh and Clogher.‡ The Clanna Neill, ruling from Meath and Ailech, held for many centuries the premier position among all the Clanna Chuinn; but at length in the eleventh century, when Turlough O'Conor captured the high-sovereignty, the Ui-Briuin gained the precedence to which, as the offspring of Brian, they had been entitled from the first.

While the protracted struggles between the race of Conn and the old populations, for territorial and political suzerainty in Leath Chuinn, issued generally in favour of the confiscating

* Vol. II, p. 356.

† The Ui-Aillelo wore out at an early date, leaving no permanent trace save the name of their land, Tirerrill; while the Ui-Amalgaidh were absorbed into the kingdom of Ui Fiachrach Muaidhe.

‡ *Ibidem*, p. 364.

usurpers there can be little doubt that some few of the assailed folk-groups maintained, more or less successfully, the integrity of their petty states, and won from their opponents either an acknowledged independence or, at all events, conditions of subordination that were neither degrading nor harsh. In after years these resolute communities had, of necessity, to be admitted by the genealogists to the select order of Gaels; for their exclusion would, in effect, have nullified the dogma that endowed the imperial polity of the race with an indefectible sanction. The doctrine that Eriu was predestined from remotest times to be the patrimony of the superlatively noble stock begotten by "the sons of Mil" postulated, for its ratification, that none but members of Mil's great family should share in the possession of Eriu's soil. Among the constituent groups of Mil's offspring the Clann Chuinn transcended all others in power, and in the extent of its royal ramifications. But though the branches, large and small, of that giant tree widen out from one central trunk we should not conclude too readily that they derived their origin from a single fundamental root. Intermingled with them, assuredly, are parasitic growths and adventitious appendages which, having been transmuted into the semblance of sprouting grafts by genealogists of long past times, acquired in consequence an envious, albeit an artificial, exaltation among the grades of Milesian nobility.

The Ui-Briuin Umhaill, for example, who flourished around the shores of Clew Bay under O'Malley toparchs, are registered as a tributary people in the Book of Rights.* The amount of their assessment is, no doubt, comparatively light; but though honoured in the Ui-Briuin genealogies as descendants of Conall Orisen, or Orbsen—Brian's son—the fact that they appear in an authoritative Gaelic record as rent-payers of Cruachan gravely prejudices their title to be accounted genuine Ui-Briuin. The probability is that the Umhall folk warded off repeated attacks of Ui-Briuin confiscators, and defended the integrity of their little state so obstinately that the aggressors had to purchase their obedience by admitting them on easy terms into the dominant federation. The task of rooting out the occupiers of Umhall, or of holding them in subjection, would have been exceptionally difficult; for, being expert sailors, they could, at need, have taken to their ships and, at a favourable moment, have landed again unexpectedly at some advantageous point of the coast. As late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth the O'Malleys were noted for the skill and daring of their seamanship. Indeed, the naval reputation of Umhall never stood higher than in those final years of conflict when its fleet often put to sea under the admiralship of the chieftainess Grainne ni Mhaille (Grania, or Grace, O'Malley), the redoubtable Granuaile of western fame.

* pp. 97—99.

How would the Ui-Briuin Breifne stand if similarly challenged on the question of their racial legitimacy? They claimed descent from Aedh Finn, a prince who was sprung from Dui Galach, son of the ancestral Brian; but the Book of Fenagh tells us that Aedh Finn was an Aedh Dubh who had sought "the championship of the Glasraighe," and whom St. Caillin whitened when administering to him the sacrament of baptism.* The legend at first sight would certainly suggest that the Aedh progenitor of Breifne's mediæval aristocracy was a native king or chief of Breifne, and that the Siol Aedha Find owed their affiliation with the Connacht Ui-Briuin rather to some weighty consideration of political expediency than to community of blood or to ties of family relationship. But the evidence of the Book of Rights invalidates such a supposition. There we are informed: "The Ui-Briuin and the Siol Muireadhaigh and the Ui Fiachrach and the Cineal Aedha are free tribes, and they are equally noble as the king, and they do not go upon an expedition or hosting except for pay; and they do not go into battle with the king but for reward; and if they be killed, and upon their being killed, the king is bound to give eric to their king." †

The Ui-Briuin Breifne were exempt from all imposts of tax or tribute; and, being so, they must have been one of the Ui-Briuin breeds who constituted Connacht's *saer tuatha*, or free states. Furthermore, the Ui-Briuin Breifne had for overlords a family that, by right of birth, enjoyed a *rioghraidhe*, or dynastic, status in Connacht; ‡ and O'Ruairc heirs of Aedh Finn did, in fact, supply four suzerains to Connacht during the Christian period. In the catalogue of Connacht's kings from the fourth century downwards only two royal stocks are represented, the stocks, namely, that issued from the brothers Brian and Fiachra, both sons of Eochaid Muighmedhon. The Clann Fiachrach divided into two branches, the Ui-Fiachrach Muaidhe§ (of the Moy), and the Ui-Fiachrach Aidhne (of Aidhne)||; and both these branches bred kings of Connacht. Of the Ui-Briuin kings of Connacht the great majority came from the Siol Muireadhaigh, or descendants of Muireadhach Muillethan (grandson or Raghallach), whose ruling family were the O'Conors.

The house of Dui Tengumha produced only two provincial kings altogether, one in the seventh century, and one who, at the close of the eleventh century, raised himself to the sover-

* *Opus cit.*, pp. 82 and 118.

† pp. 97—99.

‡ "in tres rigraide Connacht co brath" ("the third regal line of Connacht for ever") Bk. Fenagh, p. 120.

§ The O'Dowds were the ruling family of this proud people—direct descendants of Dathi.

|| Aidhne corresponded to the present diocese of Kilmacduagh. The toparchs, in later times, were the O'Heynes and the O'Shaughnessys.

eignty for a brief period by means the most barbarous.* The Ui Fiachrach, both of the Moy and of Aidhne, ceased to beget over-kings after the eighth century; and, with the single exception noted, the only rivals of the Siol Muiredhaigh thenceforth for Connacht's sceptre were the Ui-Briuin O'Ruaircs.

Reverting to the extract cited from the Book of Rights we can now perceive that the Ui Briuin mentioned therein were really the Ui-Briuin of Breifne, and one or two kindred folk-groups of minor importance. The Book of Rights enfranchises only the Ui Briuin and the Ui Fiachrach; for the Cinel Aedha were an offshoot of the Ui Fiachrach Aidhne,† while the Siol Muiredhaigh were the leading branch of the Ui-Briuin. The title of the Ui-Briuin Breifne to stand on a level with the Ui-Briuin of Magh Ai—the O'Conors, MacDermots and other princely septs—as genuine offspring of Brian, son of Eochaid Muighmedhon, is thus fully vindicated.

It seems most probable that when Aedh Finn, son of Fergna, sought to advance his sway over East Breifne there was then reigning in those parts an Aedh Dubh,‡ who kept his namesake successfully at bay, at least for some considerable interval. Eventually, of course, the Ui Briuin yoke was imposed on the subjects of Aedh Dubh, with the result that a period of disturbance would naturally have ensued in the annexed territory. The legend of the whitening of Aedh Dubh § would, therefore, appear to me to have been the invention of some ingenious pacificator who, living perhaps a century or two later, may have hoped, by means of the happy device, to reconcile the old populations of Breifne to the rule of their new masters.

If Giolla Iosa Mor MacFirbis was justified in identifying the family of Dathi, and through them the entire corporate body of Clann Chuinn, with the hero race of Gamanraide,|| the Ui Briuin of Breifne must have inherited by direct lineage the blood of the same old Belgæ-Germani colonisers of Irros Domhnann. The validity of the inference cannot be questioned; yet, being totally destructive of the theory which served to charter Gaelic ascendancy, should it not be radically at variance with the tenets promulgated by Breifne's Ollamh poets?

* This was Flaherty O'Flaherty who, in 1092, blinded Ruaidhri na *Soighe Buidhe* ("of the yellow hound") O'Conor, compelling him thereby to abdicate the kingship of Connacht.

† The junior section of the Ui-Fiachrach Aidhne dwelt around Gort, under the O'Shaughnessys as chiefs.

‡ The Breifne king is first introduced in St. Berach's *Lite* as Black Aedh, but in the *Imtheacht na Tromhaimhe* we meet only a White Aedh, the Aedh Finn of Ui-Briuin genealogies. It, as seems likely, the two Aedhs were different men they should have been contemporaries.

§ In the hagiologies this miracle is variously ascribed to St. Caillin, St. Maedoc of Ferns and St. Berach.

|| *Vide supra*, p. 27.

The Book of St. Caillin is, if not in design, at all events in the material of its structure, very largely an epic of the O'Ruaircs. In that volume we read:—

“In the time of Ferghal, of good repute,
The Foreigners will leave Ireland.
The Gamhanraidh from thenceforth,
Until the judging judgment comes.” *

On these lines the Editor comments: “The meaning of the text is, probably, that Breifne-O'Ruairc (or Leitrim) would thenceforward share the fortunes of Connacht, and be ruled by its rulers.”

Though veiled by the obscurity which too commonly disfigures bardic utterances the language, if not quite unsusceptible of rational interpretation, must necessarily be understood as equating ethnologically the O'Ruaircs and the Gamanraide. The poet, having drawn out in impressive review the chief O'Ruairc notabilities of the thirteenth century, ends his parade with Ferghal, brother of “Donnchadh the Fair,”—apparently the main hope of the family, as being its youngest member when the eulogium was composed—and of Ferghal he predicts that, not alone will the Anglo-Normans be expelled from Ireland during his lifetime, but furthermore that, in his person, the Gamanraide will then resume their hereditary authority in the land, to be retained for evermore without forfeiture or impairment.

Dazzled by the refulgent lustre of the Gael the literati of Leath Chuinn and Leath Mogha constructed a vainglorious, yet a puerile, synthesis of the nation's primal stages of upbuilding. But among them were men of retentive memories who long preserved some genuine fragments of tradition, reminiscent of the period when Erin's colonisers of the La Tène invasion sank, disintegrated and disinherited, under a forceful brood of their own begetting. That lusty brood, looking down from an imperial altitude on Erin's vassal communities, and growing ashamed of an origin which condemned them to kinship with masses of social inferiors, disowned their true parentage, and evolved for themselves a genesis more consonant with the pride of a ruling caste. Yet the fictitious creation did not efface from the deposit of Erin's traditions all remembrance of the antecedent circumstances that had led to the new race's inception. Enough has fortunately survived to identify, with a compelling strength of probability, the founder of the race of Conn as an adventurous youth, of unbounded ambition and vitality, whom the Olnegmact Gamanraide, when lords of Irros Domhnann, had cradled and trained in championship. Mediæval poets of the Ui-Fiachrach and of the Ui Briuin Breifne corroborate the identification; though, in all likelihood, the full significance of their evidence was not appreciated by the attesting poets themselves.

* p. 85.

Lists of Parochial Clergy of the Late Established Church in the Diocese of Kilmore.

By the late Rev. W. A. Reynell, B.D.

Annotated by the REV. HENRY B. SWANZY, M.A., M.R.I.A.,
Canon of St. Patrick's, Dublin.

(Continued from *Journal*, Vol. II., p. 399.)

All statements within square brackets are by Canon Swanzy.
The rest is by Mr. REYNELL.

[Read 20th November, 1926.]

DRUMLANE V.

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| 1622. (in). | NATHANIEL HOLLINGTON.
A preacher.
[No doubt the Nathaniel Hollington who was admitted Sizar at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 7th September, 1602. Perhaps admitted Sizar at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, June, 1602.] |
| 1625. | FAITHFUL TEATE. |
| 1625. | THOMAS GROVES. |
| 1634. | THOMAS PRICE.
Ord. deacon 20 Dec., 1629, priest 23 Sept., 1632. Archdeacon 1638, Bishop of Kildare 1660-1. |
| 1661. | — ? |
| 1664, 24 June. | JAMES SPENS.
With Tomregan. |
| 1665, 2 Nov. | JOHN BIRD.
With Tomregan. |
| 1669, 2 Oct. | ROBERT ROBISON.
R. Annagh and Tomregan. |
| 1685 in. | CHARLES ROSSELL.
[Died 1754, aged 102.] |
| 1740, 3 April. | JOSEPH CADDY.
[Son of William, gentleman, born at Raven- |

glass, Cumberland, educated at Ravensglass, by Mr. Burrow, entered T.C.D. 7 June, 1712, aged 18, as Sizar, B.A., 1716, M.A. 1719. His Prerogative will was proved 1767. Towards the end of his life the following advertisement appeared in Faulkner's Dublin Journal, June 24-27, 1766: "Whereas the Rev. Joseph Caddy, of Tunnyarachill in the County of Cavan, after a short Indisposition was, in the Month of February last, struck with a Palsy or Paralytic Disorder, which hath ever since deprived him of the Use of his Limbs and Speech; and the said Joseph Caddy having no Family, other than Servants about him, soon afterwards became a Prey to certain designing Persons, who, under Colour of a distant Relationship, made Use of Means to get at and possess themselves of all the said Joseph Caddy's ready Money, Bills, Bonds, Mortgages, and other Securities for Money, then locked up in his Desk and Escritaires, to the Amount of 4000*l.* and upwards; together with a will duly made by him in favour of John Lyndon, Jane his Wife, Patrick Sheridan, Elizabeth his wife, and others, the said Joseph's nearest Relations, who were always the immediate Objects of his Contemplation. Now this is to caution every Person, as well the Tenants of the said Joseph Caddy as all others, who are indebted to him in any Sum or Sums of Money, not to pay the same, or any Part thereof, to any Person or Persons whatsoever, until a fit Guardian of the Person and Fortune of the said Joseph Caddy shall be duly appointed, for which and other Purposes, a Bill will be preferred, and an application forthwith made to the High Court of Chancery, on behalf of the said John Lyndon, Jane his Wife, Patrick Sheridan, Elizabeth his Wife, and others. Dated this 27th Day of June, 1766. John Lyndon, Jane Lyndon, Patrick Sheridan, Elizabeth Sheridan." In the paper of July 8-12 following, John Caddy, grand-nephew of the said Joseph, published a long counter-advertisement, dated 5 July, 1766. He says he lived and was educated

in the said Joseph's house and family since his childhood, and when about nine months ago he married his present wife Esther Connell, Joseph made a settlement on him of a considerable part of his fortune. He also before his illness made a will, then in John's keeping, making John his executor and trustee and leaving him 100*l.* besides the settled funds. Only 150*l.* was in it bequeathed to the Lyndons and Sheridans. The monies stolen were taken by the servants, and "the said Lyndon entertained one of the said Servants at his House for several Days after they had so taken away the said Securities and Will."

1769 (in).

1773, 30 Aug.

PETER LOMBARD.

WILLIAM WADE.

[Entered T.C.D. 10 Oct., 1755, educated by Dr. Dunkin, B.A., 1760. No parentage given in Matriculation Book, but almost certainly son of the Rev. Nicholas Wade, Vicar of Outragh, diocese of Kilmore, 1745-57. The Rev. William Wade was Vicar of Kildrumfertan 30th Dec., 1773-1783, J.P. Co. Cavan 21 July, 1787, married Anne, daughter of Thomas Burrowes, of Stradone, High Sheriff Co. Cavan 1743, and had issue (1) Rev. Nicholas, (2) William; (1) Mary, married Arthur Fleming, of Belville, Co. Cavan; (2) Anne, married 1804, Thomas Burrowes, of Cavan; (3) Jane, married George Leslie (Exchequer Bill, 15 Feb., 1800, Stewart v. Fleming.)]

1773, 30 Dec.

RICHARD BURGH.

[V. Innismagrath 1792-96.]

1792, 1 Sept.

JOHN CREERY.

Held Ballybay (Clogher) with Drumlane, by faculty, dated 24th May, 1797.

1810, 13 Sept.

WILLIAM MAGENIS.

Inducted 20 Sept., by Thomas Hyde Villiers, Curate of Kildallon.

[Magenis was afterwards Dean.]

1821, 13 Oct.

JOHN ISAAC BERESFORD.

1835, 18 May.

JOHN CLAUDIUS BERESFORD.

1837, 10 Aug.

GUY PERCIVAL L'ESTRANGE.

Married at Raheny 18 July, 1839, Marianne Austin, of parish of St. Peter's, Dublin.

1842, 1 Nov.

GEORGE BEATTY MOFFATT.

Died 27 Feb., 1874.

DRUMLEASE V.

- 1612 (in). JOHN BOSTOCK.
[Very probably the John Bostock who matriculated at Cambridge as Sizar from Pembroke College, Easter, 1585, B.A., about 1589-90, ordained deacon (London) 20 December, 1589, priest 29 March, 1591, Vicar of Southill, Bedfordshire 1598 1610.]
- 1622 (in.) WILLIAM ANDREWS.
- 1633 (in). JOHN JOHNSON.
Was witness to will of Robert Morgan of Dromahaire, 31 May, 1637.
1661. JOHN LONG.
With Clonlogher, Killargue, and Killen-
umurry, (Ardagh).
- 1675, 18 Nov. ROBERT WILSON.
- 1678, 21 June. JOHN KING.
With Killargue.
- 1681, 20 Jan. RALPH RULE.
With Killargue and Kildallon.
[Son of Ralph Rule, born in London, educated by Mr. Price, entered T.C.D. as Sizar 17 April, 1669, aged 17, B.A. 1672, Scholar 1672, M.A. 1682, B.D. and D.D. 1702, Rector of Kildallon 1678-84, Rector of Delgany, Vicar of Newcastle, Kilcoole, Kilmacknoge and Arklow (Dublin), 28 July, 1682, Prebendary of Kilmactalway in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, 1685-90, Prebendary of Wicklow in St. Patrick's Cathedral 1691-1723. He married, first, Griseld, second daughter of the Right Hon. Sir James Cuffe, P.C., M.P., and, secondly, Jane —, whose will, dated 21 Dec., 1743, was proved in the Prerogative Court 23 June, 1744. He died 1723.]
- 1684, 12 Nov. JAMES ECHLIN.
With Killargue.
- 1686, 10 April. ROBERT WHITELAW.
With Killargue.
[Son of William Whitelaw, born in Co. Fermanagh, educated by Mr. Dunbar, entered T.C.D. as Sizar 16 April, 1670, aged about 19, Scholar 1673, B.A. 1674.]
- 1699, 27 []. WILLIAM HANSARD.
With Killargue.
- 1737, 3 March. CHARLES DODD.
In the room of William Hansard, removed.
[Son of John Dodd, of Cams, Co. Sligo,

who was son of Charles Dod, 2nd son of Charles Dod, of Cloverley, Shropshire, and Lea Hall, Worcestershire. He was born in Co. Sligo, educated by Mr. Griffin, Elphin, and entered T.C.D. as Sizar 26 May, 1714, aged 18, scholar 1716, B.A. 1718, M.A. 1721, Vicar of Killenumurry and Killery, diocese of Ardagh; he married, post-nuptial settlement dated 15 Feb., 1727, Helen, eldest daughter of the Rev. Roger Ford, D.D., Archdeacon of Derry, and died 1774 or 5; buried at St. Anne's Dublin. His widow died 12 July, 1777, aged 80, and was buried at Drumlease, having had seven children :—(*Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 1868, Vol. I., p. 173.]

1774, 10 Sept.

ROGER DODD.

[Third son of his predecessor, the Rev. Charles Dodd, born in Longford, educated by Dr. Ford, entered T.C.D. 28 March, 1749-50, aged 18, Scholar 1752. B.A. 1754, Curate of Churchhill, Co. Fermanagh 1755, Curate of Drumlease 8 June, 1763, J.P. Co. Leitrim, married, first, 1760, Sarah King, who died without issue 1786, and secondly, at the Chapel of Ease, half-parish of Killery, 28 March, 1792, Margaret, daughter of Matthew Phipps, of Spurtown, Co. Sligo, and died 8 Oct., 1808, buried at Drumlease. By her he had a son Charles Roger Dod, who reverted to the original spelling of his name, and was the author of *Dod's Peerage* (*Misc. Gen. et Herald*, I., 173, and *Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1855).]

1808, 26 Dec.

CRINUS IRWIN,

Inducted 18 March, 1809, by John Leahy, Vicar of Innismag Rath.

[Younger son of Lewis Francis Irwin, of Tanragoe, Co. Sligo. He was M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, and became Vicar-choral of St. Patrick's Dublin, 1797, Prebendary of Tasagart in St. Patrick's Cathedral 1799-1859, and Archdeacon of Ossory 1822-59. He married, 1807, Amy, eldest daughter of Mr. Justice Chamberlain, Judge of the King's Bench, Ireland, and having held his

- Prebend for the extraordinary period of sixty years, died 18th December, 1859, in his 90th year.]
- 1811, 16th July. NICHOLAS HERBERT,
Resigned 1824 for Knockgraffan, Cashel.
- 1824, 1 Nov. HONBLE, JAMES BUTLER.
- 1834, 4th Oct. WILLIAM WILLOUGHBY WYNNE.
Died 26th September, 1860.
- 1860, 18th Dec. HENRY PERCEVAL.
Died 16th May, 1880.
[NOTE.—Mr. Reynell has inserted “ 1835, 11 April, William Walker.” There is some mistake here, as Wynne was Vicar in 1849. Perhaps Walker preceded him.]

DRUNG V. and LARAH V.

- 15— DAVID MCCOMYN died.
- 1594, 2 Aug. THOMAS BRADY.
Date from fiant.
- 1622 (in). ROBERT TAYLOR.
- 1626, 31 March. FAITHFUL TEATE.
Ordained deacon by Thomas Ferns and Leighlin, 5 Feb, 1619, Priest by same 10th May, 1621, R. Vis. 1633.
- 1635, 25 March. HUGH MCSWINEY.
- 1635[6], 28 Jan. FAITHFUL TEATE.
Also R. Castle Terra, *Lib. Mun.*
- 1645, 20 Sept. DENIS SHERIDAN.
- 1661, 1 Oct. JOHN TURBRIDGE.
- 1662, 27 June. WILLIAM SHERIDAN.
- 1663, 3 June. AMBROSE BARCROFT.
With Archdeaconry and Castle Terra.
- 1682, 28th April. ROBERT LLOYD.
M.A., Cantab, also Rector of Clondevaddock, Raphoe, faculty 17th Sept., 1691.
[Son of Robert Lloyd, linen merchant, born in London, admitted pensioner at Pembroke College, Cambridge, 11th May, 1664, aged 17, matriculated 1664, B.A., 1667-8, M.A. 1671, signed for deacon's and priest's orders (London), 10 Dec., 1672, title, chaplaincy in the East Indies —Venn's *Alumn. Cant.*, III., 96.]
- 1700, 4th Feb. PETER PEZ DE GALLINEER,
Died 1721 (Diocesan Register).
- 1721, 2 Nov. OLIVER KING.
[Second son of Gilbert King, of Charles-

town, Co. Roscommon, M.P. for Jamestown, by Mary, daughter of Dominick French, of French Park, Co. Roscommon; born at Charlestown, educated by Mr. Cugh, Strokestown, entered T.C.D. 5 Aug., 1697, aged 14, B.A. 1701, M.A. 1705, Rector and Vicar of Annaduff (Ardagh), 1 Feb., 1714, J.P. Co., Cavan, 13 Feb. 1723-4, died June 1740, age given, erroneously, as 47 on tombstone at Drung really 57.)]

1740, 27 Oct.

DANIEL HEARN.

[Educated at T.C.D., entrance not recorded, B.A. 1713, M.A. 1718, Prebendary of Doon (Emly) 1727-66, Precentor of Cashel 1727, Archdeacon of Cashel 1728-66, married, 1st, 17 August, 1728, Anne Maxwell, of Tynan, Co. Armagh, who died without issue; and, 2nd, Dublin marriage licence 24 May, 1732, Anne, daughter of Marcus Dowley, of Dublin, by Abigail Wolfenden, his wife, by her he had a family. He was buried at St. Anne's, Dublin, 18th Aug., 1766.]

1767, 7 April.

THOMAS CRADOCK.

Instituted to Drung 7 April, 1767, inducted by Joseph Story, Archdeacon, 7th April, read assent 12 April; inducted to Larah by Archdeacon Story, 28 April; read assent there 3rd May, 1767; ordained deacon at St. Bride's, Dublin, by Charles, Bishop of Ossory, 7th Dec., 1762. [Is this date correct? If so, he must have obtained a dispensation, as he was much under the canonical age.] Priest at St. Thomas', Dublin, by James, Bishop of Limerick, 21 Dec., following.

[Nephew of John Cradock, Bishop of Kilmore 1757-72 and Archbishop of Dublin 1772-79, and son of the Rev. Thomas Cradock, M.A., Queens' College, Cambridge, Preb. of the Collegiate Church, of Wolverhampton, and Vicar of Penn, Staffordshire; born at Wolverhampton, educated at Shrewsbury School by Mr. Newling, admitted pensioner at St. John's College, Cambridge, 28 June, 1760, April 17, LL.B. 1766; M.A. Trinity

- College, Dublin (ad eund Cantab.), 1776, Curate of Kilmore 3 April, 1767, Prebendary of Rathmichael in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, 1774-76, Prebendary of St. Audoen's in St. Patrick's Cathedral 1776-1827, died Nov., 1827.]
- 1828, 8 May. MARCUS GERVAIS BERESFORD.
[Afterwards Bishop of Kilmore 1854-62, and Archbishop of Armagh 1862-85.]
- 1855, 26 May. CHARLES LESLIE.
Afterwards Bishop of Kilmore 1870.
- 1870, 7th Oct. RALPH JAMES HOPE.
The union between Drung and Larah was dissolved 24 April, 1855.

INNISMAGRATH V.

- 1619, 13 April THOMAS SARCOTT.
1622 (in). JOHN JOHNSON.
1625, 23 Aug. MATTHEW MOORE.
1635, 15 July. THOMAS JONES.
1661, 6 May. ROBERT ROSSE.
1685 (in). — MITCHELL.
1700, 28 Feb. WILLIAM BROOKE.
Held by faculty, 28 Feb., 1700, Mullagh, Moybologue and Innismagrath.
[Eldest son of William Brooke, of Dromavane, Co. Cavan, pharmacopola; born Cavan, educated by Mr. Brooke, Cavan, entered T.C.D. 13 May, 1685, aged 15, Scholar 1687, B.A. 1689, M.A. 1694, Rector of Killinkere (Kilmore) 1700-45, married Lettice, daughter of Simon Digby, Bishop of Elphin, and died 1745. His son Henry was the well-known author of *The Fool of Quality*. In "Brookiana," an account of Henry Brooke, London, 1804, there is the following reference to the Vicar of Innismagrath: "Mr. Brooke's father was descended of an ancient family of that name, in the County of Fermanagh. He was originally intended for the army, but as he grew up his father discovered that his inclination and studies pointed to the Church; he was accordingly educated in Trinity College, Dublin, and ordained by Dr. Wetenhall, Bishop of Kilmore, who was so highly pleased with

- his unaffected piety and literary requirements, that he gave him the livings of Killinkere and Moybologue, about 200*l.* a year, a large income in those days.”]
- 1704, 9 May. PHILIP BRADY (F.F.)
1719, April. JOHN BENNETT.
Resigned 1726, also held Denn, faculty 11 April, 1719.
[Son of George Bennett, gentleman, born Cavan, educated at Westminster School, entered T.C.D. 20 May, 1701, aged 19, Scholar 1703, B.A. 1705.]
- 1726, 14 March. ELIAS HANDCOCK.
He held also Rathcline and Cashel (Ardagh), £90 per ann., faculty 2 Nov., 1727. Resigned Innismagrath 1740.
[Perhaps the *Ezekiel* Handcock who was B.A., T.C.D. 1708, but for whom no matriculation entry remains, in the College records.]
- 1740, 27 Oct. JOHN RICHARDSON, resigned 1745.
1745, 4 Nov. GEORGE KNOX.
Held also Kildallon by faculty, dated 2nd Nov., 1745. He was inducted to Innismagrath by Thos. Cuff, R. Manor Hamilton, on 23rd Nov., 1745, “Vicar of the Walls of the Old Church” (Diocesan Register). Ordained Deacon and Priest at Raphoe, 19 Sept. 1731, by Nichs. Raphoe.
[No doubt George, son of Thomas Knox, Esq., born Co. Sligo, educated by Mr. Ballantine, Strabane, entered T.C.D. 19 May, 1723, aged 18, Scholar 1726, B.A. 1727, M.A. 1730. He was V. Carrigallen 1768-69. He died at Greenville, Co. Cavan, Aug., 1769, being described in the *Freeman's Journal* for Aug. 5-8, 1769, as “the Rev. George Knox, of Moore Street, Vicar of Carrigallen, in the diocese of Kilmore.” His wife had died in Moore Street, in the preceding May.]
- 1768, 22 Aug. MICHAEL LEE.
Resigned 1771.
[Son of Richard Lee, Gentleman, born Co. Tyrone, educated by Mr. Folds at Carrickmacross, entered T.C.D. (as Ley) 23 May, 1722, aged 18, B.A. 1726 (as

Leigh). He married Catherine, daughter of William Moore, of Cootehill, by Margaret, daughter of Edward Davenport, of Edwardstown, Co. Cavan—see Prerogative Will of Wm. Moore, proved 1748. Michael Lee had four sons, Richard, William (his successor), Moore, and James.

- 1771, 6th Aug. WILLIAM LEE.
[Son of the Rev. Michael Lee, see above, born Co. Cavan, educated by Mr. Moore, entered T.C.D. 9 July, 1753, aged 16, Scholar 1756, B.A. 1758.]
- 1792, 1 Sept. RICHARD BURGH.
- 1796, 19 Aug. NESBITT SEELY.
[Son of James Seely, "Colonus," born Co. Leitrim, educated by Mr. Kerr, entered T.C.D. as Sizar 15 June, 1756, aged 14, Scholar 1759, B.A. 1760, Vicar of Killargue 1780-96, married by Prerogative Lic., at St. Thomas', Dublin, 15 Feb., 1786, Margaret Molesworth, widow. He died 10th March, 1806, aged 63, buried at Coolock, Co. Dublin.]
- 1806, 25 Aug. JOHN LEAHEY.
- 1810, 15th Sept. WILLIAM JOHNSTON.
- 1815, 15 June. JAMES SPENCER KNOX.
R Maghera (Derry).
- 1817, 30 May. JOHN RUSSELL KNOX.
Died 1831.
[Son of the Rev. George Knox, born Donegal, educated by Mr. Burgoyne, entered T.C.D. 23 April, 1786, aged 17, B.A. 1790, ordained deacon (as Russell Knox) in St. Kevin's Church, Dublin, by the Bishop of Dromore, 25 May, 1790.]
- 1831, 16 March. CHARLES LYONS-MONTGOMERY.
Inducted 23 March, 1831, by Rev. Wm. Grattan, and read assent 27 March. He had held Killargue. Died 3 Sept., 1859. [Younger son of Hugh Lyons-Montgomery, of Belhavel, Co. Leitrim, High Sheriff, Co. Leitrim, 1761, by the Hon. Catherine Hamilton, daughter of Richard,

4th Viscount Boyne ; educated by Mr. Willis, entered T.C.D. as Fellow Commoner 5th Dec., 1803, aged 16, B.A. 1807, M.A. 1832, V. Killargue 1829-31, J.P. Cos. Cavan and Leitrim ; married at Drumlane 26th June, 1815, Emily, youngest daughter of Humphrey Nixon, of Nixon Lodge, Co. Cavan, Lieut. 51st Regt., High Sheriff Co. Cavan 1777, and Co. Fermanagh 1784, by Anne, sister of the Right Hon. Sir John Stewart, Bart.],

1859, 10 Dec.

JOHN RADCLIFF.

Died 13 Jan., 1876.

Church consecrated 1776.

H. B. SWANZY.

(To be continued.)

The Crosserlough Dolmens.

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

The greater number of Ireland's rude stone monuments belong to the *Neolithic*, or Later Stone Age. To this period is usually assigned the first appearance of Man in Ireland. It is now definitely established that the Neolithic (Greek, *neos*, new, and *lithos*, a stone) ended in this country about 2000 years B.C.

Of the Irish Stone Age monuments the dolmen is perhaps the most interesting. It may be described as "a rude stone structure of the tomb type, composed of a certain number of great stone uprights which support a capstone, or capstones, as a roof." The name dolmen is Celtic; it is the Breton *dael maen*, *i.e.*, stone table. Very often these monuments are called "Cromleacs," and also "Druids' Altars," both misleading and inaccurate terms.

Dolmens may be divided into two main types, *primary* and *secondary*. Where one end of the great capstone rests on the ground, or on a low stone base, and the other is supported by the uprights it is of the *primary*, or *earth-fast*, type. In the *secondary* class the capstone rests entirely on the uprights. The uprights are so placed as to enclose a rude oblong chamber closed by large flag stones at both ends. The size of these chambers depends on the dimensions of the structure.

At least three very important dolmens, hitherto unrecorded, exist in the Parish of Crosserlough. One is to be found in the townland of Duffcastle, south-east of the Catholic Church, in a field to the right of the road leading to Ballyjamesduff. It belongs to the *primary* type. The capstone is an immense boulder with one end resting on a flat stone and the other on an upright about five feet in height. The total height of the structure is about eight feet. Treasure-seekers appear to have excavated, and undermined, the hoary megalith, with the result that the capstone has been somewhat displaced. It is not unlikely that the large horizontal stone now supporting the base of the capstone was once upright and, together with the other two, supported the massive capstone (see illustration).

The Carrickacroy dolmen is in the Rectory grounds, near the summit of Carrickacroy hill, and midway between Crosserlough and Kilnaleck. Here also the structure has long since been



THE DUFFCASTLE DOLMEN.

Photo by]

[REV. P. CONWAY, Maghera.



THE CARRICKACROY DOLMEN.

Photo by]

[P. O'CONNELL, M.Sc., Virginia.

“ explored ” by treasure-hunters, and the great capstone, which was displaced, lies alongside. The oblong chamber measures four feet by two, and at the north end are two uprights, each about five feet in height (see illustration). It is evident that, originally, one end of the capstone rested on these supports while the other end was poised on the lower upright at the south end. The capstone is a massive boulder measuring, approximately, six feet by five. This dolmen belongs to the *secondary* type. Evidently the treasure-hunters—some modern *Argonautae* in quest of the *Golden Fleece*—were unwilling to risk the collapse of the capstone while engaged in the excavations so, as a precaution, they levered it out of position. Whether their quest was successful, or whether some sleepless dragon of Colchis surprised them, we are not informed ; but it is quite certain that they drew a blank.

Another dolmen is to be found in the townland of Aghawee, at Drumkilly, and near the highest point of the townland. It is well-preserved, and is a good example of the *secondary* type. This remarkable dolmen consists of two large capstones resting on five uprights. The uprights are slanting in towards each other, just touching near the top, and on these the capstones are poised in equilibrium. There is an internal chamber with an upright flagstone at each end. The height of the structure is about eight feet. A photograph will appear in a later issue of this *Journal*.

The question is often asked : how were these enormous capstones raised into position ? When we consider that the mechanical laws of the inclined plane were known to the ancients, who generally utilised them, we can easily recognise that a plane and system of levers must have been used. The uprights were first placed in position and a mound of earth raised around, the capstone was then levered up the inclined plane and the earth afterwards removed. This is the generally accepted theory. The Greeks and Romans adopted the same principle.

The dolmens are the oldest surviving structures in Ireland—the earliest traces of Stone Age Man. To fully understand their origin and significance it would be necessary to comprehend the mystical and complex psychology which was the basis of pre-Celtic Religion, the data for which is too insufficient and uncertain to enable us now to ascertain the mystery of their origin. This much is certain : that the dolmen was a tomb in a double sense ; it contained the body of the chieftain and, furthermore, was understood to continue as the place of residence of his spirit. According to primitive ideas the spirit was destined to a perpetual existence in the tomb prepared for it. Traces of primitive burials have been found in many cases where dolmens were carefully explored.

Neolithic Man specialised in the construction of dolmens. The dolmen is by no means peculiar to Ireland. Examples are to be found in England, principally in Wales and Cornwall, and in France, chiefly in Brittany. They also occur in Sweden, Holland,

Germany and Denmark, and even as far away as Central India. Borlase, in his great work *The Dolmens of Ireland* (3 vols.), records 786, but his estimate is much too low. For example, the existence of most of the Breiffne dolmens were unknown to him. In the western counties the largest number has been recorded. Sligo with 163 represents one of the outstanding districts for these structures. It has been estimated that of the 786 recorded by Borlase the counties of Donegal, Sligo, Mayo, Galway, Clare, Limerick, Kerry and Cork possess as many as 520.

As a rule the maritime counties of the west coast show the greatest concentration. Some inland counties, e.g., Kildare, Offaly and Westmeath, do not appear to possess any, if we except a dolmen on the Hill of Ushnagh which was supposed to mark the centre of Ireland. Breiffne is rich in dolmens, but as the great majority of them are still unrecorded it is, as yet, impossible to specify their number. For instance, in the townland of Ballaghanea, beside Loch Ramor, in Lurgan Parish, in a field to the right of the main road from Kells to Virginia is a well-known dolmen consisting of four upright pillar-stones—the *secondary* type—with the capstone, now displaced, lying alongside. Another example is to be seen at Raffony, in Mullagh Parish. Many elaborate brochures on the geographical distribution of the dolmen have appeared in recent years with maps indicating the various districts in which they occur. But the East Breiffne dolmens have been ignored, proving that a thorough and systematic survey has yet to be undertaken. In the pages of this *Journal* (Vol. I., p. 353) will be found an illustration of the Loughduff dolmen. It is described by the late Father Meehan in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (March, 1909).

Dolmens are popularly known by various names throughout the country, e.g., "Giants' Graves"; "Druids' Altars," "ΛΕΘΑΙΟ ΝΑ ΥΨΙΑΝ" (i.e., beds of the Fenians); ΛΕΘΑΙΟ ΘΙΑΡΜΟΥΔΑ ΑΣΥΡ ΞΗΛΙΝΝΕ (referring to the well-known legend of Diarmaid and Grainne). The ΛΕΘΑΙΟ indicates the sepulchral character of the monument. Those interesting stone monuments—links with the prehistoric dawn of civilization—have withstood the storms and destructive agencies of four thousand years; most of them are now in a ruinous condition and many others have been destroyed and swept away. That so many of them should have survived, in the circumstances, is remarkable, and it is to be desired that the remaining dolmens of Breiffne will obtain more study and attention in the future than they have received in the past.

PHILIP O'CONNELL.

The Corporation of the Borough of Cavan.

(I.)

By T. S. SMYTH.

[Read 18th March, 1926.]

THE CHARTER OF KING JAMES I.

An important phase of Irish history is that known as the Flight of the Earls, when the chieftains, O'Neill and O'Donnell, left the country. Soon afterwards, King James the First of England appointed a Commission to consider and report how the vast territory—comprising the counties of Tyrone, "Coleraine," Donegal, Fermanagh, Armagh, and Cavan—could best be planted. Among the many recommendations in the report subsequently made was one that Cavan should have three corporate towns. As a result, the town of Cavan in 1611, and Belurbet in 1613, received charters giving them corporations. A third charter, though intended to be granted (to Virginia, as already described*) was never issued.

The charter which King James I granted to the town of Cavan is dated the 15th November, 1611.† It states that Cavan was then the only place of trade and commerce in the county of Cavan, and where the Justices of Assize and Gaol Delivery could alone conveniently hold Sessions. Reference is also made to the services rendered by the town to the forces of Queen Elizabeth in the great rebellion; and it is mentioned that the Commissioners for the planting of the late escheated lands of Ulster had allocated 400 acres lying in and about the said town for the maintenance of a Corporation there to be established.

The charter provides that

the said town and place called the Cavan in the said County of Cavan and all that circuit and extent of land lying within the compass of one mile every way round about the said

* See this *Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 22, *et seq.*

† *Rot. Pat.* 8 Jac. I, p. 2, m. 16.



This map shows the boundary fixed by the Royal Charter of King James I, A.D. 1611. This boundary included an area " . . . within the compass of one mile every way round about the said town to be measured and taken from the stone House or castle wherein Walter Bradee, Gent., now dwelleth, the castle of Cavan, commonly called Reily's Castle, and the two Poles of land called Rossgolgan excepted. . . . "

Inside the (circular) boundary of 1611 is marked (for contrast) the boundary proposed in the *Reports and Plans on Municipal Corporation Boundaries (Ireland)*, 1837.

(Map, from the Ordnance Survey, appears in the aforementioned *Reports and Plans*.)

Enlarged from Ordnance Survey Map of 1 inch = 1 Statute mile.

(Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey map with the permission of the Minister for Finance of the Irish Free State.)

town to be measured and taken from the stone House or castle wherein Walter Bradee, Gent., now dwelleth, the castle of Cavan, commonly called Reily's Castle, and the two Poles of land called Rossgolgan excepted, shall from henceforth be called and be the Borough and town of Cavan.

The charter created a Corporation consisting of one sovereign, two portreeves (or "portriffs"), twelve burgesses, and of so many as are now free and inhabiting in or of the said town or Borough and of so many of the free men as the said Sovereign, Portriffs, and Burgesses for the time being amongst themselves shall hereafter think fit to chuse, according as the multitude of inhabitants increase.

In the charter, Walter Brady was named as the first sovereign, and Farrell M'Eregules and Owen Brogan were constituted portreeves. The following were nominated as burgesses and Common Council of the town:—Hugh Culme, Walter Talbot, Patrick Brady, Thomas Brady, Philip Tuite, Farrell M'Eregules, Owen More Brogan, Owen Beg Brogan, James Murray, Tirlogh Dolly, Patrick Fitzwilliam Brady, and Donagh Brogan (als. Brogan).

Here it should be pointed out that the sites of Walter Bradee's (or Brady's) stone house and Reily's (or O'Reilly's) castle are marked in one of the two maps showing the ancient and the proposed new boundaries of the town, respectively, in the *Reports and Plans on Municipal Corporation Boundaries (Ireland)*, 1837. The site of Walter Brady's stone house is marked as in Upper Main Street, and its exact location there is supposed to be at No. 63, where Mr. Joseph Fitzpatrick's Swan Drapery Stores are now. At the rear of Mr. Fitzpatrick's house is an underground passage or tunnel running to the Fair Green (Gallows Hill), Tullymongan, and thought to have communicated with the castle formerly there. The site of Reily's, or O'Reilly's, castle is marked off Bridge Street, southern side, facing the junction of that street and Abbey Street, and only a short distance to the west of Walter Brady's stone house. O'Reilly's castle, it is generally believed, was on the Gallows Hill, but there was very probably another castle of the same name in Cavan. The evidence afforded by the 1609 Plantation Map would seem to confirm this supposition. Situated between the townlands of "Tullomoan" [Tullymongan] and "Nakadiue" [Keadue], and south-east of the town of Cavan, the latter map has a townland marked "Themore." This is bounded by the townland divisions of "Tullomoan," "Dromanana" [Dromavanagh], "Lisdorran" [Lisdaran], "Nakadiue," and "Dromalaa" [Drumalee]. The greater part of the northern end of the present town of Cavan would be in the older division of "Themore." The derivation of the name is obvious: $\tau\acute{\iota}\xi\ \mu\acute{o}\rho\eta$, i.e., "big house." No castle or building of any kind is indicated in the townland. The castle of the O'Reillys off Bridge Street (shown on the accompanying

map), and nearby Walter Brady's stone house, would have been in "Themore." This was very probably the "big house" from which the townland (now obsolete) derived its name.

The 1609 Map has the town of Cavan together with a castle and church included in "Tullomoan." As far as can be observed from this map, the castle was situated in "Tullomoan" and beside the boundary separating "Tullomoan" from "Tiricony" [Tirquin]. The church was the Abbey of Cavan. Hence, we may assume that the O'Reillys possessed two castles in Cavan—the principal one being in Tullymongan and the other off Bridge Street, as above indicated.

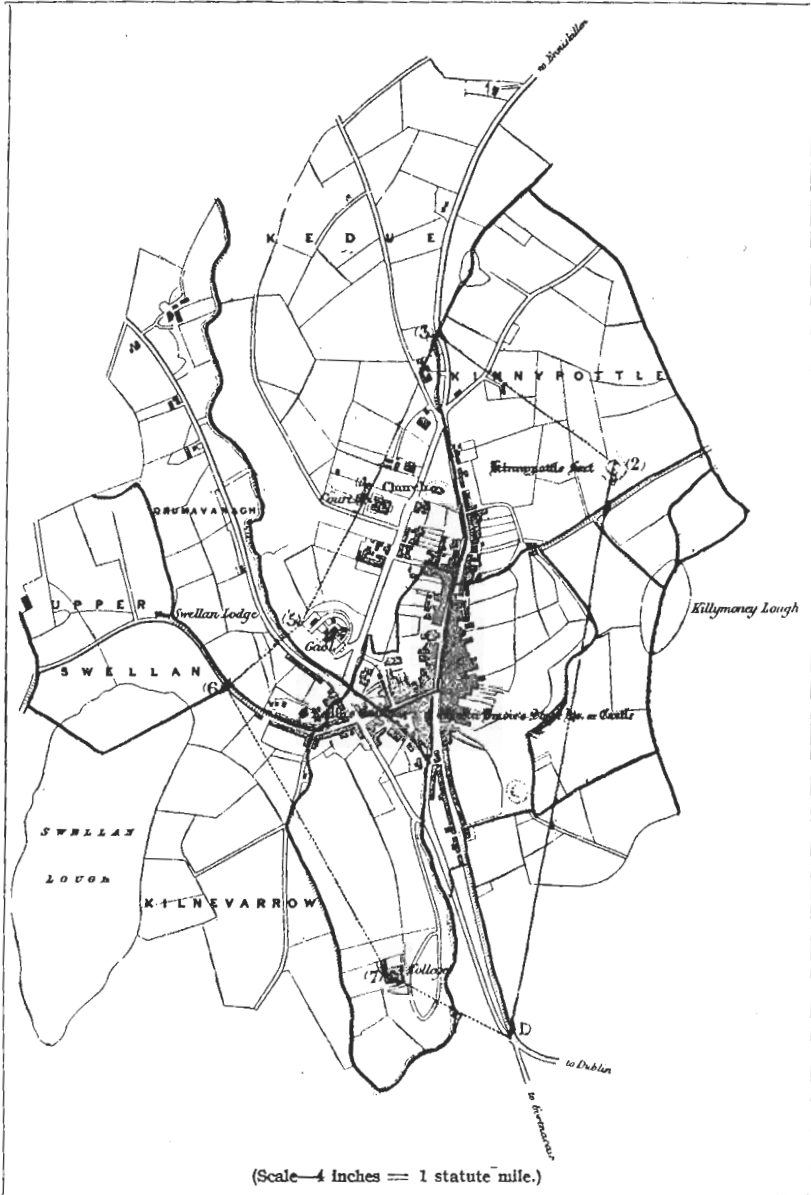
Rossgolgan, above-mentioned, is now called Rosculligan, or Rosscolgan, and on it is Breffni Park, the Athletic grounds of the County Cavan *Gaelic Athletic Association*. The 1609 map has "Rosgullan."

THE CHARTER OF KING JAMES II.

In the fourth year of King James II of England, or in 1687-8, a new charter was granted to the town and the original one annulled.* The second charter recites the seizure of the franchises into the King's hands by *quo warranto* out of the Exchequer, and confers on the Corporation the same privileges as they had formerly enjoyed. The names of the members of the new Corporation thus constituted are:—Luke Reilly, Esq., sovereign; Robert Fenly, Alexander Mac Leland, portreeves; and the following sixteen burgesses: Edward Reilly, Esq.; Philip Reilly, jun., Esq.; Thomas Fleming, Esq.; Philip Reilly, sen., Esq.; Miles Reilly, Esq., John Reilly, Esq.; Francis Bourke, Esq.; Hugh Reilly, Esq.; Richard Brady, Esq.; Miles Reilly, Gent.; Robert Fenly, merchant; Charles Reilly, Gent.; Alexander Mac Leland, merchant; John Sheridan, Gent.; John Price, inn-keeper; and Edmund Lynch, Gent. Daniel Donnelly, Gent., was nominated as recorder and town clerk. After the defeat and deposition of King James II, this second Corporation came to an end. There was a reversion to the former order. The charter of King James I became the law again, and the control of central and municipal government and the ownership of land were restored to those in whose hands they had been immediately before the short-lived reign of his Catholic Majesty. Furthermore, the second charter, like others similarly circumstanced, was rendered inoperative by the decision of the House of Lords in the case of Pippard v. the Mayor of Drogheda.†

* This charter is dated the 23rd February, 4 Jac. II, and enrolled (*Rot. Pat.*, 3rd March, 4 Jac. II, p. 2, m. 39). Reference to the whereabouts of the charters granted by both Kings is made in this *Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 31. See also H. Wood's *Guide to the Public Records of Ireland*.

† 4. *Brown's Parliamentary Cases*. References throughout this paper to "the charter" may be assumed to relate to the charter granted by King James I.



This map shows the boundary (i.e., the straight lines touching the seven points indicated) as proposed in the *Reports and Plans on Municipal Corporation Boundaries (Ireland), 1837*.

(Map, from the Ordnance Survey, appears in the aforementioned *Reports and Plans*).

(Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey map with the permission of the Minister for Finance of the Irish Free State.)

CORPORATION OFFICERS, ETC.

The style of the Cavan Corporation was "The Sovereign, Portreeves, Burgesses and Freemen of the Town and Borough of Cavan."

The Corporation were authorised to elect a Recorder and Town Clerk, one Sergeant of the Mace, and "all other superior officers and ministers which they shall think to be convenient and necessary."

It was provided in the charter that the sovereign should be elected by the sovereign, portreeves, burgesses, and freemen, out of the burgesses, on the Monday next after the feast of St. John the Baptist, and should be sworn in on the Monday next after the ensuing feast of St. Michael the Archangel. He was to hold office for one year, and was required to be sworn in before the sovereign, recorder, and two, at least, of the most ancient burgesses. In the later years of the Corporation it was usual for the sovereign to continue in office until a new one was sworn in.* Mr. Henry John Clements, for instance, was sovereign from the year 1818 until the year 1838. As there was no recorder for many years, the requisite of the charter as to the presence of the recorder at the swearing in ceremony, cannot have been complied with. It appears doubtful, too, whether the Act, 13, 14 Geo. III, c. 42—which provided for the absence of officers required by the charter to be present at elections—also extended to the swearing-in of those already elected. The charter provided that the sovereign should have charge of the free government of the town in the same manner as the sovereign of Kells. He was constituted a justice of the peace, coroner, and clerk of the market within the borough; and he usually exercised these privileges. As coroner, he had the usual fees upon inquests, which were of rare occurrence. The charter empowered him to appoint, during his absence, a vice-sovereign, from out of the burgesses and with their consent, with powers similar to his own. This power was frequently exercised. Mr. William Burrowes, who was vice-sovereign in the year 1818 continued in that office until the Corporation was abolished (in 1840). In a Directory for the year 1824, Wm. Burrowes, Esq., Main Street, Cavan, is mentioned as the deputy sovereign, and Col. H. J. Clements as sovereign. The sovereign was formerly expected to give a dinner upon Michaelmas Day.

It was provided in the charter that the portreeves (or "port-riffs") should be chosen annually by the Corporation from among the burgesses. For many years these officers did not perform any duties. From an entry dated 1680, in the Corporation books, they appear to have acted at that period as sheriffs

* *Reports from the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in Ireland, Appendix Parts 1 and 2, 1835.*

to the Town or Borough Law Court. The office of portreeve has long since been a mere honorary office without any emolument. Nevertheless, it is on record that portreeves, as well as sovereigns, etc., were regularly elected between 1696 and 1817 and between 1838 and 1840. Deputy portreeves and vice-sovereigns were also frequently appointed from time to time.

The last town clerk and recorder (Oliver Nugent, Esqr.) was elected on the 30th September, 1839. At the same meeting, Thomas Bligh was appointed deputy recorder and town clerk. Mr. Nugent was dead before the next and last meeting on the 29th June, 1840. Sometimes the office (or offices?) of recorder and town clerk were occupied by two different persons. (Did the charter intend that only one person should hold both offices?) On three occasions two gentlemen were appointed "deputy recorders and town clerks." For some years (in later days particularly), the recorder and the deputy recorder and town clerk—usually one person administered the two last-mentioned offices—were appointed or re-appointed annually. The recordership itself was generally, if not invariably, held by lawyers—Counsellors-at-Law.

The sergeant of the mace acted as constable within the town. In lieu of salary, he was permitted to retain all the toll he could collect upon every day of the week except Tuesday (the charter market day) and fair days.

With a view to showing the relationship of the general body of the inhabitants in regard to the Corporation, some facts must be stated. The Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, furnished, in the year 1674, a letter and report on the Irish Corporations, and he there pointed out that in most of the Corporations of Ireland the freemen were generally Catholics in the year 1641, this continuing until about 1654.* It being a custom in most Corporations that all the sons of freemen were also free of the Corporations of which their fathers were free, many of the Catholic religion were entitled to the freedom of their Corporations about 1674. The Lord Lieutenant also mentioned that since the ending of the rebellion the magistrates in the Corporations had generally been Protestants, and many of that persuasion had been also admitted to their freedoms. During the Cromwellian Commonwealth (1649 to 1660), it would seem that the enjoyment of the benefits of freedom was denied to Catholic freemen. By a letter dated the 22nd May, 1661, the king (Charles II) declared his pleasure that the respective former inhabitants, natives and freemen, and such as had right to be freemen in any of the cities and towns in this kingdom, should be forthwith restored to their accustomed privileges and immunities, and admitted to trade in the said respective cities and towns as freely as heretofore, no

* *An Inquiry into the Ancient Corporate System of Ireland*, by Peter Gale, M.A., 1834.

distinctions to be made on account of religious opinions. Notwithstanding this letter, many of the old freemen that were Catholics were kept out of several of the Corporations.

Referring specifically to Cavan Corporation, it is on record that at the first Parliamentary Election for the Borough, in 1613, Walter Brady and George (Thomas?) Brady were nominated in the Rescusant (Catholic, etc.) interests.* Captain Culme, founder of Virginia, and George Sexton (Secretary to Sir Arthur Chichester), who were the opposing candidates, were declared elected. But as the election had been conducted with irregularity and violence, a petition was presented, and the return of Culme and Sexton annulled. The two Bradys were then returned. In the time of Bishop Bedell (Bishop from 1629 to 1642), the Protestant Chancellor of Kilmore, Dr. Alan Cooke, L.L.D., was sovereign of the town. The Corporation book (period, 1680 to 1840) contains a copy of an Act or Declaration of Abjuration, a copy of an Oath of Fidelity to Queen Anne, etc., and a copy of the Quakers' Declaration (a modified form of the second-mentioned oath)—all repugnant to Catholic principles. These oaths and declarations were required to be subscribed by those admitted to the freedom of the Borough, the sovereign, portreeves, burgesses, and other officers and officials. At a Court held on the 31st August, 1704, John Dunkan, one of the sergeants of the Borough, upon being duly sworn, deposed that he had been ordered by the sovereign to summon such of the burgesses as did or would not conform themselves according to the Acts of Parliament directing the taking of the oath of abjuration, to appear at the Town House to proceed to a new election of others in the room of such as did not or would not so qualify themselves. In connection with this, he stated that about three weeks ago, and again on Monday last, he went to the dwelling house of Robt. Sanderson, Esqr., and on each occasion left a summons there.

In the Corporation book above-mentioned there are copies of oaths required to be taken by :—(1) the sovereign, (2) the portreeve, (3) each freeman, (4) an attorney, (5) the sergeants, (6) the constables, and (7) each burgess. Another book (period, 1771 to 1826) contains copies of an oath of the market jury and of appraisers respectively. The oaths and declarations were regularly administered. Pursuant to the provisions of the charter, the sovereign, portreeves, and other officers were sworn-in at a court or meeting held annually at the end of September or early in October.

In Cavan, the burgesses (twelve in number) apparently held office for life. They were generally non-resident, and were uniformly of the Protestant persuasion. No duties were performed by them and there was no salary or other emolument incidental to the office. Neither fees nor stamp duties were paid

* See this *Journal*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 319.

upon their admission to the Corporation. As to the freemen, there was no limit to the number that might be admitted. The power of admitting freemen was made in Cavan, as elsewhere, subservient to political interests.

THE CLEMENTS-NESBITT COMPACT.

In the year 1722, two families, Clements and Nesbitt, obtained paramount influence in the Corporation, and divided its patronage between them by a written compact which appeared in the Corporation books in the following terms :—

Articles agreed on between Theophilus Clements and Thomas Nesbitt, Esqrs., concerning the Corporation of Cavan.

Imprimis. That the said Clements and Nesbitt shall be sovereign, year about, of the said Corporation. Mr. Clements to be sovereign, the next election, Midsummer, 1723, and Mr. Nesbitt the next year, and so successively, each in his turn.

Secondly. That no person shall, on any pretences whatsoever, be admitted to his freedom of the said Corporation, without the joint consent of the said Clements and Nesbitt, either personally present, or under their hands.

Thirdly. That if any vacancy shall happen either by death or resignation of any Burgess, then Mr. Clements shall first name the succeeding burgess and then Mr. Nesbitt successively, as they are to be sovereigns.

Fourthly. That although each has a right to recommend a burgess in his turn in the case of any vacancy, yet that vacancy shall not be filled up, unless both Mr. Clements and Mr. Nesbitt approve of the person so recommended, either personally, or, in the case of absence, under their hands.

Signed this 22d March, 1722.

THEO. CLEMENTS.

THO. NESBITT.

This compact was acted upon from its date until the extinction of the Corporation. On the borough being deprived of its Parliamentary representation by the Act of Union in the year 1800, the Commissioners appointed under the Act, 40 Geo. III, c. 34, awarded £15,000 (as compensation for loss of the political patronage of the borough), to be equally divided between the heads of those two families. From that time the borough ceased to be an object of much interest to the patrons—Clements and Nesbitt—who were not in any way connected to the town by property. However, members of both families held various offices in the Corporation up to the time of the legal abolition of that body.

BOROUGH MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

An important provision of the charter was that which authorised the Corporation to return "two Discreet Burgesses" to the Irish House of Commons. This privilege was regularly exercised.

Among those who represented the town, in the seventeenth century, may be mentioned Walter Brady, the first sovereign, or mayor, of Cavan, who, with Thomas Brady (apparently one of the original burgesses), was returned to Parliament in 1614.* Walter Brady was a person of some importance in his day. The following grant was made to him by Queen Elizabeth in December, 1584:—

The office of constable and gaoler of the gaol of Cavan in Co. Cavan, with all such fees as the constable and gaoler of Tryme [i.e., Trim] has. To hold during pleasure. Security in £300 sterling for the safe custody of the prisoners.† In the *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland* (James I, 1611), under the heading, "List of Pensions and Annuities," appears the entry:—"Walter Bradey, Constable of Cavan, 10*l.*"

Alan Cooke, LL.D., one of the members returned in 1634 and again in 1639, was also sovereign of the town.‡ He was the founder of Cookstown, County Tyrone.

For a short time about 1709, Joseph Addison, the brilliant essayist of *Spectator* fame, was one of the Cavan representatives.§

In the eighteenth century, the members of Parliament for the borough belonged mainly to the families of the patrons—Clements and Nesbitt.||

Rathkenny, Cootehill, was—and still is—the family seat of the Clements family. The Nesbitts lived at Crossdoney Lodge (alias Lismore Castle), but there is now no trace of them in the County.

Theophilus Clements and Thomas Nesbitt—the signatories of the Clements-Nesbitt compact—who were elected in 1713 and 1715 respectively, were the first of their families to represent the borough in the Irish House of Commons.

Brief mention may be made of a few of the Clements's who were members of Parliament.

Theophilus Clements (above referred to) was born in County Meath in 1687. He was sovereign of Cavan in 1723-'24, and High Sheriff of the County in 1726. When sovereign he (as is stated subsequently) presented to the borough a handsome silver mace, and also an official seal. Judging from the number of Committees on which he served, he was an active Parliamentarian, and held the offices of Agent to the Civil and Military

* See this *Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 39.

† *Fianis* of Queen Elizabeth, 12 Dec., XXVII Eliz.

‡ See this *Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 46.

§ See this *Journal*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 98.

|| See this *Journal*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 98.

Pensioners and Teller, or Cashier, of the Irish Exchequer. He married before 1723, Elizabeth Burton, daughter of Francis Burton, Esq., of Buncraggy, County Clare, and aunt of Francis Pierpont Burton, 2nd Baron Conyngham. In the summer of 1728 he went to Flanders and Holland for the benefit of his health, and died in Flanders in the August of that year.*

Robert Clements (born about 1725, died in 1747) was an ensign and later a lieutenant in the army. When his uncle, Lieut.-Colonel Henry Clements, died (killed at the head of his regiment at the battle of Fontenoy, 11th May, 1745) he succeeded him in the representation of the borough, holding office until his own death two years later.†

The present Vice-Regal Lodge, Phoenix Park, Dublin, was built by the Right Honourable Nathaniel Clements (the father of the first Lord Leitrim) who was a Member for Cavan town from 1761 to 1768, and from 1769 (1776 ?) to 1777. He built the house for his own use, and some time after his death it was sold to the Government.

Although not a Parliamentary representative for the town, it should be recorded that Theophilus Clements (born in 1727, died in 1804), who was High Sheriff of Cavan in 1766, was later sovereign of Cavan, and also, before 1779, of Carrick-on-Shannon.

From 1713 until 1852, a period of one hundred and thirty-nine years, there was always a member of the Clements family in the Irish or, after the Union, in the British House of Commons.

The foregoing particulars relating to the Parliamentary representatives supplement the information given in my Papers on *Members in the Irish Parliament for Cavan County and the Boroughs of Cavan and Belturbet*, already published in this *Journal*. In these Papers will be found the full list of members, dates of election, and other details.

TOWN GOVERNMENT.

During the period of the Corporation régime, the municipal affairs of the town were regulated at courts held before the sovereign or his deputy, which, under the denomination of "Town Courts," appear to have exercised jurisdiction in the nature of a court leet and of an assembly of the Corporation. At these courts "Market Juries" were appointed, and they elected

* *Ancestors and Descendants of Robert Clements of Leicestershire and Warwickshire, England, First Settler of Haverhill, Massachusetts* (Clement Genealogy), by Percival Wood Clement, Rutland, Vermont, U.S.A.

† *Ancestors and Descendants of Robert Clements of Leicestershire and Warwickshire, England, First Settler of Haverhill, Massachusetts* (Clement Genealogy), by Percival Wood Clement, Rutland, Vermont, U.S.A., Vol. II, p. 887. The name, Robert Clements, does not appear in the List of Members of Parliament on page 98, Vol. I, No. 2, of this *Journal*. He probably preceded Rt. Hon. Henry Weston, who, according to that List, was elected in place of Henry Clements, deceased.

constables, appraisers, etc., in addition to their ordinary duties. From entries in the Corporation books under the head of "A List of several Nuisances, &c., &c., presented by the Market Jury of the Town and Borough of Cavan, and approved of by Samuel Burrowes, Esq., Sovereign," it is found that regulations for the government of the town were made at these courts, through the instrumentality of the Market Jury; and that when approved of by the sovereign they were considered to be binding upon the inhabitants. No Town Court was held from 1796 until 1819, when two courts were held—the first for swearing-in a mace-bearer and constable and the second for swearing-in a Market Jury. The last Market Jury (12 in number) seems to have been sworn before Henry J. Clements, Esq., sovereign, at a "General Sessions of the Peace" held at Cavan on the 18th January, 1826 (pursuant to an Act of Parliament of the 27 and 28 of Geo. 3rd).

In 1824 a Town Court was held in the Courthouse, with a view to enforcing cleanliness in the streets, etc. The business was transacted by the sovereign, vice-sovereign, and one Burgess, in the presence of some inhabitants (who attended, but were not considered entitled, or allowed, to take any part in the proceedings). Certain regulations for the government of the town were passed. Penalties were attached for the breach of each, and the vice-sovereign later had these penalties levied under his warrant by distress. No sale, however, took place, as the penalties were paid; but the right to sell the distress was claimed. These rules were considered to be "bye-laws," and were intended to be passed as such.

The Corporation from time to time made bye-laws for the regulation of the franchise fees upon admission, etc., but in no other instance for the government of the town. It does not appear that any resistance was at any time made to the imposition or levy of the penalties. The mode of enforcing the municipal regulations of the town, under the Market Jury presentments and the bye-laws as mentioned, was apparently illegal. The Market Juries had no legal power to impose, or the sovereign to levy, such penalties as were prescribed. The bye-laws as passed were not sanctioned by law, but, at all events, the power of selling a distress made under them was not sustained by common law or statute.

The following is a representative selection (in summarised form) of the orders and regulations appearing in the original records of the Corporation, and they indicate that body's methods of dealing with matters appertaining to street cleaning, sanitation, markets, etc., as well as incidentally shedding some light on the state of the town at the time concerned:—

6th February, 1680: "The Sover. Portrives & Bur-gesses" unanimously made a table of fees payable to the sovereign, portreeves, clerks, attorneys, sergeants, pound keepers, and appraisers, respectively. There are in all 54

items of fees. The charges ranged from 4d. (fourpence)—for various services—to 13s. 4d. (thirteen shillings and fourpence) to the sovereign (as coroner) for holding an inquest on a death. The clerk was to get 2s. 6d. (two shillings and sixpence) and the sergeant 4d. (fourpence), for swearing every freeman. An attorney was entitled to 2s. 6d. (two shillings and sixpence) as retaining fee and 9d. (ninepence) for attendance for every court day afterwards “whilst the Cause Depends in Court.”

15th April, 1703: General Assembly of the Sovereign, Portreeves, and Burgesses at the “Towne House.”—An order was made that no man for the future should be admitted or sworn free [i.e., made a freeman] of the borough unless by the majority of votes of the sovereign, portreeves, and burgesses, and first paying into the hands of the treasurers for the time being the sum of ten (?) shillings “to be applied to the Publique Good” of the borough. Mr. Abra: Finlay, Mr. Isaac Adreene and Mr. Will: Parr were appointed to receive all such public moneys.

2nd December, 1703: Court before Edward Davenport, Esqr., Sovereign, and the Portreeves and Burgesses.—It was ordered that the constables of the borough levy by distress or otherwise the sum of one pound sterling on each of 28 inhabitants named, for not paving their streets before their respective tenements. The money was to be paid into the hands of Major Nesbitt, Abraham Finlay, and Isaac Adriane. Those paving their streets before the 4th May following were to have the money returned to them. In the other cases, workmen were to be employed to carry out the work in accordance with a presentment made on the 15th April, 1703.

1st March, 1704: General Assembly of the Sovereign, Portreeves, Burgesses, and Freemen.—An order was made, in pursuance to a former by-law, that no person or persons should exercise any trade in the borough unless he or they first become free of the borough, or if they did not become free “or Compounde for paying Quartridge as formerly hath been accustomed in the Sd. Burr” that it should be in the power of the sovereign for the time being to distrain the goods of any such person or persons for the amount due.

[Note.—Between 1704 and 1773 there is no record of any orders and regulations of the kind mentioned here.]

Thursday, 1st April, 1773: Town Court.—The (first?) appointment of a Market Jury is recorded. Seventeen persons, each described as “Gent.”, were appointed and sworn for the ensuing year. Judging from the title, “Gent.”, they may have been some of the local tradespeople and merchants.

Thursday, 19th October, 1775: Town Court.—It was

“presented” that every inhabitant within the Corporation of Cavan immediately dig up, scour, and open the channel opposite the back of his (or her) tenement. Where any inhabitants, within six days after notice had been given, neglected or refused doing this, the sovereign or the vice-sovereign was empowered to distrain so much of the goods and chattels of the offenders as would be sufficient to pay labourers to carry out the work.

Thursday, 28th March, 1776: Town Court.—An order signed by the Vice-Sovereign, Deputy Recorder, and Market Jury, describes the hogs and pigs “now at Large in the Town” as a common nuisance. It was then directed that the town sergeants should seize and detain any hogs or pigs they should find at large in the streets. If within twenty-four hours they were not released by the owner paying a fine of 2s. (two shillings), they were to be sold. One half of the proceeds of the sale was to go to the person seizing the animals and the other half to the poor of the parish. It would seem that this order did not finally stop the hogs and pigs from exercising themselves in the streets, as the Market Jury, on the 7th March, 1782, directed that the “former rule” respecting the hogs and pigs be strictly adhered to.

Thursday, 24th October, 1776: Town Court.—It was ordered that the sum of four pounds be assessed on the several inhabitants of the town of Cavan from “Robert Whitendales (?) in the Half Acre to Doctor Wises (?) and from the Market Cross to the Barrack Gate.” The sum was to be immediately levied by distress or otherwise. Robert Freeman, Esqr., Vice-Sovereign, and Mr. Charles Stewart, Foreman of the Market Jury, were appointed applotters of the amount assessed. The money was to be expended in providing “a proper (?) Inside Cover and Tumbler (?), with tackling,” for carrying off the dirt out of the street within the limits already mentioned.

[Note.—A State Paper Office map of “The Towne of Cavan,” made about 1593, shows the Market Cross and the Bull Ring in the Main Street.]

Thursday, 4th February, 1779: Town Court.—The Vice-Sovereign (Robt. Freeman, Esqr.), with the advice and consent of the Market Jury, made an order that no more than one penny custom (to the “custom man”) and one penny (to the Sergeant) for the use of the “pick” (?) should be paid for each sack of potatoes brought to the market to be sold. The law was to be put in force against persons exacting or taking more money.

Thursday, 10th June, 1779: Town Court.—It was enacted that if any horse, mare, gelding, mule or ass was found trespassing inside the Borough, and if the owner of such beast had not land or grazing sufficient within the Corporat on

limits, he should pay five shillings and five pence for the first trespass and eleven shillings and fourpence half-penny for every subsequent trespass.

Thursday, 21st March, 1782: Town Court.—It was ordered that a standard creel (as approved by the Sovereign) be forthwith provided to measure all back loads of turf brought into the town for sale, and that every such “Load or Loads of Turf shall contain twice the full of said Creel upon the same being fairly measured . . .” Loads “found defective of said measure” were to be immediately forfeited and sent to the confined debtors or to the poor inhabitants of the Corporation, in the manner directed by the sovereign, or, in his absence, by the majority or any three of the Market Jury. It was also laid down that creels found defective should be burned. The regulations were to apply from the first day of April following.

[Note.—Were the “confined debtors” kept in the Corporation jail?]

Thursday, 12th February, 1795: Town Court.—The town sergeant was directed to summon the inhabitants to attend on Monday, the 16th instant for the purpose of swearing in a Market Jury and appraisers for the year ensuing.

Monday, 16th February, 1795: Town Court.—It was enacted that one or more of the Market Jury (then sworn into office) act in preventing any fraud or nuisance within the Corporation (area).

13th April, 1824: Town Court. (Held in the Court House, Cavan).—The Sovereign (H. J. Clements, Esq.) and Burgesses made “Bye-Laws, Rules, and Regulations,” by which every inhabitant was required, before eleven (ten?) o'clock in the morning of every day (Sundays only excepted), to sweep and cleanse, or cause to be swept and cleansed, before his (or her) respective houses, buildings and walls; in the streets, and in such lanes and passages as carriages, carts or cars can pass through, and “carry or cause the same to be carried away or removed off the said Streets, Lanes, or Passages.” Persons refusing or neglecting to do this were for every such offence, upon oath of one credible witness, before the sovereign, to forfeit the sum of one shilling, to be levied by distress and sale of the offenders' goods, together with the expense of levying the same. It was also directed that “All Manure and Nuisances whatever, found on the Streets, Lanes, or Passages as aforesaid, after Twelve o'clock noon, on any of said Days, to be forfeited and disposed of, as the Sovereign may think proper.” The forfeitures paid to the sovereign were by him to be applied for the use of the poor of the town. “The above Laws and Regulations, to be in force from henceforward, or as long as the Sovereign may think they are necessary.” The regulations were printed

(by O'Brien, Printer, Cavan), and apparently duly published in the town.

It will be noted from the foregoing that the meetings of the Corporation were variously styled—"A Court before the Sovereign, Portreeves, and Burgesses," "General Assembly," and "Town Court," and elections of officers, etc., are described as having taken place at a "Court" or a "Corporation Court" or a "Town Court" or a "Court of Election," all, very likely, meaning the same. In the two Corporation books available (period, 1680 to 1840), the signatures of the officers, burgesses, freemen and officials attending are appended to the record of most of the meetings, and afford an index of the number present. The attendances varied from time to time, but frequently about a dozen members constituted a meeting. On the 30th June, 1707, at an election of Sovereign, 163 members voted (12 burgesses, 89 "old freemen," 55 "new freemen," and 7 freemen not classified as old or new). There were three candidates, and Lieut. (?) Fran: Aldrich was elected by "the majority of voices." Some other examples of attendances are:—29th June, 1724 (presentation of Mace and Seal), 26 present; 13th May, 1776 (Election of two Members of Parliament), 25 present; 30th June, 1800 (Election of Sovereign, etc.), 10 present; Monday, — June, 1815, Election of Sovereign, etc.), 3 present; 29th June, 1840, (Election of Sovereign, etc., last meeting), 9 present.

THE BOROUGH LAW COURTS.

Authority was given by the charter to the sovereign and any two or more of the burgesses to hold every three weeks a Court of Civil Pleas or Court of Record to determine all manner of actions not exceeding in debt and damages the sum of twenty pounds sterling.

Provision was also made for the holding of a Court of "Pye-powder" (or "Pie Poudre") during the fairs mentioned in the charter. The judges were to be the sovereign and at least two of the burgesses "or any other person named or authorised with him or them." This Court administered justice to all comers, but principally to wanderers and pedlars.

Both these Courts were modelled on the corresponding Courts in Kells (cognizance of plea only excepted).

An original record of the first-mentioned Court, between the years 1771 and 1796, is available. Described as "a Town Court held in and for said Borough of Cavan," the Court was held before the vice-sovereign. Reference has previously been made to the "Town Court" in connection with general town purposes, but it is the "Town Court" administering justice that is now under consideration. During the period, 1771 to 1796, the following vice-sovereigns officiated:—1771 to 1774, Mark Magrath, Esqr.; 1775 to 1795, Robert Freeman, Esqr.; 1796, Saml. Burrowes, Esqr.

Seemingly (judging from a reference to the "Jury's return" and another similar reference) the Court had, at least on some occasions, the assistance of a jury. Usually, each litigant was represented by an attorney, and apparently it was necessary for the latter, before practising, to be "Admitted and Sworn an Attorney of The Borough Court of Cavan." The Court met every three weeks on Thursdays. According to the minute book, only four sittings of the Court were held from the 25th April, 1771, to the end of that year. The number was the same in 1772, but there was a slight increase in 1773. Between 1774 and 1776, scarcely a month went by without a sitting. A fair number took place in 1777, but adjournments (without any business being transacted) are entered from the 27th November, 1777, to the 20th May, 1779. (Was the town at perfect peace, having no need for law-suits, during these eighteen months?). In some instances, there appear to have been formal adjournments, rules and orders, made at previous sittings, being continued. From the date last mentioned up to 1784, the sittings again became pretty regular. For seven years after that they fell off to about six each year. One sitting each only was held in 1792 and 1793. Once more, in 1794, the Court frequently sat. Seven was the number of sittings in 1795. Four were held before the 28th July, 1796, when the Court was adjourned to "this day Three Weeks," but it does not appear to have assembled again.

The minute book referred to does not give much information. The nature of each action is not set out, but it may be inferred that most of the suits were for the recovery of debts. The dates of the sittings, the names of the litigants, the names of their attorneys, and the rulings of the Court, are contained in the book. Some of the rulings read as follows:—"Execution in Portrif's Hands," "In Custody of Portrive on Execution," "Execution to Issue Against the Bail for the cost in this cause," "Def't. to pay the cost. Execution to Issue," "Dismiss against the Plain[tiff] in this cause," "Discharged," "Settled paying Recorder his Cost and all others," "Six Days to Declare." At a Town Court held on Thursday, 10th June, 1779, the following decision was given in the case (or cause) of John Dundass against John Castles (Attorney?):—"Discharged by consent of Plant: it appearing that no order from any Court can attach the Body of an Attorney as there was no Execution." An interesting entry occurs in the proceedings of the Town Court held on the 29th December, 1774. One case—that of James Magrath against Edwd. Reilly (or O'Reilly)—was, by consent of both parties, referred to Mr. Phyllis (Phillip?) Reilly of Croskeys and Phillip Reilly of the Bridge. [Were "Croskeys" (or Cross Keys?) and "the Bridge" the names of inns or taverns in the town?] The award of the latter gentlemen was to be the judgment of the Court if returned before next court day. Occasionally, cases were so referred to arbitration. The names of attorneys connected with the Court are

mentioned among the arbitrators. It was ordered at a Court held on the 25th October, 1781, that no further "Rules of reference" be entered in the rule book, it being provided that parties could, if necessary, settle their causes before the rising of the Court. If this order was intended to prevent further reference of actions to arbitration, it was not strictly carried out. Arbitrators were appointed in a case heard on the 23rd May, 1782; and they were also nominated on later dates.

No charter Court of Record was held in Cavan since 1796. The table of fees and other entries in the book relating to the proceedings of this Court lead one to infer that attachment of the body and goods was the usual process. It is said that the process of the Court was inoperative in a townland called "Cadua" (now spelt Keadew or Keady), which, as Abbey land, was tithe-free. This townland contained about 100 acres, and afforded this protection, although within the charter limits and not excepted thereout. In the 1709 *Cavan Townland List* (*infra*) the denomination, "Keddow and Abbey Lands," was valued at fourteen "Carvags." The 1609 map has "Nakadiue."

CORPORATION MEETING PLACE, ETC.

The Corporation were authorised by the charter to build a "common hall or Tholsell to be called by the name of the Tholsell of Cavan" in which they were to meet for the transaction of public business. It is not known if this hall was built. In the Corporation records between 1703 and 1728 mention is made of meetings held at the "Towne House." Probably, at least in the later days of the Corporation, town affairs were transacted in the old Court House in Main Street. (A Town Court was held in the "Court House, Cavan," on the 13th April, 1824.) In 1827 the old Court House became the Market House, the Grand Jury having sold it to Lord Farnham. Concerning this, it is of interest to add that the large iron gate of the Market House (fronting Main Street) was put there by its new owner. Cut into the iron of one of the bars are the words: "Made by Philip M'Arde for Rt. Hon. Baron Farnham, 1827." The maker, it is stated, owned a forge in the town. After a century's use, the gate is in a fairly good state of preservation.

At an earlier period Cavan had another Court House or Sessions House and Jail. This building is supposed to have been built on what is at present the site of the Protestant National Schools in Farnham Street, facing the now-disused County Jail on the opposite side of the same street. Was this a former County Sessions House and Jail, or was it the Jail that belonged to the Corporation (see under "Corporation Property")? And where stood the "gaol of Cavan" of which Walter Brady was, by grant of Queen Elizabeth, the constable and gaoler? These questions come to mind—some day, perhaps, they may be answered,

In the early part of the 18th century—about 1725—there was an inn in Cavan kept by a Mrs. Donaldson, who was an intimate friend of Dean Swift and Henry Brooke. This inn was their favourite rendezvous. Mrs. Donaldson advertised the inn by poetical effusions. In 1824 one of the Cavan inns was called the Corporation Arms, which was in Main Street. The proprietress was a Mary Anne Barry. Two other inns of the 1824 period may also be referred to incidentally. One was the “Cock and Punch Bowl” (Peter Brady, proprietor), in Church Street, three doors from the Cock Hill, south side: the house is now occupied by the Midland Wholesale Company. The other was the Farnham Arms Hotel (Paul Postans, proprietor) in Farnham Street—where the present Technical School is—which was the stopping place of the stage coach. The last-named hotel has been in Main Street for many years past.

An interesting provision of the charter was that which empowered the sovereign, portreeves, burgesses, and freemen to wear robes such as those worn by similar officers, etc., in Kells. As to whether or not this provision was observed, information is lacking.

MACE, SEAL, AND COAT OF ARMS.

Theophilus Clements, who was sovereign in 1723-'24, presented to the Borough a “silver mace & seal vulture Seventy Pounds ster. as a Free Gift for Ever unto the said Corporation.” So runs the official record of the presentation, which was made on the 29th June, 1724. It was then ordered in “open Court” that the mace should be kept within the Corporation in such proper place as every sovereign for the time being should appoint, and that he should have and appoint a proper person to carry the same on all Court days, on Holidays when required by the sovereign, and at every Assizes to be held for the County within the Corporation area. It was also laid down that each sovereign, as soon as sworn into office, should enter into a bond with a penalty of £140 (one hundred and forty pounds sterling) for the true payment of £70 (seventy pounds sterling) to Theophilus Clements, his heirs, etc. The object of the bond was an attempt to secure that the mace would be delivered up in good condition by each outgoing sovereign to his successor. The mace was returned to the Clements family when the Corporation ceased to exist.

On both the mace and the seal were engarved the arms of Theophilus Clements impaling those of his wife, Elizabeth Burton. The arms are thus described:—“Argent, two bends wavy sable, on a chief gules three bezants,” and the motto, *Patriis Virtutibus* [“By ancestral virtues”] goes with them. The arms of Lord Leitrim are those of the Clements's, with the addition of supporters. Lord Leitrim belongs to the Clements family.

What is regarded as the coat of arms of the town of Cavan



THE SEAL OF CAVAN CORPORATION.

A Seal was presented to that Body on the 29th June, 1724, by the then Sovereign of the Town, Theophilus Clements. The Coat of Arms appearing thereon is that of the Clements-Burton families. Motto: *Patris Virtutibus* [i.e., "By Ancestral Virtues"].



THE SEAL OF CAVAN URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL.

The Coat of Arms appearing thereon is that of Theophilus Clements (1687—1728), impaling the arms of his wife, Elizabeth Burton, Family Seat : Rathkenny, Cootehill,

(i.e., that appearing on the seal of Cavan Urban District Council, and previously on the seal of their predecessors, the Cavan Town Commissioners) is really the coat of arms of the Clements-Burton families.

FAIRS AND MARKETS.

In the year 1603 King James I of England issued letters patent which granted to John Bingle, Gent., the right of holding a market in the town of Cavan on Tuesdays.*

The charter of 1611 also authorised the Corporation to hold "one Free markett within the said town on Tuesday in every week." In addition, it provided that two fairs should be held annually—one on the 14th September and the day following, and the other to take place on the 1st November and the next day. Where the days named happened to be Saturday or Sunday, the fairs were to be held on the ensuing Monday and Tuesday in each case. According to the Schedule of Tolls and Customs (which follows), eight fairs were held yearly (on dates other than those named in the charter at 1611) "in right of the Corporation." The Corporation claimed toll on all these days.

The following is a Schedule of the Tolls and Customs payable on the following articles in the following fairs, held in the town of Cavan, and County of Cavan, in right of the Corporation of said town, viz., 1st February, Easter Monday, 14th May, 30th June, 14th August, 25th September, 12th November, and 22nd December in each year.

TOLLS ON CATTLE ON THE FAIR GREEN.

	s.	d.
For every horse, mare, or gelding	0	6
„ milk cow, springer, or with calf		6
„ dry cow, two year old heifer, or bullock exceeding one year		4
„ yearling ditto or calves		3
„ pig		3
„ small pig or suckling, on entering the fair without having a ring or staple at the nose, drove by a sow, or otherwise		1
„ load of small pigs carried		6
„ car, cart, or crate of ditto		10
„ sheep or goat		2
„ every lamb or kid until the 1st of August, the rest of the year		1
„ ass or mule		5
„ covered tent, selling spirituous liquors or entertainment	1	1
„ uncovered standing, selling eatables or otherwise		5

* *Letters Patent*, 19th October, 1 Jac. I, and enrolled (1 Jac. I, p. 2, m. 9, d.).

IN THE STREET OR ELSEWHERE.

	s.	d.
For every carcass of beef		6
„ ditto of mutton or goat		2
„ ditto of calf		2
„ ditto of pig		3
„ cow or horse auctioned, (except for rent or under execution.)		6
„ covered standing		6
„ uncovered ditto		4
„ sack of meal, flour, oats, or potatoes		2
„ back-load of potatoes		2
„ sack of salt		2
„ show or exhibiting stand or party ...	1	0
„ load of coals		4
„ back load of apples (carts and cars in proportion)		4
„ standing of apples		4
„ stocking or cast clothes man ...		4
„ back load of wooden ware ...		5
„ car or cart load of same		10
„ crock or bowl of butter, not exceed- ing 28 lbs.		1
„ ditto tub or firkin, exceeding said weight		2
„ cow, bullock, or horse hide ...		2
„ back load of fish		2
„ car or cart load of ditto		4
„ load of lemons or oranges		2
„ car-load of frize or flannel		6
„ car or back-load of wool		6
„ car or crate of brogues		4
„ ditto back load of plants		2
„ ditto cart-load of ditto		4
„ hardware or cheese standing ...		6
„ other standing of any kind ...		4
„ hawker of any kind		2
„ leather cutter		4
„ calf, goat, or sheep skin		1
„ back load of crockery ware ...		5
„ car, cart, or dray load ditto ...		10
„ delf, glass, or china standing ...		6
„ load of fir, apple, quick, or any young trees	1	0
„ load of vegetables		4
„ herring barrel		3

For every back load of any fruit (car or cart	s. d.
load in proportion)	4
WM. BURROWES, Sovereign of said Borough.	
PHILIP DOWDE, Receiver of said Tolls and Customs.	

[Note.—William Burrowes, Esqr., was vice-sovereign between 1818 and 1840.]

Formerly, the tolls and customs collected at the fairs were taken by the sovereign or his deputy, in right of his office. They were farmed out at a rent of £40 per annum. None, however, was demanded since 1830, in consequence of the collection having been generally opposed upon the alleged ground of want of title.

As long as market custom was demanded, the Corporation claimed it upon all articles brought in for sale upon every day of the week except Tuesday (the charter market day), upon which day Lord Farnham claimed and levied toll, until it was resisted by the public and given up in like manner as the Corporation toll. The Corporation never contested Lord Farnham's right to market tolls, and apparently he received them for a great many years.

The last vice-sovereign, Mr. William Burrowes, paid a quit-rent of 8s. 5d. for the fairs, hoping that these tolls would be re-established, and that he would continue to receive them as heretofore. An increase in the trade of the town took place after the collection of tolls and customs was abandoned.

The weighmaster was (at least for many years) appointed by Lord Farnham, who leased the market crane to him at a yearly rent of £50. The charges made by the weighmaster were:—

Oats, per sack	2d.
Meal, per sack	4d. or 1d. per cwt.
Butter, each firkin	2d.
Bacon, each side	2d.
Groceries and parcel, a cwt.	1d.

And no charge less than 1d. was made even if the article was under 1 cwt.

Most of the above-mentioned charges were in violation of the Acts then regulating weights and measures and the fees of weighmasters in this country (4 Anne, c. 14, and 25 Geo. II, c. 15). Potatoes were weighed free of charge at another crane.

The weighmaster who held office about 1833 was not sworn upon his appointment.

It has been considered that the right of Lord Farnham to appoint a weighmaster in the borough was extremely questionable. The right to tolls or customs was vested in the Corporation by charter, and if they retained the ownership of them under the Act, 4 Anne, the right of appointing a weighmaster was vested in them. Lord Farnham's ancestors are alleged to have exercised this right for many years (seemingly from after 1782), although

no transfer in connection with it appeared in the Corporation books.

In 1923 Cavan Urban District Council purchased from Lord Farnham, for the sum of £5,500, the Butter, Seed, and Potato Markets (now styled the Central Markets), in Main Street, the public weighbridge, the Market Square, and the Market Yard, with all the buildings thereon. As the Urban District Council already owned the Egg, Fowl, and Pork Markets (in Mill Street), this purchase placed the Council in complete control of all the market rights and market premises of the town.

In the *Gentleman's and Citizen's Almanack*, published in Dublin in 1768, the following fairs are given for the town of Cavan for the year 1768:—Friday, 14th May; Monday, 15th August; Monday, 26th September; and Friday, 12th November. Two of these fairs might have been held on the 14th August and the 25th September, respectively, but that these days were Sundays in 1768. None of these four fairs is marked "Custom Free." It will be noted that the "Almanack" does not mention the charter fairs. Apparently they ceased to be held before 1768.

Of all the fairs mentioned in the charter of 1611 and in the Schedule of Tolls and Customs, only those fairs the dates of which are the 14th May, 14th August, and 12th November, still continue. These are now called the "old fairs." In addition, at present and for many years past, a fair is held on the second Tuesday of each month in which no "old fair" is due to be held. A pig fair is held on the day prior to every fair, cattle, etc., being bought and sold on the fair day proper. If the date of a fair falls on a Sunday, it is held on the following Monday, and the pig fair on the preceding Saturday. Farmers' servants of both sexes are hired at the fairs in May and November. The hiring takes place principally in the public street at the junction of Main Street and Bridge Street.

Tuesday is still the weekly market day.

CORPORATION PROPERTY.

By the charter of incorporation, the town of Cavan, and the townlands of Tullymongan, Killnevarrow, Dromgoone, Drom-eallah, and Rossgolgan, with the reservation of O'Reilly's castle and two poles of Rossgolgan, were granted to the borough.* The lands unitedly amounted to 400 acres, and all lay within the Corporation limits. About the time of the abolition of the Corporation, the town of Cavan belonged chiefly to Lord Farnham and Lord Annesley; Tullymongan was possessed by Lord Maryborough and Mrs. Foster; Killnevarrow by Mr. Radcliffe; Dromgoone by Mr. Saunderson; Dromeallah chiefly by Lord Annesley, and that part of it called "Burgess Acres" by a Mr.

* The spelling of the townland names is that given in the charter.

Castles ; and Rossgolgan by Miss Andrew and Richard Bell. Eventually, the only Corporation land remaining was a "waste and stony common," known as the Gallows Hill—the present Fair Green. The Gallows Hill, as Corporation property, originally contained about 14 acres. Its area to-day is less, because, within living memory, certain people who had no authority to do so enclosed part of it as their own property.

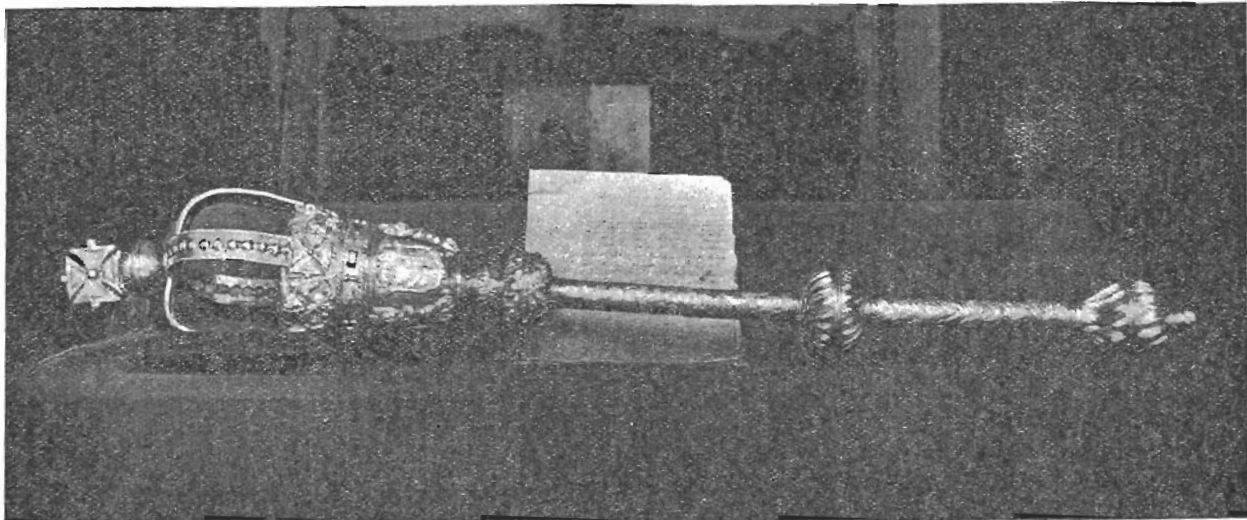
The alienation of the Corporation property must have been of very ancient date, there being no reference to it in the Corporation books commencing in 1680. Extremely vague and contradictory are the traditional accounts of alienation. In a Return to the House of Commons made by the vice-sovereign, 17th February, 1833, it is stated that "the lands had been alienated by some means unknown" to him, and were then in the possession of the families already mentioned, some of whose ancestors appear to have been burgesses of the Corporation. From this circumstance it is surmised that the burgesses, at an early period, divided the property among them. The ancestors of the last patrons of the borough are also pointed out by traditional evidence as the persons who possessed themselves of the property.

It may be of interest to mention here that a small property, consisting of tenements in the town, was left about 1673, by Sir Hugh Cullom, for the support of poor widows in the parish of Urney. A rental of £9 12s. 0d. a year, which was yielded by it, was distributed by the rector among twelve poor widows. This appears to have been done until at least 1833. There were no charitable funds under the control of the Corporation at the close of their career.

A silver cup of considerable value was given to be broken up and sold by Mr. William Burrowes's predecessor in office. In one of the Corporation books, there is an entry (under the date, Sept. 30, 1728) that Theophilus Clements, Esqr., deceased, presented the borough with a "Silver Cupp vallue Thirty Pounds Ster." It was then ordered that the cup be kept within the Corporation in such proper place as the sovereign for the time being should appoint, and that each sovereign should, as soon as sworn into office, enter into a bond with a penalty of forty pounds for the true payment of the sum of twenty pounds unto John Clements, Esqr., as heir to the said Theophilus Clements, Esqr., deceased, his heirs, etc. The provision of the bond was an attempt to ensure that the cup would be duly delivered up in good condition to the "next Sover. Ellect & his Successors for Ever for the use of said Corporation."

About 1800 a gaol belonging to the Corporation fell into ruin, and the ground was built upon by a person who claimed title by adverse possession.

The Corporation mace—a handsome article—was, in 1833, in the possession of the then vice-sovereign, Mr. William Burrowes. It is now in the custody of Mrs. Lucas Clements, of Rathkenny,



MACE PRESENTED TO THE CORPORATION OF THE BOROUGH OF CAVAN

On the 29th June, 1724, by the then Sovereign of the Town, Theophilus Clements, of Rathkenny, Cootehill.

Cootehill, whose late husband was a descendant of one of the families that controlled the municipal affairs of the borough. Her deceased husband's brother, Major S. U. Lucas Clements, 39, Ailesbury Road, Dublin, possesses the Corporation seal. This seal bears the words "Cavan Corporation" and the Clements coat of arms, with the motto: *Patris Virtutibus*. Illustrations of the aforementioned seal, the seal of Cavan Urban District Council and the Corporation mace, accompany this paper.

On the 14th April, 1873, Mr. James Maguire, Secretary of the Cavan Town Commissioners, wrote (on behalf of that body) to H. T. Clements, Esq., Rakenny, Tullyvin, Cootehill, applying "for the mace belonging to the Corporation of this town and now in your custody." Mr. Maguire received in reply a letter addressed from The Derries, Monasterevan, dated the 3rd May, 1873, and signed "Theop. Clements." In it Mr. Clements mentioned that the mace belonged to his great grandfather. He expressed regret that he could not comply with the wishes of the Commissioners, the mace being a family heirloom, and added that his property in the article had been already legally and fully established.

PUBLIC RECORDS.

With regard to the Corporation records, it is of interest to give the following copy of a letter which was addressed by the Deputy Recorder of Cavan to the Secretary to the Commissioners on Public Records in Ireland* :—

CAVAN, 14th January, 1811.

SIR,

In answer to your letter of the 18th September, 1810, containing seven queries respecting the Public Records of Cavan, I am to inform you, that since I had the honour of being appointed Deputy Recorder of Cavan, no Papers or other Documents, or any other information whatever, respecting the Corporation of Cavan, has come within my possession or knowledge, as no business in that line has been transacted in Cavan in my time.

I have the honour to be, &c.

THOMAS BLIGH.

To Wm. Shaw Mason, Esquire,
&c., &c., &c.

This letter indicates the moribund state of the Corporation and the lack of proper town government, at the period concerned. That a person in the position of Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk (for he held the latter office, too) should have no "information whatever, respecting the Corporation of Cavan," is indeed strange. Very likely, the sovereign or the vice-sovereign, or a select few corporators, had entire charge of affairs in Mr. Bligh's

* *Reports from the Commissioners on Public Records in Ireland, (1810—1815)*, 2nd Report, Supplement, page 210.

day. In the *Reports from the Commissioners on Public Records in Ireland*, it is noted that, as Recorder, he had "No Duty," and no remuneration is mentioned for him.

On the 20th and 22nd December, 1833, an Inquiry, under the auspices of the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in Ireland, was held in Cavan. At this Inquiry two books relating to the acts of the Corporation were produced by the vice-sovereign, who some months previously had received them from Major Nesbitt, one of the joint patrons of the borough. One book related exclusively to the acts of the Corporation in elections, both corporate and parliamentary. The entries commenced in the year 1698, and were regularly continued down to the 1st April, 1818. The other book contained entries of various proceedings in civil causes depending before the town or borough court of record, from the year 1771 to 1796. The writer made enquiries and searches with a view to discovering the present location of these books. Shortly before handing this paper to the printers, it was ascertained that they are in the possession of the Honourable Mrs. Burrowes, of Lismore, Crossdoney, County Cavan, who has kindly lent them to the writer. The first book above-mentioned really covers the period from 1680 to 1840, and contains entries relating to Elections (Corporate and Parliamentary), dates and particulars of the meetings at which these elections took place; Corporation orders, etc. In the second book are recorded proceedings of the Borough Law Court, the Town Court, and the Market Jury, from 1771 to 1826; also inquests on deaths from 1819 to 1824. It has been possible to include in this paper some information gleaned from the original records.* In another paper (II), to be published in the next number of this *Journal*, will be given the names, dates of elections, etc.—from 1696 to 1840—of the following:—Sovereigns, vice-sovereigns, portreeves, deputy portreeves, burgesses, borough members of parliament, town clerks, recorders, deputy recorders, attorneys, sergeants, constables, and weighmasters, and some particulars regarding the freemen, etc.

Information regarding the Corporation officers, etc., cannot now be got from the Public Record Office, Dublin. It was believed that such particulars might be found among the records there. This belief was based on the fact that in 1665 (shortly

* The information extracted directly from the aforementioned original records relates to the notes on the town clerks, recorders, and deputy recorders; the final section (Corporation regulations and attendances) under "Town Government"; the details of the Borough Law Court between 1771 and 1796; the reference to the "Towne House"; the presentation of the mace, seal, and silver cup; particulars of the last meeting of the Corporation; some details between 1833 and 1840, and some minor insertions. Both books are rather dilapidated, due probably to age and use. Pages may be missing. The Clements-Nesbitt Compact and the Schedule of Tolls and Customs, referred to in this paper, are not there now. Some of the hand-writing is poor, but, on the whole, it is excellent caligraphy.

after the Restoration of the Stuart dynasty) an *Act of Explanation* was passed. Pursuant to the powers given thereby, the Lord Lieutenant and Council made regulations, known as the "New Rules," for Irish corporate towns. One of these rules was that requiring the names of the mayor or other chief magistrate, sheriffs, recorder and town clerk, to be submitted for approval to the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council of Ireland. The government thus obtained complete control over the appointment of these important officers. To a query on the subject addressed by the writer of this paper to the Public Record Office, Dublin, the following answer, dated 23rd December, 1926, was kindly supplied by the Assistant Keeper of the Records (Mr. Chas. Jas. MacGarry): "In reply to your letter of 18th inst. I beg to say that the Patent Rolls on which the Charters of Cavan and the Grant of Markets to John Bingle were enrolled perished in the burning of this Office in 1922. It is unlikely that the Charters were printed. A series of Lord Lieutenant's Approbation Books, in which the names of Mayors, Recorders, Sheriffs &c. of corporate towns were entered for the years 1711 to 1842, likewise perished when the Office was burned."

The Secretary, Public Record Office, London, states (in reply to a letter of inquiry) that the Charters of James I and James II to Cavan have not been printed; that they are not enrolled in the English Patent Rolls, and that, as the Irish Patent Rolls are presumably all destroyed, it would seem impossible to obtain copies of them now. Like so many of our Irish Public Records, their contents must be referred to the Greek Kalends.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSIONERS ON MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS IN IRELAND.

In the Reports from the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in Ireland, 1835, the Commissioners recommended the institution in Cavan of a local law court with a well-regulated power of proceedings in the first instance of attachment of goods, and with a moderate scale of fees. This, they added, would likely benefit the trade of the town by affording a cheap and certain mode of recovering small debts. The Commissioners mentioned that the town was in an improving state and appeared to be capable of receiving considerable advantage from the government of a body elected by the inhabitants.

EXTINCTION OF THE CORPORATION.

After 1800, when the borough lost its right to return two members to the Irish House of Commons, the Corporation gradually sank into decay. For several years vacant offices were not filled up, and probably were it not for the income which the sovereign or his deputy derived from the tolls and customs, the Corporation would have become actually extinct much earlier

than the date of its legal abolition. In 1833 there was no public revenue whatever, and no expenditure. The streets and roads were then maintained in repair by presentment of the County Grand Jury. It is appropriate here to give the following extract from the *Reports and Plans on Municipal Corporation Boundaries (Ireland)*, 1837 :—

Description of the Town.—Cavan, the Assizes Town of the County of the same name, is a Borough, but does not send a Member to Parliament. It is situated about 54 miles North of Dublin, in the Parish of Urney. The Town is well-built, containing some large and handsome houses, a Gaol and Courthouse. There is not any staple trade or manufacture here, nor has the Town much extended itself.

Population.—In 1831 the population was 2,931; it does not appear that there has been any great increase since.

Local Rates.—The Town is neither lighted nor watched, and there are no Local Rates.

County Rates.—The County Cess, as levied at last Assizes, was 11,674*l.* 1*s.* 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* The Cess is levied by “Carvagh,” of which there is no distinction between the Town and other parts of the County; the Carvagh varying in extent. The portion of Carvagh allotted to the Parish of Urney, in which Cavan is situated, is 354 out of 8,000. The County Cess averages from 1*l.* 13*s.* to 2*l.* 2*s.* half yearly per Carvagh.

The “Carvagh,” it should be noted, was a unit for land taxation purposes. The “Carvagh” system was very ancient in Ireland, and was based on the productivity rather than on the area of the land.

In the *Cavan Townland List*,* published in Cavan by Henry Ireland in 1709 (or 1790 ?), we find recorded the number of Carvagh in the various townlands and sub-divisions. In the immediate vicinity of Cavan, the following denominations with number of Carvagh in each are enumerated: “Green of Cavan,” six and a half; “Humphry’s Freehold,” one and a half; “Humphry’s Park, at the end of Cavan,” two; “Price and Johnston’s Park,” one; “Keddo and Abbey Lands,” fourteen; “Roscolgan,” nine; “Kilnevarrow,” sixteen and a half; and “Kinypottle,” four and a half Carvagh, respectively. The townlands mentioned in the charter of incorporation may be located by means of the 1609 map.† “Dromgoone” [“Dromadoun”—1609 map] is partly included in the present townland of Swellan.

As already stated (under “Town Government”), two Town

* See this *Journal*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 324.

† “Dromeallah” would appear to be the townland of Drumalee. However, as “Burgess Acres” was reckoned as part of the townland, it appears likely that the “Dromeallah” of the charter was adjoining Roscolgan.

Courts were held in 1819 (the first for the swearing-in a mace-bearer and constable, and the second for the swearing-in a Market Jury), and one took place in 1824 (for enforcing cleanliness in the streets, etc.). In 1826, at a "General Sessions of the Peace," a Market Jury was sworn. But there is no record after the 1st April, 1818, until the 28th June, 1838 (?) of the periodical election and swearing-in of sovereign, portreeves, and other officers. On the latter date (after a lapse of 20 years) a meeting styled a "Town Court" was held, at which nine burgesses, five freemen, and a sovereign, vice-sovereign, and portreeves, were chosen. Between 1821 and 1833 there were only six burgesses, including the sovereign, the vice-sovereign, and portreeves. In 1838 the governing body consisted of apparently only three burgesses, and nine burgesses were then nominated, making the usual twelve. From 1838 until the final meeting, the appointment and the swearing-in of officers were regularly carried out. The last meeting took place on the 29th June, 1840. There were then elected to the offices mentioned:—Sovereign, John Nesbitt, Esqr.; vice-sovereign, William Burrowes, Esq.; portreeves, Samuel Moore, Esqr., and Robert Burrowes, Esqr.; deputy portreeve, Chas. Stewart. Nine members were present, namely:—Theop. Clements (the out-going sovereign), W. Burrowes (vice-sovereign); Burgesses: Robt. Burrowes, H. J. Clements, John C. Tatlow (?), Henry T. Kilbee; Freemen: J. Murray, J. W. Dunbey, Charles Stuart.

A reference will now be made to the passing away of some of the last members of the Corporation.

The following paragraph appears in the *Cavan Herald and Inland General Advertiser*, Vol. 3, No. 527, Tuesday, January 2nd, 1821:—

DIED

To the universal grief of all who knew him, on the evening of Friday, the 29th December, at his residence, near Cross-doney, in the County of Cavan, nearly in the prime of life, William Nesbitt, Esq., son of the late Colonel Thomas Nesbitt, whose remains he had but a few days before attended to the Family Tomb at Kilmore. To record the excellencies of such a man is a public duty. In the centre of a respectable and populous neighbourhood, his inestimable virtues had equally endeared him to the rich and the poor. With a mind singularly endowed with the best attributes of nature—amongst the former, he was cherished as the mild, cheerful, cultivated, valuable companion; by the latter beloved, as the every-ready and compassionate friend! A true Christian, a true gentleman in the circle to which the society of this excellent person was such a blessing, a chasm has been made which it will be difficult, if possible, to fill up.

The Colonel Thomas Nesbitt referred to was apparently the Thomas Nesbitt who was one of the Parliamentary representatives for Cavan borough at the time it lost the right to return two Members of Parliament. One of the Nesbitts (John Nesbitt, Esqr.) was the last sovereign to be elected (1840).

Notable among the last Corporation members (alive in 1837) were the Rev. Joseph Story, Vicar of Cavan (grandfather of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Story, Bingfield, Crossdoney), and the vice-sovereign, William Burrowes, Esq., who lived in the house in Farnham Street at present the private residence of Surgeon B. T. Cullen, and formerly occupied by the late Dr. MacCabe and others. Mr. Burrowes died about the year 1847.

In 1840 the Corporation was abolished by law. That year the British Parliament passed an Act for the Regulation of Municipal Corporations in Ireland (3 and 4 Victoria, chapter 108). It is enacted by Section 13 of the Act that certain corporate bodies referred to in the schedules attached shall be dissolved on dates named. Included in Schedule I is "The Sovereign, Portreeves, Burgesses, and Freemen of the Town and Borough of Cavan." The date of dissolution, applicable in respect of Cavan Corporation, was the 25th October, 1840. On that date the real and personal estate of the Corporation was (by the Act) vested in the Town Commissioners elected under the Act of 9 George IV, chapter 82, about which further mention will later be made.

Cavan Corporation, in common with others established about the same time, were originally created to serve the political purposes of the Crown, loyal support of the King being expected from the burgesses to be returned to the Irish House of Commons.* Not very many acts of public utility can be traced to the credit of Cavan Corporation. On the contrary, judging from what has been stated regarding the Clements-Nesbitt Compact, the Parliamentary representatives and the Corporation property, it would seem (to say the least of it) that the corporators were not consistently influenced by altruistic motives in the conduct of civic affairs. As the inhabitants generally were, in practice, excluded from any control of the Corporation, the latter were a more or less irresponsible body. But, though Cavan was really a "pocket" borough, it was no worse than most of the other Irish corporate towns of the contemporary period.

TOWN BOUNDARIES.

Reference has already been made to the town boundary as defined by the charter of 1611. The boundary was not more accurately ascertained, and the charter definition is alleged to have been found sufficient for regulating the extent of the town-court jurisdiction.

* *Municipal Government in Ireland*, by John J. Webb, M.A., LL.B.

In the *Reports and Plans on Municipal Corporation Boundaries (Ireland)*, 1837, the following boundary is proposed :—

From the Point (1) where the Gortnacash Road leaves the Dublin Road, in a straight Line to the Fort called Kinny-pottle Fort ; thence in a straight Line to the Point (2) on the Road to Enniskillen, where it is crossed by a Stream, which is the Boundary between the Townlands, Kedue and Kinny-pottle, about Three hundred and sixty Yards North of the Church (3) ; thence in a straight Line to the North-west Wall of the Court-house (4) ; thence in a straight Line to the North-west Corner of the Enclosure Wall of the Gaol (5) ; thence to the Point where the Boundary between the Townlands of Kilnevarrow, Upper Swellan, and Drummavanagh meet on the Road to Swellan Lodge (6) ; thence in a straight Line to the College (7) ; thence in a straight Line to the Point first described.*

On the 10th May, 1837, the House of Commons (London) ordered that the *Reports and Plans on Municipal Corporation Boundaries (Ireland)* be printed. It does not appear, however, that effect was given to the proposal for a new town boundary for Cavan. As far as the Valuation Department, Dublin, is concerned, the first recognised boundary of the town of Cavan is that laid down as provided by the Act mentioned in the next paragraph.

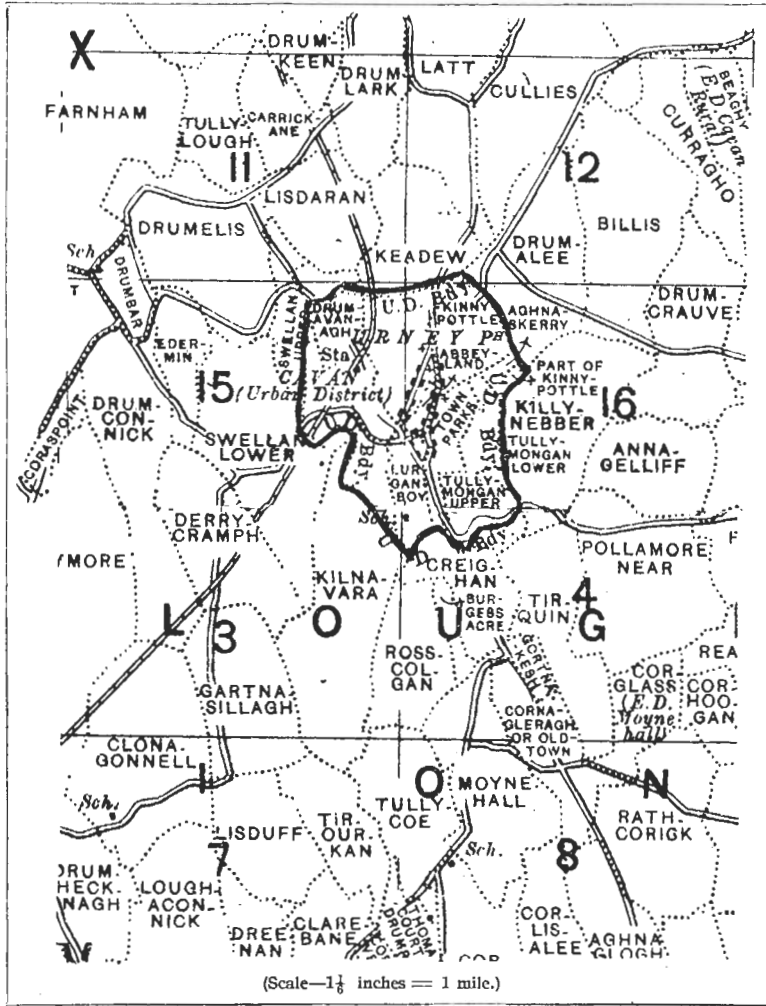
Under the provisions of Section 15 of the Towns Improvement (Ireland) Act, 1854, new boundaries were fixed for the town. It appears that about the time of fixing these boundaries, the inhabitants of Cavan presented a Memorial requesting that the Town Boundary should be the circumference of a circle of one mile radius, having its centre at a point in the townland of Abbeyland, a few yards from the existing Market House. This proposed boundary was apparently not officially sanctioned. A new boundary was, however, eventually, approved. It is described in an Order dated the 21st June, 1855, issued from Dublin Castle, and addressed to Robert Erskine, Esqre. [the Chairman of the Town Commissioners], and Abraham Brush, Esqre., Justices of the Peace, Cavan. The following is an extract from the Order :—

The Lord Lieutenant having received, one month previous to the date of this Order, an application from 24 Householders of the Town of Cavan, each of such Householders occupying a dwelling-house or other lands, tenements, or hereditaments within that Town, and rated in respect thereof to the Relief of the Poor at a net annual value of Eight

* The " Church " is the Protestant Church of Ireland, first opened for public worship about 1816 ; the " Court-house " is the new County Court-house, built about 1828 ; the " Gaol " is the now-disused County Gaol, the site of the proposed new Catholic Cathedral ; and the " College " is the present Royal School, which was originally founded by royal charter in the second year of Charles I (1626).

Pounds or upwards, applying that the provisions of "The Towns Improvement Act, 1854," so far as relates to the lighting Draining Cleaning and Supplying with Water the said Town of Cavan may be carried into execution in the said Town, and specifying the Boundaries proposed for the purposes of the said Act ; and the said application having been duly published in the manner in the said Act directed, the Lord Lieutenant has been pleased to approve of the Boundaries so specified as aforesaid, that is to say commencing at the Northern extremity of the Townland of Kinnypottle, thence in a southerly direction along the boundary of said Townland to the Cock-hill road thence following the Boundary of the Townland of Aghnaskerry to and along the eastern Boundary of the Townland of Tullymangan Lower, thence along said Boundary and the Boundary of Tullymangan Upper to the Dublin Road thence Westward along the southern fence of said road to the junction of the Mud-wall-Row road and the Dublin road, thence Westward in a straight line to the Southern Boundary of Bridget Reilly's holding in the Townland of Creighan and along said Boundary to the Cavan river, thence South west along the Cavan river, and Northward along the Western Boundary of the Townland of Lurganboy to the eastern extremity of fence in the occupation of Revd. William Prior Moore, thence Westerly and Northerly along said fence to Kilnavara road, thence in a straight line in a North-westerly direction to the Southern angle of a pass leading from said road to the spring well in Fegan's holding, thence along said pass north-westerly to its junction with fence in Fegan's holding in Kilnavara, thence westward along said fence to the eastern Boundary of Swellan Lough, thence northerly to the Townland Boundary of Swellan Upper, thence westerly to the boundary of Swellan Lower, thence along said boundary in a north west direction to the old Cavan road, thence Northerly and Easterly along said boundary to junction of first fence in James Browne's holding in Swellan Upper, thence Easterly along said fence to junction with eastern fence of pass leading to Swellan fort, thence Northward along said fence to junction with fence about seventy yards South of Swellan Fort, thence northeasterly along said fence to the Eastern Boundary of Townland of Swellan Upper, thence Easterly along said fence continued through James McGauran's holding in Drumavanagh to junction with fence in John Egan's holding in said Townland, thence northeasterly along said fence to the new Cavan Road, thence in a northeasterly continuation of said fence through Doctor Babington's holding in Drumavanagh to junction with first fence of same, thence in a South Easterly direction along said fence, thence Easterly along northern boundary

BOUNDARIES OF CAVAN TOWN. MAP No. 3.



Boundaries shown thus : County — — — — — Barony — — — — — Parish * — — — — —
Townland

The District Boundaries (Union, Rural and Urban) are described thus
..... Union & R.D. Bdy., U.D. Bdy.

* Only shown so far as it falls within County Borough or U.D.

Published by the Director-General at the Ordnance Survey Office, Dublin, 1915.

This map shows the boundary (i.e., the heavy, curving lines around the centre of the map) fixed by Order of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, dated 21st June, 1855. The boundary so established has not been altered up to the present (1928).

Enlarged from Index Map of Scale : 1 inch = 1 mile.

(Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey map with the permission of the Minister for Finance of the Irish Free State).

of plantation in said holding to the Cavan River, thence Easterly passing in a straight line through holdings of William Fegan, Theophilus Thompson, and William Johnston in the Townland of Keadue to the old Enniskillen Road, thence in same direction along the northern Boundary of Theophilus Thompson's holding to the new Enniskillen Road, thence South east to the Boundary of Kinnypottle, thence in a northeast direction along said Boundary to the point first mentioned.

And I am commanded by His Excellency to convey to you His order and direction that you will convene a Meeting for the purpose of considering the carrying of the said Act into execution, and that one of you will preside thereat.

Shortly after the passing of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, of 1898, the Town of Cavan was constituted an Urban District having the same boundaries as fixed under the Towns Improvement (Ireland) Act, 1854.

The boundaries as fixed according to the Act of 1854 have not been altered since. It will be seen by reference to the Ordnance Survey maps of County Cavan, on which the boundaries are marked, that the town area is greater than that proposed in 1837.

The two maps appearing with the *Reports and Plans on Municipal Corporation Boundaries (Ireland)*, 1837—showing the boundary of 1611 and that proposed in 1837, respectively—and a map showing the present boundary, are reproduced among the illustrations accompanying this paper.

“THE OLD ORDER CHANGETH.”

In 1830 there was an attempt to introduce into the borough some of the provisions of an Act passed in 1828 (9th George IV, c. 82) entitled “An Act to make provision for the lighting, cleansing and watching of cities, towns corporate and market towns in Ireland in certain cases.” The Act enabled the inhabitants to elect a board of commissioners resident in the town, the board having power to levy rates and apply them to the purposes specified. This attempt to have the statute applied failed in consequence of a vestry not having been previously held as required by it.

On the 25th November, 1837, a memorial, signed by twenty-two householders, was presented to Earl Mulgrave, the then Lord Lieutenant, praying his Excellency to put the town under the aforementioned Act. This request having been granted, the first meeting of the new body was held in the Courthouse under the presidency of Mr. Burrowes (the last vice-sovereign), on the 23rd December, 1837. The affairs of the town were managed by this body until April, 1855, when the Towns Improvement (Ireland) Act, 1854, was put into force. Under this Act, the municipal body was styled the “Town Commissioners.”

In pursuance of the powers given by Section 42 (1) of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, and Section 7 of the Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1878, the Local Government Board for Ireland, by an order published in the *Dublin Gazette* on the 1st December, 1899, constituted the town of Cavan an urban sanitary district as from the following 1st April. After the lapse of three months, the Local Government Board, on the 21st March, 1900, issued a certificate stating that no petition against the Order had been received, and that "our said order has taken effect." Accordingly, on the 1st April, 1900, the town entered into its new civic status, with an Urban District Council to control its municipal affairs.

TERENCE STANISLAUS SMYTH

Notable Breiffne Individuals.

(Continued).

IX.—JOHN CARDINAL FARLEY (1842—1918).

A recent work, entitled *Our American Cardinals*,* by the well-known American writer, Dr. James J. Walsh, M.D., Ph.D., Litt.D., of Fordham University, and published in U.S.A., presents intimate and informative biographies of seven American Cardinals six of whom are either Irish, or of Irish descent, and bear Irish names. It is a noteworthy fact, as Dr. Walsh points out, that in every case the parents of these six Cardinals belonged to the large group of Irish people who emigrated during the period of the Great Famine.

John Cardinal Farley, Archbishop of New York, died on Sept. 17, 1918. He was a man who stood head and shoulders, as Dr. Walsh tells us, above the other men of his time. In this excellent biography Dr. Walsh provides a very full account of his life and activities. Shortly after the death of the Cardinal a sketch of his life appeared from the pen of the Right Rev. Michael J. Lavelle and was published in New York.† Dr. Lavelle was for forty years the Cardinal's trusted friend; hence the materials may be regarded as authoritative. Another brief sketch appeared in the *Catholic World* (November, 1918) written by Rev. Dr. Guillard. But, the various Lives and Biographies omit all mention of the Cardinal's Cavan ancestry; the fact that his father belonged to the townland of Carnalynch, in Killinkere Parish, seems to have completely escaped the notice of the Cardinal's biographers.

Cardinal Farley was born at Newtown Hamilton, Co. Armagh, in April, 1842. Some years previously his father had moved from Carnalynch to Clones, and then to Newtown Hamilton where he married a Miss Murphy. Not finding these facts regarding the Cardinal's family history mentioned in any of the works just referred to, although traditionally accepted, the present writer addressed an inquiry to a distinguished Cavan priest in America—Right Rev. Monsignor Richard Brady, of Loretto,

* New York, Appleton & Co., 1926. The Cardinals are McCloskey of New York; Gibbons of Baltimore; Farley of New York; O'Connell of Boston; Dougherty of Philadelphia; Mundelein of Chicago; Hayes of New York.

† New York, The Paulist Press, 1919.

Colorado—who had been personally acquainted with Cardinal Farley, and who, on that account, would be in a position to furnish first-hand information. Monsignor Brady, who is a Life Member of our Society, takes a deep interest in Breiffnian history. The following reply from Monsignor Brady, which I publish with his kind permission, definitely establishes the claim of Killinkere parish as the paternal home of the great Cardinal :

LORETTO HEIGHTS COLLEGE,
LORETTO, COLORADO,
SEPTEMBER 10th, 1927.

DEAR MR. O'CONNELL,

In reply to your query of recent date, I wish to assure you that it is a pleasure to supply you with the information regarding the birthplace of Cardinal Farley's father and the circumstances in which the same was obtained.

At the request of the late bishop of this diocese, his Eminence Cardinal Farley graciously consented to come over two thousand miles to officiate at the dedication of the new Cathedral of Denver, on October 27, 1912. And it was my privilege to be one of the two delegates selected to meet his Eminence in Chicago, as a representative of the Rt. Rev. N. C. Matz, then Bishop of Denver.

On the return trip to this city, I had the pleasure of many little conversations with Cardinal Farley, who was ever gentle, genial and gracious. On one occasion, he kindly inquired regarding my birthplace. And when I replied that I was born in Dooreagh, parish of Drumgoon, Co. Cavan, His Eminence remarked with some feeling : " I have always had a very warm and tender spot in my heart for the County Cavan, because my dear, good father was born there." Naturally interested, I ventured the question, " in which part of Cavan ? " His Eminence answered, " In Carnalynch, near the town of Bailieborough. But, when a young man, my father moved to the town of Clones, and later to Newtown Hamilton. It was in this town he was married, and *there* I was born."

A little later on the same day, I made a memorandum of these items which I have carefully preserved.

Yours very faithfully,
RICHARD BRADY.

The future Cardinal went to America in 1864 and commenced his studies in Fordham University. It will be observed that in U.S.A. the Americanised spelling " Farley " generally takes the place of the more usual form " Farrelly." (Ο ΦΑΙΡΡΕΑΛΛΑΙΣ), although the forms are not phonetically equivalent. The O'Farrellys were an old Breiffne clan, and many ecclesiastics of the name are mentioned in the *Four Masters* and other early writings. From the old Parish Register of Killinkere, which preserves the records from 1766 to 1790, we can follow the family

history of the Killinkere O'Farrellys over the last half of the 18th century. The information there detailed is to be found nowhere else. The Parish of Killinkere has given America one of her greatest Churchmen—Cardinal Farley, and one of her greatest soldiers—General Sheridan. The future biographer of Cardinal Farley would be well advised to make a careful study of the family history which can be gleaned from the old Killinkere Register.

X.—REV. CHARLES P. MEEHAN (1812-1890).

Rev. Charles Patrick Meehan, the distinguished historical writer, was born in Dublin on July 12, 1812. His father was a native of Co. Leitrim and was born in the neighbourhood of Manorhamilton. It is worthy of record that he was a relative of the late Rev. Joseph B. Meehan, P.P., the founder of this Society, who often mentioned the fact to the present writer.

Father C. P. Meehan has left behind him many valuable historical works. In 1860 appeared his *Confederation of Kilkenny*, and in 1868 he published *The Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*. One of his most popular volumes, which first appeared in 1869, is *The Rise and Fall of the Irish Franciscan Monasteries*. It has since passed through five editions, and is the *vade mecum* of every Irish historian. One of his earlier works, *The Geraldines* (a translation) was published in 1847. He was an intimate friend of Mangan, and edited some of the poet's work. He was, himself, a poet, and wrote some verse for *The Nation*. His first piece, *Boyhood's Years*, appeared in that newspaper on November 5, 1842, over the pseudonym of "Clericus." He also published various translations which appeared in *The Nation*. To Duffy's *Fireside Magazine* he contributed numerous articles over various pseudonyms. His death occurred in Dublin on March 13, 1890. The late Father J. B. Meehan, who knew him personally, used to tell some interesting anecdotes concerning him.

XI.—GENERAL, THOMAS BRADY (1752-1827).

General Thomas Brady of the Austrian Army was born at Cootehill, Co. Cavan, in 1752. The place and date of his birth is given by another authority as "Cavan, Co. Cavan, about 1753."* However, the evidence is sufficient to show that the former is the more probable. In the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries* (Dec., 1926) is an article by Lieut.-Col. Cavenagh entitled "Irish Knights of the Imperial Military Order of Maria Theresa," giving a list of the recipients of Irish lineage. This article gives a sketch of the career of Thomas Brady, and says he was a native of Coote-

* *Ireland and Her People*. Prepared and edited by Thos. W. H. Fitzgerald: 5 vols.—Chicago, Fitzgerald Book Co.

hill. The information is more likely to be authentic, as it was taken from an Austrian pre-war Service book, with brief memoirs added from Hirtonfeld's History of the Order, and other sources. Evidently the details from Austrian sources would have been compiled from information supplied by General Brady himself during his lifetime.

The son of a farmer, he gave early promise of ability, and went to Vienna to study for the priesthood. But he was destined to choose another career, and was induced by the Empress Maria Theresa to enter the army. He rose rapidly in the ranks and was appointed a Cadet in Nov., 1769. On April 10, 1774 he was promoted ensign, and became lieutenant on Nov. 30 of the following year. At Habelschwerdt in 1778, during the war of the Bavarian Succession he specially distinguished himself, became a captain in 1788, and for his gallantry at the storming of Novi, on Nov. 3rd, 1788, in the Turkish war, he was awarded the Cross of the Knights of Maria Theresa. Promoted to Major on July 20, 1790, he served on the staff until April, 1793, when he was posted as Lieutenant-Colonel to a corps of Tyrolese sharpshooters. Transferred to the Infantry Regiment of Murray he became its Colonel on February 6th, 1794. With this Regiment he was present at Frankenthal in 1795, and was promoted Major-General for his service in 1796, at the battle of Ukerath against the French on the Rhine. In 1799 he was commanding at Cattaro, in Dalmatia. Promoted Lieutenant-General on January 28th, 1801, he was two years later given the Colonelcy of the Imperial Infantry Regiment. In 1804 he was appointed Governor of Dalmatia, and in 1807 was made a Privy Councillor. He took part in the Battle of Aspern in 1809, and retired from the army on September 3rd of the same year. He married an offshoot of the Austrian Imperial family and died without issue in Vienna on October 14, 1827.

XII.—COLONEL, JAMES B. MACBRADY (1732-1800).

Colonel Baron James Bernard MacBrady of Loughtee was born at "Draighnenan," Co. Cavan, in 1732. This seems to be the townland of Dreenan, in Kilmore Parish and Barony of Loughtee—the 1609 Plantation Map of Loughtee has this townland marked "Drinan," and the old *Cavan Townland List* has "Drynan"; the townland is about midway between Bellananagh and Cavan.

James B. MacBrady went to Austria in 1749, joined the Sincère Infantry Regiment as a volunteer and served as a Captain through the Seven Years' War. He was present at the battles of Prague and Torgau. The Cross of the Knights of Maria Theresa was conferred upon him for gallantry at Schweidnitz in October 1762, and he was created a Baron. He was appointed Major to the Hildbringheimer Infantry Regiment in 1768 and a few years later he retired as Colonel. His death occurred at Vienna in 1800.

PHILIP O'CONNELL,

Epitaphs in Munterconnacht Churchyard.

[Vide *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 300.]

PRAY FOR THE
SOUL OF BRYAN
GIBNY WHO DE
PARTd THIS LI
FE JANry 1st
1754 AGED 12
YEARS.

THIS STONE & BU
RIAL PLACE BELONG
ETH TO NICOLAS
BRUODEL & HIS FA
MILY HIS AGE 84
1762 ALSO JAMs
BRUODEL DIED JU
LY 27th 1756 AGED 30
ERECTd BY PA
TRICK BRUODEL.

PRAY FOR Ye
SOVL OF LVK
E. GOLDERICK
WHO DIED
MARCH 1750
AGED 26
CATHERINE
GOLDERICK
DIED ANo 1749.

This Stone was
erect'd by Owen
Connell in Memory
of his father Phillip
Connell who dec
eas'd Feb'y ye 12th 1762
ag'd 32 & his moth'r
Bridget Lynch
who deceas'd June
ye 4th 1768 ag'd 47 yrs
Requiescant in pace. Amen.

PRAY FOR Ye SOVL
OF JAMES REIL
LY WHO DIED JV
NE Ye 16 1746 AGEd 13.

PRAY FOR Ye SO
VL OF BRIDGET RE
ILEY WHO DIED FEB
Ye 19th 1743-4 AGEd—

Here Lyeth [ye]
Body of Peter
Reilly son of
Hugh Reilly
of Bolies who
Dyed July 16
1735 aged 10.

PRAY FOR Ye SO
VL OF MARY MAC
ENTEE WHO DIE
D FEB Ye 27 1751.

PRAY FOR THE
SOVL OF JOHN
McENTEE WHO DIED
MAY 1739 AGE 68
ERECTd BY WILLm
McENTEE & LAU
RENCE McENTEE.

PRAY FOR THE
SOVL OF TERnc
MAGAU
WHO DIED ANo
1725 AGEd 49
JAMs MAGAU
RAN DIED ANo 1745.

PRAY FOR THE SO
UL OF MATTHEW
PLUNKET WHO
DEPARTd THIS LI
FE AUGUST 15 1770
AGE 68 ALSO FOR
MARY PLUNKET
WHO DIED MAR
1770 AGE 44.

Pray for the So
ul of John Halpin
deceasd June ye
29th A.D. 1741 Aged
57 yrs.
Erectd by Patk Hal
pin.

This Monument
was erectd by John &
Simon Henery for
Mathew Henery
deceasd July the 17th
1767 aged 74 years.

Pray for ye
Soul of John
Henery who di
ed Septembr 11th
1742 Aged 37
& For Patrick He
nery.

Pray for ye
Soul of Michael
Gibny who died
June 25th 1756
Aged 65 yrs.

Pray for the Soul
of John Smith
deceased Sept.
the 27th 1778
aged 63 yrs.

PRAY FOR THE
SOUL OF MATTH
EW HEARY WHO DI
ED MARCH Ye 1st 1752
AGED 50 Yrs.

This Monument was
erected by Laurence
Smith for himself & pos
terity A.D. 1775

Pray for the Soul of
Hugh Smith decea
sed Dec the 12th 1771
aged 72

PRAY FOR Ye
SOUL OF BRID
GED HENERY
WHO DIED M
AY 29th 1758
AGED 60.

PRAY FOR THE SOVL
OF CHARLES REILLY
WHO DEPARTED THIS
LIFE APRIL 23rd 1740
AGED 40 YEARS
HE LIVED IN NEWCASTLE.

Pray for the Soul of
Judy Plunket who
departed this life Jan
uary ye 1st 1773 age 28
Erected by Luke Cad
den.

PRAY FOR YE SOU
L OF MARGART
CADDEN WHO
DEPARTd THIS
LIFE OCTOBr 13
1764 AGED 76.

This list is by no means exhaustive. These epitaphs are of special interest and importance as, since the destruction of the Public Record Office in June, 1922, they are the sole remaining records we now possess of the great majority of the families to which they refer.

PH. O'C.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE BIRTHPLACE OF GENERAL, PHILIP H. SHERIDAN,
OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

By REV. JOSEPH B. MEEHAN, P.P., Killinkere.

(Published by P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York—25 cents. ; M. H
Gill & Son, Dublin—6d. 1926.)

In this interesting booklet the question of General Sheridan's birth-place is discussed and fully answered. After much research and having consulted the leading authorities on both sides of the Atlantic, the late Father Meehan has amassed conclusive evidence to prove that the great American cavalry officer was born at Beagh, in Killinkere Parish, in the County Cavan, in 1830. The evidence is here presented to us and the last word is spoken in a controversy which has lasted for a generation. All the available sources of information were examined by Father Meehan and a formidable array of authorities—Irish, English, and American—are produced. This booklet of 27 pages is a masterful digest of all the arguments which have been put forward, and finally disposes of the American claims to Sheridan's birth-place. To students both of Irish and American history it is an invaluable work. Its conclusions are overwhelming and its logic irresistible.

The year that has passed since the booklet was published has witnessed many changes. A month after the publication of the booklet the distinguished author, Father Meehan, had passed away. A few years before he had erected a mural tablet on the house at Beagh in which General Sheridan first saw the light. He made a detailed study of the controverted question of Sheridan's birthplace and only lived to see the publication of the booklet—a work in which he took a particular interest. He collected and sifted all the local family traditions relating to the Sheridans. Much valuable information was supplied by Thomas Sheridan of Virginia, a first cousin of the General ; Thomas has since passed away, in September, 1927, at the age of 92 (See *Anglo-Celt*,

September 24th, 1927). References to him will be found on page 20 of booklet.

We regret to add that another binding link with General Sheridan has since been severed in the person of Andrew John Smith of Coradua, Killinkere, who died on December 6th, 1927, at the age of 80. (*Anglo-Celt*, December 17th, 1927.) The late Mr. Smith, who was a splendid type of genial Irishman, was very proud of the fact that his father, John Smith, was on intimate terms with the Sheridan family. It was this John Smith who, in 1831, drove General Sheridan's father and mother with their three children (Phil. was then an infant in arms) in his cart to Drogheda on their way to the ship that was to bring them to America (p. 25). John Smith died in 1889 but the incident, related so often by the father to the son, created an indelible impression on the mind of the latter—an impression which neither the passing of the years nor the fanciful and misinformed declarations of trans-Atlantic journalists could ever efface. The compilers of Encyclopædias paled their ineffectual fires before the force of local tradition. When Father Meehan sought first-hand information he invoked the aid of Andrew John Smith, and at the meeting of Cavan Literary Society on March 12th, 1925, at which Father Meehan read his paper—now reproduced in pamphlet form—the late Mr. Smith was present and related to the members various interesting historical facts concerning the Sheridan family. It may be mentioned that Mr. Smith's family are the possessors of a crook (or pot-hanger) and other household utensils which belonged to the General's parents. The visitor to Paris feels a thrill when confronted with the Napoleonic mementoes in Fontainebleau and Versailles; in the City of Ajaccio, in the island of Corsica, the tourist is shown the house where Napoleon was born. The home of Napoleon in Corsica is not more imposing than the home of Sheridan in Killinkere, in fact it is smaller, and were it not for the fact that mural tablets and national emblems are profusely displayed the visitor would hardly be impressed. But the French nation has declared it a national monument. Some day, perhaps, the American visitor to Co. Cavan will have his patriotism aroused before the mementoes of that great soldier—the hero of Cedar Creek and Winchester.

The parentage of General Sheridan, and his family history, is clearly traced. Now that so many of those who possessed the traditions of the last century have passed away the booklet is of permanent value. It would now have been difficult to collect all the information. Readers will note just one error—a misprint—which occurs on page 12 (line 9 from bottom): the date "1857" should read "1875." An excellent photograph of Sheridan appears on the cover. The booklet is Father Meehan's tribute to the memory of a great Cavan man; it will remain a tribute to his own genius—a testimony to his own literary worth.

IN REMEMBRANCE: ARTICLES AND SKETCHES.

By FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER, M.A., M.R.I.A. Edited by John S. Crone and F. C. Bigger. (Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1927. 10/6 net.).

The late Mr. Bigger was a Life Member of our Society and played no small part in its inauguration. He was an eminent antiquarian and his knowledge of Ulster archæology, in particular, was unique. In the first issue of this *Journal* will be found a resume of his inaugural Address at the first meeting of our Society in Cavan. For many years he was editor of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*—a work which contains, throughout its many volumes, much valuable history concerning the Province of Ulster. Mr. Bigger was a prolific writer, but as his writings were mostly in historical journals and in the proceedings of the learned societies they were not immediately accessible to all. The book before us is a splendid memorial volume of selections from his historical, topographical and biographical writings.

The Preface is by Mr. Bigger's brother, and a lengthy *Memoir* is contributed by Dr. J. S. Crone, M.R.I.A. There is a very valuable bibliography of books, memoirs and pamphlets, as well as a chronological list of his various articles and sketches. These lists run to 16 pages, which will indicate the extent of his literary and historical labours. Reference to the lists will enable historical writers to locate Mr. Bigger's informative articles.

Dr. Crone's *Memoir* furnishes a very exhaustive account of Mr. Bigger's antiquarian researches. There is an interesting account of his restoration of Sean's Castle at Ardglass—which he found a roofless ruin and had restored. Since Mr. Bigger's death this historic pile has been handed over to the Northern Government by his nephew, Prof. Bigger, M.D., of Dublin, to be preserved as a museum open to the public. It will remain a historical monument to the memory of its restorer. One condition is to be observed: that no flag be flown from it except the Red Hand of Ulster on a white background.

Twenty years before his death Mr. Bigger had planned the publication of a series entitled *The Northern Leaders of '98*. Only the first volume—a Life of William Orr—was actually published. The project was postponed, and the remaining volumes never appeared. However, his manuscripts are preserved in the Belfast Free Library, and we hope that some competent editor will undertake the task of their publication.

*Ode to the Memory of the Late
Father Meehan.*

BY

MISS BRIDIE M. SMITH.

While memory recalls his noble life,
And his genius fame proclaims,
'Twixt gleam and gloom we sigh.
For back through time's dim corridors flash
Anew, many deeds sublime,
Affording Heaven joy.

Though destined to fulfil God's mission,
His love for Breifney found vent
To crown her in history.
This lifetask is the rich legacy
Now left us—all else is gone
—Ended in Death's mystery.

Obituary.

Francis Joseph Bigger, M.A., M.R.I.A., F.R.S.A.I., an Honorary Life Member of our Society and an eminent Irish Antiquarian, passed away at his residence "Ardrigh," Antrim Road, Belfast, on 9th December, 1926. He was an intimate personal friend of the late Father Meehan, who pre-deceased him by only seven weeks. The death of these two great antiquarians is a very severe loss to our Society.

Mr. Bigger belonged to a family which has been associated with the commercial life of Belfast for three centuries. He was the seventh son of the late Mr. Joseph Bigger of "Ardrigh," who was the seventh son of David Bigger, "The Trench," Mallusk, who in turn was the seventh son of William Bigger, of Biggerstown, Co. Antrim, proprietor of a woollen mill.

Admitted a solicitor in 1887, he entered into a partnership and soon built up an extensive legal business. He did not, however, restrict his activities to the Law, for he devoted much of his time to the history and antiquities of Ireland, especially his native Province of Ulster. He was an active member of many Historical Societies, and contributed to various Archæological Journals. In 1888 he became a member of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, and for a time was Vice-President of the Society. In the pages of its *Journal* will be found a large number of his learned articles. He also contributed to the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*. The *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, of which he was at one time editor, owes much to his energy and zeal.

For ten years he was Secretary and for three years President, of the *Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society*. He was also a Governor of the Royal Academical Institution, and of the Belfast Society for Promoting Knowledge. For a number of years he was a member of the Coiste Gnotha of the Gaelic League, being also Past-President of the Coiste Ceanntair, Belfast. He occupied a prominent place in the Gaelic revival movement, and was himself a fluent Gaelic speaker.

Among the many valued fruits of his labours may be mentioned the monumental granite slab over the reputed grave of St. Patrick at Downpatrick, and the restoration of the statue of *Our Lady of Dunsford*, the ecclesiastical remains at Rahoys, and Castle Sean, Ardglass. He worked assiduously for the preservation and restoration of ancient monuments in Ulster, many of which through his efforts have been saved from neglect and decay.

The voluminous historical writings of the late Mr. Bigger will be found in the pages of the Journals of the various Societies to which he belonged. He frequently wrote over the pseudonym "Ardrigh." Two very interesting historical pamphlets, which he wrote under this pseudonym, are published by the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland; they are entitled: "Ἀν ὀπιότ-ῶροῖατ —" *The Penal Days*," and "*The Hills of Holy Ireland*."

A man of charming personality he took a deep interest in the history of Breiffne. He delivered the Inaugural Address at the opening meeting of this Society on March 11, 1920. It may be mentioned that his father was a cousin of the late Joseph Bigger (1828-1890) who for many years sat as M.P. for Cavan.

The members of this Society were under many obligations to the late Mr. Bigger, and his loss will be deeply deplored by all. His advice was always at their disposal, and every Irish anti-quarian found in him a willing helper and genuine friend.

William Finlay, who played a prominent part in the public life of Cavan, passed away on 6th Jan., 1927. He was one of the original members of our Society and manifested a lively interest in its success. As Secretary of Cavan County Council he proved himself a capable and efficient officer, and it was in this capacity that he was best known to the people of Breiffne. It was said of him that he seldom looked beyond the confines of his native county. In affairs of local administration his advice was sought and acted upon, and his efficiency and outstanding ability was always at the service of the people. He discharged his duties with marked ability, but in an ultra non-official way. Everything pertaining to Cavan, its past and present, filled him with enthusiasm and had his warm support. For him Cavan was the centre of the universe. Mr. Finlay was the outstanding personality of the county in the generation past—he belonged to the people he so ably served, his life's work was for them, and his memory will be cherished by them.

Ven. Archdeacon Joseph Mayne, M.A., one of the original members of our Society, died at Kilmacanogue, Co. Wicklow, on 7th March, 1927. He was a graduate of Dublin University, where he took B.A. in 1877 and M.A. in 1880. In 1894 he was installed Incumbent of the parish of Laragh and Lavey, in Kilmore diocese, where he was most popular with all classes. Archdeacon Mayne filled the office of Diocesan Registrar in 1898, and Diocesan Treasurer in 1905. In 1910 he was raised to the dignity of Archdeacon of Kilmore, and was appointed examining chaplain to the Bishop. He was Rural Dean of Bailieboro' from 1899 to 1911. Owing to his advanced age he resigned some years ago and went to reside near Dublin. But he continued to take a deep interest in the history of Breiffne, and his death removes one of the staunchest supporters of the Society.

Very Rev. Hugh P. Smyth, LL.D., of St. Mary's Rectory, Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A., passed away suddenly on November 6, 1927. A Life Member of our Society, he manifested a great interest in the history of his native county and his loss will be severely felt. Born at Drummanduff, Lavey, on Sept. 21, 1855, he studied for the priesthood at All Hallows College, Dublin, and was ordained in 1881. Going to U.S.A. he was appointed assistant pastor at the Church of the Nativity, Union Ave., Chicago, where he laboured zealously for nine years. He was then appointed pastor of St. Peter's Church, Lemont, Ill.

In 1893 Father Smyth was made pastor of St. Mary's Church, Evanston. There he was known, not only for his administrative ability and indefatigable ministrations for the spiritual and material progress of his people, but for his interest in all movements for civic reform. During his pastorate he erected a convent, rectory, and schools. In 1906 Father Smyth celebrated the silver jubilee of his ordination. The Honorary Degree of *Doctor of Laws* was conferred on him by Loyola University in 1924. He was a well-known lecturer and frequently lectured at Northwestern University.

Father Smyth was a prolific writer on historical, religious, and philosophical subjects. One of his best known works is the *History of the Reformation*, which has had a large sale in U.S.A. A series of lectures on Philosophy are published under the title *Testimony to the Truth*. By his death Breiffne loses one of its most brilliant sons, and one whose intellectual achievements reflected glory on the county of his birth. Father Smyth returned from a visit to his native home only six weeks before his sudden death. He had previously visited Ireland in 1923. His brother, Mr. Thomas Smyth, resides at Drummanduff. The benevolence of Father Smyth has not been generally recognised in Cavan; he made no parade of his charity. Some time before his death he contributed £700 to the Co. Cavan Surgical Home for the installation of a Waygood-Otis Lift, the most perfect made. He also contributed towards the laying of new pitch-pine floors in the wards. Towards sundry Irish charities he contributed generously. His whole life was an unselfish one for his fellow-man, and on his death he will be followed by the prayers of the hosts of acquaintances, both in Ireland and U.S.A., who truly valued his friendship and regret the passing of a true friend.

Rev. Stephen J. Brady, pastor of Notre Dame de Lourdes Church, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A., passed away on Friday, Nov. 4, 1927. He was a Life Member of our Society and took a lively interest in its welfare. Born in the townland of Drumgoney (where his brother Patrick resides), in Laragh Parish, about 60 years ago, his preparatory studies were made in Cavan, whence he passed to St. Patrick's College, Carlow. Here he was noted for ability, industry, and perseverance. Finishing his theological

studies in Carlow College in June, 1896, he went to U.S.A., having been adopted some five years previously for the archdiocese of St. Louis. Towards the end of 1896 he was ordained to the priesthood by Most Rev. John J. Kaiu, D.D., Abp. of St. Louis.

Serving in rural parishes, including Troy, Mo., till 1907, he was in that year called to St. Louis and promoted to the pastorate of St. John's Church, at Sixteenth and Chestnut Streets, where he remained until 1919, when he was again promoted to Notre Dame de Lourdes Parish, Wellston, where he laboured till his death. Less than two months before his death, writing to his home in Drumgoney, he announced his intention of visiting Ireland in the summer of 1928. He was a worthy representative of a stock possessing many estimable qualities. His brother, Rev. James Brady, studied in Carlow College, and died in Liverpool in the summer of 1887 (or 1888). Three of his nieces are Sisters of Charity. The passing of Father Stephen will be deeply regretted by all our members. Few men took a greater interest in their native land, and he was always proud of the fact that he belonged to Breiffne—the home of his fathers. Hence the objects of this Society, the preservation of our native traditions, the development of our native language, and the publication of our historical records, found in him an ardent supporter and a generous patron.

List of Life Members and Members at the end of the Year 1927.

LIFE MEMBERS.

BRADY, Rev. Francis J.	...	Craig, Colorado, U.S.A.
BRADY, Right Rev. Msgr. Richard.	...	Loretto Heights College, Loretto, Colorado, U.S.A.
BRADY, Rev. J. J.	... ..	306 Ashley Boulevard, New Bradford, Mass., U.S.A.
CONLON, M. V.	... ..	Ministry, L.G.D., Dublin.
CONNOLLY, Patrick	... ..	Market Street, Cootehill.
FINNEGAN, Most Rev. Patrick, D.D.		Bishop's House, Cullies, Cavan.
FINLAY, Rev. Thomas A., S.J.		35, Lower Leeson St., Dublin.
FINLAY, Rev. Peter, S.J.	...	Milltown Park, Dublin.
FLYNN, Very Rev. Michael J.		St. Michael's, West Derby Road, Liverpool.
GILFILLAN, Right Rev. Francis X., D.D.		519 N. 10th Street, St. Joseph, Mo., U.S.A.
GILLICK, Rev. Bernard	...	611 Logan St., Pueblo, Colo., U.S.A.
LOUGH, Mrs.	... ..	4 Wilton Terrace, Booterstown, Co. Dublin (Honorary).
MACBRIDE, Rev. James	...	St. Paul's Church, Pine Bluffs, Wyoming, U.S.A.
MACCABE, Very Rev. Francis, L.L.D., V.F.		2603 Norwood Street, Pittsburg, Pa., U.S.A.
MAGUIRE, Rev. Patrick	...	St. Vincent's Church, 1886 South Fifth East, Murray, Utah, U.S.A.
MASTERTON, Rev. Ed., S.J.	...	Milltown Park, Dublin.
MOORE, Right Rev. W. R., D.D.		See House, Cavan.
O'CONNELL, His Eminence William H. Cardinal O'Connell.		49 Rawson Road, Brookline, Mass., U.S.A.

O'FARRELLY, Agnes W., M.A.	University College, Dublin.
O'REILLY, Right Rev. James, D.D.	Bishop's House, 608 Broadway, Fargo, N. Dakota, U.S.A.
O'REILLY, Rev. Patrick ...	St. John's Church, 2820, Mari- posa St., Fresno, Cal., U.S.A.
O'REILLY, William, D. L. ...	Knock Abbey, Co. Louth.

MEMBERS.

BENISON, J. A., D.L. ...	Sliabh Russel, Ballyconnell, Co. Cavan
BLAKE, Miss K ...	Derrylin, Enniskillen, Co. Fer- managh
BOURKE, C., M.D. ...	Portaliffe House, Killeshandra.
BRADY, Very Rev. Msgr. Hugh, P.P., V.F.	Crosserlough, Co. Cavan.
BRADY, Very Rev. H.P., P.P., V.F.	Cootehill.
BRADY, P.J., M.R.I.A.I. ...	Broomfield House, Ballyhaise.
BURKE, T. J., M.P.S.I. ...	Main Street, Cavan.
CHAMBERS, T. Y., M.A. ...	The Laurels, Bailieboro.
CLARKE, J., M.D. ...	Tower Hamlet, Cavan.
CLARKE, Terence ...	Barrack Street, Bailieboro'.
COGAN, Rev. John, B.A., B.D., B.C.L.	St. Finian's College, Mullingar, Co. Westmeath.
COLE, J. A., M.A. ...	Scotch Quarters, Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim.
COLUM, Padraic... ...	64, 5th Avenue, New York, U.S.A.
COMEY, Rev. Charles, P.P. ...	Killasnet, Manorhamilton.
COMEY, Rev. M., D.D., Adm....	The Presbytery, Cavan.
COONEY, Peter ...	Victoria Hotel, Sligo.
CORR, Rev. Laurence, C.C. ...	Kildrumsherdan, Cootehill.
CULLEN, B. T., F.R.C.S. ...	Farnham Street, Cavan.
CURRAN, Thomas, M.D. ...	Ballananagh, Cavan.
DALTON, John P., M.A., M.R.I.A.	19 Belgrave Square, Monkstown, Dublin.
DOLAN, Joseph, M.A. ...	Ardee, Co. Louth.
DOLAN, Rev. Michael, P.P. ...	Killinkere, ΔΑΔΘ ΛΑΘΑΙΡ. (Virginia), Co. Cavan.
DOONER, Rev. F., C.C. ...	Dring, Granard, Co. Longford.
DOWNEY, Daniel, N.T. ...	O'Dalysbridge (Mountnugent), Co. Cavan.
DUFFY, P., A.R.C.Sc.I. ...	Annesley Terrace, Cavan.
DUKE, S., A.R.C.Sc.I. ...	Agricultural College, Ballyhaise

EARLEY, Rev. James, C.C.	...	Ballynarry, Kilnaleck, Co. Cavan.
FARRELLY, T. M.	... ..	Bailieboro'.
FIGGIS, W. F.	... ..	20 Nassau Street, Dublin.
FINNEGAN, LOUIS J., M.D.	... ..	Newtownmountkennedy, Co. Wicklow.
FINNEGAN, Rev. Chas., B.A., C.C.	...	Ballymore Eustace, Co. Kildare.
FINNEGAN, Rev. Peter, P.P.	... ..	Queen's Park, Perth, W. Australia.
FITZPATRICK, Rev. Daniel, B.A., B.D.	...	Shercock, Co. Cavan.
GAFFNEY, Very Rev. B., P.P., V.F.	...	Δαδο Λαδοιη (Virginia), Co. Cavan.
GALLIGAN, Rev. Henry, C.C.	... ..	Fairymount, Crosserlough.
GANNON, J. P.	... ..	Cavan.
GANNON, Rev. P. J., S.J.	... ..	Milltown Park, Dublin.
GERRARD, Rev. F., P.P.	... ..	O'Dalysbridge (Mountnugent), Co. Cavan.
GILSENAN, Rev. James B.	... ..	Our Lady of Nazareth Church, Roanoke, Virginia, U.S.A.
GODLEY, MISS M.	... ..	Killegar, Killeshandra.
GREEN, J. Maxwell, D.L.	... ..	Tullyvin, Cootehill.
HALPENNY, P. J.	... ..	Ulster Bank, Mullingar
HALPIN, W. H.	... ..	Farnham Street, Cavan.
HAMILTON, Major W. J.	... ..	Castlehamilton, Killeshandra.
JUDGE, Very Rev. J., P.P., V.F.	...	St. Brigid's, Killeshandra.
KELLY, Rev. Thos. J., C.C.	... ..	Glenade, Manorhamilton.
KENNEDY, F. E.	... ..	Cavan.
KIMMET, John	... ..	98-100 Holm Street, Glasgow.
LYNCH, Very Rev. John, P.P., V.F.	...	Killenummery, Dromahaire.
MACCABE, Aiden E. R., Solr.	... ..	Cavan.
MACGOVERN, Owen, N.T.	... ..	Aghaloor, Kilnaleck.
MACGOVERN, Rev. J. B., F.S.A. (Scot.), F.Ph.S.	...	St. Stephen's Rectory, Charlton-on-Medlock, Manchester, S.E.
MACGOVERN, Sean	... ..	Ardalla House, Belturbet.
MACGUINNESS, Thomas	... ..	Main Street, Cavan.
MACKEON, Rev. John F., C.C., B.D.	...	Cootehill.
MACMULLEN, Surgeon	... ..	Infirmiry House, Cavan.
MACNAMARA, Jeremiah, A.R.C.Sc.I.	...	Church Street, Cavan

MACNIFFE, Rev. P.	St. Patrick's College, Cavan
MAGAURAN, Raymond G., M.D.	Church Street, Cavan.
MAGUIRE, Hugh (<i>Hon. Treasurer</i>)	Ulster Bank, Cavan.
MAGUIRE, Rev. Francis, C.C. ...	Loughduff, Cavan.
MAGUIRE, Rev. John, B.D. ...	St. Patrick's College, Cavan.
MANLY, Rev. P. J., P.P. ...	Killoe, Longford.
MARTIN, Peter, N.T. ...	Kilnaleck.
MEEHAN, Rev. Patrick, P.P. ...	Keadue, Carrick-on-Shannon.
MICKS, W. L.	3 Palmerston Villas, Palmerston Park, Dublin.
O'CONNELL, Philip, M.Sc., F.R.S.A.I.	20 Mary Street, Clonmel.
O'DONOHUE, Rev. Charles ...	Kinlough, Bundoran.
O'DONOHUE, Rev. P., C.C. ...	Killeshandra.
O'HANLON, John F.	Cavan.
O'HANLON, E. J.	Cavan.
O'REILLY, Rev. Patrick, P.P. (<i>Vice-President</i>).	Knockbride, Bailieboro'.
O'REILLY, Rev. John, C.C. ...	The Presbytery, Cavan.
O'REILLY, Rev. Peter, C.C. ...	ΔΕΛΤΑ ΛΑΘΑΙΗ (Virginia).
O'REILLY, Very Rev. Patrick, P.P., V.F.	Derrylin, Belturbet.
O'REILLY, THOMAS	Loughduff, Cavan.
O'REILLY, Henry, B.E. ...	Rice Hill, Cavan.
O'SULLIVAN, J. J., A.R.C.Sc.I.	Hotel, Carrickmacross.
REEGLIN, Rev., W. W. ...	Wyat Villa, Ballybrack, Co. Dublin.
REID, William M., M.B.E., Solr. (<i>Hon. Sec.</i>)	Church Street, Cavan.
REYNOLDS, H. Fitzgerald ...	25 Stallcourt Avenue, Pennylan, Cardiff.
RUDDEN, Very Rev. P. V. ...	St. Patrick's College, Cavan.
RUSHE, D. Carolan, B.A. ...	Far Meehul, Monaghan.
RYAN, R., M.D.	The Villa, Bailieboro'.
SHERIDAN, Michael	Ballananagh, Cavan.
SMALL, Rev. Terence, P.P. ...	Moybolge, Bailieboro.
SMITH, Frederick P., M.D., D.L. (<i>President</i>).	Kevit Castle, Crossdoney.
SMITH, Miss Bridie M., F.R.S.A.I.	Corratubber, Castletara, Cavan.
SMITH, Rev. Philip, P.P. ...	Parochial House, Carrigallen, Co. Leitrim.
SMYTH, Terence S.	60 Main Street, Cavan.
SMYTH, E. J.	Hibernian Bank, Cavan.
SMYTH, T. J., B.L.	Cavan.
SUPERIOR, The	Marist Institute, Bailieboro.

- SWANZY, Rev. H. B. Canon, The Vicarage, Newry, County
M.A., M.R.I.A. Down.
- TIERNEY, John The Hotel, ΔΕΛΤΑ ΛΑΡΔΙΑΝ,
(Virginia)
- WALKER, Rev. R. J., B.A. ... Ballintemple, Ballananagh,
Cavan.
- WALKER, R. V., B.A. ... Ardeevin, Clones, County
Monaghan.
- WALKER, J. S. Ulster Bank, Cavan.
- WHELAN, Bernard Main Street, Cavan.
- YOUNG, Rev. Michael, C.C. ... Redhills, Co. Cavan.

Rules of Breifny Antiquarian Society.

OBJECTS.

- 1 The Society, which shall be non-sectarian and non-political, is formed :—
 - (a) to throw light upon the ancient monuments and memorials of the Diocese of Kilmore, and of the Counties of Cavan and Leitrim, and to foster an interest in their preservation ;
 - (b) to study the social and domestic life of the periods to which these memorials belong ;
 - (c) to collect, preserve, and diffuse information regarding the history, traditions, and folk-lore of the districts mentioned ; and
 - (d) to record and help to perpetuate the names and doings of distinguished individuals of past generations connected with the diocese or counties named.

CONSTITUTION.

2. The Society shall consist of Patrons, Members, and Life Members.
3. The Patrons will be the Bishops of Kilmore, if they are pleased to act.
4. During this year (1920) all interested in the objects of the Society may become Members on payment of the entrance fee and the annual subscription.
5. After 31st December, 1920, a Candidate for Membership besides complying with the conditions in the preceding Rule must :—
 - (a) be proposed in writing by an existing Member ;
 - (b) have his name submitted to the Committee, and, if approved of,
 - (c) be elected at a meeting of the Society.

6. The entrance fee shall be 10/-. The annual subscription shall also be 10/- payable on or before election and on each subsequent 1st day of January.
7. A single subscription of £5 covers the entrance fee and entitles to Life Membership.
8. A Member ceases to have any right or privilege in the Society until his subscription for the year is paid.
9. At the end of the year such defaulters, failing a special resolution of the Committee to the contrary, shall be considered to have resigned, and their names shall be removed from the list of Members.

GOVERNMENT.

10. The Officers of the Society shall be a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman, an Honorary Secretary, an Honorary Treasurer, and an Honorary Registrar.
11. The affairs of the Society shall be managed and controlled by a Committee. This Committee shall consist of :—
 - (a) the Officers just mentioned, who shall be Ex-officio Members ;
 - (b) the Patrons and Past Chairmen, who shall be Honorary Members ; and
 - (c) Six others specially elected.
12. For ordinary business of the Committee three shall form a quorum. But any contentious matter shall be reserved for a meeting at which five, at least, shall be present.
13. All cheques on the funds of the Society shall be signed by two Members of the Committee, as well as by the Honorary Treasurer.
14. In the event of a vacancy in any Office or on the Committee occurring during the year the Committee shall have power to fill the former by appointment and the latter by co-optation until the next Annual General Meeting. It also shall have power to select to act on the Editorial Subcommittee any Member or Members of the Society it may consider specially qualified.
15. THE CHAIRMAN
 - (a) along with his deliberative vote shall have a casting vote at Committee Meetings, but at the Society's Meetings only the latter ;
 - (b) on his own responsibility may at any time call a Special Meeting of either the Committee or the Society ; on joint requisition in writing by five Members of

the Society for either, he shall on cause shown summon such meeting ;

- (c) shall hold office for two years only and until the end of the Session at which his successor should be appointed ; he shall be ineligible for re-election, but afterwards shall continue an Honorary Member of the Committee ;
- (d) if appointed by the Committee under Rule 14, the time of such temporary appointment shall not be considered as part of the two years just referred to.

16. THE HON. SECRETARY

- (a) shall convene Committee Meetings as business may arise ;
- (b) shall send to each Member a clear week in advance notification of General Meetings, together with the Agenda paper ;
- (c) shall take and preserve Minutes of all Meetings ;
- (d) shall forward to each Member entitled to it (vide Rule 30) a copy of the Journal on its publication.

17. THE HON. TREASURER

- (a) shall receive all moneys paid to the Society and make such payments as are authorised by the Committee ;
- (b) shall keep accurate accounts of receipts and payments, and submit them for audit whenever required either by the Rules or by the Committee ;
- (c) shall keep an accurate list of Members of the Society, showing the dates upon which their subscriptions have been paid, this list to be available for inspection at reasonable times ; and
- (d) in the first week of December shall remind any Member in arrears of the provisions of Rule 9.

18. It shall be the duty of the Hon. Registrar to aim at procuring information on Antiquarian and Historical matters. He shall preserve and index it, and assist all the workers of the Society.

19. Due regard being given to the provisions contained in (c) and (d) Rule 15, all Officers and Members of the Committee, Hon. Members excepted, shall be elected from and by the Society's Members and Life Members at the Annual Meeting of each year. They shall remain in office until the opening of the Annual Meeting in the succeeding year, and shall be eligible for re-election.

20. No Member who during the year has failed to attend at least one-fourth of the Committee Meetings to which he was summoned shall be eligible at the next Annual Meeting for election as Officer or Member of Committee.
21. Resignations either from the Committee or from the Society shall be lodged with the Secretary in writing. On acceptance by the Committee the individual's obligations cease.

MEETINGS.

22. The Society shall hold three Ordinary Meetings in the year, two mainly for the purpose of reading and discussing papers, and one for an excursion to some place of archæological interest in either of the Counties named.
23. The Chairman shall preside at both Committee and General Meetings. In his absence (*a*) the Vice-Chairman, or (*b*) the Senior Past Chairman present, or, failing these, (*c*) a Member selected by the Meeting shall be entitled to powers as the Chairman.
24. The first of these Meetings shall be held, if possible, in January, and shall be called the Annual Meeting.
At its opening Session :—
 - (*a*) The Committee shall submit a Report on the work of the Society during the previous year ;
 - (*b*) the Hon. Treasurer shall furnish a detailed balance sheet, duly audited, ending with the previous 31st December.
 - (*c*) the Hon. Auditor for the current year shall be appointed ;
 - (*d*) the election of Officers and Members of Committee shall take place ;
 - (*e*) any amendments to the Rules, duly proposed, shall be discussed ; and
 - (*f*) any other matter appertaining to the Society's well-being or working shall be brought forward.
25. Except to the business Session just mentioned, Members may introduce visitors to all the meetings of the Society.

PAPERS AND PUBLICATIONS.

26. A paper to be read before the Society must be first submitted to and approved of by the Committee. The writer of it, however, will alone be responsible for its contents.
27. All reference to existing religious or political differences must be rigidly excluded from such papers, as well as from the discussions at the Society's meetings.

28. It rests with the Committee to determine what papers or part of papers shall be published.
29. All papers read before the Society shall become the property of the Society.
30. At the end of each year the Society shall endeavour to publish, as far as the funds will permit, a Journal containing these papers, together with the proceedings of the year and other matters of local antiquarian interest. Every Member not in arrears with his subscription is entitled to a copy of this Journal.

ALTERATIONS IN RULES.

31. Amendments or additions to the Rules can be made only at the Annual Meeting.
 32. Notice of such alterations must be lodged in writing with the Honorary Secretary on or before the last day of the previous year and the modifications proposed must appear on the Agenda paper.
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