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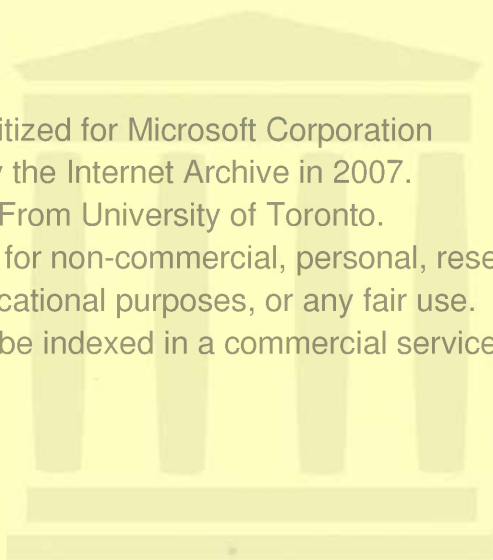
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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND

FORMERLY

The Royal Historical and Archæological Association
OF IRELAND

FOUNDED, IN 1849, AS

The Kilkenny Archæological Society

VOL. XL—CONSECUTIVE SERIES

[VOL. XX—FIFTH SERIES]



1910

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

P R E F A C E

2

IN the department of Prehistoric Antiquities, Mr. Westropp communicates to this volume of the *Journal* a study of the first importance on the Promontory Forts of North Kerry. It is a striking illustration of the wealth of valuable matter that one diligent worker can accumulate regarding the ancient monuments of our country. Mr. Westropp's survey is not confined to the Prehistoric period, but takes in as well medieval and even comparatively modern events recorded in connexion with the structures which he discusses. Of no less importance is Mr. Crawford's study of the Dolmens of Tipperary. It is a model survey; and the many new points he is able to bring forward illustrate the absolute necessity of a properly organized archaeological survey of the whole country. Mr. Crawford also writes on Bullaun-stones at Aherlow and Bagenalstown; while Canon French calls the Society's attention to a dug-out canoe found in the Barrow, and Mr. Hall to crannogs in county Cavan.

Ecclesiastical Antiquities are well represented. A question raised by Lord Walter Fitz Gerald on the Patron of Malahide is elaborately discussed by

Mr. P. J. O'Reilly, who also writes on the Patron of Taney. Mr. Crawford once again is able to add a newly-found slab to the series at Clonmacnois, and makes a most important observation regarding the cross of King Flann; Mr. Bigger writes on the figure of St. Christopher at Jerpoint; and Canon Hogg contributes a paper on the fine church and monuments under his charge at Gowran, in the same county of Kilkenny. Though belonging to a later date, the Records of Cashel Cathedral, described by the Rev. St. J. Seymour, may here be alluded to.

In the department of Medieval Social History, Captain Wilkinson's paper on the Relation of Heraldry to Archaeology has a foremost place. Mr. Orpen adds further instalments to the elaborate study of Motes, with which he has been enriching the *Journal* in recent years. Papers on Ferns, by the late Mr. H. Hore, and on Annaghs Castle, by Mr. J. S. Fleming, may here be mentioned. To more modern times belong the gruesome tale of the O'Connors' duel in 1583, narrated by Lord Walter Fitz Gerald; Dr. Berry's full list of the House and Shop Signs in Dublin; and Mr. S. A. D'Arcy's extracts relating to an attack on a crannog in 1601. Mr. Linn's paper on Banbridge contains reminiscences which the social historian would not easily find elsewhere; and it has on that account been admitted, though events of the nineteenth century are, as a rule, regarded as being outside the province of the Society.

Family History is represented by Mr. Kelly's paper on the *Ouseleys*; and Mr. J. Hewetson's account of the Donegal *Hewetsons*.

Dr. Grattan Flood adds to his former paper on the Harpsichord and Pianoforte Makers another on the Irish Organ Builders.

The Supplement, containing the papers written for the guidance of the members who visited the Isle of Man at the Summer Meeting, will be found of permanent value as a convenient reference handbook of the antiquities of an island with which Ireland has so many close links of connexion.

A few words must be said on a less agreeable topic. An era of destruction seems to have set in all over the country; all the more deplorable in that archaeologists, after a century or two of groping in the dark, are just beginning to find out how to interpret ancient monuments, and how to wrest the secrets of long-forgotten history from them. The destruction of two castles, and of several forts and other remains, is mentioned in this volume; and probably many more such occurrences have taken place recently that were not brought to the notice of the Society. The patriotic efforts of Mr. Tuite to preserve ancient monuments in county Westmeath are deserving of all praise; but the labours of one man, however enthusiastic, can only be a "drop

in the bucket"; a public opinion must be created that shall make such destructions as nearly impossible as may be. And, at least, records of the monuments which still add such charm to our fields should be put on paper with as little delay as possible. A proper archaeological survey of the whole island is, as we have just said, an imperative necessity for scientific work; and it cannot be long delayed, or there will be very few antiquities to survey.

In this connexion we most earnestly commend the admirable address of the President to the careful consideration of our members. It is a clear and calm statement of the problems and requirements at this most critical time for the antiquities of Ireland. Every individual member of the Society must feel that he has in this matter the personal duty of influencing those with whom he comes in contact (especially members of County Councils and other responsible bodies) to take a more practical interest in the preservation of our ancient remains.

ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN,
31 December 1910.

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1910

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CORRIGENDA.

page	line	
287	5	<i>for "34 feet" read "34 inches."</i>
324	12	<i>for "1660-1698" read "1660-1898."</i>
325	10	<i>for "1298" read "1293."</i>
327	6 from end,	<i>for "Garratt," read "Jarratt."</i>
328	In column headed <i>Major</i> ,	read against Mason's name the date 13.2.1792, and against Vallancey's read 26.4.1776, and Eustace's date should be in italics. In column headed <i>Ensign</i> , read against Jarratt's name 30.6.1760.
356	4 from end,	<i>for "New Grange," read "Dowth"</i> in the heading of the article, and in the title under the block on p. 357. The block is printed upside down.

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND
FOR THE YEAR 1910.

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

Papers.

THE DUEL BETWEEN TWO OF THE O'CONNORS OF OFFALY
IN DUBLIN CASTLE ON THE 12TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1583.

BY LORD WALTER FITZGERALD.

[Read JANUARY 25, 1910.]

IN the interval between the lord-deputyships of Lord Grey de Wilton and Sir John Perrot, the inner courtyard of Dublin Castle was the scene of what must have been of most unusual occurrence, a combat (at the instigation of Sir Nicholas Whyte of Leixlip),¹ with sword and target, between two leaders of the O'Connor sept, which was mutually agreed on between them in order to settle some dispute or jealousy of long standing. This method of settling the quarrel had the full approval and sanction of the Lords Justices and Council, which at this time was composed of the following distinguished persons:—

LORDS JUSTICES:—

Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Chancellor.
Sir Henry Wallop, Kt., Treasurer at War.

¹ "Calendar of State Papers, Ireland," 1588–1592, p. 292.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL :—

Sir Nicholas Whyte, Kt., of Great Connell and Leixlip, in the County Kildare, Master of the Rolls.

Sir Nicholas Malbie, Kt., of Roscommon, Governor of Connaught.

Sir Henry Colley, Kt., of Carbury, County Kildare.

The Very Rev. John Garvey, Dean of Christ Church, afterwards Bishop of Kilmore, and Archbishop of Armagh.

Sir Edward Waterhouse, Kt., of Doonass, County Clare, Receiver-General of the Exchequer; and

Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Kt., later on of Clontarf, Principal Secretary of the Council.

The date fixed for the duel was the 12th September, 1583,¹ and one can imagine the inner courtyard being crowded with spectators, eager to see human blood shed, and including probably the leading men in the military and legal professions, besides the Court and Government officials.

On the day succeeding the combat, a description of it was sent by Sir Geoffrey Fenton to the Earls of Warwick and Leicester, of the English Privy Council, in which he states that :—

Since my last, two of the O'Connors were convented before the Council last week to debate such challenges as they had one against the other. The one was called Teige M'Gill Patrick, and the other Connor McCormok. Connor charged Teige that he had slain certain of his followers. Teige denied not the killing of some of Connor's men, but justified the act to be lawfully done, for that he knew them since the granting of their protection to be confederates with Cae'll O'Connor, the principal rebel of the Pale. Connor sharply reproved Teige, who demanded the combat, which Connor accepted, and the Lords Justices and Council agreed to it.

After the election of the weapons was given to the defendant, and by him agreed unto, the time of the combat was published to be the morrow following by nine of the clock, in the inner court of the Castle of Dublin. And against that time assigned patrons to them both to bring them into the lists, and all other officers of the field to grace the action so well as might be in this place, where I think the like had not been seen at any time before.² They both appeared in

¹ "Calendar of State Papers, Ireland," 1588-1592, p. 292.

² Holinshed, in his "Chronicles of Ireland," gives an account of a feud between John Fitz Gerald, Baron of Offaly, who was created Earl of Kildare in 1316, and Sir William de Vesci, Lord of Kildare, and Lord Justice of Ireland, in consequence of which they were summoned to appear before the King in England; and in his presence they renewed their charges of treason the one against the other, the result being that Fitz Gerald challenged de Vesci to single combat. De Vesci accepted the challenge, and a date for the combat was fixed by the King. However, de Vesci,

the place the next morning at the hour appointed, Teige first, being appellant, and Connor after, being defendant.

And being set upon two stools at either end of the court, after they were searched by myself, being thereunto appointed, and their weapons delivered to them, being sword and target, and after proclamation made for good order, the trumpet was commanded to sound a charge, and they (the O'Connors) commanded at the last sound of the trumpet to put themselves to the fight, which they did assuredly with great valour and resolution. Teige gave to Connor two wounds in the leg, which as they weakened him much by the blood which he lost, so Connor pressing the more in upon Teige, for that he felt his own feebleness, Teige thrust him into the eye, by which Connor finding himself to be sped (? spent), bore into the close, thinking likewise to dispatch Teige, but Teige, having the advantage of strength, so received him into the close, as he first wrung from him his sword, and overthrew him. And then pommelling him about the head with the hilt of his sword to astonish (? stun) him, Connor's murrion, that was fast buckled under his chin, was loosed with that business; so as Teige, presently taking Connor's sword, gave him sundry wounds in the body, and with his own sword cut off his head, and presented it to those who were principal assistants.

I have sent to your Lord, my Lord of Leicester, the same sword, which I could not have got from Teige, but with promise that I would give it to your Lord, and recommend his service and duty to you, as one that, now professing to be a civil man, desireth to depend upon you.

I would her majesty had the same end of all the O'Connors in Ireland; then might it be hoped for, that no such disturbance would rise again in Leinster as hath done through their quarrels.

DUBLIN, 13th September, 1583. (Signed and sealed.)¹

This revolting spectacle was only in keeping with the times when it was customary for Dublin Castle never to be without its ghastly tribute of (so-called) rebels' heads, which were fixed on poles attached to the battlements of its towers, to act (but unsuccessfully) as a deterrent to future patriots.

So far as I am aware no attempt has yet been made to identify the two principals engaged in this extraordinary duel; nor is the task an easy one, as, strange to relate, neither of the combatants is mentioned

before the appointed time, fled to France, whereupon the King declared Fitz Gerald innocent, and added: "Albeit de Vesci hath conveyed his person into France, yet he hath left his lands behind him in Ireland"; and granted them to the Baron.

In vol. vi., p. 455, of the edition printed in London in 1808, Holinshed also describes the O'Connor duel, quoted above.

¹ "Calendar of Carew Manuscripts," 1575-1588, p. 361.

in the Irish Annals, though they were persons of note in the Offaly territory; so that it is only by piecing together scraps of information gleaned from the printed Calendars of Irish State Papers that anything certain can be stated about them.

Connor mac Cormac O' Connor and Caell (Cahill or Cathal) O' Connor were brothers, sons of Cormac mac Brian O' Connor, Chief of Offaly in 1579.¹ They were noted rebels; and the former was one of Rory oge O'More's most trusted captains, and the chief leader of the rebels of Offaly.² There is a difficulty of identification in his case, as Sir Henry Sydney, in a summary of his services in Ireland, states that Connor mac Cormac, "an ancient and rank rebel," was, towards the end of 1577, "killed by a man of mine called John Parker," on the occasion when Rory oge O'More had such a miraculous escape from being captured by Robert Hartpole.³ Can it be that Connor was left for dead, recovered, and was slain in this duel in 1583?

Cathal or Caell O' Connor, among many other acts of rebellion, is reported in April, 1582, to have killed in a fight Donnell mac Tibbott O'Molloy, of Pallas, and forty-five of his men; to have burned Sir Edward Harbert's residence at Durrow Abbey in the King's County; and in May following to have captured at "Rosbrye," and put to death Captain Humfrey Mackworth, of Bert, near Athy, in the County Kildare. In 1588 he was abroad, principally in Spain, where he was known as "Don Carolos," and was there looked upon as the rightful Lord of Offaly.⁴ In the month of November, 1596, Philip II of Spain despatched a fleet, with an army of 15,000 men on board, for service in Ireland; a fearful storm occurred off Cape Finisterre, and thirty-one of the vessels were wrecked; among those who were drowned were Cathal O' Connor, his mother, his wife, and his children, together with a Captain Blanchfield, Henry mac Donnell O'Mulryan of "Ony" (Owney, County Limerick), and Robert Lacy, titular Chancellor of Limerick from the Pope.⁵

Of *Teige mac GillaPatrick O' Connor of Offaly* there is very little to say. About the earliest mention of him is in 1562, when he and his brothers, Connell and Brian, received pardons from the Crown. Pardons were granted to them again in 1564, 1577, 1584, and 1588. In the pardon of 1577 Connell mac GillaPatrick is styled "of Cloncare in the Queen's County, Gent."; and in 1588 Teige (if the same individual) is styled "of Cappencorowe, Gent."⁶ Of their father, GillaPatrick,

¹ "Calendar of Carew MSS.," 1575-1588, p. 177.

² "Annals of the Four Masters," 1576.

³ "Calendar of Carew MSS.," 1575-1588, pp. 355-356; Kildare Archæological Society's Journal, vol. vi., p. 38.

⁴ "Calendar of State Papers, Ireland," 1592-1596, pp. 290, 453.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1596-1597, pp. 223, 268.

⁶ *Piants of Elizabeth*, Nos. 451, 615, 2984, 4290, and 5174.

nothing is on record. Teige is reported as giving trouble to the Government in 1575; three years later he made his submission. Later on he appears to have broken out again, as the Lord Deputy describes him as "a notorious spoiler of the Pale." In June, 1582, he is reported as having married a sister of the famous rebel, Feagh mac Hugh O'Byrne of Ballinacor, in the Ranelagh (County Wicklow) chief of his name;¹ and in September following he was suing for a pardon, which appears to have been granted to him, as a twelvemonth thence he appears in Dublin to cross swords with Connor mac Cormac O'Connor, as described above. In October, 1583, Sir Nicholas Whyte of Leixlip, Master of the Rolls, wrote to Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Secretary of State, that Teige had taken a farm (? Cappencorowe) to settle upon with the good favour of the Lords Justices; he also enclosed a document in Irish, containing the reasons of Brian mac GillaPatrick for not answering the combat with Mortagh "ne cogge (or ocogge)" O'Connor,² which his brother Teige appointed in his absence. There is no further allusion to this challenge. Brian mac GillaPatrick's death took place in October, 1584, he being slain by Sir Calvagh, or Charles, O'Carroll of Leamyvannon (now Leap Castle), in the King's County, Chief of Ely O'Carroll.³ In 1589 Teige is described as being uncertain in his allegiance to the Crown; after which there is no further mention of him.

¹ "Calendar of State Papers, Ireland," 1574-1585, p. 376.

² In the Elizabethan Fiauts (Nos. 2324 and 2925) styled of Dunleer, county Louth, in 1573; and late of Philipstown, King's County, in 1576.

³ "Calendar of State Papers, Ireland," 1574-1585, p. 531.

PROMONTORY FORTS AND ALLIED STRUCTURES
IN NORTHERN COUNTY KERRY.

PART I.—IRAGHTICONNOR.

BY THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, M.A., M.R.I.A.

[Submitted JULY 12, 1909.]

THE "Kingdom of Kerry" does well to assert its claim to be called "Queen of the Irish Counties." It is a treasury of varied beauty; but a price must be paid for beauty, and one of the items has been neglect of field archaeology. The visitors did not go off the beaten tracks of tourist traffic; and very few condescended to the mechanical and painstaking study of the early remains. A large harvest is accordingly left to be garnered here, as in other parts of Ireland; and the wholesale clearing of remains from the country, with the dying-out of traditions and folklore, calls the more urgently to the few workers who do this thankless but important work. The bane of Irish Archæology has been striving after "popular" and "striking" subjects; outside the island we are condemned for this very natural trait—"no Irishman can write without having a story to tell," has run the criticism. Those to whom study is the reward, and "popularity" of far less account, must, in binding themselves to field-studies, take care to bind themselves to no theory, "final" or absolute at least, for modest tentative theory helps and does not warp. They must also not lose sight of the advance of continental archæology in wide comparative study and increasing excavation of similar remains to our "forts." Till the test of excavation is widely applied to our early remains, we must above all avoid the hopeless heresy of regarding anything as "final" or "closed" that may be in very truth hardly begun. Diffidence in asserting dates or periods for non-architectural remains is the lesson of humility perhaps most needed. By such means we may keep our papers from being stumbling-blocks of theory, not, as we desire, stepping-stones of fact for other workers.

Had justice been done to John Windele, one of the most indefatigable of our field-workers in the dawn of such harvesting, and even a fair proportion of his work been published, there should have been far less neglect of this rich field in Kerry. Save on the oghams, too little has been done since George Du Noyer's time. Brash and Dunraven are chief. Miss Hickson never more than touched on the Forts; in the northern district, neither Mr. P. J. Lynch nor Mr. Robert A. S. Macalister gave us any such papers as the first has given on Iveragh, and

[To face page 6.]



BALLYBUNNON CASTLE, COUNTY KERRY. (From the South.)
(From a Photograph by T. J. Westropp.)

both on Corcaguiny. In face of this, one little favoured by local circumstances may be justified in endeavouring to publish accounts of the fortified promontories and some other characteristic square and ring forts in the three northern baronies—Iraghticonnor, Clanmaurice, and Corcaguiny, which are little visited compared with the lovely regions at Killarney or Glengariff.

In the matter of such forts Kerry has much to teach. That the noble cliff-fort of Doon on Eask Hill, and the entrenchments at Ferritter's Castle, and round the Bays of Ventry, Kerry Head, and Ballybunnion are as yet undescribed is a deep reproach to Irish antiquaries. To remove this, even a little, we propose giving as fully as seems desirable, with full plans and sections, and (where possible) views, a continuation for Kerry of our work on the cliff-forts of Wexford, Waterford, Galway, and Clare.¹

Beginning in sight of the most southern of the last forts, we find some seven to the north of Ballybunnion, and about as many more southward to Kerry Head. Over ten lie near Dingle; the other Kerry forts are very scattered, and we do not include them in this paper, save in a brief list. The only one of much note is Doon-Cloghaneanuig, in Iveragh, nearly cut into three by its collapsed caverns. The mound at one point is still supported by a natural arch. We do not hesitate to include in our notes the late mortar-built castles on the headlands. We were blamed for so dealing with Dunlecky in county Clare. But not only does this method complete the description, but it illustrates the progressive advance in fortification, and obviates the risk of attaching any too exclusive idea of remote origin to the fosses and mounds. We are, however, anxious to escape the opposite danger of post-dating early works. Of these, we can hardly question the age of such forts as the Cahercarberys, Doon Eask, and in some sense Dunbeg at Fahan, though we regard its wall as embodying defensive features far more advanced, and probably later than those of forts like the cahers of Aran and Clare. We cannot pass in silence by some characteristic ring-forts and "square" forts, but do not attempt more than a few characteristic descriptions of typical remains to illustrate the wider subject.

Two especially interesting questions arise. One is the origin and nature of the "Cladhruadh," the curious trench which we meet at Kerry Head, and which ran to Athea, in county Limerick, with a continuation, the "Cladhdubh," nearly to Charleville in county Cork, if not to join the "Cladhdubh" near Lismore in county Waterford. The other is whether the headlands on which the forts stand can have survived for any great lapse of time against the whole

¹ See *Journal*, vol. xxxvi., p. 239, for county Waterford; and vol. xxxviii., pp. 28 and 221, for county Clare. The only known promontory-forts in county Galway—both in Aranmore—are described in vol. xxv., p. 266.

force of the "all-devouring deep." Some of the cliff-forts are evidently uninjured, the ends curving back along the cliffs as at Pookeenecree and Cahercarbery more. So also at Doon Fort, near the first, the sea runs harmlessly along smooth upturned strata. Much, of course, depends not only on the quality but on the stratification of the rocks and other conditions.¹ Upturned strata make an almost indestructible breakwater; thin, loose joints facing the waves, on the contrary, have little stability. The destruction of Dun Aenghus may be more apparent than real, judging from the many inland forts that abut in semicircles on a cliff; but there can be no question of the rapid destruction of the rocks at some of the forts near Ventry as well as Lisheencanekeragh, and the "Stack Fort" at Ballybunnion. A good example of the survival of conditions, little changed for over a thousand years, is apparently found in Loop Head, where, from the name, the islet and narrow chasm evidently formed "the Leap of Cuchullin" long before the ninth century, when its records commence. So also at Dubh Cathair, in Aran, as we pointed out,² the sea would have but little power on the ends or sides, while deepening the bays to either side for a considerable distance past the fortifications.

With diffidence, despite our endeavour after completeness, we give this survey to our fellow-workers, believing that correct fact, even if imperfect, is what they most desire. Not merely to our countrymen at home is such material more necessary than discussion, but to those able workers in France who study the "Irish question" of forts with interest and success,³ and to our countrymen in America. Great are the bonds of sympathy we might expect in the latter case: to the Irish and the Norse alone, among the existing nations of Europe, a land lay beyond the waves of the Atlantic long before the Genoan turned westward. There unknown tribes raised the promontory forts, ring-mounds, and high mottes so similar to our own. There the Vikings found, in another sense than we do at present, a "Great Ireland."⁴ If only we could win the interest and practical sympathy of the Irish of America for this branch of their country's history, a great impetus might be given to such studies, and practical aid to its elucidation by the excavator.

¹ After ages of practical stability, a great and rapid destruction may occur. At Ardmore, county Waterford, some change of current shifted a beach of shingle, and, since then, has cut through an ancient bog, and removed many acres of land, with roads and houses. It is a striking object-lesson to see the ends of the old road from the hill, near the church and round tower, with the curve of the new bay cutting far into the land within their line.

² *Supra*, vol. xxxvi., p. 246.

³ We again refer to the wide and masterly *précis* of Dr. Adrien Guébbard in his Presidential Address on the forts of all Europe, at the Congress of the French Prehistoric Society at Autun in 1907.

⁴ "Irlanda mikla," "White Man's land," and "Vinland," with the Norse. Hrafn, "the Limerick merchant," was the first recorded trader with Ireland and America. See Saga of Eric the Red, Landnamabok, &c. In Ireland, besides allusions in the Lives of St. Brendan, see "Voyage of Bran" (vol. i., p. 14), "thrice fifty islands, each larger than Erin," in the Western Ocean.

O'CONNOR OF IRAUGHTCONNOR.

This barony tells its earlier history by its very name, Oireacht Ui Chonchobhair, "O'Connor's Inheritance." Far into the mists of the past we see the ancestors of the Clan, the earliest recorded kings of North Kerry, Ciarrhaighe Luachra, ruling here. Farther still away, in the second century, Ptolemy records the Ganganoi—the Irish Siol Gan, Gennann, and Gangainn—at the mouth of the Shannon. Later on, probably before the introduction of Christianity into Ireland, it appears probable that the Corcavaskin tribes spread at both sides of the Shannon; and the "Bishoprick" of Iniscatha implies in those early times a close tribal connexion between Thomond and Kerry Luachra in the sixth century.

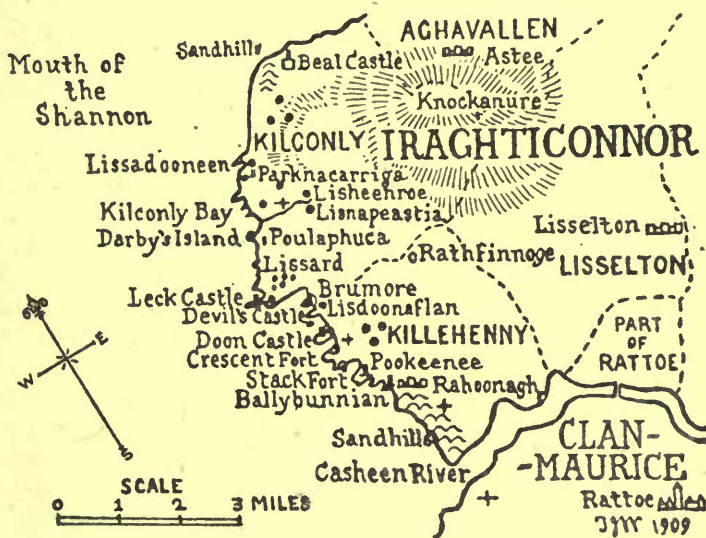


FIG. 1.—DIAGRAM OF THE WESTERN PART OF IRAUGHTCONNOR, COUNTY KERRY.

The "O'Connors" were reputedly of the race of Ir, and, like the other "O'Connors" of Coreomroe, proudly claimed descent from the great mythic Queen Maeve and her lover Fergus, son of Roigh. Their son Ciar (sang the bards) gave his name to the Ciarrhaighe race. Certainly the tribe was of Connaught origin; for the kings of that province claimed a heavy and bitterly resented tribute from them; and Kerry had also to pay another to the King of Cashel as residents in his province. They paid Connaught 200 cattle, sixty "red cloaks—not black—and sixty hogs, from the Ciarrhaighe; hard the sentence!" says the "Book of Rights"; and to Cashel 1000 each of cattle and hogs; the

subordinate tribe of Corca Duibhne paid 2000 cattle; the Ciarrhaighe paid other dues, 1200 cattle and 600 sows; the Corca Duibhne thirty each of cows, oxen, and cloaks. The King of Cashel was bound, as over-king, to give to Kerry seven women, seven "matals" trimmed with gold, with ring-clasps, and as many drinking-horns and steeds; also on other occasions twenty horses, sixty white cows, and sixty cups. The poems cited are attributed to the fifth century; but the main work dates about A.D. 900, with addenda of a century later.¹

The more definite records of the chiefs come into the clearer light of history in the later eighth century, when a powerful prince, Flann Feorna, his son and grandson (who died respectively in 782 and 836) were kings. The lines of Dunadach and Maelsechnaill, Flann's sons, ruled. Of the race, Chonchobair, at the close of the ninth century, is commemorated in the patronymic "O'Connor"; his son, Muredach Claon ("stooping"), in that of the Ui Muireadhaigh line. The latter chief's son, Baedan, or MacBeathad, fell gloriously fighting the Norsemen at Clontarf in 1014; the later chiefs derive from him. The lines chiefly sprang from Dermot's sons (and Connor's grandsons), Dermot II, and Culuachra, and overlap in the usual complex manner of tanistry. King Dermot "of the hostings" was one of the ablest and most unfortunate; his father, Mahon (Mathgamhain), son of Mac Beathad, was King of North Kerry and Corcaguiny; and Dermot endeavoured to extend his kingdom. He slew Cormac MacCarthy, King of Munster, in 1138, and built a "castle" at Astee, probably the "bawn" noted there by Smith in 1756; but he got involved in the endless wars of his son-in-law, Torlough O'Brien, King of Thomond, sharing his victory over the Eoghanachts in Ui Chonaill Gabhra, county Limerick, and his crushing defeat by MacCarthy at Moinmore (1150-1151). He never recovered the blow; and MacCarthy drove him into exile, where he died three years later, a broken-hearted and ruined man. The enfeebled O'Connors hardly held half their own, even in Kerry Luachra; and to their troubles the (probably revengeful but short-sighted) policy of the MacCarthys added a thorn in their side, by granting the land south of the Cashen River to the Norman Geraldines. The grant was confirmed by King John in 1199, and will receive more notice. Dermot left two sons, Mahon and Murchad. The latter was ancestor of the O'Connors of Aghnagrana, which line subsisted (at least) down far into the eighteenth century. Mahon was ancestor of the later chiefs; one, John, founded the Monastery of Lislaghtin in 1470; he was the last Celtic "Lord of Kerry"; his eldest son Conor

¹ "Book of Rights" (ed. O'Donovan, pp. 97, 103; 43, 48, 61, 65, and 259). O'Donovan gives a curious story of the attempted poisoning of an exiled Kerry chief by Eochy Tirmharna, circa 550, the King of Connaught. As the poison was in ale, the award freed the Kerry tribe from their ale tribute to the king's successors. For a most interesting study of the character of these imposts, see article by Mr. J. Mac Neill (*New Ireland Review*), vol. xxv. (1906), p. 200, on the "Book of Rights."

was only Chief of Iraghticonnor; from his second son sprang the Lords of Tarbert, from whom certain existing O'Connors deduce their descent. The confiscation by Elizabeth's Government broke up the clan, and enriched Trinity College; but still in every grade of society the ancient race is represented, in many cases maintaining their connexion with their ancient seat.¹

"SQUARE" FORTS.—The most interesting ancient buildings of the barony, Lislaghtin "Abbey," and the castles of Carrigfoyle and Listowel, the last an early Geraldine fortress, lie both by position and character outside the scope of this paper.²

Of the forts, we will notice hereafter several typical examples both of the ring and the cliff forts. No examples of the high round mote are known to me in these districts. The straight-sided fort is not common.³

Taking the baronies above the line of Dingle Bay, we find, however, some good examples of the latter. In Iraghticonnor is Beale Castle;⁴ the masonry part is reduced to a greatly undermined staircase turret, and the foundations of a side building standing in a large "diamond-shaped" earthwork. The "bawn" is surrounded by a fosse and outer mound, the former from 12 feet to 18 feet wide, and a few feet deep, much effaced along the east side. The platform is raised 5 feet to 8 feet over the field, with a low bank 9 feet thick. This is 4 feet to 5 feet high at the north-east corner, where the bank rises more than 12 feet over the fosse. The whole enclosure measures 246 feet east and west by 318 feet north and south. The tower had two floors under a vault, then another vaulted story and a roofed upper room (O. S. map 2). There was another "bawn" at Astee, described by Dr. Charles Smith in

¹ For all this, see the Annals of the Four Masters, Clonmacnois, Inisfallen (Ancient), "Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill," and "Book of Rights." The registered pedigree at the Ulster's Office seems of little value, like many of its period. O'Donovan's important notes may be found in the first—vol. ii., p. 891; also p. 774 n, p. 1169; Todd's in "Wars," pp. cxv and 209. The fifteenth and sixteenth century material is poor. See Fiants Elizabeth, 6123, grant, May, 1597, lands of Conogher O'Connor, of Carryfoyle, and Brian, his brother, attainted, to Trinity College; Inquis. No. 97, of 1612, No. 37, of 1631, and No. 59, of 1635; John O'Connor, of Carryfoyle. John O'Connor holds Carryfoyle Castle, Lislaughten, &c. No. 94, of 1641. John O'Connor, of Killeaghtin.

² Listowel has the front part of a fine keep; the towers are connected by a lofty arch, like those of the faces of Bunratty Castle. The north turrets remain, nearly intact, with numerous small vaulted rooms, and the remains of a stair. The building must have originally risen from the river bank. The earthen fort of "Listuathail" is still pointed out at the other side of the town; it is low and circular.

³ The "square" Norman "mote and castle" type, though common, has yet to be studied. Excellent examples are found at Clonmacnois, in King's County; Carbury, in Kildare; and Ardahan, in county Galway. The latter has the high platform, fenced bailey, and later stone keep. The Kerry ones are possibly all Geraldine, like the "square motes" at Killeedy and elsewhere.

⁴ Mr. Mills, Deputy Keeper of the Records, informs me of an interesting account of "Vyaille" Castle, held by the Fitz Maurices in 1307 (Justiciary Rolls). It had a court, open near the gate, and a tower, with a cellar. Readers of the "Pacata Hibernia" will remember the slaying of Maurice Stack here in 1600 by the orders of Lady Kerry.

1756, but of which I found no trace. He calls it "a large inclosure of stone called in Irish a bawn, formerly built as a place of strength to preserve cattle from being carried off by an enemy."¹ A small square fort without a fosse lies near the same village, and a second farther eastward at Cloonaman. Tarbert demesne² has a larger earthwork, with a fosse and both mounds; three sides are straight, but the corners are rounded,³ save to the north-east; it measures about 170 feet across the platform, and 260 feet to 280 feet over all; a ring-fort lies near it at the creek (O. S. 3). One of medium size, square, and with an outer and inner mound, lies at Glanalappa, near Newtown Sandes (O. S. 6).

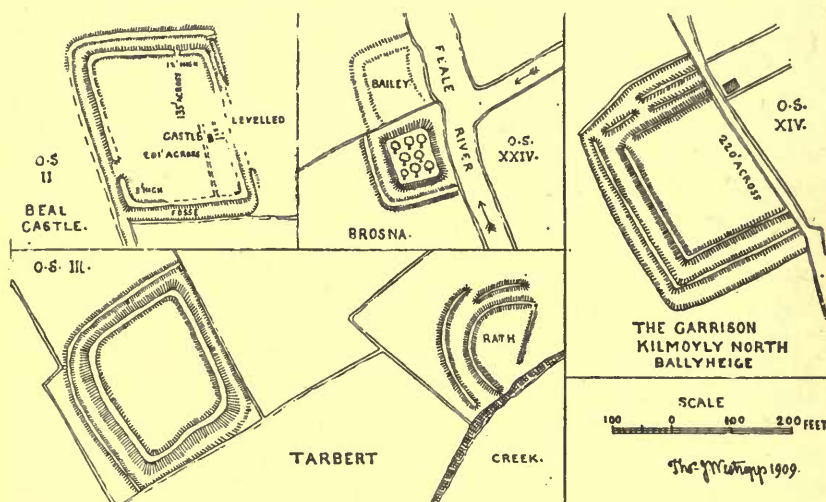


FIG. 2.—SQUARE EARTHWORKS IN NORTHERN COUNTY KERRY.

In Clanwilliam the finest example is "The Garrison" of Kilmoily, near Ballyheige; it has a fosse and two mounds to the south and west, with an extra mound and fosse to the north; the eastern side is defaced by a road; it measures about 220 feet square inside, and 400 feet over all (O. S. 14). In Bishop's Quarter, near Rattoo, we noted a greatly levelled earthwork of this class, 340 feet by 210 feet across, and a few feet high, on the rising ground to the north-west (O. S. 9). In Trughanacmy a remarkable earthwork lies near Mountcollins Bridge in Brosna, opposite where the Caher brook joins the Feale. It is very

¹ Dr. Charles Smith, "Ancient and Present State of the County Kerry" (1756), p. 225. "Complete Irish Traveller" (1788), p. 172, follows this without checking.

² An old manor of the Earls of Desmond.

³ This is not unusual even in "square" stone forts, e.g. Knockaun Mountain, Tullyconmaun, and Ballymarkahan. See *Journal*, vol. xxvi., p. 153; vol. xxxv., p. 222; and *Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. xxvii. (c.), pp. 375-9.

probably of English origin, somewhat resembling in plan the "mote" of Killeedy, in the adjoining county. It abuts on the west bank of the Feale, the other sides being defended by a fosse and mounds. It is about 300 feet long north and south, with a square platform about 150 feet across, now planted, to the south, and a banked enclosure to the north (O.S. 24). "Diamond-shaped" forts are found at Pallis, near Currans (O.S. 48); "The Camp" at Meanus, near Castle Island, and a smaller one, Lissateomra,¹ in Garraundarragh, near the last.²

In Corcaquiny: Lisnakilla, near Anascaul, though with somewhat straight sides, is hardly to be classed with the above earthworks.

KILCONLY PARISH.

As we pass up the hillside from Beal Castle, with its weird sand-dunes, and turn from the wide expanse of the Shannon out to the slender round tower of Scattery, we gradually gain a wider outlook over the estuary, along the Clare coast to Loop Head. Near the highest point, about 240 feet above the sea, we look down the steep slope to a row of worn grey pillar-stones, and beyond them to a bold earthwork on the cliff. The coast at this point is fringed by perpendicular, though low, walls of rock³ and little lonely headlands, silent, save for the whirling sea-birds and "the surgy murmurs of the lonely sea."

LISSADOONEEN, BEAL (O.S. 1).—Almost at the north-western angle of Kerry and much farther up the estuary than any of the promontory forts of Clare, we find an entrenched headland, projecting on to a pavement of flat rocks, bare at low water. It is cut off on the south by a straight walled creek, Gougadoona, the creek of the doon, a collapsed cave, and is called Lissadooneen; to the north is a bay called Bohaunna-baustee. Now there are evident remains of a longer headland at Dooneen Point not far to the north, and this, with the names, suggests that another promontory fort once remained there also. Two forts sometimes occur with kindred names; for example, in Clare, we have Caherbarna and Lisdoonvarna, Caherlisananima and Lisananima, Liscroneen and Lisheencroneen (nearly opposite the Kerry fort we are examining),

¹ Is this a "Tara" name? O'Donovan gives Ballahantowra, in this part of Kerry, as representing Temair Luachra; but the Western Tara was close to Portriard and Abbeyfeale, as shown by the Four Masters in 1580, when recording Pelham's march thither. In the C.S.P.I., 1600, p. 317, Sir G. Carew gives his itinerary to the Privy Council. He left Askeaton July 4th, and lodged upon the midst of the mountains of Sleivlogighor, the place called Ballinture, twelve miles from Askeaton and five miles from Glan castle, whence next day he proceeded to the siege of the latter. For data as to the site of Temair Luachra, see *Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. xxvi. (c), p. 62.

² Of course some of these little forts may be extremely late; we know of a small raised, oblong platform having been attached to a modern house, and fenced by a ditch and quickset hedge in very early style.

³ The writer of the MS. (T.C.D. i. 4. 13.) "Journey to Kerry," July, 1709, gives interesting notes on the "alum" and "Kerry stones, or crystal," gathered in these cliffs, and the fish and shell-fish of the shore, during his visit to Gullane.

and possibly Dundahlin and Lisdoondahlin;¹ so we venture to suggest that here and about a mile to the south at Tonalassa there were two groups of forts of assonant names; Dooneen and Lissadooneen here, and Doonaflan (or Bruemore) and Lisdoonaflan at the other headland.

Lissadooneen has a curved fosse and earthworks, about 105 feet long through the fosse. We first find a late fence and ditch, 27 feet from the fort, enclosing the "burial-place of a ship's crew"; the fact and disaster vividly remembered in the townland, and recorded on the 1841 map, but the name of the luckless ship seems forgotten. It is certainly, with its



FIG. 3.—LISSADOONEEN CLIFF FORT, COUNTY KERRY.

(From a Photograph by Dr. G. U. Macnamara.)

sward of lovely sea-pinks and vetches, an appropriate resting-place for those taken too late from the "remorseless deep," better than the overcrowded, nettle-pestered churchyards of the district. The outer bank of the fort was levelled, probably for material for the later fence; it is hardly 2 feet high, and is 18 feet wide. A gangway, 9 feet wide, 18 feet long, and 5 feet high, crosses the fosse, and cuts through the inner mound at 57 feet from the south cliff. The fosse is 9 feet wide at the bottom and 8 feet to 10 feet below the field. The inner ring is very steep and

¹ If the Ordnance Survey, "Lisdundahlin," be reliable, it is not found locally at present.

rises 17 feet to 18 feet over the fosse and 9 feet to 10 feet over the garth; it is 27 feet thick at the gangway, and 6 feet on top and (like the garth) is richly coated with long grass and great bosses of sea-pinks, deep rose and white. The south end of the earthwork, next Gougadoona, has fallen away; it shows an instructive and well-marked section. It is evident that the fort-builders first dug a more shallow trench, throwing the earth on to the field-level in a mound, only 3 to 4 feet high at present. They next laid another layer a few feet thick over the whole, which bonded perfectly with the older mound, and forms the lower face of the present work for 12 to 14 feet up. Lastly, and evidently long after the consolidation of the former works, the fosse was deepened at the ends down to the rock, and the earth heaped behind and to a height of 4 to 5 feet over the old work: the stratification, as may be seen in the appended section, showing the successive stages. The last addition, however, did not cover the front of the older work, so it never "bonded," and has left a ridge-like break along both wings of the mound. The garth does not appreciably differ from its old level; but this is no proof of late construction, as the same is observable at many dolmens, ogham stones, and carved crosses, as well as at evidently early oratories and cahers. The fosse is but little filled, which may imply at least maintenance to late times. The contrast between the steep mounds and clear ditches of this fort, and that near the Stack Rock, with the half-obliterated works at Kerry Head and Doon-Eask Fort near Dingle, is very strong; but it may result from stone-facing, as in the case of the ring-forts in various parts of Ireland. A short way up the hill, in a field called in 1840 "Parknacarriga," but now nameless, is an earthen fort, a neat little house-ring, 75 feet across the garth, with no fosse, its furze-clad bank, 12 feet thick and 6 feet high. A row of "gallauns," or rude pillars, lies to the south-west in line with the fort; they measure—the second eastern, a rough somewhat oblong stone, 6 feet 6 inches high by 3 feet by 4 feet; the third is wedge-shaped, 5 feet 3 inches high by 2½ feet by 2 feet; the fourth and fifth, like the most eastern, have fallen and are broken; the sixth is a stump, 1 foot high and 2 feet square; the seventh and most western is broken; 3 feet remains, 2½ feet by 2 feet at the base. They were probably a mearing connected with the fort.¹ Opposite this is the true mouth of the Shannon, over two miles wide from Dooneen to Kilcredaun in Clare, the great estuary bay opening westward.

DARBÝ'S ISLAND, KILCONLY SOUTH (1).—Returning to the road and going southward, we reach a little stream running down a shallow depression, below furzed banks and a low fort. It falls over a low cliff into Kilconly Bay, a picturesque place with long, thin, parallel rocks, the skeleton of a wrecked headland, and several arches and caves.

¹ For another good example, of two periods, see the mound of Ballyvoony promontory fort in Co. Waterford (*Journal*, vol. xxxvi., p. 250). The mote of Rathmore in Kildare was raised on several successive occasions; and I noted a ring-fort near Ardfer in Kerry which showed an addition in height. The low mote of Lisnagree, near Broadford, in Clare, was also raised by a later layer, 3 to 4 feet thick.

On the stream near the road stands the little ruined church of Kilconly, called after a certain St. Chonla, probably the one commemorated in our ancient calendars on May 10th. Local tradition¹ only relates that he was slain by a formidable monster or "piast" which issued from the ring-fort of Lisnapeastia lying up the valley eastward. The church is a plain late building, evidently dating from the fifteenth century. It measures 42½ feet by 22 feet inside; the walls, with a slope or batter outside, are 4 feet thick and 9 feet high, of small thin flag-stones. The east and south windows are plain oblong slits, about six inches wide; the

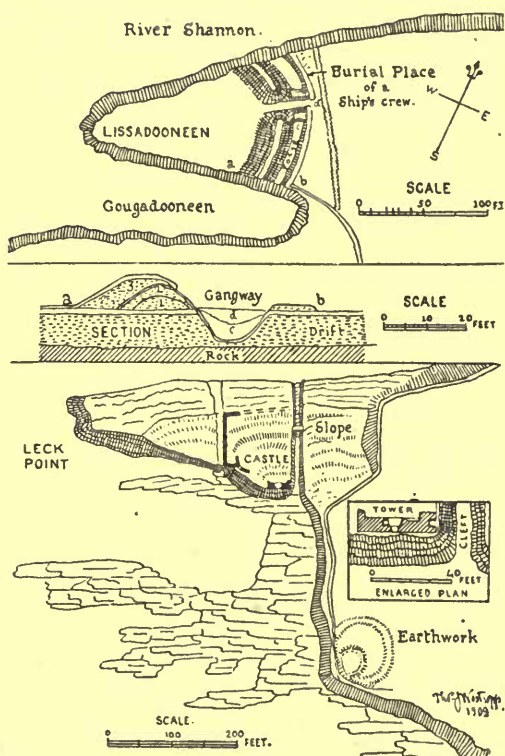


FIG. 4.—FORTS IN KILCONLY PARISH, COUNTY KERRY.
(LISSADOONEEN AND LICKBEVONE.)

southern is recessed; the eastern has a plain splay arch. The south door, 13 feet from the west end, had a round-headed arch slightly recessed outside, with a bar-hole and a broken sandstone stoup to the east. The west gable is blank, and still entire, but undercut inside.

¹ "Ordnance Survey Letters," R. I. Academy, 14D., 11, p. 20.

Going along the cliffs, we find not far to the west of the waterfall a little headland with a level summit, joined to the mainland by a narrow neck. It is locally called "Darby's Island," but the maps call it "Dermot and Grania's Bed."¹ I much doubt their accuracy, for the term seems confined by the peasantry to dolmens.² There only seems trace of a slight bank along the southern side; but it certainly resembles the cliff-fort of Dane's Island in miniature.³ Further along the cliffs to the south-west is a remarkable chasm with grassy sides tufted with primroses, an arch opening to the sea; it is called Poulaphuca, from the malicious demon horse or goat which gives its name to so many places in Ireland. The bottom of the pit is filled with shingle and wreck-wood.

LECK CASTLE (O. S. 1).—This fortified headland forms the western point of Faha, probably called from the "Faiche," lawn, or sport-field of the castle.⁴ The full name in Irish is "Leac Beibhionn," anglicised Lickbevune, probably to distinguish it from Leac Snamha or Lixnaw Castle. Being the first of these peel towers, we may collect here their brief history. They belonged to various members of the Geraldine family. Planted in the Shannon Valley at the close of the twelfth century, the race got grants of lands in Iveforna and Ivefarba along this coast from King John. They sprang, it seems, from a nephew of Raymond le Gros,⁵ son of William fitz Gerald, Lord of Carew Castle; the younger Raymond was father of Maurice, who married Johanna Fitz Henry, heiress of Rattoo, Killury, and Ballyheigue. Their son Thomas Fitz Maurice was first Baron of Kerry. The line of these lords had held their lands for nearly two centuries before the family of Lickbevune budded from the parent stem. Richard, second son of Maurice the sixth Baron, was its founder;⁶ his father died and was laid with his fathers at Ardfert in 1398. During the following century the Clan Richard flourished and probably built Lickbevune, but the records are lost. At last, in 1568, we read how James, son of Maurice Fitz Gerald, and others marched against Mac Maurice (Thomas Lord Kerry, son of Edmond) on

¹ Probably a wild guess of the surveyors from "Darby = Dermot," or a reply to a leading question, no uncommon source of error in names.

² Unless Dermot and Grania's rock shown by the maps at the end of Loop Head be a case in point. I was not able either to verify its name, apart from the maps.

³ Slightly "walled" cliff-forts are common. Witness the slight earthworks at Dane's Island, Farrihy, and the interesting promontory-forts (of which I hope soon to publish plans and descriptions) of Doon Oghanskiska, Doon Ooghacappul, Duncloak, and Doonallia on Clare Island; none marked on the maps as forts, but all characteristic in various ways. The slight mounds frequently remain from dry-stone ramparts long since removed.

⁴ Though noted by Smith and his followers, the first full description is given by William Ainsworth in 1834: "An Account of the Caves of Ballybunnion, County of Kerry," p. 51. An independent description is given in 1841 in the "Ordnance Survey Letters" of Kerry.

⁵ See Miss Hickson's valuable papers in the *Journal*, vol. xxvii., p. 239. Also for same nobles, *ibid.*, vol. xv., p. 360 (Lixnaw); vol. xxv., p. 30 (Ardfert), and p. 227; also vol. xxvi., p. 239.

⁶ Lodge's Peerage.

behalf of the Geraldines, at that time imprisoned in London, and beset Mac Maurice closely in Lixnaw Castle. At last a sally became inevitable "to win the portion of Ireland under the feet of their enemies." The besiegers were unprepared and disastrously routed, leaving among their slain John, son of Garrett Fitz Gerald, the heir to Lec Beibhionn.

Again in 1582, the sons of Mac Maurice Lord Kerry plundered Ardfert. The English commander, Captain Acham¹ ("Hatsim," as the Irish called him), without waiting for aid, attacked them with his little garrison and was defeated. Mac Maurice was a pretended adherent of the English; but he could not resist the temptation, and joined the rebels openly. Thus reinforced, they captured and destroyed the castles of northern Kerry; Lixnaw (Leac Snamha), Listowel (Listuathail), Beal (Bialle), and Ballybunnion (Baile an Bhuinneanaigh) castles fell before them; and the raiders retired into the woods. Captain Zouche (Siutse in Irish Annals), exasperated by the raid, took a prompt and terrible revenge;² he held the children of some of the Geraldines, and put these innocent hostages to death. He next—a less easy task—cleared the forests,³ herding the rebels before him and trying to take Mac Maurice; he also reinstated the lawful owners in their dismantled towers—among the rest the master of "Leac Beibhionn, which was left desolate." He wasted the corn, mansions, and buildings of the insurgents, and found their hidden treasure and plate as easily as if the (Queen's) English themselves had concealed them. After these acts of vengeance, he returned to England that August, and soon afterwards "fell in a conflict."⁴

The Desmond Roll⁵ of the following year gives us but little help for "Irraughte Iknoughor," and none for the coast castles; but a map of about the same date by Baptisto Boazio⁶ marks "Castle Manian," at Ballybunnion; while Speed's map of Munster, in 1610,⁷ shows "C" (castle) "Diane" (Bialle); "Lactevon" (Lacbevon) and "Castle Manian," as held by the Baron of Lixnay. The castle had reverted to

¹ For Acham or Ascham see Cal. State Papers (Ireland), 1582, pp. 344–376.

² For a "Revenge of Zouche," for Captain Francis Acham's death, see same Calendar, p. 376.

³ The Hardiman Elizabethan maps Nos. 2, 56, 63 show extensive forests from Tarbert through Iraghticonnor and Slivelougher and the south-west of Connello. Trees are shown along the district adjoining the Shannon from Beal to Loghli. The Down Survey maps also mark large forests as subsisting near Listowel and Aghavullen in 1655. See Proc. R. I. Acad., xxvii (c), p. 300.

⁴ Annals Four Masters, &c., 1568 and 1582. Pacata Hibernia, vol. i., p. 143. The Calendar of State Papers (Ireland) fully corroborates the Irish account: see p. 386. In 1568 Thomas Lord Fitz Maurice of Kerry complains that James Fitz Maurice had wasted his country for a week, and encamped against his manor-house of Lixnaw till he (Lord Thomas) sallied and killed O'Connor Kerry and others. In 1580 he is ready to leave the traitors; in 1581 he signs articles with Zouche (p. 313); in 1582 (p. 365) he goes to join his sons; he is old, wise, and of great experience. See also Carew Manuscripts Calendar—1582, p. 327.

⁵ P. R. O. I., mem. 53 for the barony.

⁶ Hardiman Collection, Trinity College, Dublin.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 2.

(or perhaps was held under) the heads of the Fitz Maurice family. These had passed through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, holding their own with difficulty against the vast power of the Earls of Desmond. Thomas, the sixteenth Lord of Kerry, like many other nobles of his generation, had a romantic career, to judge from the few dry details remaining. On the death of his uncle and predecessor, the next of kin seized on the lands, the lawful successor being abroad, serving in the Imperial Army near Milan. A faithful old nurse sought him, and at last brought him home, when, with no little danger and difficulty, he recovered his rights by 1553. "Thomas Fitz Maurice Baro Lacksnaway, vulgariter vocatus Baro de Kerry," as the Parliament Roll called him, he was (as we saw) of wavering loyalty till his kinsman's temporary success turned the scale, and he crowned his many lapses by open rebellion in 1582. He died; and his son Patrick succeeded in 1590. He also ended by joining the rebellion of the Sungan Earl in 1599. Bringing 500 foot and 30 horse against the English forces, he dismantled his castles of Beal and Lixnaw, and died broken-hearted at the destruction of the latter fortress. His son Thomas, the eighteenth Lord, succeeded to a wasted heritage and a vain resistance; his raids made his prospects more hopeless; his chief castle, Listowel, surrendered. Lixnaw was again destroyed by Sir Charles Wilmot, and "Berengary" (Ballingarry), held by his brother-in-law, Gerald Stack, was surrendered, and its chief defenders put to death in 1602.¹ In despair he sought the mediation of a generous enemy. The Tudor Lioness had died, and he threw himself on the mercy of King James. The new king desired peace, and granted Lord Thomas pardon, in October, 1603, and his castles and lands, 1604; among the rest the Castle of Ballyvonianagh. In 1612 he got a patent² in confirmation of his castles, towns, and lands of Bealy and Ballenvonianige, the fisheries in the Cashen and Feale; the lands of Myneolane, Mynekavane, Glanedahlen, Cahirmeade, and many others which we shall meet with in the later sections of this paper. He died 1620. His son Patrick, being in England, 1641 to 1659, saved his lands, and died four months before the Restoration; his son William succeeded. The Down Survey³ (1651-1655) was not interested in unforfeited lands, so none of the castles in Iraghticonnor are marked; it shows Doon Head very accurately, but leaves the lands below Bruemore practically blank. The Lords of Kerry, as all know, survived all vicissitudes, keeping lands and title to our time, adding to their ancient title that of Marquess of Lansdowne and Earl of Kerry. Henry Petty Fitz Maurice, second Marquess of Lansdowne, uniting the titles, as twenty-third Baron of Kerry; being son of William the first Marquess, son of Robert first Earl of Shelburne, the youngest son of Thomas first Earl and twenty-first Baron of Kerry.

¹ Cal. S. P. (Ireland), 1602-3, p. 318.

² Irish Patents anno x, Jac. I, Pars i., No. viii. Calendar, p. 225.

³ No. 115, recently published by permission of the French Government.

Leek Castle stands in a fine position, on a long, low headland hardly 100 feet high, getting lower to seaward. Bounded to the south by sheer cliffs and girt by long reefs, it forms a picturesque coast-mark. There is nothing to show that a fort preceded the castle, but the probabilities are considerable. The headland was tunnelled by the sea in two places; the landward arch collapsed, leaving a cleft 21 feet wide, with parallel sides, like artificial walls, and the tower and side building rose on the edge—

“A castle, like a rock upon a rock,
With chasms, like portals, open to the sea,
And steps that meet the breaker.”

At one point the fallen roof choked the gully with rocks; and on them a narrow path a few feet wide forms the present entrance: probably the



FIG. 5.—LEEK CASTLE, COUNTY KERRY. (From the North.)
(From a Photograph by Mr. T. J. Westropp.)

older one was a drawbridge,¹ as at Ballingarry. The square space between the clefts left a platform 115 feet by 40 feet, the rest sloping steeply to a creek where boats could land. The platform was walled;

¹ Smith and the Ordnance Survey Letters (p. 31) note the site of a drawbridge. I found no visible remains.

the revetment to the west and part of the north remains. A side building with a curved wall rises on the very edge of the south-west corner of the cliff, which has a salient angle 11 feet 6 inches back from the line of the west wall; this is 27 feet long by 3 inches thick, the rampart $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick.

The peel tower rose in line with the square-edged south-east corner; the angles have large well-set blocks, set "long and short," fourteen courses remaining. The west wall is 4 feet thick, the east 8 feet, the south 6 feet 10 inches, but only 3 feet in the window recesses. The tower is about 35 feet high, and had once three stories, without vaults; two remain with a long gap through their south windows, which retain only the large upper arch, their recess being 7 feet 2 inches wide. There is a deep ambry (perhaps a passage) in the upper west jamb. The tower was 26 feet 10 inches long inside; the north foundations are entirely removed or overgrown with deep grass and pinks. The shaft of a garderobe runs all down the east side, showing that the tower had once an upper room. William Ainsworth, in his "Account of the Caves of Ballybunion, county Kerry," in 1834,¹ notes that the walls rest on a highly inclined plane, "supported by masses of rock cut into the form of wedges to fit into a groove chiselled out of the rock itself, while on the other side they rise immediately above the perpendicular precipice." Captain Sabine, who was with him, noted recesses for boats and a supply of fresh water at the castle, which I failed to discover. Sabine regarded the coast castles as having been built by the Scandinavians, but his archæological deductions seem rarely sound.

The whole headland is about 365 feet long, being joined by a natural arch to the castle. On the mainland, about 200 feet to the south-east of the tower, we find on the edge of the cliff a low earthwork, 105 feet to 84 feet, by 60 feet to 66 feet wide, with a lesser mound, 57 feet long inside, to the south-west, partly defaced by the modern ditch and fence along the cliff. A row of five forts (including those named Lissard, Lissahope, and Lisnaraha) crown the ridge of Faha between the castle and the road, but are of little special interest.

BRUMORE, TONALASSA (4).—The next bold headland south of Leek is also fortified; the name is significant, being in old records Bruemore, Brugh Mor, "the great mansion"²; a second name, Tonalassa, "back of the liss," also remains; "liss" is a very unusual term for headland forts, "doon" being most usual, and "caher" not unknown. We venture to suggest that another name was Doonaflan, as a little fort Lisdoonaflan

¹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 51-56.

² Of course "brugh" is rather difficult to be rendered: "palace" is too grandiloquent; "mansion" perhaps too unpretending. It is generally anglicized "Bro," as "Brugh of the Boyne" is represented by the Bro Park and Bro Farm, which (as we have pointed out) were "Brow" (a very long "Broo") in the time of Henry VIII.

lies before it; and we have noted these "name and fort-groups." "Brovore," with Kileonlie and other lands of the O'Connors, was granted by Elizabeth, May 7th, 1597, to the Provost and Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, as apparently part of the forfeited lands of Conogher O'Connor and his brother Brian, or of Shane mac Gerot Fitz Gerald.¹ In 1655 Bruemore belonged to "Dublin College," and was held by Garret ffitz John (Fitz Gerald).² It is shown as "Brumore" in various maps and deeds of the seventeenth century.

The earthworks are not marked on the Ordnance Survey maps—a proof of the need of expert archæological advice, but inexcusable; for here is a great earthwork, straight, 210 feet long, 20 feet thick, 9 to 10 feet high above the fosse, and 4 to 6 feet over the garth, which apparently could not be mistaken for a mere modern fence. The fosse was much filled by the levelled outer bank, but is 3 to 5 feet deep and over 20 feet wide. The southern end dips down the slope, and commands a very impressive view of the great stack called "The Devil's Castle," rising over 100 feet above the swirling waters, like the tower of a cathedral, and crowned in 1756 (and long after) with an eagle's nest.³ Beyond it lie Doon Head, Browne's Castle, and a long reach of coast to Kerry Head. Northward we look over a fine bay, with the usual column of smoke from the waterfall at its head, and over Leek to the Clare coast, from Carrigaholt Castle on to Loop Head.

An evidently late gap and gangway cross the fosse at 66 feet from the north cliff; inside there are no mounds or house-sites, the enclosed space being about 300 feet long and from 220 feet wide at the earthwork to 130 feet in the middle; the bank abuts on steep slopes, being evidently uncut as yet by the sea; it has been faced and partly cut by a modern fence; the axis lies north-east and south-west.

LISDOONAFLAN.—This little house-site lies about 400 feet from the cliff-fort; the name implies the "liss of Flan's fort." It is marked by a shallow fosse, 6 feet wide, with a low outer ring 9 feet thick, and a flat garth, 45 feet across the entrance, which faced the east; a set slab of the south jamb remains. We noted such little rings or house-sites near Doonmore and Doondoillroe in Clare, and shall see others at Pookeenec and elsewhere.

The next headland is named Reenastook, "point of the stack" (Devil's Castle); it is not entrenched. Farther seaward lie the foaming reefs called "Carrignarone," the seal rocks; even still one sees at times the dark head of a seal below these cliffs; but the animals were very plentiful down to the late Queen's reign. Smith, in 1756, followed by

¹ Fiant Elizabeth. No. 6123, May 7th, xxxix.

² "Book of Distribution and Survey," P.R.O.I., p. 140. The names suggest the descent and ownership of the FitzGerald of Bromore to be Gerot, c. 1560, Shane, 1590-1620. Garret, 1620-1655.

³ For this see Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 224, "Traveller," p. 170. Ainsworth gives a view of it, calling it also "The Eagle's Nest."

“The Compleat Irish Traveller,” in 1788, notes that “sea-calves or seals” abounded in this bay in the caves, and “sport innumera-ly.” The Halls mention the “seal-cave” in 1841; so does Ainsworth (1834), who adds: “The hunting of these amphibious mammiferæ was formerly a source of great profit to these persons; and as many as twenty or thirty are stated to have been caught in a day; but they have much diminished in numbers now.” Ainsworth only saw one seal; the peasantry objected to anyone entering the cave to disturb the animals, and, on his visit, they throw stones from the cliff, and only desisted on his pointing his gun at them.¹ Another small but pretty waterfall rushes over the cliff at the south of Reenastook, called Leamnamucka, or “pig’s leap”; when a smart west wind blows, the spray flies high into the air, and even falls back on the road 600 feet distant from the edge. There is a picturesque arch,² and there are several caves on the headland.³

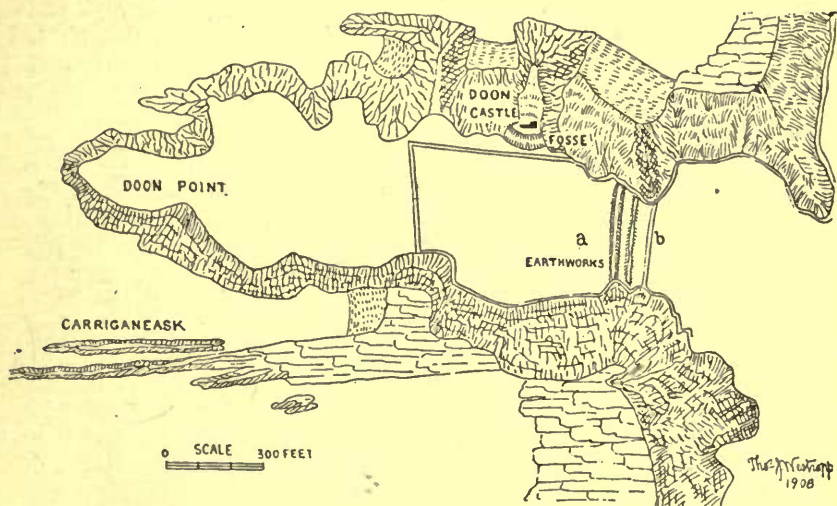


FIG. 6.—DOON CASTLE AND FORT, BALLYBUNNION, COUNTY KERRY.

KILLEHENNY PARISH.

DOON EAST.—The two townlands of Doon—the “Down” of the maps of 1567 and 1655⁴—possess some characteristic remains. Doon Point

¹ Smith, *loc. cit.*, pp. 220, 224; “Traveller,” vol. ii., p. 170; Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall’s “Ireland, its Scenery and Character” (1841), vol. i., p. 275; and Ainsworth, *loc. cit.*, pp. 40, 41.

² A view is given by Ainsworth, p. 38.

³ Near Bromore was the once famous Burning Cliff, “the Kerry Volcano.” Besides a curious (and in part satirical) pamphlet of 1733, see Smith, “Kerry,” p. 221. “The Traveller,” p. 170, and Ainsworth, pp. 16, 17, may be consulted as to this curious phenomenon. The fall of a sheet of rock exposed a layer of minerals which ignited by chemical action, and burned for a long period, twenty-three years at least.

⁴ “Book of Distribution, Kerry,” p. 146. The place was then held by Captain Garrett Fitz John Fitz Gerald, under Trinity College.

affords one of the most beautiful views on the coast. It is entrenched by a straight mound with a wet fosse, each 15 feet wide—a width very common in such works. The mound is very worn, 5 to 6 feet high and 315 feet long, ending at natural gullies; its line points at the centre of the Crescent Fort (hereafter described), and, like that of Brumore, is not marked on the maps.

There is a further entrenchment at Doon Castle, which stood on a spur on the northern face, a long narrow projection, falling in lumpy masses down the steep slope and ending in an abrupt rock-face between two shingly strands. The fosse across the neck is 21 feet wide and 6 feet deep at the centre, being mainly artificial, and, like Island Hubbock and many other cliff-forts, getting deeper to each end.

The castle has nearly disappeared; it was a small tower with a wall to the west. I only found a fragment 2 feet or 3 feet high and 6 feet long—all that is left by an "improving tenant," who is grubbing out the last remains of the stonework. It is a pity that such destruction has been carried out at so many of these headland castles in Clare and Kerry.

The structure at Doon was evidently intended to protect the steep paths up from the northern bays. The arrangement of the large entrenchment, with a lesser one to the side, recalls those at Baginbun, Dunabrattin,¹ Doonsheane, and the Great Bailey at Howth. Smith notes the castle of "Dune on a high cliff, standing perpendicular over the ocean," but unfortunately gives no details about the tower itself.

CRESCENT FORT.²—This fine earthwork lies above the bay of Cunnihish to the south of Doon Head. It is on the edge of a steep grassy slope 200 feet high, and is of the crescent plan so common in all parts of Europe and even in America. Such forts are found in Russia, in the Province of Perm; in Hungary, such as the Hring of Beni; and in France, as the noble fort of Sarran in Cantal;³ the last-named is especially like Doon, being a rampart of earth retaining large dry-stone facing, with a fosse outside, measuring about 170 feet along the edge and 105 feet deep. In Ireland, apart from Dun Aengusa, the type occurs at Cahercommaun, and in inland forts, a fine example, "a cliff-fort without a cliff," abuts on the lower shore of Ballyear Lake, and has been described elsewhere.⁴ This marks the completeness of the

¹ *Journal*, vol. xxxvii., pp. 252, 258.

² "The Cliffs of Dune Bay," on the summit of which, entirely composed of detritus, are the remains of a Danish Fort."—Ainsworth, *loc. cit.*, p. 13.

³ See *Journal*, vol. xxxviii., p. 31, and Société Préhistorique de France, Rapport, 1907, for Russian; Smithsonian Institute, vols. i. and ii. for American; Congrès Internationale d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie préhistorique, 1876, vol. viii., pp. 62, 79, and *Journal*, vol. xxvi., p. 147, for Bohemian; and Dr. Christison's "Early Fortifications of Scotland," pp. 131, 132, 134, 204, for Scottish examples of crescent forts.

⁴ Proc. R.I.A., vol. xxvii. (C), p. 22, "Cahernakilly."

type not, as used to be argued, that it originated from the fall of cliff near whose edges ring-forts stood. It is evident that at Doon no part has been destroyed; the waves run along the smooth upturned strata below; the fosses die out unbroken in the green slopes; and the preservation in the same bay of Carriganeask, a long thin rock-spur, like the back fin of some giant fish, tells the same tale as the lack of undercutting.

The fort has an outer mound defaced by later fences, and about 5 feet thick and high. The fosse is most shallow to the south-east at the gangway, where it is 6 feet deep; it is 12 feet and 14 feet at the end of the mound, and 16 feet to 20 feet where it cuts the edge of the slope at its ends. It is 15 feet wide to the east, and 20 feet to the west, varying from 12 feet to 18 feet as a rule, and with very steep banks once stone-faced. A slight flow of water is apparent to the east of the gangway. The inner ring is from 23 feet to 25 feet thick at the base, 9 feet on the top, and very steep, rising 26 feet over the fosse, and 7 feet to 10 feet over the garth. The enclosed space measures 162 feet east and west, and 126 feet deep. The distance round the foot of the main ring is 465 feet; and the fosses, as we said, run down the steep slope for 30 feet past the actual edge. The Ordnance Survey map of 1841 marks a "cave" (souterrain) in the east side of the outer ring.

THE LISS.—A fine nameless fort lies inland, to the south-east of the Roman Catholic church of Doon, on the high field, 258 feet above the sea, one of the most commanding sites of Ballybunnion, overlooking the Shannon, the Cashen valley, inland to Slieve Luachra, and seaward from Loop Head to Kerry Head, and beyond the latter to the huge peaks of Slieve Mish and Brandan. It had a wet fosse, now nearly filled up, save to the south-west, where it is 18 feet wide. The inner ring is 9 feet to 12 feet high, thickly overgrown with furze, bramble, and honeysuckle outside, and a garden of primroses within. The ring is of two periods, the lower of drift clay, the upper of light-brown earth over a layer of stones 1 to 2 feet thick. The part near the entrance is of stones, and there are many traces of stone facing.¹ The garth is level with the field, and is 120 feet to 123 feet across; the inner circuit is 348 feet; the ring is nearly straight to the North.

STACK FORT.—On the edge of the cliff, south from the crescent fort, is another promontory fort directly above the Chimney Rocks or "Stacks," over Doon Bay. It evidently defended a long headland once consisting of a deep cap of drift resting of sloping rocks; as a result, nearly the whole earth-cap slid off, mostly before 1841; so only a portion of the earthwork with very little of the garth remains, and that is most rapidly falling away to the west. The work was curved, the outer ring 9 feet

¹ Some interesting examples of stone facing have been recently published in Mr. Alleroft's "Earthwork of England," pp. 174-5, from Exmoor, very similar to those of Munster.

thick, but transformed by a late fence; the fosse is 8 feet to 9 feet deep, and 12 feet wide at the bottom, being still 69 feet long; the inner bank is from 12 feet to 13 feet over the fosse, and 13 feet thick; about 12 feet alone remains of the perfect top, 4 feet higher than the garth, but nearly 47 feet is left of the mound. The west side shows that the original fosse was little filled, and that the upper 5 feet of the inner mound was thrown up from it on to the old grey field-surface which runs through its section. It overlooks Ballybunnion and the next headland and entrenchment of Pookeenee.

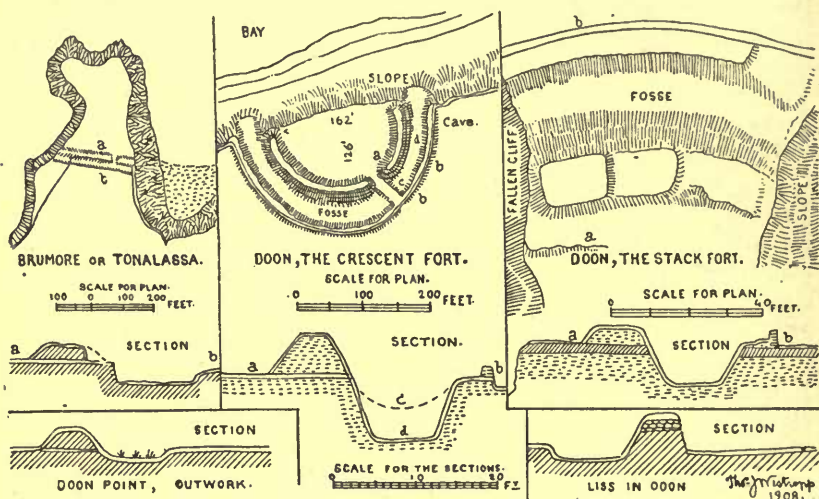


FIG. 7.—FORTS NEAR BALLYBUNNION, CO. KERRY.

Pookeenee (O.S. 4).—Passing round the beautiful Bay of Doon, with its stacks, and the arch pierced rock-dome of Carrignawealaun (Gull Rock), we reach Pookeenee Castle. The name does not occur (to my knowledge) in the records, and was probably a nickname from the “hood” (puicin) appearance of the broken vault. The fortifications consist of an evidently early earthwork and fosse, slightly convex to the land. To this a small tower and a wall and turret, not conforming to the earthworks, were added in about the late fifteenth century. It must be remembered how often the main works of castles, even in late times, consisted of earthworks and palisading, even in castles of considerable strength. This was the case at the mid-thirteenth century rath of Clonroad in Clare, which was strengthened with rings, after 1242, and before 1269, and only fortified by a stone tower after 1287; while the Geraldines’ manor of Inch had a group of earthen and wooden houses in a stone-walled court about the latter year. At Randown on Lough Ree, the masonry work in 1233 was supplemented by wooden towers forty-four years later; and Bunratty in Clare, which in 1298 had not

only its "large tower near the waters," and a stone chamber, was fortified by a fosse, a palisade, and a wooden tower beyond the gate.¹ We have noted that Adaro had in about 1228 mixed stone and wooden buildings, and have shown evidence of its having had a large palisaded bailey considerably curtailed when the stone walls were built.² The sixteenth-century wooden castles in Clare, destroyed in the closing year of Queen Mary's reign, were probably of the same character; and the "cross mound" of Shanid in Co. Limerick possibly was made to bear up a wooden turret, so that Pookeenee very probably had extensive wooden defences beside its late and strange little stone turrets; such mixed work was common at all times; even in the reign of James I we find provisos made in various grants to dig "a double ditch, and therein build a stone wall, and a gatehouse or tower of lime, or clay and stone."³ It is, however, remarkable if it is the only castle on the coast of Iraghticonnor which has no place in the records. This "entrenchment and castle type" of headland defence is common in Ireland and elsewhere. It has even stamped itself on English literature, through Scott, in "Marmion," "The Pirate," and his description of the castle of "Wolf's Crag," with the precipice on three sides, and a fosse and drawbridge near the peel tower to the fourth. This describes Dunlecky and Cloghansavaun, Pookeenee, and Ferritter's Castle, as well as the imaginary homes of the last "Master of Ravenswood" and the "Reimkenner," the last being described as a "burg" with a fosse.

The earthwork at Pookeenee is 220 feet long, curving round the edge of the cliff at Scoltnadrida to the south, and abutting on a long grassy slope to the north, no part as yet being cut away by the sea. The fosse varies from over 21 feet at the castle to 28 feet at Scoltnadrida. It has slight traces of an outer mound; the inner one is fairly entire at and for 30 feet southwards from the tower, rising 8 feet to 10 feet over the fosse, and 5 feet to 6 feet over the garth; it is from 24 feet to 30 feet thick at the base, and 6 feet to 10 feet wide on top; it remains in less perfect condition for 72 feet farther south-westward, gradually sinking into the cliff slope. Trace of a slight late ditch runs inside it. The mound was dug into when the castle was built. The stone-work of the tower and side wall is 130 feet long; the tower is at the southern end with three little vaulted rooms in the basement; the central and southern are 9 feet 3 inches long; the last and the northern (or rather north-eastern) being defaced, and nearly buried in rubbish with no apparent entrance. The central one measured from 6 feet 3 inches to

¹ "Pipe Rolls of Ireland." Mr. Twigge gives me an extract from an Inquisition of 1321, which I condense:—"Castrum in quo est magna turris, juxta turrin est quedam camera lapidea bona, cum celario, et est alia camera, cooperta bordis, coquina lapidea in qua est pistrinum et furnus." This reads very like the description of Adaro Castle twenty years later.

² Vol. xxxvii., p. 30; for its later condition in 1331-4, see p. 35.

³ Patent Roll, anno i, Jac. I, xv, Calendar, p. 121. The allusion to clay mortar is of interest.

7 feet 6 inches wide ; it had plain square ambries to the south and east, a rude door and window-slit to the west. The walls are of plain regular coursed masonry, of those squared, pitted blocks that we find in all the neighbouring coast castles, with large open joints, and are 3 feet thick and nearly 10 feet high ; the vaults were turned over wicker-work ; the cores were of grouted rubble. To the north-west of the central vault stopping short of its window-slit was a wing $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and 33 feet long, evidently from its slight earthen mounds about 3 feet thick, the trace of a wooden and earthen hall attached to the tower. The main wall runs in line, and of one piece with the tower northward for 78 feet to a gap, evidently the old gateway ; it has no opes ; the outer facing wall is only occasionally traceable within the old curve of the fosse. Inclusive of the

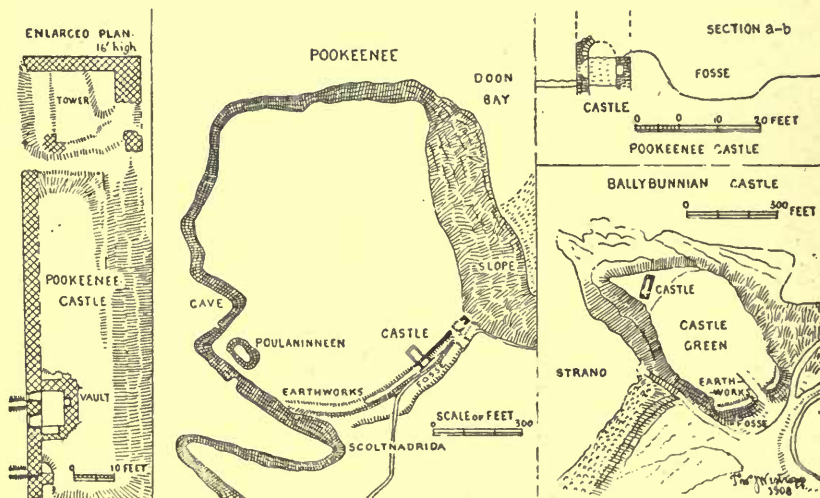


FIG. 8.—FORT AT BALLYBUNNON, CO. KERRY.

gap, the building runs for 51 feet farther, ending in an evident turret, a rectangular building, $30\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, 24 feet long, and 16 feet on the edge of the slope ; its north-east angle is undercut for 6 feet ; some slight attempt seems to have been made to fence the slope, but it probably depended for defence on a palisade. The wall is in all 129 feet long, the garth 470 feet back from it, and contains nearly 5 acres (4,845) ; it has no other foundations. In it is a deep pit called Poulannineen, "of the daughter," probably from some forgotten tragedy ; it has at least three arches to admit the sea.

In the field, to the south-east, a small earthwork or house site is marked by a high ring of "flaggers" (yellow iris). It has a shallow fosse 9 feet wide, hardly a foot deep ; traces of an outer ring 6 feet to 8 feet thick, and a garth 54 feet across. It is very similar to Lisdoonafan.

BALLYBUNNION (4).—The Stack Fort and Pookeenee overlook this pretty but inharmoniously named watering-place, with its richly carved and coloured cliffs and caves, and its satin shore. Bartlett,¹ despite his usual exaggeration, has caught the true spirit of the place in his well-known view—the glossy strand, the fierce surf, the ragged castle, the rude cabins clustered under the cliff, and far away, the gloomy shadow of Kerry Head. Could local enterprise make proper paths and steps to the bays as far as Doon, many might be attracted to see the beauties of the coast who only see the strand and the golf-links at present.

The history is more easily told than collected; the widest known spot in north Kerry owed its name and origin to an obscure family called Bannan or Bonnianagh, whence their abode was called in Irish Baile an Bhuinneanaigh, and by the English Ballyvonianigh or Bonnian's town.² The family was probably the same as the Bonyons, Bonzons or Bouzons, who appear as retainers of the Geraldines in western Limerick about 1290, and into the following century.³ They probably built the castle shortly before 1500. It was, as we saw, destroyed in Lord Kerry's raid, 1582, and its owners reinstated by Zouche. William Oge Bannan or Bonnanagh was involved in the Desmond Rebellion, attainted, and his lands seized by the Crown in 1583. A mightier and more dangerous rebel, Thomas Lord Lixnaw, crept into favour with King James; and though the lesser rebel was ruined, the greater obtained his "Castle, town, and lands of Ballenvonianige," with the neighbouring lands of Farrenpierce and Dromen;⁴ they were confirmed by his Patent of 1612, and recorded in the Inquisition taken at his death in October (17th), 1613.⁵ The "castrum, vill., et terr. de Ballinbonianigh" passed to Patrick, the next Lord, and escaped the confiscations of 1651. The older maps usually call it Castle Manian and Castle Manion; but it excited little notice till William Ainsworth, in 1841, described its wonderful caves and cliffs.

Where the steep laneway descends at the north-eastern corner of the bay, we find an entrenched spur, whatever be the date of the digging. A high bluff like a mote, and evidently artificially scarped, is cut off at the neck by a fosse 5 feet to 8 feet wide below, 30 feet on top, and 6 feet deep in the middle. The platform is 150 feet long and

¹ "Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland," vol. ii., p. 104.

² Elizabethan Faints, 5912 and 6029; "Ballybonany" in Smith, p. 283.

³ E.g., C.D.I., 1298-9, p. 256, Milo Bonzon (or Bonyon) on Newcastle Manor, a juror: also Plea Rolls, Ed. I.

⁴ Also Lisnall, Ballinstackfoll, Ardferit, Mynekavane, Killennurhore, Rattue, Praekie, Ballyhourigane, Mynomullane, Pallace, Killehine, Moataffuorane, and Der-rinduff fisheries in Brockmerlagh, Galey, Feall, and the Cashean. The Pierce or Ferris family, Stacpolls, and Houriganes often figure in the Desmond records from 1280 onward. The first were Seneschals of Clanmorriish; all had settlements in Co. Limerick as well. (See Plea Rolls, Ed. I.—Ed. III., &c.)

⁵ Chancery Inquisitions, P.R.O.I., No. 7, James I, and 38, Car. I, Patent Rolls (Ireland), vol. x., Jac. I, Calendar, p. 225.

54 across; no mounds remain; but it is hard to see what purpose other than defence the fosse can imply. A well, "Tobereendowney," flows out just below the fosse, but at the road-level.

THE CASTLE.—In the middle of the strand, a grey-sloped mass of rock rises at a steep angle, and is capped by crumbling banks. Passing up the steep path we find the mounds of a promontory fort across the neck. The path runs through the fosse, and the garden-wall of the Castle Hotel defaces the outer ring; the fosse was over 20 feet wide, and is a favourite shelter for country folk, who spend much of their time talking and card-playing on its slope. The inner mound is 24 feet thick, and 6 feet or 8 feet high in the middle, rising only a few feet over the "Castle Green." The platform is roughly oval, crossed by a slight trace of another fosse 160 feet from the mound, and 36 feet from the castle. The well-known peel tower, the subject of a hundred views and photographs, is in the last stage of decay, the foundations exposed, and the walls cracked from the remorseless battering of the cruel gales of the Atlantic. If the joints are not cemented, and slight buttresses built up at the northern end, and also at the foot of the south face (as has been done at the north base), this grimly picturesque ruin must follow its sister towers, and a historic landmark be lost to the village and the coast. The tower is of black coursed masonry; the seaward sides have fallen; the eastern wall alone remains. It had four stories; the basement is 29 feet long by 12 feet wide, inside, with walls 6 feet thick, externally 41 feet by 24 feet, and was vaulted; the main door opened directly into it. The stairs are in the south-east angle; they are spiral, and turn from right to left (an unusual though not unexampled feature); most of such stairs wind "sunward." They are lit by narrow unglazed slits, and are broken from a couple of feet above the ground to the second floor, being fairly complete above it. The room above the vault was lit to the east by three plain slits, with lintelled heads to the opes and splays. The third story had a defaced central window, its splay arch still entire; the floor rested on rough corbels; and it was covered by another barrel-vault, running north and south. Above this was a large upper room, with, as usual, the largest window of the tower to the east; its light is broken, but the splay has a fine pointed arch; the room was roofed. Of the battlements, which were probably three-stepped, little trace is left; very little remains of the other walls; but the ruin has probably been scarcely altered from the early nineteenth century.¹

The parish took its name, Killehenry, from St. Eithne's Church. The building is destroyed, but the site is marked by the mound and a group of the older tombstones in the south-east corner of the cemetery, in the shelter of the great sand-dunes, near the river Cashen. The saint's day was in June, either on the 6th or 12th.

¹ See Ainsworth, *loc. cit.*, p. 4.

RING-FORTS.

It may be well to give a condensed account of the numerous ring-forts lying along the coast in Iraghtieconnor. We pass several, some with rings and fosses, others merely banks 5 feet to 8 feet high, between Beal Castle and Kileonly Church. One, with a fosse and slight outer mound, lies between the latter and Poulaphuca; a very small mound lies near it in another field to the south-west. The adjoining townlands are very rich in lisses, but, so far as I saw or visited them, of very little interest. Lissanookera, and half of a two-ringed fort, lie in Beal West. Lisnapeastia, a large low fort, is found in Gullane, near Kileonly Church, with which (as we saw) local legend connects it. It, too, has a small mound, like a satellite, to the east. Lisheenroe, "little red fort," and at least seven others lie near the last, with a pillar called Cloughlea, "the grey stone." We noted in Faha townland, Lissard, Lissahope, and Lisnaraha; Lisroe, and two others, all small, lie beyond the Coosheen, or Glenehoor stream, in Drom, and one with a "cave" or souterrain in Trippul, the last fort cut through by a "bohereen." Lisglass (green fort) is in Tullabeg; Rathfinnoge (scald-crow's rath) in Rahavanig townland, a less accurate form of its name; Lisnaparka is in Tullamore, a large fort with a fosse; Lahardaun has a liss bearing the same name.

Round Ballybunnion they are also plentiful; fourteen lie to the south of that village, including Lisnaplank, a very small house-ring near the railway, Lisnagowerduff (of the black goat), Lisraheen, Rathroe, Lissadromeen, and Ragoonagh. This last is the Rathunagh of the 1655 map; the townland was then held by Colonel Garrett Fitz Morris, from whom it was confiscated, and sold to Ann Wybrow.¹ There are two forts in the townland; the one bearing its name is cut out of the north bank of the Cashen with a wet fosse.

These sixty forts near the coast are much of the same type: the garth is rarely raised above the field, and then hardly a few feet; the "mur," or high inner ring, is, or has recently been, faced with dry stone; the fosse is rarely deep, and the outer ring, where best preserved, is very low and thin; the true "caher" is absent even in name. The study of these forts is essentially a matter for local effort; it is a slow, thankless task, but it must be done somehow; and meanwhile we give our bare enumeration to impress the greatly needed lesson that Irish field work is only begun, and that caution, not confidence—observation, not theorizing—is its most pressing need, and, next to that, excavation on scientific lines.

(To be continued.)

¹ "Book of Distribution, Kerry," p. 145.

THE CHARTER AND STATUTES OF KILKENNY COLLEGE.

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

[Read JANUARY 25, 1910.]

IT is not necessary for me to say more than a few words of preface to the document I have the honour of bringing to the notice of the Society. It is a copy (dated 27th July, 1757, made by Howard St. George, and signed by him, though not countersigned nor certified by any other signature) of the statutes drawn up by the Marquis of Ormond for the regulation of the Grammar-school, re-founded by him in Kilkenny in 1684. This copy was at some time in the possession of the Rev. James Graves, to whom this Society owes its existence. With a number of other miscellaneous documents—letters, accounts, &c.—it passed into the hands of an English second-hand bookseller, from whom I recently purchased it. I know nothing more of its history.

The history of Kilkenny College forms the subject of one of the first papers ever contributed to this Society, and published in its journal, vol. i, page 221; and it is therefore needless for me to go over details already fully recorded in our Transactions. The statutes are referred to in the article in question, but are not printed; and I cannot find that they have been published anywhere. They shed more than one ray of light on the subject of seventeenth-century education in Ireland; and so, without further introduction, I let them speak for themselves.

STATUTES, ORDERS AND CONSTITUTIONS, made appointed and ordained by the RIGHT NOBLE JAMES DUKE, EARL, AND MARQUIS OF ORMOND, Earl of Ossory and Brecknock, Viscount Thurles, Baron of Arklow and Lanthony, Lord of the regalities and liberties of Tipperary, Chancellor of the universities of Oxford and Dublin, Chief Butler of Ireland, Lord Lieutenant [*sic*] General, and Generalal [*sic*] Governor of Ireland, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Somerset, the Chief Cities of Bristol Bath and Wells, One of the Lords of his Majesty's most honorable privy Council of his Majesty's Kingdomes England, Scotland, and Ireland; Lord Stewart of his Majesty's Household and Westminster, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, FOUNDER of a Grammar School at Kilkenny, in the Kingdome of Ireland, for the due goverment and managery and improvment of the said School March the Eighteenth in the year of our Lord one Thousand six hundred and Eighty Four.

IMPRIMIS. It is by these presents constituted and ordained, that there shall for ever be a Master constantly resident and attending the duties of the said School, who shall at least be a Master of Arts either here in Ireland or one of the Universities of England, a person of good life and reputation, well skilled in humanity and grammar learning, loyal and Orthodox, who shall take the Oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and conform to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of Ireland as it is now established by Law, and that Edward Hinton, Doctor in Divinity, be hereby confirmed to the place and office of Master of the said School.

2dly. THAT the Master shall be nominated and chosen by JAMES DUKE OF ORMOND his GRACE, FOUNDER, PATRON AND GOVERNOR and the Heirs male of his body that shall be successively the DUKES OF ORMOND, PATRONS AND GOVERNORS of the said School, within the space of three Months next after every vacancy, who by writing under the hand and Seal of the respective Governors being recommended to the Visitors and by them examined and approved of as able and sufficient both for religion, learning and manners, upon certificate of such examination & approbation of the Visitors to the Governor shewn, the said Person so approved shall by a deed under the hand and seal of the Governor, be settled and confirmed as Master of the said School, but if the Governor shall neglect to nominate according to the time prefixed, or shall chuse such as are not qualified suitably to these statutes, that then it shall be lawful for the Visitors (after notice first given to the Governor, and no redress within three Months after such notice) to elect and present pro Illâ vice any other person, whom in their consciences they shall judge to be well qualified for the place, and also that upon fail of Issue male on the body of the said JAMES DUKE OF ORMOND, the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, and their successors, shall from thenceforth for ever afterwards be PATRONS AND GOVERNORS of said School.

3dly. THAT the Master shall constantly inhabit and reside at the House belonging to said School, and in person attend the duties of his place, which are to instruct the Scholars in Religion, virtue & learning in the latten, greek, and Hebrew Languages, as also in Oratory, and Poetry according to the best method which he and the Visitors shall judge most effectual to promote knowledge and learning, and that being in health, he shall never be absent for above thirty Schooldays in one whole year, which shall begin on the twenty fifth of March; nor above a Fortnight at any one time, unless upon Emergencies the visitors shall give him leave, being first satisfied that his place shall be well and sufficiently discharged in his absence.

4thly. THAT there shall always be an Usher, belonging to said School to be nominated, chosen, and removed by the said Master, who shall have his diet lodging and maintenance in the School house at

his allowance, a single man, well skilled in grammer learning, of good credit for parts and manners, a Batchelor of arts at least in one [of] the universities of England or Ireland, and he shall constantly attend and assist in the duties of the said School, in such a manner & method, as the Master shall apoint.

5thly. THAT neither Master nor Usher shall take upon them any other charge, office or employment, which the Visitors shall judge inconsistent with, or prejudicial to the due manegery and improvement of the said School, but shall constantly attend and discharge their respective duties, and never be both of them out of the School, at School times.

6thly. THAT the Scholars to be admitted into the said School, shall be cleanly & decently habited, & such as shall first have read their accidence, & are fit to enter upon Grammer learning, & shall submit to the order, method and correction of the said School.

7thly. THAT the Children of all such as are and continue to be in the service of the DUKE OF ORMOND, shall at all times be admitted to the privilages and benefits of the said School gratis.

8thly. THAT if any well disposed person shall out of charity pay for the tabling of such ingenious & orderly Lads, as shall by the Visitors be recommended to the Master, as fit objects of charity, he shall admit and as long as they shall continue modest and diligent teach them gratis.

9thly. THAT if his Grace the DUKE or other pious benefactors shall hereafter make any grants or allowance for the maintenance of any number of Scholars at the said School, and afterwards if they prove fit at Trinity College Dublin, the Master shall then be expresly obliged to teach those under the name of ORMOND SCHOLARS according to his best skill and industry GRATIS.

10thly. THAT it shall be lawful for the Master to demand and receive of all other Scholars, according to the rates and usages of the most remarkable School in Dublin, both for entrance and schooling, Those children excepted whose Parents are, or at the time of their birth were inhabitants of the City of Kilkenny, or in the liberties thereof, shall pay but half so much.

11thly. THAT if the Master knows any of the Scholars to be under any infectious or offensive disease or distemper, or that any infectious disease be in the house where they table, he shall, for the security of the rest discharge such from School till the danger be over.

12thly. THAT every stubborn and refractory Lad, who shall refuse to submit to the orders and correction of the said school, shall, by the said Master, be dismissed forthwith from said School, not to be readmitted

without due submission to exemplary punishment, and upon his second offence of the said kind, to be discharged and expelled for ever, and in this number are reconed such as shall offer to shut out the Master or Usher: but the Master shall give them leave to break up Eight Days before Christmas and three before Easter and Whitsontide.

13thly. THAT the Master shall make Diligent enquiry after such as shall break, cut or deface or any ways abuse the Desks, Forms, Walls or Windows of the School, or any parts of the House, or Trees in the meadow, & shall always inflict open & exemplary punishment [*sic*] on all such Offenders.

14thly. THAT from the begining of March to the middle of September, the Scholars shall be & continue in School, from six of the Clock in the morning 'till eleven, & all the rest of the year from seven or as soon as the Gates of the City are open, and in the afternoon from one to five, the Afternoons of Thursdays and Saturdays excepted, which shall always be allowed for recreation; & that the Master shall grant no play day, except to such as shall pay down ten shillings into the Masters hands, to be by him immediately disposed of, to the most indigent & deserving Lads of his school.

15thly. THAT the Master shall take special care of the Scholars of his own family, to intrust (*sic*) them by his own good example at all times, as well as by occasional directions, & shall have the prayers of the church of England & Ireland read to them both morning & Evening in some convenient place of the house, & in the school, the prayers seen and approved of by the Lord Bishop of Ossory shall be constantly & duly used, in the same manner & form, as they are at the date of these Presents.

16thly. THAT from the begining of March till the middle of September, all the Scholars shall be in the school upon Sundays by eight, to be instructed in the Church Catechism, & afterwards shall attend the Master & Usher to Church, in a comly & decent manner, & from the middle of September 'till March they shall stay in School 'till half an hour past Eleven upon Saturdays, that they may be taught the said Catechism.

17thly. THAT Edward Hinton, Master of the said School, & the Master for the time being, shall inhabit, posses, and enjoy to his own proper use and emolument the School house, with the courts, out houses, and garden, thereunto belonging, as also the meadow adjoyning, commonly called the pidgeon house meadow, provided the Scholars be allowed at leisure times, to take their recreation therein, and that the trees in the said meadow be carefully preserved and improved.

18thly. THAT the Master shall provide a large register, wherein the names, qualities, & ages of all such Children as shall from time to time be admitted into the said School shall be register'd and entered, as also the time of their departure, what Class they were inn, and to what place & employment they go, likewise a catalogue of all such goods, standdards, or utensils as do or shall belong to the said house, School, out houses, gardens, and Meadow.

19thly. THAT the Master shall receive for his sallery the Sum of one hundred and forty pounds P^r annum of good and lawful money of and in England, by even and equal portions, one moiety of it at the twenty fifth of March, and the other September the twenty ninth, or within a fortnight after either of those feasts, to be paid constantly in the School house without any defalcation out of the tythes setled by the said Duke for payment thereof, except his GRACE or his Heirs shall settle some particular lands for the payment of the said Sallery and which shall be of a full value to discharge it yearly, and upon the Masters death or removal his Sallery pro rata shall become due to him to be paid to that very Day.

20thly. THAT the Master shall keep and maintain the School house, School, and out houses in constant, good, and sufficient repair, nor shall it be lawful to make any alterations therein without the approbation of the Visitors.

21stly. THAT Thomas Lord Bishop of Ossory, Narcissus Lord Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, & Robert Huntington, Provost of Trinity College in Dublin, while they live in this Kingdome, and the Bishops of Ossory Leighlin and Ferns, and the Provost of the College for the time being, be nominated and appointed Visitors of the said School, & that they or the majority of them (For 'tis the greater number of them still which is ment by the Visitors) shall yearly at or upon the last Thursday in july yearly, or oftner if they shall see occasion, publickly visit the said School between the hours of eight and twelve in the morning, where and when they shall first cause the statutes to be read audibly and distinctly by one of the Scholars, and afterwards proceed to examine the proficiency of the Scholars, and enquire after any breach of Statutes, and after the behavior of the Master, the sufficiency and manners of the Usher, the Authors that are read, the methods, usages, and customs of the School, and if they shall judge any alterations or amendments requisite, in any of these they shall express it to the Master, who by virtue of these statutes is readily to comply with their advice, for the better improvment of the said School, and when there shall be FOUNDATION SCHOLARS, they shall by the Visitors be chosen according to their merit, for the University.

22ndly. THAT on the said visitation day after dinner, which the Master is to provide soberly & decently, and towards it shall have freely

given him a fat Buck yearly, out of his GRACE's next Park, the Visitors then present, shall take a view of the School, house, & out houses, the Garden, meadow and trees therein, and if they find occasion, shall specific in writing all those repairs and amendments with the manner & the time when they judge them expedient to be made, and if the Master shall be negligent herein, the Visitors shall signifie the same to the Governor of the said School, who forthwith shall order these things to be done by able workmen, and that they be paid out of the sallary next due to the Master.

23rdly. THAT if it appear to the Visitors that the usher is insufficient or scandalous, & so much be signified to the Master, under their hands and seals, if the Master shall refuse to remove the said Usher, and chuse another statutably qualified, or if the Master shall neglect such alterations or amendations as the visitors shall have judged fit to be made, either in the manners of himself or his Usher, the authors to be read, or the method, customes, and manegement of the Said School, Or if the Master shall forbear to discharge himself or his Usher from such offices or employments as the Visitors have judged inconsistent with, or prejudicial to the due management of the said School, or shall alter the house without their consent, the Visitors shall under their hands & seals admonish the Master a second time of his said neglect, and if for the space of three months after such second admonition, the Master shall be convicted either by notoriety of fact, or the testimony of two (at the least) credible witnesses, of such obstinate neglect, upon information thereof by the visitors, under their hands & seals, given to the PATRON OR GOVERNOR, he shall expell & remove the said Master from all duties & benefits of the said School, School house, &c., and shall nominate & chuse another in his stead, according to the qualifications above specified.

24thly. THAT if any doubt or objection shall hapen concerning the time, purport, intent & meaning of these Statutes, or anything in them contained, such interpretation as the Visitors shall agree in & signifie under their hands & seals, shall be binding & decissive to all Persons concerned.

LASTLY. In testimony that all & singular the above written Statutes, Orders, & Constitutions are ratafied established & confirmed to commence & be in force from the twenty fifth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred & Eighty five, the said JAMES DUKE OF ORMOND, the FOUNDER of the said School has this present Eighteenth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred & Eighty four hereto set his hand & seal at his Majestys Castle of Dublin.

ORMOND

Signed Sealed & delivered in the presence of

ROBERT HUNTINGTON

JAMES POWER

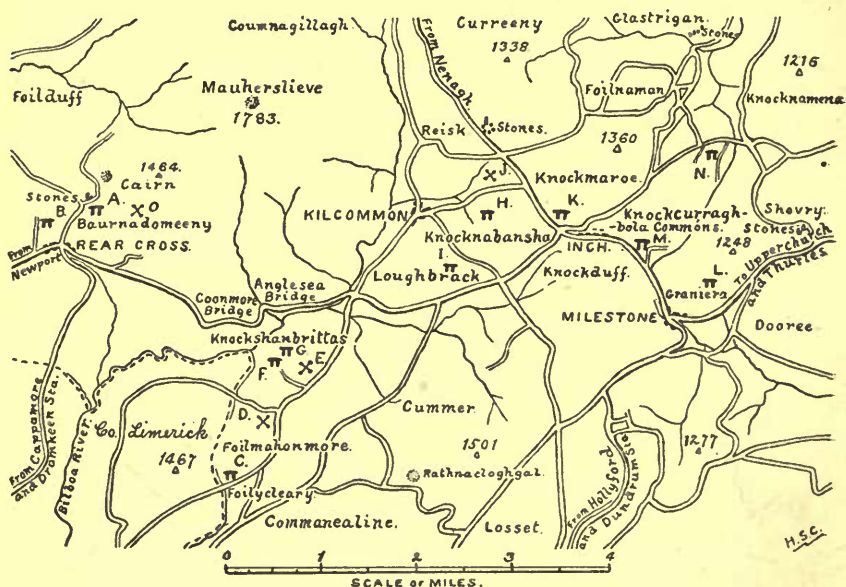
W^M. ROBINSON

THE DOLMENS OF TIPPERARY.

BY HENRY S. CRAWFORD, B.E., MEMBER.

[Read FEBRUARY 22, 1910.]

READERS of the "Dolmens of Ireland" will notice that Mr. Borlase has treated the monuments of the county Tipperary in a more summary manner than those of most other counties. He gives no illustrations, and describes no more than six out of the twenty-two which he mentions. Four of these are not dolmens at all, and one of the descriptions belongs to a different monument; or at least the monument which fits the description is situated in a townland other than that named.



MAP OF THE KILCOMMON DISTRICT, SHOWING DOLMENS.

There is therefore room for the publication of some further information about the dolmens of this county, and though their number is small in proportion to its area, they present many features of interest.

The principal group is situated in the hilly district surrounding the village of Kilcommon, and I shall first describe these, afterwards

proceeding to those scattered through other parts of the county. Kilcommon is about ten miles north of Dundrum station, on the main line of the Great Southern and Western Railway, and 12 miles north-east of Oola station on the same company's Limerick branch. There, in a tract of rough country, 7 miles from east to west, and 4 from north to south, may be seen the more or less dilapidated remains of eleven dolmens, and the sites of four others, as recorded on the maps of the Ordnance survey.

Of these fifteen, Borlase describes five and mentions seven, leaving three unnoticed. They are all shown and lettered on the map, the sites of those entirely destroyed being marked X.

In the same district there are remains of four or more stone circles and a "Pagan burial-place"; this latter is a low mound of stones and grass, with a large slab appearing from under the east side. I was informed by the owner of the land that he remembered the mound to have been higher, but that one night the central part sunk down two or three feet. Without excavation it is impossible to say certainly what this place may be, but I am inclined to think it is a dolmen which has retained its covering mound or cairn. In the same way the adjoining dolmen of Baurnadomeeny has kept part of its covering in the shape of a heap on the roof.

The dolmens are marked on the Ordnance maps under various names, such as cromlecs, giants' graves, Druids' altars, and Dermot and Grania's beds; and as these names are sometimes applied to monuments of other classes, a list is given at the end of several objects which might be mistaken for dolmens by anyone consulting the maps.

The list of dolmens is as follows:—

BARONY OF OWNEY AND ARRA.

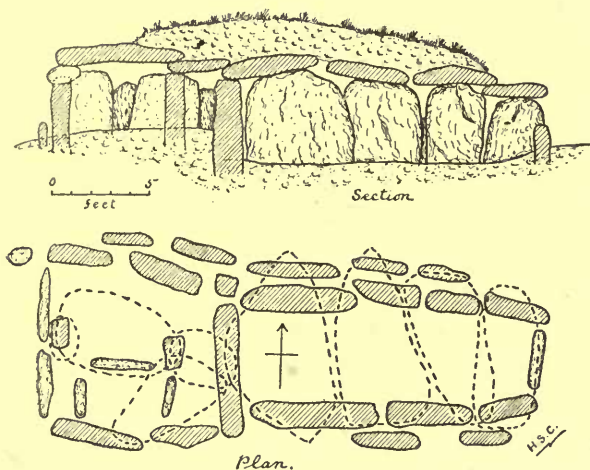
A. BAURNADOMEENY (EAST), Ordnance map 38, S.E., marked Dermot and Grania's Bed. Borlase, No. 3. Axis east and west.—About a quarter of a mile north of the village of Rear Cross, and in a valley to the east of the road, is the best preserved dolmen in the county; its length being 24 feet and breadth 10 feet. The eastern part forms a rectangular chamber or cell, 10 feet long, 4 feet wide, and 4 feet high, inside measurements. The north side is formed of four stones on edge, with three others outside and close to them; and the south side of three somewhat larger stones, having the openings between them closed by two outer flags.

The roof is formed of four large stones of less regular shape than the others; the largest, 9 feet in extreme length, being at the west end. At present the east end is closed by a stone which only rises 2 feet above the ground, and leaves room for a thin person to creep in between it and the covering stone. This may have been placed there in recent times to keep out calves and pigs; but it is noteworthy that the corresponding stone at Loughbrack, which is certainly *in situ*, is also lower

than the stones beside it, and has a level top. A long and massive stone closes the west end and divides the eastern and western chambers.

What remains of the western chamber is nearly 7 feet square and 3 feet 6 inches high; its floor and roof being at a higher level than those of the eastern. The north and south sides each consist of two stones, and two outer stones remain on the north. Near the centre line of the chamber are two rectangular pillars detached from the walls, and supporting the roof. The west side is open, and several stones are lying about there, which shows that the dolmen once extended further in that direction.

The roof was formed of at least six stones, three of which remain in position, though very insecurely. In the floor are fixed five or more stones not rising much above it, and dividing the space into more or less rectangular cells. A considerable quantity of earth is still heaped upon the roof, no doubt part of the original covering mound. (See plan and photographs.) There was formerly a stone circle round this dolmen, and a few traces of it may still be seen.



BAURNADOMEENY—EASTERN DOLMEN.

Not far away is the "Pagan burial-ground" mentioned above; and between the two is a fine pillar stone, 9 or 10 feet high, with the stump of a second beside it. It is known as Clochfadda.

B. BAURNADOMEENY (WEST), Ordnance map 38, S.E., marked cromlec. Borlase, No. 4. Axis east by north :—This monument is situated a short distance west of the last, in the fields behind the creamery. It is partly destroyed, only eight stones remaining in position. Two of the largest form the south side of a chamber now 8 feet long by 3 feet

[To face page 40.]



BAURNADOMEENY—EAST DOLMEN.
(Views from West and South.)

3 inches wide. Two others form the north side, with a fifth outside; and the last three are placed as an outer row to the south; all these are under 3 feet in height. Six stones are lying about loose; two of these, respectively 6 feet 6 inches and 5 feet 4 inches long, are large enough for covering slabs; the others are smaller. (See plan, page 44.)

A third dolmen originally existed in this townland; its site is marked O. on the map.

There are also in this barony three dolmens too far north to be included in the map of Kilcommon district.

BAURAGLANNA (NORTH), Ordnance map 32, N.E., marked cromlec. Borlase, No. 1 (under name of Knockanroe).—This is a doubtful specimen, and situated in an unusual place, that is in the side of a glen or ravine. A large flat stone is buried in the bank, with one corner projecting, and this corner rests on a smaller stone; nothing more can be seen. Bauraglanna is in the valley called Glenculloo, at the foot of the Keeper Mountain, a mile or more south of the village of Silvermines.

BAURAGLANNA (SOUTH), Ordnance map 32, N.E., marked Dermot and Grania's Bed (site). Borlase, No. 2. This is now destroyed.

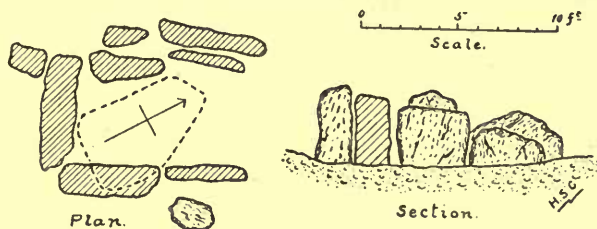
LACKAMORE, Ordnance map 19, S.E., marked Giant's Grave. Not given by Borlase. Axis, east-north-east $\frac{1}{2}$ north. This is in rough, hilly ground, south of the slate quarries and of the village of Portroe, at a point where there is a slight hollow half way up the hill side. Nine stones are still in position or nearly so, one being a cover-stone over 6 feet long, which is slightly displaced, and rests on the ground at the northern end. The largest stone, as usual, forms the division between the chambers; its dimensions are 5 feet 6 inches long, 1 foot 9 inches wide, and 3 feet 6 inches high. One pillar of the western chamber still stands at its north-east corner; and six of the side stones of the eastern chamber remain, four to the north, and two to the south. (See plan and photograph.)

BARONY OF KILNAMANAGH UPPER.

C. FOILYCLEARY, Ordnance map 44, N.E., marked cromlec. Borlase, No. 10.—This dolmen is now destroyed, with the exception of three stones, two of which are side by side, one pointed, 3 feet 6 inches by 6 inches, and 3 feet 6 inches high; the other 5 feet by 6 inches, and 3 feet high; the third stone, 3 feet 9 inches by 6 inches, and 3 feet high, is about 8 feet distant in the same line. Borlase gives a description as it formerly appeared.

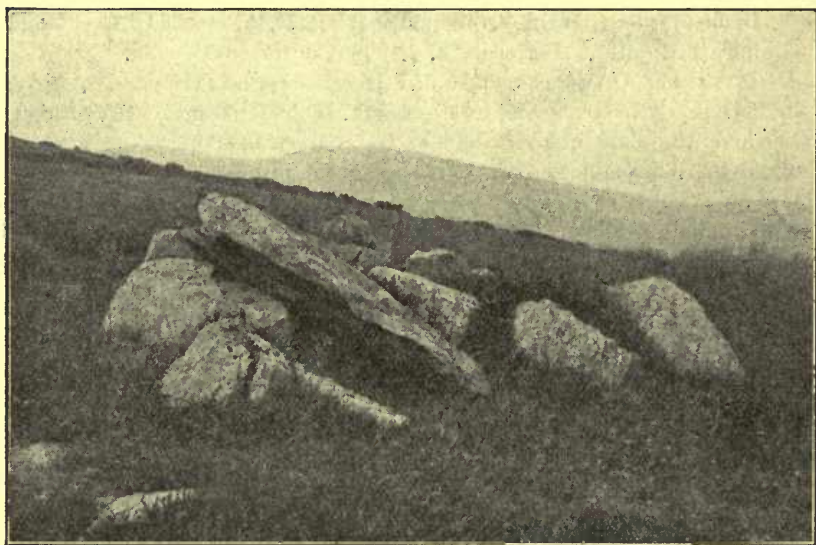
D. FOILMAHONMORE, Ordnance map 39, S.W., marked cromlec (site). Borlase, No. 9.—This is now entirely destroyed. Borlase gives a description.

E. KNOCKSHANBRITTAS (EAST), Ordnance map 39, S.W., marked Giant's Grave (site). Borlase, No. 8.—This is destroyed.



LACKAMORE DOLMEN.

F. KNOCKSHANBRITTAS (SOUTH), Ordnance map 39, S.W., marked cromlec. Borlase, No. 7. Axis, south-east.—It is difficult to plan this dolmen, as it is embedded in a fence which partly conceals one of the cap stones, and may hide some stones of the outer rows. The main chamber is 9 feet long, from 3 to 4 feet wide, and 3 feet high inside.



LACKAMORE DOLMEN.

(View from East.)

Two stones each form the north and south sides, but as they are not high enough in places, other stones are laid on them to make up the required level. Two stones side by side serve to divide the above-mentioned chamber from what is left of the western one.

In the plan the dotted lines show the stones used to make up the height of the sides; and the broken lines indicate the positions of

the covering slabs, three in number; one of which is a small stone, intended to support a second, which does not reach quite across the chamber. (See plan, page 44.)

G. KNOCKSHANBRITTAS (NORTH), Ordnance map 39, S.W., marked cromlec. Borlase, No. 6. Axis, east-south-east.—This is a dolmen of the same design as the last, and is difficult to draw, as it is buried to the tops of the supporting stones. The chamber, however, is empty for a foot or more under the cap stones, which allows the number of the supports to be seen. The main chamber is about 8 feet by 2 feet 9 inches, and is made up of two covering slabs, resting on four supports, two at each side; they do not cover or rest on the western vertical stone. Contrary to the usual plan, the eastern cap stone rests partly on top of the western, perhaps because the ground rises towards the east. Two side stones of a western cell remain, and there may be some other slabs of the outer rows buried under rubbish and field stones. (See plan, page 44.)

H. KNOCKNABANSHA, Ordnance map 39, N.W., marked cromlec. Borlase, No. 3. Axis, east and west.—Only four stones retain their original positions; three, each about 6 feet long, form three sides of a cell, 6 feet by 2 feet 6 inches, and 2 feet high; the east side of which is open. The fourth stone is a small one, belonging to the outer row on the south. Eight stones lie scattered about, two or three of which are large enough for covering slabs. (See plan, page 44.)

I. LOUGHBRACK, Ordnance map 39, S.W., marked Dermot and Grania's Bed. Borlase, No. 1. Axis, south-east by east.—The remains of the largest dolmen in the district, 32 feet long by 14 feet wide. The numerous side-stones are arranged in three rows north and south of a cell or chamber 23 feet long by 4 feet 6 inches wide; they appear small in proportion to the size of the monument, but no doubt those forming the inner rows, now mostly removed, were larger.

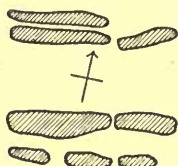
The stone across the east end of the cell is 6 feet long, and there are large side stones, 7 feet apart, projecting from it towards the east. The largest stone of all is that closing the west end, 10 feet long by nearly 3 feet wide and high. There are no loose stones to be seen. Round about is a difference in the level of the ground, which seems to indicate a stone circle. (See plan, page 44.)

J. REISK, Ordnance map 39, N.W., marked cromlec (site). Borlase, No. 2 (under name of Knocknabansha). This dolmen is destroyed.

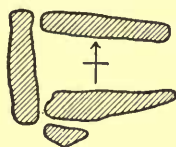
K. KNOCKMAROE, Ordnance map 39, N.E., marked cromlec. Not mentioned by Borlase.—Slight remains of a dolmen and circle. One supporting stone is still in position, and stands 1 foot 9 inches above ground. There are also two large stones lying on each other, the largest 7 feet by 5 feet 6 inches, and 16 or 18 inches thick.

A slight irregularity of the ground marks the position of the circle, of which six stones may be traced, almost covered by the grass.

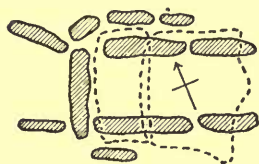
L. GRANIERA, Ordnance map 39, S.E., marked cromlec. Borlase, No. 5.—Practically destroyed. Two stones of a triangular shape leaning against each other; one 4 feet 6 inches high, the other 4 feet. Borlase gives a description under this name which evidently refers to Knockcurraghboola Commons (North).



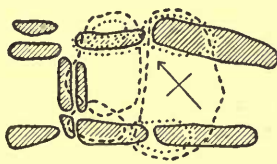
Baurnadomeeny. (West)



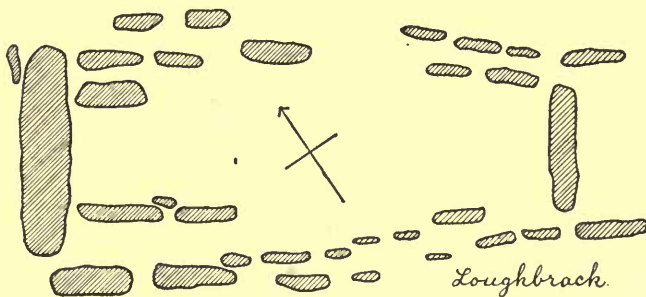
Knocknabansha.



Knockshanbrittas. (North)

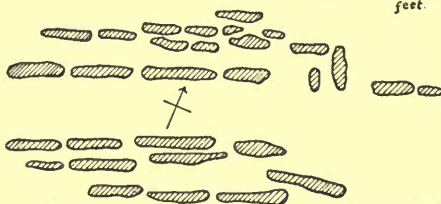


Knockshanbrittas. (South)



Loughbrack.

0 5 10
feet.



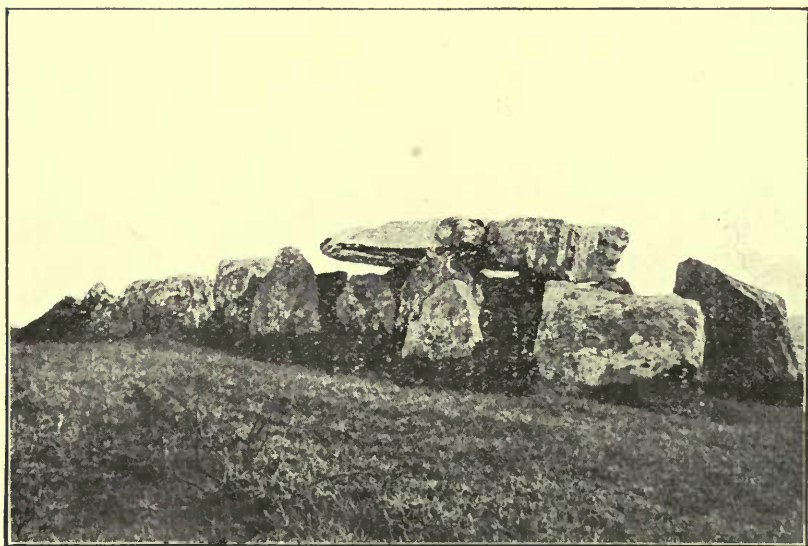
Knockcurraghboola Commons. (South)

H.S.C.

DOLMENS IN THE KILCOMMON DISTRICT.

M. KNOCKCURRAGHBOOLA COMMONS (SOUTH), Ordnance map 39, S.E., marked cromlec. Borlase, No 4 (under name of Knockduff). Axis,

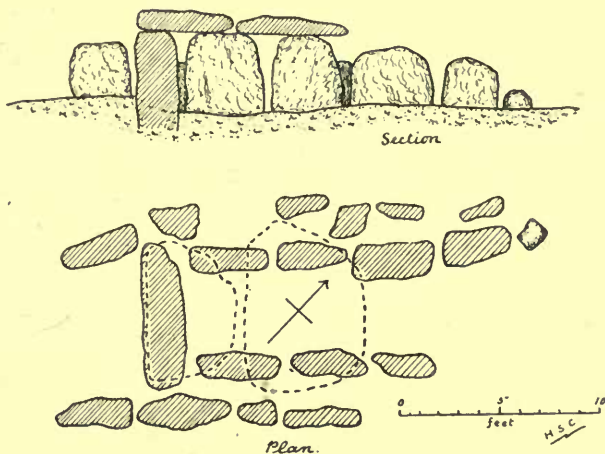
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KNOCKCURRAGHBOOLA COMMONS—NORTHERN DOLMEN.
(Views from North-East and West.)

east-north-east. Some of the side stones of a long dolmen now 21 feet by 8 feet, thirty in number, are disposed in three rows on each side of a chamber 3 feet 3 inches wide, and 2 feet high. Eight other stones are lying loose, the largest, apparently a cover stone, is 5 feet 7 inches by 3 feet 8 inches by 12 inches. (See plan, page 44.)

N. KNOCKCURRAGHBOOLA COMMONS (NORTH), Ordnance map 39, N.E., marked cromlec. Not mentioned by Borlase, but a description given under Graniera. Axis, north-east.—This, owing to the regular and massive stones employed, is the finest dolmen in the district; though it has not survived in as complete a form as that at Baurnadomeeny. The total length of what remains is 22 feet, breadth 10 feet, and height 4 feet 6 inches outside. The chamber, 3 feet 5 inches wide, is partly filled with field stones, but the owner of the land stated that formerly there was room for him to stand up in it. Three stones of the south side of this chamber, and four of the north, are still standing, together with nine of the outer rows.



KNOCKCURRAGHBOOLA COMMONS—NORTHERN DOLMEN.

Two cap-stones are in position, the western of which rests on the large stone closing that end. To the west of the latter are two side-stones, apparently part of a western chamber like that at Baurnadomeeny; the northern stone of the pair is partly displaced, but they seem to have been in line with the outer rows. There are no loose stones to be seen. (See plan.)

The position of this monument is well chosen, as will be noticed at once by anyone visiting it. It stands on a smooth rounded ridge of no great height, in the middle of a kind of amphitheatre of rough hills.

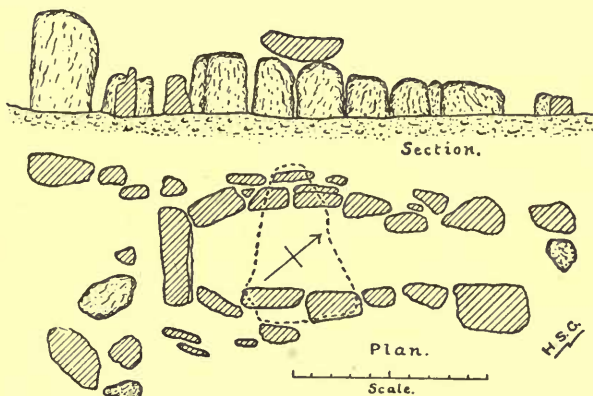
In addition to the above dolmens this barony contains one situated a considerable distance south of Kilcommon.

CURRAGHMARKY, Ordnance map 45, N.W., marked cromlee. Not mentioned by Borlase.—This monument is almost destroyed; only the dividing-stone remains in position; it is 6 feet 9 inches long, and 1 foot 9 inches high and wide. Three other stones are lying loose, each about 3 feet by 2 feet.

In a field near this monument is a rock surface, level with the soil, and exhibiting round and oval hollows, in addition to scores, thought by some to be ogams, but really plough-marks.

BARONY OF ORMOND UPPER.

FOILNAMUCK, Ordnance map 33, N.W., marked Dermod and Grania's Bed. Borlase, No. 2. Axis, north-east.—Ten or twelve stones remain, most of which are displaced. One of the central cover-stones, 8 feet by 5 feet, by 15 inches thick, still rests on them. This dolmen is close to the old road on the western slope of Cooneen Hill, seven miles south of Nenagh. The small cairn on the summit of this hill is also called Dermod and Grania's Bed, and is mentioned by Borlase. It is noticed in the list at the end.



CURREENY COMMONS DOLMEN.

CURREENY COMMONS, Ordnance map 33, S.W., marked Dermod and Grania's Bed. Borlase, No. 3. Axis, north-east by east.—The Curreeny dolmen is a long, slightly wedge-shaped monument, the surviving part of which extends to 28 feet. The eastern chamber occupies about 20 feet of this, and is 4 feet 6 inches wide near the western end, and 3 feet near the eastern. One triangular cap-stone still covers the widest part; it is 7 feet 6 inches long, 5 feet wide, and from 15 to 18 inches thick; under it the chamber is about 2 feet 6 inches high. The stone dividing this chamber from the western one is 5 feet long, 18 inches wide, and 2 feet above ground; that is, contrary to the usual plan, 12 or 15 inches lower than the side-stones. West of this stone, and

7 feet apart, are two pillars 5 feet high, which apparently formed part of the walls of the western chamber. It is not clear why these pillars should be 2 feet higher than the rest, but Mr. Westropp has noticed similar pillars in the Clare dolmens.¹ Between the pillars, and nearly 2 feet from the dividing-slab, is an upright pointed stone 2 feet 6 inches high, which may have helped to support the roof in the manner seen at Baurnadomeeny. (See plan and photograph.)

The monuments hitherto described are in the North Riding of the county, but those now to be mentioned belong to the South Riding.



CURREENY COMMONS DOLMEN.

(View from South.)

BARONY OF KILNAMANAGH LOWER.

CLOGHER, Ordnance map 46, S.E., marked Druid's Altar. Borlase, No. 1.—This is a rectangular slab, 7 feet 6 inches, by 5 feet 9 inches, by 2 feet thick; supported on small stones 12 or 15 inches above the ground. It is close to a house on the roadside, and one end is built into the end of a stable.

Clogher is three and a half miles south-west of Holycross, near Thurles.

BARONY OF CLANWILLIAM.

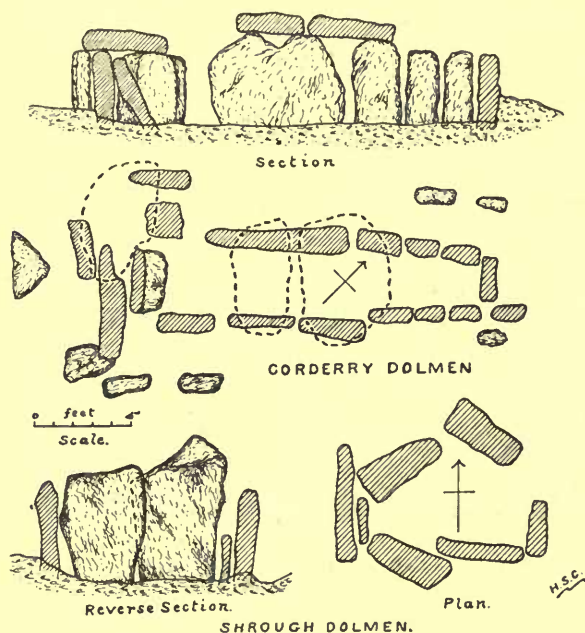
In this barony are two dolmens situated near together on the Slievenamuck or Tipperary hills, which rise to a height of 1,200 feet. Between

¹ *Journal*, vol. xxx. (1900), p. 402.

them and the Galty mountains lies the celebrated Glen of Aherlow; and the dolmens are on the slope facing the valley.

CORDERRY, Ordnance map 73, S.E., marked Dermod and Grania's Bed. Not mentioned by Borlase. Axis, north-east.—A long wedge-shaped monument; the chamber 18 feet long, and tapering from 3 feet 9 inches to 1 foot 10 inches. Contrary to the usual state of affairs, the western end is more damaged than the eastern. Two of the cover-stones are still in place over the centre of the chamber; and a third at west end, though moved to one side, remains balanced on some of the other stones.

The details may be gathered from the plan, section, and photograph.



DOLMENS IN THE GLEN OF AHERLOW.

SHROUGH, Ordnance map 73, N.E., marked Dermod and Grania's Bed. Not mentioned by Borlase. Axis, east and west.

This monument appears quite different in design from the others described, and rather resembles some of the Waterford dolmens; but this is probably due to the long eastern part having been entirely destroyed. It has a short oval chamber about 8 feet long, from east to west, and 4 feet wide; one stone standing at least 7 feet high. The cap-stones have been removed. (See illustrations.)

These dolmens can be reached from Lisvarrinane on the south, or from the road near Kilross post office on the north; but the shortest way from the railway is to follow the road from Tipperary to Aherlow as far



CORDERRY DOLMEN.
(View from South.)

as its highest point, and then walk along the ridge westward for a distance of about four miles, passing the dolmens and rejoining the road at Gallybally Bridge, where the ruins of Moore Abbey may be examined. There is a rough path along the hill-top, and splendid views of the Galtees are obtained from it. The new Ordnance Survey records a third Dermot and Grania's Bed on the Galtees, several miles to the south-east, but this is no more than a heap of small stones.

I have also heard "Dawson's Table," on the top of Galtymore, described as a large stone set up on four legs; and I even have a letter, published by Mr. Joseph Hansard of Killarney in one of the Dublin papers, under date 1st of April, 1906, in which most precise details are given, even to the weight of the cap-stone, and a statement that the writer often sat on it and wondered how it was got up there.

I have, however, examined the summit of the mountain, and find that the "Table" is a natural rock, and that, though there are several other piles of rock about, there is no sign of any stone set up on supports or, in fact, of any artificial structure. I also questioned Morgan and Patrick O'Brien, whose houses, at the head of Glencoshabinnia, are the nearest to the mountain, and they assured me that they, though living there all their lives, knew of no stone set up on supports.

BARONY OF IFFA AND OFFA EAST.

SHANBALLY, Ordnance map 78, N.W., not marked. Borlase, No. 1.—Mr. Borlase mentions that amongst the rocks on the summit of Slieve-na-man, north-east of Clonmel, there is a stone set up on four supports. I have not been able to visit this, and therefore cannot say whether it is really a dolmen; but I should not expect one in such a position. In my experience they are found on the shoulders and slopes of lesser elevations rather than on the summits of the loftier mountains.

To sum up, then, seven of these twenty-five dolmens are in a good state of preservation; four have the supporting stones fairly preserved, but the roofing slabs removed; four have a few stones remaining in position; and of the other ten, three are almost and five entirely destroyed, while two are doubtful.

As far as the state of preservation allows us to judge, these monuments, though of different sizes, belong to the same type—a long, low dolmen, with sides parallel or slightly tapering towards the east, and formed of two or three rows of upright stones placed close together. The central, or perhaps more strictly the eastern, part is a long, narrow chamber, roofed with several large slabs, which are laid almost level or with a slight slope towards the east. To the west of this is a somewhat wider and shorter chamber, separated from the former by one of the

most massive stones in the whole structure, and having its roof set at a somewhat higher level.

The Shrough dolmen is the only one which appears to differ seriously from this type, and it does so probably because the narrow eastern chamber has been entirely removed. At pages 449 and 450 of his second volume, Mr. Borlase gives plans of dolmens in Portugal (Paco da Vinha) and Wales (Yr Ogof), which greatly resemble the Tipperary type, and the western portion of the latter is especially like what remains at Shrough.

In several instances the sides are in parts made up to the required height by the superposition of two or three stones, and in others the unequal heights of the surviving stones seem to show that the same device was used. This goes to show that the constructors were beginning to have some rudimentary idea of the art of building as we understand it. At Baurnadomeeny (East) dolmen, the most perfect of the group, the western chamber has two pillars separate from the side walls, and supporting a roof which, when complete, must have been a complicated arrangement of six or more flagstones much less massive than those covering the central chamber.

There is less evidence as to the east end, as it was usually formed of smaller stones than the remainder; but the arrangement at Loughbrack seems to indicate a small antechamber at that end also.

Mr. Borlase speaks of the outer circle of stones which formed the curb of the enclosing mound being sometimes so close to the main structure as to show that the tumulus was of very small dimensions. In these dolmens there are several rows of stones almost touching, so as hardly to leave room for any covering; but in two instances at least there are traces of a circle at a much greater distance away. It is likely, therefore, that the inner rows were not intended as curbs, but as buttresses to strengthen the walls of the chamber, and that the true curb was much further out.

The position of the axis varies greatly, but is always directed between points in the eastern and western quadrants of the horizon, which suggests that it may have been determined by the direction of sunrise or sunset at the season when the monument was constructed or the interment took place. It is impossible to draw any strong conclusion from so small a number of monuments, but at least none of them have their axes directed to those parts of the horizon which the sun does not reach.

APPENDIX.

The monuments in the subjoined list are such as might easily be mistaken for dolmens by anyone consulting the Ordnance maps, and the first four are, in fact, mentioned by Borlase, three being marked doubtful.

1. TERRYGLASS, Ordnance map 6, N.E., marked "The Cobbler's Box."

—This is really a cell in the wall of an old castle or residence in the village of Terryglass.

2. LISGARRIFF WEST, Ordnance map 33, N.W., marked "Dermod and Grania's Bed."—A small cairn on the summit of Cooneen Hill, near Dolla, to the south of Nenagh.

3. CURRAGHEEN, Ordnance map 45, S.W., marked "Emonacknock's Grave."—A small mound in a field near Hollyford, said to mark the resting-place of a legendary hero named Eamon-a-Cnuic.

4. LURGOE, Ordnance map 54, N.W., marked "The Gobhan Saer's Grave."—A small mound on the bog-island of Derrynaflan, near Laffan's Bridge station.

5. CLONCANNON, Ordnance map 22, N.E., marked "Dermod and Grania's Bed."—A small heap or cairn on Benduff Hill, near Moneygall.

6. COONMORE, Ordnance map 39, S.W., marked "Giant's Grave."—A long, green mound in a disused keel near Kilcommon.

7. BOHERNARNANE, Ordnance map 74, S.E., marked "Dermod and Grania's Bed."—A small cairn on the Galtees south of Ardane.

8. GIANTS GRAVE, Ordnance map 77, S.W., marked "The Giant's Headstone."—A rude pillar stone, with crosses cut on opposite sides, near Clonmel.

HERALDRY IN ITS RELATION TO ARCHÆOLOGY.

BY CAPTAIN N. R. WILKINSON, F.S.A., ULSTER KING-OF-ARMS.

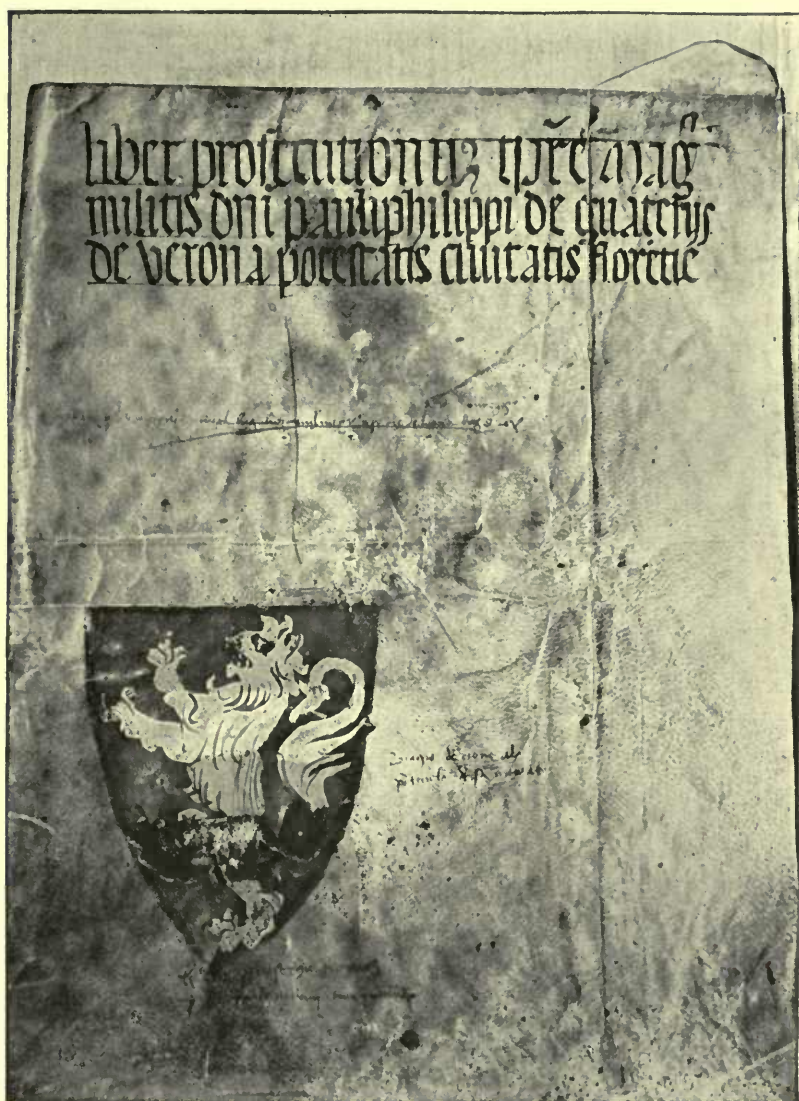
(Communicated by ROBERT COCHRANE, LL.D., *President.*)

[Read NOVEMBER 30, 1909.]

BEFORE dealing with the Science of Heraldry in its relation to Antiquity, I propose to give a short review of its origin. It is almost impossible to assign a definite date to mark the birth of the science, and we can only proceed by negative proof. It is obvious that heraldry, as we understand it, did not exist at the time of the Norman Conquest; for this reason, that although many of the figures in the Bayeux Tapestry, worked probably about 1077, bear shields on which are depicted both figures and animals, yet the most prominent figures bear these designs impartially, and do not retain the same throughout the series; thereby implying that these figures do not suggest the bearer's personality. I think we may take it that devices began to have a personal significance about the time of the Second Crusade, 1147, and that at the time of the Third, 1189, they had become generally accepted as hereditary. But it must not be said that the idea of personal badges, or even hereditary badges, was a new invention. The same idea exists in the early civilization of Egypt and Assyria; and coming to Greece we find the famous Seven against Thebes described by what might almost be termed their armorial badges, Tydeus bearing what we should call sable, a moon within an orle of stars argent. You will recall the lines of Aeschylus beginning: *τοιᾶν ἀντῶν νυκτὸς ὀφθαλμὸς πρέπει*; and again we have a suggestion of the motto in line 428 of the same play, a naked man proper holding a torch incensed, and for motto, "I will fire the City."

Civic badges were also used, and we find Athens adopting the owl on her coins, and Thebes the Sphinx. The coins of Teos and Abdera, about 500 B.C., bear the Griffin, which disproves the theory that these so-called monsters are the result of the juxtaposition of two dimidiated shields. The familiar double eagle appears on a Byzantine silk of the tenth century; and a well-known Irish coat, a tree between two lions rampant, probably derives its origin from the Persian design of the tree of life.

We see, then, that "vixerunt fortes ante Agamemnona," and that badges have an indirect descent of very respectable antiquity. But although this is undoubtedly the case, I am very strongly of opinion



BOOK COVER, circa 1420.

that the science of heraldry, as we know it, is a distinct branch of the family of symbolism, and should not be confused with its earlier brethren.

An excellent instance of the way in which a symbolic badge merged into an heraldic charge is afforded by the *Fleur-de-Lys* of France. This symbol appears first issuing from the circlet worn by King Robert in 996. Philip I bears it on his sceptre in 1060, but it does not appear as a badge by itself until we find it on the counter-seal of Philip II in 1180; and in 1223 we find the complete escutcheon of France, *semée-de-Lys*, borne by Louis VIII. Is it not probable that other charges passed through a similar evolution?

The earliest known figure bearing arms in England is that of William Longespée in Salisbury Cathedral, and the earliest example of armoury used for domestic purposes that I have yet met with is the dainty little casket in champlevé enamel which belonged to William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, about the beginning of the fourteenth century. I have seen Pricket candlesticks of the same manufacture which may be earlier, but it is, I think, probable that they were used for ecclesiastical purposes.

Heraldry began to appear as an adjunct to architecture about 1216, and rapidly became an essential part of its decoration. A splendid example of its use in commemorating benefactors is given by the series of sixteen shields in the spandrels of the wall arcades of the nave aisles in Westminster Abbey.

Now, having introduced the subject, I shall call in the assistance of illustrations in order to show you how heraldry became, as it were, a handmaid of the fine arts. And I should like to impress upon you that, in my humble opinion, the future of heraldry depends on its artistic excellence. I maintain that anything which adds to the beauty of the inanimate objects with which we are surrounded has a distinct influence for good, and is, therefore, worthy of our support. And there is one other point to which I should like to call the attention of those who, like myself, are antiquaries. We have a duty to perform to those who come after, as well as to those who have gone before; and that duty we can perform by keeping the workmanship of the present day up to the standard which has been set us in the past. It is, I believe, possible, without slavish imitation of early models, to hand down something which will be a joy to the antiquaries of future ages.

It may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that heraldry has played a prominent part in every branch of the fine arts. It has beautified works in stone, marble, bronze, iron, the precious metals, enamel, pottery, and porcelain: textiles and enamels, ivory carvings, illuminations, and paintings of all kinds have come under its influence. In the majority of cases, no doubt, heraldic devices have played a

secondary part, but what an important part that has been from an antiquarian and historical point of view, is too well known to need discussion. In the Museum which we have had the privilege of inaugurating in the Office of Arms we have laid down the rule that objects exhibited from a purely artistic point of view must have heraldic charges as the principal part of their decoration. You will be able to judge by the illustrations before you how far we have been successful in obtaining really important objects which fulfil this condition.

Perhaps the most valuable specimen in the Museum is a Pricket candlestick in Limoges enamel, dating back to the fourteenth century, decorated with various coats-of-arms. A parchment cover for legal documents, Italian work of about 1420, is particularly interesting as being the earliest instance of the use of what we now term an armorial *ex Libris*. Covers of this nature are extremely rare (Plate I.).

Turning to glass ware, we have on loan, which I hope will be permanent, a fine specimen of etched armorial work dated 1688, and signed CRAMA F. (Plate II.). It is supposed that this cup and cover were made to celebrate the election of William of Orange to the Throne of England. The Museum contains many specimens of armorial china, the finest being a cup and saucer of early Sèvres porcelain decorated in gold; a representation of the cup is given on p. 55, where it is flanked by specimens of Chinese armorial ware. The collection is lamentably deficient in specimens of Irish and English pottery and porcelain; but you must remember that we have not yet attained our first birthday. Those among you who possess cups, plates, or other objects of Youghal, Leeds, Worcester, and such manufactures, which fulfil the conditions I have mentioned above, will, I am sure, come to our assistance during the coming year.

Before I conclude I should like to call the attention of this Society to the condition of the stall plates in St. Patrick's Hall. Although of a comparatively recent date, many are already indecipherable, owing to the fact that they are painted on metal which has corroded. I think you will agree that it is a pity that the records of the bearers of Ireland's great Order should perish: I am therefore using my best endeavours to persuade those whose ancestors bore the distinction, to provide fresh stall plates of more durable material, without, of course, removing the originals.

There is also one word about Irish heraldry which I should like to mention. It will be generally conceded that the commencement of true heraldry in Ireland dates from the Norman invasion. Badges and symbols no doubt existed, as they did in every nation, back to the remotest antiquity. If, however, any members of this Society know of any specimens of true heraldic bearings, or any records of their having been in existence before the twelfth century, I hope that they will bring them to my notice.



ETCHED ARMORIAL GLASS CUP, 1688.

In conclusion, I would like to read an apology for heraldry written at the end of the seventeenth century :—

“The dignity and estimation of arms cannot but be great if we alone consider that it delights the beholders, greatly graces the places where they are erected, and gives occasion to the beholders to make inquiry whose they are, and of what family the bearer is descended.”



SEVRES AND ORIENTAL ARMORIAL CHINA.

Miscellanea.

Ballycarbery Castle, County Kerry.—Mr. P. J. Lynch, a *Vice-President for Munster*, made a communication to the local Press with reference to the injury to this structure, in which he said:—"I have just been informed that portions of the fine old ruin near Cahirciveen—Ballycarbery Castle—are being demolished. It is difficult to believe that the remains of this ancient stronghold of M'Carthy Mor should be threatened with destruction in a district where many of the clan still survive; but, apart from such considerations, the preservation of these historic land-marks of the county is the duty of every Kerryman. It is much to be desired that the County Councils would exercise their powers under the Local Government Act and become the guardians of these castles, and other ancient monuments, otherwise the work of destruction now going on will continue."

This evoked the following notice from the *Cork Examiner*:—

"The letter should direct attention generally to the question of the preservation of castles and other ancient monuments which possess historic interest. We believe that the Cork County Council has already availed of its powers under the Local Government Act and the Land Act, and assumed the guardianship of the ancient castles and other old monuments in the County Cork, and that a watchful eye is kept on these buildings, which possess so much interest for the archæologist as well as for the ordinary man who is proud of his country and its history. If Mr. Lynch's letter has the effect of inducing the County Councils of other counties to avail of the powers conferred on them, and assume the guardianship of old buildings and monuments, he will have earned the thanks of the community, because there are many castles throughout Munster which are not important enough to be classed as national monuments and preserved by the State, but which possess local historical associations that mark them out as important county monuments. By assuming the guardianship of these the County Councils could, without any expenditure of money, prevent their destruction, and preserve them for posterity."

The agent of the property wrote to Mr. Lynch in the following terms:—

"Immediately on seeing your letter in reference to the fine old Ballycarbery Castle, I went to see the building, and I find that the tenant occupying the farm adjoining has removed about 25 feet of the outer wall at the south side; the wall measured 6 feet by 8 feet high. He has also removed a large quantity of loose stones which were lying

around the building. I cautioned the tenant against interfering again with the ruins; and I do not think he will allow any further trespass to be committed.

"Sir Morgan O'Connell, the owner of the estate, would be very glad if the Board of Works, or your Society, would take over the old castle, which is one of the best of its kind, with a view to having it properly looked after, now that his estate in that district is in course of sale."

Inquiries elicited the information that the Estates Commission have the property before that body. The purchase agreements were lodged in 1908, but the estate will not be reached in its order of priority to be dealt with for some years. The estate is being sold direct to the tenants under the Act of 1903, and not to the Estates Commissioners for resale to the tenants.

It is hoped that the action of the agent will prevent further injury to the castle until the Estates Commissioners are in a position to offer it for vesting to the Board of Works or County Council.

ROBERT COCHRANE.

Quin Abbey, County Clare.—Dr. Macnamara, as Hon. Local Secretary for County Clare, writes to say that he has been informed that a "split" exists in the tower of the church, and that, "owing to its precarious condition, if something is not done the building will be ruined."

The structure is vested in the Board of Works, and the tower has been under careful observation for some years. There are some open joists in the upper stages of the north-east angle of the central tower, where the external wall is weak, owing to the construction of the circular stairs in the thickness of the wall, which leaves the wall very thin at this angle, and weakness in the original construction is indicated, but not to an extent to endanger the tower, though a superficial examination might possibly lead one to think it insecure.

Almost all the towers in Franciscan Houses, having been inserted long after the original church was built, are of very slender proportions, and show signs of weakness, of which the tower of St. Francis at Kilkenny is an example. The arch of the tower began to show failure, and it had to be supported by metal columns, the expense of which was defrayed by the Society. These columns, after a time, caused unequal settlement, and became a source of danger; and when the structure was afterwards vested in the Board of Works, the arches had to be supported by timber centering which now sustain the superstructure of the tower. All these vested structures are under observation, are periodically inspected, and such repairs as are found to be necessary are done at intervals when the funds at disposal permit.—ROBERT COCHRANE.

Destruction of Castle Mervyn, County Tyrone.—Mr. Wilson Guy, of Raceview Villa, Fintona, County Tyrone, has written to say that the owner of the land on which Castle Mervyn stands is disposing of the stones of which it was built to local contractors. The following is an extract from his letter :—

“ As one deeply interested in the preservation of Irish antiquarian monuments, illustrative of our past history, I was much grieved yesterday on visiting the old castle, known as Castle Mervyn, near Trillick, in this county, to find that the present owner of the lands on which this fine old ruin stands was disposing of the stones of which it was built to local contractors for the erection of labourers’ cottages. The walls are being pulled down, and soon this, the last vestige of a plantation castle in the district, will have disappeared.

“ I think it is a shame and a scandal, and I sincerely hope your Society may be able to bring some influence to bear on the matter of stopping this business.

“ By way of particulars I might mention briefly that this castle stands on the ancient proportion of Brade, granted at the plantation to Sir Marvin Tuchet, knight, the Earl of Castlehaven’s eldest son : his patent bears date 1610–11. Sir Marvin Tuchet became second earl of Castlehaven, 1616–17. This gentleman was condemned for certain crimes, and executed on Tower Hill in 1631. It would seem that this proportion came into the hands of Captain James Mervyn about 1626. The castle was probably built about this time, as Pynnar reports ‘ nothing built ’ in 1619.

“ Eventually the proportion, with its castle, was in possession of the Archdale family of Castle Archdale, County Fermanagh, who in the past century erected a hunting lodge close to the old castle ; but now that the Archdale estate has passed to the tenants a rent was fixed on the demesne, and it was sold to a farmer, who now lives in the hunting lodge, and is disposing of the stones as stated. . . . ”

It is difficult to imagine such utter disregard for an important historical monument. The destruction is as wanton as it is unnecessary, and as barbarous as it is sordid. Surely, the locality can supply stones enough for labourers’ cottages without demolishing this fine old castle. The cost of stones is not great. Almost every locality is interested in the preservation of its historical ruins, and is justly proud of them. Public opinion should severely condemn those who injure them. Vandalism of this kind should be censured. Mr. Guy has rendered good service by calling attention to the matter, and it is much to be hoped that the owner, or the contractors, will discontinue the work of destruction.—
M. J. M’ENERY.

Ancient Monuments Protection Bill.—A short Bill has been brought into Parliament by Mr. Harcourt, which has for its object an addition to the powers given under the Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1882, which applies to the whole of the United Kingdom. Power is given in section 4 of that Act for any person to bequeath to the Commissioners of Works any ancient monument to which that Act applies; but the schedule defining the class of monuments is such that ruined buildings of historical or architectural interest were not included in it. The object of the Bill now proposed is to extend the provisions of section 4 of the Act of 1882 to all monuments within the meaning of the Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1900, for England—that is to say, to include any building or portions of ancient buildings which are of architectural or historic interest, so that these also may be legally placed under the care of the Commissioners of Works. The 1882 Act originally referred only to prehistoric monuments. It was amended by the Irish Act of 1892, so as to include ecclesiastical buildings in Ireland, but was confined to *ancient* or *medieval*, and not to architectural, remains. The new Bill, which passed the third reading, 17th March, 1910, will be cited as the “Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1910.”

As far as it amends sections 4 and 6 of the Ancient Monuments Protection Act, 1882, the new law would apply to Ireland, and would appear to give the Board of Works power to *accept a gift by deed or will* of any structure of historic, traditional, artistic, or architectural interest; but for vesting they are still confined to ancient or medieval monuments.

The First Commissioner of Works (England), Mr. Harcourt, in introducing the Bill, explained that the primary object was to enable him to accept the bequest of one of the finest historical monuments in the country. It is a pity that the power of accepting a monument by bequest was not extended to County Councils.—ROBERT COCHRANE.

Note on Interlaced Ornament by Professor Flinders Petrie.—Some time ago Professor Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., F.R.S., communicated to me his conclusions as to the source of interlaced patterns. Professor Petrie gave me permission to publish the following note on the subject, and as interlaced work forms so vital a part of early Irish art, I think it will prove of interest to our Fellows and Members :—

“Professor Flinders Petrie concludes from all dated examples that he has seen, that (1) Spiral work and its derivations is the only West European decoration before the northern invasions, A.D.; (2) Curved interlacing appears first on Hittite and Asiatic work, B.C.; (3) Curved interlacing appears first in Europe on Roman mosaic pavements, probably made by barbarian captives; (4) Curved interlacing characterized the work of the Goths before the Lombard invasions (S. Clemente, S. Vitale, S. Sophia); (5) Angular interlacing is entirely due to Lombard and

Scandinavian sources. All interlacing work is derived from screens and tent-sides made by nomadic people (see Kirghis tent, Shrine and Ross, *Heart of Asia*, p. 183.) The Gothic curved work was made by flexible osiers. The Lombard angular work was made by stiff or unflexible stems."

—E. C. R. ARMSTRONG.

Bullaun Stones in the Glen of Aherlow.—At Gortavoher, on the slope of the Tipperary hills, are two large bullaun stones formed of granite, the rocks of the district being limestone and red sandstone. One lies on the roadside, almost exactly a mile east of the village of Aherlow or Newtown, and the other in the third field north of the road at the same place.



BULLAUN STONES IN THE GLEN OF AHERLOW.

The roadside stone is the more remarkable, and reminds one of *St. Brigid's stone* at Blacklion in county Cavan, being flat and circular, 3 feet 6 inches in diameter, and about 14 inches high; in it are six basins, 11 inches in average diameter. Three of them are placed near the centre, and the others—alternate ones—further out, the result of which is that the latter are incomplete and break through the edge

of the stone in a way which is symmetrical and evidently intentional. The stone in the field is 3 feet 9 inches by 2 feet 9 inches by 18 inches high, and has two large basins, one of which breaks through the edge.

Many suggestions have been made as to the use of such basins; and as they are often found near old churches, a favourite theory is that they were baptismal fonts or receptacles for holy water; another is that they were mortars for pounding furze, &c. The numerous specimens, however, which have several hollows, would have involved unnecessary labour if made for the former; and those of conical form would be useless for the latter purpose. The fact that in the Aherlow stones half the total number of basins are incomplete shows that they were not intended to hold water or any liquid. It seems likely that objects intended for various purposes are confused under the name *bullawn*, and that the multiple specimens at least were intended for those superstitious practices which are known to have been connected with the Blacklion stone.—HENRY S. CRAWFORD.

Castletimon Ogam Stone, County Wicklow.—The removal of the Ogam stone at Castletimon from the roadside to a place of safety was discussed at the February meeting of the Wicklow County Council.

The discussion arose on a letter written by Colonel H. Leslie Ellis, F.S.A., who stated that this relic of ancient Ireland was at present lying by the roadside without any protection, and he believed that it was only a matter of time before it would be either unintentionally or wantonly damaged or broken. He asked permission to remove the stone to Mahermore, where he would do his best to preserve and protect it. He did not propose in doing so to claim or in future assert any kind of ownership, but his sole object was to place it in a safe position, and to do his best for its preservation. He would undertake to hand it over to the Council should they at any time apply for it; and he would allow any person to have access to it for inspection on a written authority from the Council.

A councillor proposed that the Ogam stone be removed to Bray; and another said that the stone had been where it is for centuries, and it would be strange to remove it now. It also appeared that some of the councillors had spent a day trying to have it removed to Wicklow, and failed.

After a good deal of discussion, it was resolved not to have the stone removed.

It is hoped, as public attention has been drawn to this valuable relic in the newspapers reporting the proceedings, that the County Council will take steps for its proper preservation. It has been suggested to raise it on a pedestal a few feet above the ground, and surround it with an iron railing. The County Council are empowered under the Local

Then some very faint scores occur, which might indicate the letter *i*, and the inscription would then be, *NETACARI NETACAGI*. Professor Macalister, in accounting for the final letter or letters, thinks it might read *NETACARI NETACAGNI*, or *NETACARI NETA CAGI*. Of the name of the person commemorated by this stone there is as yet no historical record available.—ROBERT COCHRANE.

Discovery of a Dug-out Canoe on the Banks of the Barrow, in the County Wexford.—In the month of August last, as Mr. C. E. Barton, Ruane, New Ross, accompanied by a man named Jack Howlen, was shooting on the Barrow, about four or five miles below New Ross, he discovered the bows of an old boat, worked out of the solid oak of an oak-tree, usually called a “dug-out,” sticking from the mud, at Rochestown foreshore. Owing to the high tides at the time, he was unable to have it removed; and before he could do so, the exposed portion of the boat was somewhat damaged by heavy gales of wind. After great difficulty, Mr. Barton had it removed to New Ross, from which it was conveyed to the residence of his brother, Mr. Robert Barton, of Glendalough House, Annamoe, county Wicklow. The writer of this note communicated with Mr. Robert Barton, and was kindly supplied with the following “measurements and particulars:—“The canoe,” he writes, “is 34 feet long as it at present lies, but fully 2 feet more is gone from the stern; this I estimate judging by the existing curves. It is 3 feet 10 inches in width at the widest part, namely, 3 feet from the stern end. There are seven stretchers on the bottom at the stern end, and seven strengthened places in the sides. The bow, one half of which remains perfectly intact, stands 3 feet over the inside of the bottom. I have got several pieces which were found around here in the mud, and may get more later on; with these I hope to make the outline more complete.”

Mr. R. Barton made several efforts to photograph this fine old canoe for the Society, but unfortunately failed; he says the canoe, in its present position, is always in the shade, and the winter light is not sufficient to cause even an outline to appear on the negative.

This “dug-out” is a very fine specimen. Wakeman mentions a canoe in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy measuring at present 42 feet in length, which was originally probably 3 feet longer, and by from 4 to 5 feet in width; but this was a giant specimen.¹ Wilde, in his “Catalogue,” gives the average length as 20 feet, and about 2 feet in breadth, but mentions a specimen somewhat longer.—J. F. M. FRENCH (*Canon*), M.R.I.A., *Fellow, Hon. Prov. Secretary for Leinster*.

¹ The largest canoe at present in the Royal Irish Academy collection is the magnificent vessel discovered in 1902 at Lurgan, Co. Mayo, which measures 53 feet 9 inches in length.—EDITOR.

The Patron Saint of Malahide.—The ancient church at Malahide is dedicated to St. Silvester, but it appears to be uncertain whether this was the Palladian saint of that name, who, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, arrived in Ireland in the year 430, and was venerated on the 10th of March, or whether he was the St. Sylvester, Pope and martyr, whose festival occurs on the 31st of December. Probably the former is the more likely of the two, as by him Donard (Domhnach Arta), in the west of the county Wicklow, was founded; and he is also the patron saint (according to Father Shearman's "*Loca Patriciana*," p. 179) of Brannockstown, in the county Kildare, eight miles to the north of Donard, as the crow flies.

Hence it is strange to find in Sir Peter Talbot's will, which is dated the 12th September, 1526 (and which is given in full in the County Dublin Exchequer Inquisition, No. 3, of Queen Mary), that he desires his "body to be buried in *Seynt fenwe* is church in Malaghyde." Can this be explained?—WALTER FITZ GERALD.

The Inauguration-place of Magennis (or Mac Guinness), Chief of Iveagh, in the County Down.—I would be grateful to any of our members who could add to my list the name of the inauguration-place of the chiefs of this sept. It is referred to, but not named, in the Calendar of Carew Manuscripts, 1589–1600, in the following extract from a Report of Commissioners. Sir Henry Wallop, Kt., and Sir Robert Gardiner, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, to the Lord Deputy, Sir William Russell, dated the 16th January, 1596:—

"Sir Hugh Magnise died the 12th hereof, upon whose death Glasny McCawley (i.e. Glasny, son of Auliffe Magennis) pretending title by the tawnist custom, came to the Stone whereon the Magnisses were wont to receive their ceremony, and hath called himself Magnise, but whether by the consent and privity of the Earl (i.e. Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone), or not, we have not yet learned the certainty. Whereupon Arthur, Sir Hugh's eldest son, is this day come unto us craving our lawful aid and favour for the maintenance of his title and right by her Majesty's Letters Patents."

—WALTER FITZ GERALD.

Halley's and other Comets in the Irish Annals.—In *Knowledge* for December, 1909, page 463, is a paper by Irene E. Toye Warner, on "Great Events in the World during Apparitions of Halley's Comet." The statement is made in this article that there is no record of the return of this body in A.D. 912, though calculations show that it must have appeared about the date mentioned. Had the writer looked up the *Annals of Ulster*, she would have found the entry, *Cometes apparuit*,

under "A.D. 911, *alias* 912" (Rolls Series edition, vol. i, pages 424-425). The Byzantine chroniclers also record the phenomenon.

Other phenomena of the same kind are recorded in the *Annals of Ulster* (the most valuable and fullest of all our chronicles) as follows:—

A.D. 613.¹ *Stella uisa est hora uiii^a diei.*—This may, however, have been the planet Venus, sometimes, as is well known, seen in daylight. Pingré's *Cométographie*, the fullest compilation of past records concerning comets, has no mention of such a phenomenon in this year.

A.D. 676. *Stella cometes uisa luminosa in mense Septembris et Octimbris.*—This comet is recorded in the Anglo-Saxon chronicles at 678, in the *Chronicon Scotorum* and *Annals of Clonmacnois* at 673. The editor of the Rolls Series *Annals of Ulster* says that the correct date is 677: this, however, is wrong, as Pingré has shown in a long paragraph that the correct date is 676, as the *Annals of Ulster* states. This is deduced (a) from its appearance in the interregnum between Popes Adeodatus and Donus, and (b) from certain Chinese records.

A.D. 744. *In nocte signum horribile et mirabile uisum est in stellis.*—"A great comet, visible in Syria, in the fourth year of Constantine," is mentioned by Pingré, under this year, relying on previous historians. This is probably the phenomenon mentioned by the *Annals of Ulster*, though no other European observation of it seems to be certainly preserved.

A.D. 916. An uncomfortable year of "great snow, and cold, and unprecedented frost, so that the chief lakes and rivers were passable. . . . Horrid signs besides; the heavens seemed to glow with comets; a mass of fire was observed, with thunder, passing over Ireland from the west, which went over the sea eastwards." I find no comets reported in 916. There were several minor ones in 912, the year when Halley's comet appeared; but, as we have just seen, the *Annals of Ulster* gives the latter date correctly. Probably the apparition in this case was some great star-shower, like the famous showers of 1833 and 1866. The "mass of fire" was probably some explosive meteorite.

1018. "The Hairy Star appeared this year, during the space of a fortnight, in Autumn time." This is the correct date of an important comet that appeared in August "with the form of a very large sword, appearing towards the north."

It is curious that these very full and accurate annals do not record the great apparition of Halley's comet in 1066, which is the one phenomenon of this nature recorded in the *Annals of the Four Masters*. The *Chronicon Scotorum* dates this in 1063; the *Annals of Clonmacnois*, 1065.

The *Annals of Clonmacnois* records "two shining Comets in the

¹ In the index 614—one of the countless misprints which makes the *Annals of Ulster* rather difficult to use.

Authumne" of 1011. As in the same year is recorded Mael-Shechlainn's raid on the Fera-Cell and the Eile, the true date is 1018, and the phenomenon was the same as that last quoted from the *Annals of Ulster*. The *Annals of Clonmacnois* is unique, and probably wrong, in mentioning *two* comets: this may be a mistake of the English translator.

There are many other astronomical and meteorological "signs and wonders" naïvely but accurately noted in the *Annals of Ulster*. Eclipses are frequently recorded, and nearly always correctly. Beside these may be mentioned the aurora borealis of 991; the parhelia of 910-911; and the mirage seen at Clonmacnois in 748. But what was the "huge dragon seen in the end of autumn, with great thunder after it" (A.D. 734)?—R. A. S. MACALISTER.¹

Tomb of an Irish Bishop.—Dr. W. H. Grattan Flood has written to me with reference to the note on "Tomb of an Irish Bishop" which appears in *Journal*, vol. xxxix., p. 399. He says: "William, Prior of Brinkburn, was not 'Bishop of Cloyne.' He was Bishop of Clonmacnois (*Clunen*'), to which See he was appointed on July 21, 1458."—THOMAS J. WESTROPP.

¹ The above note was written independently of a similar compilation by Tomás Ua Nualláin in the issue for 1st January, 1910, of *An Claidreamh Soluip*.

Proceedings.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the Society was held in the SOCIETY'S ROOMS, 6, ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN, on Tuesday, the 25th of January, 1910, at 5 o'clock, p.m.:

ROBERT COCHRANE, LL.D., I.S.O., F.S.A., *President*, in the Chair.

Also present:—

Fellows.—E. C. R. Armstrong, F.S.A., *Hon. Gen. Sec.*; John Cooke, M.A.; Michael F. Cox, M.D.; Rev. Canon J. F. M. French; Lord Walter Fitz Gerald, J.P.; S. A. O. Fitz Patrick; John Ribton Garstin, D.L., *Past President*; George A. P. Kelly, M.A.; R. A. S. Macalister, F.S.A.; M. J. McEnery, B.A., *Hon. Gen. Sec.*; T. J. Mellon, F.R.I.B.A.; P. J. O'Reilly; G. N. Count Plunkett, J.P., F.S.A.; Andrew Robinson, C.E.; H. J. Stokes, *Hon. Treasurer*; William C. Stubbs, M.A.; John F. Weldrick; John White; Dr. Robert Lloyd Woolcombe.

Members.—E. M. F. G. Boyle; James Coleman; H. A. Cosgrave, M.A.; Henry S. Crawford, B.E.; Freeman W. Deane; Robert V. Dixon; Rev. G. A. Earle, M.A.; Major Lawrence Gorman; T. G. H. Green, M.R.I.A.; Lawrence Kehoe; Mrs. Godfrey Knox; N. V. Lenehan; Rev. J. B. Leslie, M.A.; Rev. Canon H. W. Lett, M.A.; Rev. W. O'N. Lindesay, M.A.; Mrs. Long; Rev. F. J. Lucas, D.D.; Robert J. Montgomery, M.B.; J. H. Moore, A.I.M.; Rev. W. O'Connor; Miss A. Peter; Miss U. T. E. Powell; George Price, LL.D.; Rev. A. D. Purefoy, M.A.; Andrew Roycroft; R. B. Sayers; George Shackleton; Rev. F. J. Wall; Miss H. Warren; William Grove White, LL.B.

The Minutes of last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Fellows and Members were elected:—

FELLOWS.

Cox, Michael Francis, M.D. *Hon. Causa* R.U.I., F.R.C.P.I., M.R.I.A., 26, Merrion-square, Dublin (*Member*, 1891): proposed by Robert Cochrane, I.S.O., LL.D., *President*.
Desart, The Right Hon. the Earl of, K.C.B., D.L., B.A. (*Cantab.*), Desart Court, Kilkenny: proposed by Robert Cochrane, I.S.O., LL.D., *President*.
Macalister, Robert Alexander Stewart, Professor of Celtic Archæology, University College, Dublin, Newlands, Connaught-place, Clonskeagh (*Member*, 1895): proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, F.S.A., *Hon. Gen. Secretary*.
M'Crum, Mrs. Elizabeth Jane, Ballyveasy, Carnmoney, Co. Antrim (*Member*, 1905): proposed by Rev. W. T. Latimer, B.A., *Fellow*.
Murray, Samuel Grierson, Eilene, Dartry-road, Dublin: proposed by G. D. Burtchaell, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.
Oakden, Charles Henry, F.R.F.S., 30, Meadow-road, Shortlands, Kent (*Member*, 1904): proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, F.S.A., *Hon. Gen. Secretary*.

MEMBERS.

Andrews, Michael Corbett, 17, University-square, Belfast: proposed by Seaton F. Milligan, J.P., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

- Barton, Miss Frances M., Glendalough House, Anamoe, Co. Wicklow : proposed by Professor Sir John Rhys, *Hon. Fellow*.
- Browne, the Rev Henry, s.j., m.a. (*Oxon.*), Professor of Greek, University College, Dublin : proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, f.s.a., *Hon. General Secretary*.
- Credin, David, Electrical Engineer, Clabby, Fivemiletown, Co. Tyrone : proposed by Seaton F. Milligan, j.p., m.r.i.a., *Fellow*.
- Drennan, John T., Barrister-at-Law, j.p., Assistant Secretary to the Estates Commissioners, Upper Merrion-street, Dublin : proposed by George Price, ll.d., *Member*.
- Green, Mrs. Alice S. A., 36, Grosvenor-road, Westminster, London : proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, f.s.a., *Hon. General Secretary*.
- Law, Michael, late Judge of the Mixed Courts of Egypt, 20, Longford-terrace, Monkstown, Co. Dublin : proposed by Miss Helen Warren, *Member*.
- Patton, Rev. George Herbert, m.a., The Rectory, Kilmessan, Co. Meath : proposed by R. J. Wilkinson, *Member*.

The Report of the Council for 1909 was read, as follows :—

The Meetings of the Society were well attended during the past year. The Summer Meeting for the Province of Munster was held at Clonmel, on the invitation of the Right Worshipful the Mayor and Corporation, and under the auspices of a Local Reception Committee, when upwards of sixty Members and Associates took part in the proceedings. A full report of the Proceedings in connexion therewith was published in the *Journal* for 1909, vol. xxxix., p. 299.

During the year a cordial invitation was received from the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society, in the following terms :—

THE ISLE OF MAN NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,
CLAGHBANE, RAMSEY, ISLE OF MAN,
10th December, 1909.

DEAR SIR,

I am requested by the General Committee of our Natural History and Antiquarian Society to forward you the copy herewith of a Resolution adopted by them on Friday, 10th inst.

Yours faithfully,

P. M. C. KERMODE,
Hon. Sec.

E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, Esq., f.s.a., &c.,
HONORARY SECRETARY,
ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.

At a Meeting of the General Committee of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society held at Claghbane, Ramsey, on Friday, December 10th, 1909, it was proposed by Mr. P. M. C. Kermode, seconded by Dr. F. S. Tellet, and unanimously carried :—

“That the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society invite the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland to hold a Meeting in the Isle of Man during the ensuing summer, and assure them of a hearty welcome and cordial reception.”

The Council having considered the matter, decided to recommend the Society to fix on the Isle of Man as the place of meeting for the summer of 1910, with Excursions to the various places of antiquarian interest in the Island. The Meeting to be held during the first week in July.

The places and dates of Meetings for 1910 would therefore, if approved of, be as follows :—

PLACE.	DATE.	REMARKS.
Dublin, . . .	Tuesday, *Jan. 25,†	Annual Meeting, and Evening Meeting for Papers.
Do., . . .	„ Feb. 22,†	Evening Meeting, for Papers.
Do., . . .	„ Mar. 29,†	Do. Do.
Kilkenny, . . .	„ *May 3,	Quarterly Meeting and one day Excursion.
Douglas, Isle of Man,	„ July 5,	Quarterly Meeting and one week Excursion.
Dublin, . . .	„ *Oct. 4,†	Quarterly Meeting and one day Excursion.
Do., . .	„ Nov. 29,†	Evening Meeting, for Papers.

The attendances for the nine meetings of the Council held during the year up to the 30th November are as follows :—

ROBERT COCHRANE,	9	F. ELMINGTON BALL,	1
JAMES MILLS,	2	J. R. GARSTIN,	6
H. J. STOKES,	9	P. J. O'REILLY,	4
H. F. BERRY,	7	JOHN COOKE,	5
M. J. M'ENERY,	6	W. GROVE-WHITE,	5
LORD WALTER FITZGERALD,	7	J. COLEMAN,	5
W. C. STUBBS,	7	E. C. R. ARMSTRONG,	9
G. N. COUNT PLUNKETT,	3	M. F. COX,	3
H. S. CRAWFORD,	7	PHILIP HANSON,	3
S. A. O. FITZ PATRICK,	5	SIR H. BELLINGHAM, BART.,	1
G. D. BURTCHAELL,	1		

There are vacancies caused by the retirement, in rotation, of four Vice-Presidents. Also the retirement of the four Members of the Council causes four vacancies, all of which require to be filled up.

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

† Members of the Society's Dinner Club will dine at the Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin, at 6.15 p.m., on the above dates.

Nominations for the before-mentioned vacancies have been received in accordance with the General Rules of the Society. For the positions of Vice-Presidents, and Members of Council, the following have been nominated :—

AS VICE-PRESIDENTS:—

FOR LEINSTER, ..	SIR HENRY BELLINGHAM, BART., D.L. (<i>Fellow</i> , 1898).
„ ULSTER, ..	HIS EXCELLENCY THE O'NEILL (<i>Fellow</i> , 1890).
„ MUNSTER, ..	THE RIGHT HON. LORD CASTLETOWN, K.P., LL.D. (<i>Fellow</i> , 1871).
„ CONNAUGHT,	THE VERY REV. JEROME FAHEY (<i>Member</i> , 1890; <i>Fellow</i> , 1909).

AS MEMBERS OF COUNCIL:—

MOST REV. DR. DONNELLY, Bishop of Canea	(<i>Fellow</i> , 1894).
R. A. S. MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A.	(<i>Member</i> , 1895).
GEORGE NOBLE COUNT PLUNKETT, F.S.A.	(<i>Fellow</i> , 1888).
T. J. WESTROPP, M.A., M.R.I.A.	(<i>Fellow</i> , 1893).

As only one name has been proposed for each vacancy, it will be necessary to declare the foregoing as elected to the respective offices for which they have been nominated.

Two Auditors are to be elected to audit the Accounts of the Society for the past year. The present Auditors, Mr. John Cooke and Mr. S. A. O. Fitz Patrick, are eligible for re-election.

The Roll at the end of the year 1909 stands as follows:—

Hon. Fellows,	.	.	.	.	.	.	11
Life Fellows,	.	.	.	.	.	.	51
Fellows,	.	.	.	.	.	.	136
Life Members,	.	.	.	.	.	.	49
Members,	.	.	.	.	.	.	846
Total,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1093

The number on the Roll for 1908 was 1104. The decrease is caused by the deaths noted below, some resignations, and the striking off the Roll of Members the names of all those who had not paid any subscriptions for the previous three years.

The loss sustained by the Society by the death of Members amounts to twenty-four, so far as at present notified. That number includes six Fellows and eighteen Members.

ARTHUR WILLIAM MOORE, C.V.O., M.A., J.P., Speaker of the Manx House of Keys, died at his residence, Woodbourne, Douglas, on November 12th last, at the comparatively early age of fifty-six. He joined the Society as a member in 1891, and attended many of our meetings and excursions in

the south and west when studying local traditions, manners, and customs in connexion with the folk-lore of the Isle of Man. "The Manx Note Book," a quarterly journal devoted to the archæology, folk-lore, and place-names of the Isle of Man, was edited by him. He expended considerable time and money on the production of this valuable work, which ran into three volumes, now out of print. The volume for 1891 was reviewed in the *Journal* of this Society in vol. xxi, pp. 718-9.

Arthur William Moore graduated as B.A. in 1876, and M.A. in 1879, in Trinity College, Cambridge; he was elected a member of the House of Keys in 1898, and was a warm upholder of Manx nationality and the movement for the reform of the Manx constitution. He was the author of "The Surnames and Place-names of the Isle of Man," "The History of the Isle of Man," "The Diocesan History of Sodor and Man" (1893), and the Folk-lore of the Island. His works were of a class which, while invaluable to the elucidation of the past history of the Island, appealed to a much wider sphere of readers than those resident in or connected with the Isle of Man. He was the best-known of modern Manxmen; and though a *littérateur* and scholar, he was essentially a man of affairs and great business capacity—actively interested in all that pertained to the material well-being and prosperity of the Island.

SIR FRANCIS WILLIAM BRADY, BART., was elected a member in 1894. He was called to the Irish Bar in 1846, was appointed Q.C. in 1860, and was County Court Judge and Chairman of Quarter Sessions, County Tyrone. He was a Deputy Lieutenant for the City of Dublin.

MR. EMRA HOLMES was elected a Fellow in 1892; he was born near Bristol, where his father and grandfather were well-known artists. He was for forty-three years connected with the Civil Service, during which time he resided at Newry, Limerick, and other Irish towns. Mr. Holmes was keenly interested in Church Architecture and Antiquities, and was a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society.

MR. WILLIAM EDWARD KELLY, a Deputy Lieutenant for Co. Mayo, was elected a Fellow in 1888, and at the same time was appointed a Hon. Local Secretary for the County Mayo, in which capacity he continued to act until his death. He was elected a Vice-President of the Society for the Province of Connaught for two terms—1900-1902, and 1905-1908.

The REV. JAMES DOWD, elected a Member in 1889, was Hon. Local Secretary for County Limerick, East, 1896-1898, and for the City of Limerick from 1898 till his death. He contributed a paper on "Kilmallock, County Limerick," to the *Journal* of the Society, which was published in vol. xix., p. 204, and was author of a History of Limerick.

THE VEN. ARCHDEACON O'NEILL was at the time of his death one of the oldest Members on the Roll, having been elected 8th July, 1863, when a curate at Marlborough-street Cathedral.

MRS. J. F. SHACKLETON, from the time of her election as Member, in 1892, took a keen interest in the Society. She was rarely absent from the Meetings and Excursions, and contributed a large number of views to the Photographic Collection.

Since the issue of our last Report, two extra volumes have been published by the Society, namely—"Old Irish Folk Music and Songs," by P. W. Joyce, LL.D., Past President. A full review of this volume appeared in the *Journal*, vol. xxxix, pp. 204-7.

"Clonmacnois and its Incrised Slabs," by R. A. S. Macalister, M.A., F.S.A., Professor of Celtic Archaeology, University College, Dublin. A review of this appeared in the *Journal*, vol. xxxix., p. 402.

The complete list of deaths of Fellows and Members is, as far as has been ascertained at this date, as follows :—

FELLOWS.

Barter, Rev. John Berkeley, M.R.I.A.	(1879)
Eden, Rev. Arthur, M.A., Ticehurst, Hawkhurst, Sussex.	(1888)
Holmes, Emra, F.R.H.S., Hillfield, Oundle, Northants.	(1892)
Kelly, William Edward, C.E., D.L., St. Helens, Westport.	(1888)
McGeeney, Very Rev. Canon Patrick, P.P., V.F., Crossmaglen.	(1897)
Smiley, Sir Hugh H., D.L., Drumalis, Larne.	(1892)

MEMBERS.

Bowers, Thomas, Cloncurry House, Gilttown.	(1858)
Brady, Sir Francis W., Bart, 26, Upper Pembroke-street.	(1904)
Corcoran, P., Abbey Gate-street, Galway.	(1896)
Cummins, Rev. Martin, P.P., Clare Galway, Co. Galway.	(1895)
Dowd, Rev. James, M.A., 7, Swansea-terrace, Limerick.	(1889)
Fortescue, Hon. Dudley, 9, Hertford-street, London, W.	(1893)
Hart, Henry Chichester, Carraghbeagh, Portsalon, Letterkenny.	(1890)
Kelly, Ignatius S., Ballyconnellan, Crosshaven.	(1885)
Laverty, John, 58, Brougham-street, Belfast.	(1904)
Lewis, Professor Bunhill, Sunday's Well, Cork.	(1883)
Moore, Arthur William, C.V.O., M.A., J.P., Woodbourne House, Douglas, Isle of Man.	(1891)
Nason, William H., 42, Dawson-street.	(1897)
O'Neill, Ven. Archdeacon, P.P., Clontarf.	(1863)
O'Sullivan, W. J., M.D., Maiville, Lisdoonvarna.	(1904)
Shackleton, Mrs. J. F., Anna Liffey House, Lucan.	(1892)
Stanley, Rev. Wm. F., P.P., Catholic Church, New Brighton.	(1893)
Tarleton, Thomas, 30, Ormond-road, Rathmines.	(1898)
Vandaleur, Hector, Captain, H.M.L. for Co. Clare.	(1900)

HOUSING OF THE SOCIETY.

During the year the question of the Housing of the Society has occupied the serious attention of the Council and of a sub-committee appointed specially to deal with it. A further appeal was made to the Government on 28th July, 1909, pressing the claims of the Society, and requesting that a sum should be granted out of the Irish Development Grant. This application shared the fate of the former ones. The sub-committee hope to be in a position to report more fully on this subject during the year.

The adoption of the Report was proposed by Count Plunkett, and seconded by Mr. John Ribton Garstin. The President, in putting the motion, which was unanimously adopted, referred to the holding of the Summer Meeting in the Isle of Man on the invitation of the local Antiquarian Society, and mentioned that he had just received a very courteous letter from the Town Clerk of Douglas, saying that the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of that Borough joined in promising a very hearty welcome to the Society on the occasion of their visit in July next. The President stated that the reason the invitation was for the 5th July was because of the holding of the very interesting ceremony—the Annual Tynwald—on that day, and it was expected that the members would have the privilege of being present. He referred with regret to the loss the Society had sustained by the death of so many valuable members during the past year, numbering twenty-four, which, apparently, was rather great; but when the number of members (1104) was considered, and the rate of mortality per thousand which obtained in this country was taken into account, it would appear that a loss of from twenty-four to thirty was no more than they should be prepared for each year. The list of resignations for the year was also twenty-four—the smallest number for a long term of years. This must also be regarded as a regularly recurring loss, as, owing to the advancing years of some members, inability to attend our meetings or excursions, and for numerous other reasons, this list must always be considerable. A third and most unsatisfactory cause of the depletion of the Roll arises from a number of members who will neither pay nor resign, and consequently their names have to be struck off. This list in the past year comprises thirteen names; it is not larger than usual, but it is likely to be recurring. This accounts for a loss of sixty-one names from the Roll of Membership, and it would be unwise to assume that it will be less in succeeding years. If we want to hold our own as regards numbers, there should be an addition at least equal to the number lost each year.

During the past year we have had the not inconsiderable number of fifty elected; but, as we have lost sixty-one, as before mentioned, we have therefore a net loss of eleven in the year. Some of our members had no idea that it was necessary to add to our numbers to this extent, but, on the contrary, they thought there were more applicants than we required. It will be seen that it requires all to aid in keeping up the number to enable the coming year not to show a further loss.

On the adoption of the Report, the President declared the following elected to their respective offices:—

AS VICE-PRESIDENTS:

- FOR LEINSTER, .. SIR HENRY BELLINGHAM, BART., B.A. (*Fellow*, 1898).
 „ ULSTER, .. HIS EXCELLENCY THE O'NEILL (*Fellow*, 1890).
 „ MUNSTER, .. THE RIGHT HON. LORD CASTLETOWN, K.P., LL.D. (*Fellow*, 1871).
 „ CONNAUGHT, .. THE VERY REV. JEROME FAHEY (*Member*, 1890; *Fellow*, 1909).

AS MEMBERS OF COUNCIL:

- MOST REV. DR. DONNELLY, Bishop of Canea (*Fellow*, 1894).
 R. A. S. MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A. (*Member*, 1895).
 GEORGE NOBLE COUNT PLUNKETT, F.S.A. (*Fellow*, 1888).
 T. J. WESTROPP, M.A., M.R.I.A. (*Fellow*, 1893).

AS AUDITORS:

- JOHN COOKE, M.A., M.R.I.A.
 S. A. O. FITZ PATRICK.

List of Fellows and Members elected in 1909, and Members transferred to the rank of Fellow:—

HONORARY FELLOWS.

- Coffey, George, A.I.B., M.R.I.A., 5, Harcourt-terrace, Dublin (*Fellow*, 1894).
 Evans, Arthur John, LITT.D., HON. LL.D., Youlbury, Oxford.
 Hartland, Edwin Sidney, F.S.A., Highgarth, Gloucester.
 Howorth, Sir Henry Hoyle, K.C.I.E., 30, Collingham-place, London, S.W.
 Thomas, Ven. David Richard, M.A., F.S.A., The Canonry, St. Asaph.

FELLOWS.

- Banks, Walter, The Homestead, Northwood, Middlesex.
 Fahey, Very Rev. Jerome, P.P., V.O., St. Colman's, Gort (*Member*, 1890).
 Guinness, Mrs. R. N., St. Nessan's, Howth.
 Kelly, John Forrest, 284, W. Housatonic-street, Pittsfield, Mass., U.S.A.
 Mellon, Reuben Edward, 64, Brighton-square, Rathgar, Dublin.
 Morrieson, Lieut.-Col. Henry Walters, R.A., 42, Beaufort Gardens, London, S.W.
 Nixon, William, Solicitor, 10, Whitehall-street, Dundee.
 Nolan, M. J., L.R.C.S.I., District Asylum, Downpatrick (*Member*, 1889).

O'Connor Don, H.M.L., Clonalis, Castlereagh.

Purefoy, Richard Dancer, M.D., F.R.C.S.I., 62, Merrion-square, Dublin (*Member*, 1908),

Somerville, Capt. Henry Boyle Townshend, R.N., Admiralty Survey Office, Tenby, South Wales.

MEMBERS.

Barry, Rev. Robert, P.P., Oldcastle, Co. Meath.

Bowen-Colthurst, Capt. I. C., 2nd Royal Irish Rifles, Downpatrick.

Butler, John Philip, J.P., Southhill, Blackrock, Dublin.

Clarke, William, 4, Jervis-place, Clonmel.

Cooke, Lieut.-Col. Robert Joseph, D.L., Kiltinane, Fethard S.O.

Dixon, Robert Vickers, M.A., 4, Wellington-road, Dublin.

Earle, Rev. Geo. A., Dunkerrin Rectory, King's Co.

Fegan, Rev. Nicholas, Ennistimon, Co. Clare.

Gibbs, John Talbot, Clonard, Westfield-road, Harold's Cross, Dublin.

Hargrave, Miss Jennette, M.D., 8, Upper Mount-street, Dublin.

Hewetson, John, 32, Cornwall-road, Bayswater, London, W.

Joyce, William B., B.A., Hartstonge-street, Limerick.

Kane, William F. de Vismes, M.R.I.A., D.L., Drumreask House, Monaghan.

Lawlor, Patrick, Ballineloher N.S., Lixnaw, Co. Kerry.

Lee, Philip G., M.D., 26, St. Patrick's-hill, Cork.

Lenahan, J. J., 1, St. Edward-terrace, Garville-avenue, Rathgar.

McCoy, Matthew D., Solicitor, 21, Barrington-street, Limerick.

Mayne, Rev. William J., M.A., Auburn, Sydney Parade-avenue, Merrion.

Milne, Rev. A. Kentigern, The Abbey, Fort Augustus, Scotland.

Moore-Brabazon, Chambré, Tara Hall, Tara.

Moore, E. J., Barrister, 1, Mount Saville-terrace, Harold's Cross.

Moore, William Collis, 13, Herbert-road, Sandymount.

Moynagh, Stephen H., Solicitor, Roden-place, Dundalk.

Patch, Mrs. F. R., Fareham, Hants.

Phillips, James Gastrell, Architect, Barnwood-avenue, Gloucester.

Price, George, LL.D., 6, Upper Merrion-street, Dublin.

Shortall, Nicholas, Solicitor, Parliament-street, Kilkenny.

Sides, Rev. John Robert, B.A., The Rectory, Burnfoot, Londonderry.

Sinclair, Thomas, 18, Castle-lane, Belfast.

Smyth, Miss Isabella, 14, Morehampton-road, Dublin.

Tierney, Denis J., 9, Mountpleasant, College-road, Cork.

Wallace, Joseph N. A., Bellevue, Limerick.

Webster, Rev. Charles A., B.D., Rector of Marmullane, Passage West, Cork.

Wherry, Joseph, Northland Arms Hotel, Dungannon.

In accordance with the General Rules of the Society, No. 11, the Treasurer read out the list of Fellows and Members owing for two and three years, to be printed in the *Journal*, as follows:—

LIST OF MEMBERS OWING FOR THREE YEARS.

FELLOW.

Maylor, James Ennis, Harristown, Ballymitty, Co. Wexford.

MEMBERS.

Ball, H. Houston, 21, Wimbourne Gardens, Ealing, London, W.
Brown, Thomas, Mill House, Dundalk.
Condon, James E. S., LL.D., 10, Herbert-place, Dublin.
Couvoisier, Mrs., 5, Windsor Gardens, Belfast.
Donovan, St. John H., J.P., Seafield, The Spa, Tralee.
Gallagher, Miss Jane, Eglisli, Dungannon, Co. Tyrone.
Knabenshue, Samuel S., American Consul, Belfast.
Mara, Bernard S., Tullamore.
McCracken, George, Seafield House, Bangor, Co. Down.
O'Grady, John Shiel, J.P., Rickardstown, Newbridge.
O'Crowley, James J., The Mall, Youghal.
Pirie-Conerney, Rev. John, M.A., Dunfanaghy, Letterkenny.

LIST OF MEMBERS OWING FOR TWO YEARS.

FELLOWS.

Smith, Joseph, 22, Arpley-street, Warrington.
Uniacke, R. G. F., Foxhall, Upminster.

MEMBERS.

Burke, Rev. W. P., St. Maryville, Cahir.
Craig, Wm. A., Frascati, Blackrock.
Doyne, Miss M. J., Rossbegli, Shrewsbury-road, Dublin.
Deane, Arthur, Public Museum, Royal-avenue, Belfast.
Elliott, Rev. Anthony, M.A., Killiney Glebe, Co. Dublin.
Felix, Rev. John, Cilcain, Mold, N. Wales.
Hamilton, Rev. James, M.A., Clara.
Jones, Rev. Thomas E. H., The Manse, Glarryford, Belfast.
Kernan, George, 50, Dame-street, Dublin.
Keirnan, Thomas, Leitrim Lodge, Dalkey.
Monahan, Miss M. A., 63, Northumberland-road, Dublin.
McCarte, James, 51, St. George's Hill, Everton, Liverpool.
McConnell, Sir Robert, Bart., Ardaneagh, Belfast.
Pim, Alfred Cecil, Monarna, White Abbey, Co. Antrim.
Phillips, G. T., Harrowville, Kilkenny.
Roberts, William Johnstone, 24, Bachelor's-walk.

APPENDIX TO REPORT.

REPORT ON THE PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTION FOR 1909.¹

The collection during the year has been enriched by photographs of a number of new localities. In the matter of earthworks, for long rarely represented in our photographs, we are now in possession of a very typical series. During the year we were given 139 permanent photographs, 62 by the curator, 35 (besides 7 solio prints and several duplicates), by Mr. Hubert T. Knox; also 42 by the Society, from negatives lent by Dr. George Fogerty, R.N. The series now amount to 2602 permanent photographs.

CLARE.—Gleninagh, Caher; Inchovea castle, near Kilfenora; Inisdadrum church, Fergus estuary (4); Mortyclough fort, souterrain; Parknabinnia, near Corofin, the 3rd dolmen; Quin, Franciscan friary (6); Shanmuckinish castle, near Ballyvaughan; Tulla, church (2); Tullagha castle, near Kilfenora—22 in all.

GALWAY.—Aranmore, Arkyn castle, Dun Aengus (2); Dun Oghil (4); Killarney cross and ruins (3); Manister Kieran, Teglath Enna (2); Temple an cheatrait aluinn, Temple Benen, wayside monuments; Ballymoat mote, near Tuam; Doonbally castle and earthwork—18 in all.

KERRY.—Aghadoe, round tower and church (4); Ardferf, cathedral of St. Brendan (6); Ballingarry castle (Clanmaurice); Ballybunnion castle, Ballycarbery castle, Cahirciveen, (2); Browne's castle (near Rattoo); Cahergel (Cahirciveen) (3); Doonbinnia cliff fort (Corcaguiny); Doon-Eask fort (Dingle); Doonywealaun cliff fort (Ventry); Ferriters castle; Kilconly church (Ballybunnion); Lashareigh ogham-stone (2); Leck castle (Iraghticonnor); Lisheencankeera cliff fort (near Ballingarry); Lissadooneen cliff fort and pillar-stones (near Beal) (2); Lough Curraun, or Church Island, church and inscribed slabs (5); Rattoo, round tower and church (2); Abbey (2)—41 in all.

LIMERICK.—Askeaton castle, Franciscan friary (6); Carrigogunnell castle (4); Clochavarra dolmen; Duntrileague dolmen (4)—15 in all.

MAYO.—Achill, O'Malley's castle, Kildawnet church; Bohola mote (3); Cappagh graves; Carrowcastle earthwork (near Bohola); Clare Island abbey and monument (2); Doon-Ooghacappul cliff fort; Doon-Ooghaniska cliff fort; Grania Uaile's castle, Toberfeelabreede, cashel, hut, and well (2); Cruckaunnagan fort; Killedan cell and graveyard; Tullamaine mote—17 in all.

ROSCOMMON.—Carnabreckna (near Roscommon); Cashlaun fort (near Tulsk); Tulsk fort—3 in all.

SLIGO.—Tobberaher, sculpture of Crucifixion.

TIPPERARY.—Ballyboe mote (near Kilsheelan) (2); Clonmel, bargain-stone, military tower, St. Mary's church (3); Cloghcarrigan pillar (near Kilsheelan); Fethard, gate; Kilsheelan mote; Layganore earthwork (near last); Loughmoe castle and church (5)—16 in all.

WATERFORD.—Kincor castle.

WESTMEATH.—Meehaun dolmen—2 in all.

¹ Continued from vol. xxxix., p. 110, by Mr. T. J. Westropp, *Hon. Keeper*.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED IN 1909.

- American Antiquarian Society, vol. xix., Parts 2, 3.
 Annales des Facultés des Lettres de L'Université d'Aix, tome ii., Nos. 1-4; de Droit, tome ii., Nos. 1, 2.
 Antiquary, The, for 1909.
 Archæologia Cambrensis, vol. ix., Parts 1-4.
 Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, vol. vi., Part 2.
 Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society Transactions, vol. xxxi., Parts 1, 2.
 British and American Archæological Society of Rome, vol. iv., No. 2.
 British Archæological Association Journal, vol. xiv., Parts 3, 4; vol. xv., Part 1.
 Cambridge Antiquarian Society, New Ser., No. 2, Proceedings, Nos. 52-54.
 Cambridge and Huntingdon Archæological Society Transactions, vol. ii., Part 3; vol. iii., Parts 1, 2.
 Chester and North Wales Archæological Historic Society, New Ser., vol. xv.; vol. xvi., Part 1.
 Cork Historical and Archæological Society, vol. xiv., No. 80; vol. xvi., Nos. 81-84.
 Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskabs Shrifter, 1908.
 Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club, vol. xxix.
 Epigraphia Indica, vol. ix., Parts 6, 7; vol. x., Part 1.
 Exploration of Bushey Cavern, by C. Peabody.
 Folk-Lore, vol. xix., No. 4; vol. xx., Nos. 1-3.
 Fornvänen, 1907, Antikvarisk Tidskrift, and 1908.
 Galway Archæological Society Journal, vol. v., Nos. 3, 4., vol. vi., No. 1.
 Glasgow Archæological Society Report, 1907-1908.
 Institution of Civil Engineers of Ireland Transactions, vol. xxxv.
 Irish Builder for 1909.
 Kildare Archæological Society Journal, vol. vi., Nos. 1, 2.
 Louth Archæological Society, vol. ii., No. 2.
 Numismatic Chronicle, 4th Ser., Nos. 32-35.
 Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Parts, for 1909.
 Revue Celtique, vol. xxx., Nos. 1-4.
 Royal Anthropological Institute Journal, vol. xxxviii., Jan. to Dec., 1908; vol. xxxix., Jan. to June, 1909.
 Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland Journal, vol. lxx., No. 260; vol. lxxi., Nos. 261-263.
 Royal Institute of British Architects Journal, vol. xvi., Parts 1-4; Kalendar, 1909-1910.
 Royal Institution of Cornwall Journal, vol. xvii., Part 2, 3.
 Royal Irish Academy Proceedings, vol. xxvii., Section C, Nos. 9-18.
 Smithsonian Institution Report, 1907, No. 1834; Nos. 1844-9, Report, 1908.
 Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, tome xxiii., liv. 3, 4; tome xxiii. liv. 1, 2; Annuaire, tome xx., 1909; Année, 1909.
 Society of Antiquaries of London Proceedings, vol. xxii., No. 1; General Index, 2nd Ser., vols. i. to xx.
 Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, 3rd Ser., vol. iii., pp. 349-376; vol. iv., pp. 1-124; Archæologia Aeliana, 3rd Ser., vol. v.
 Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. xlii.
 Society of Architects' Year Book, 1909, Journal, vol. ii., Nos. 17-24; vol. iii.; Nos. 25, 26.
 Somersetshire Archæological Society, 3rd Ser., vol. xiv.

Surrey Archæological Collections, vol. xxii.

Sussex Archæological Collections, vol. lii.

The History of the Diocese of St. Asaph. By the Ven. D. R. Thomas, M.A., F.S.A.

The Life and Work of Bishop Davies and Salesbury. By the Ven. D. R. Thomas, M.A., F.S.A.

Thoresby Society, vol. xiii., No. 39; vol. xvii., No. 38.

Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine, vol. xxxv., No. 111.

Yorkshire Archæological Journal, vol. xx., Part 79.

January 25th, 1910.

THE EVENING MEETING was held at 8.30 o'clock in the Society's Rooms, the President in the Chair.

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

“The Duel between two of the O'Connors of Offaly, in Dublin Castle, on the 12th September, 1582.” By Lord Walter Fitz Gerald, J.P., M.R.I.A.

“The Patron Saint of Malahide.” By Lord Walter Fitz Gerald, J.P., M.R.I.A.

“The Charter and Statutes of the College, Kilkenny.” By R. A. S. Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

The Meeting then adjourned.

EVENING MEETINGS.

AN EVENING MEETING of the Society was held in the SOCIETY'S ROOMS, 6, ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN, on Tuesday, the 22nd of February, 1910, at 8.30 o'clock, the President, ROBERT COCHRANE, I.S.O., LL.D., F.S.A., in the Chair, when the following paper was read :—

“The Dolmens of County Tipperary.” By H. S. Crawford, B.E., *Member* (illustrated by lantern slides).

It was referred to the Council for publication.

The Meeting then adjourned.

AN EVENING MEETING of the Society was held in the SOCIETY'S ROOMS, 6, ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN, on Tuesday, the 29th of March, 1910, at 8.30 o'clock, the President, ROBERT COCHRANE, I.S.O., LL.D., F.S.A., in the Chair. The following papers were read :—

“House and Shop Signs in Dublin in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.” By Dr. H. F. Berry, I.S.O., *Fellow*.

“St. Christopher in Irish Art.” By F. J. Bigger, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*. (Illustrated by lantern slides.)

“The Name and Family of Ouseley.” By Richard J. Kelly, J.P., Barrister-at-Law, *Member*.

They were referred to the Council for publication; and the Meeting adjourned.

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND
FOR THE YEAR 1910.

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

Papers.

HOUSE AND SHOP SIGNS IN DUBLIN
IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES.

BY HENRY F. BERRY, I.S.O., LITT.D.

[Read MARCH 29, 1910.]

THIS communication to the Society cannot be more appropriately prefaced than by quoting Dean Swift's remarks on the subject of house signs in Dublin, contained in his "Examination of certain abuses, corruptions, and enormities in the city of Dublin," printed here in 1732¹—"I have not observed the wit and fancy of this town so much employed in any one article as that of contriving variety of signs to hang over houses where punch is to be sold. The bowl is represented full of punch, the ladle stands erect in the middle, supported sometimes by one, and sometimes by two animals, whose feet rest upon the edge of the bowl. The animals are sometimes one black lion, and sometimes a couple; sometimes a single eagle and sometimes a spread one; and we often meet a crow, a swan, a bear, or a cock, in the same posture . . . The signs of two angels hovering in the air, and with their right hands

¹ Prose Works of Jonathan Swift (Bohn's Standard Library), vol. iii., p. 272.

supporting a crown, is met with in several parts of this city; and hath often given me great offence."

In the subjoined list of signs, the Cock and Punch Bowl, in Charles Street, the Black Lion and Punch Bowl, on the Blind Quay, the Cock and Punch Bowl Tavern, on Cork Hill, the Crown and Punch Bowl, in Dame Street, and the Raven and Punch Bowl, in Temple Bar, must have been some of the identical houses whose signs so exercised the soul of the wayward Dean. The first-named in Charles Street, off Ormond Quay, must frequently have met his eye, as he passed on his visits to Stella, during her residence on the Quay.

From the time of the appearance of the "Diary of a Dublin Lady in the reign of George II" (*Journal*, 1898, vol. xxviii., p. 141), the appendix to which contains a list of the signs mentioned in the diary, I have, from time to time, as occasion offered, collected from various sources signs used here during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A list of these, arranged by streets and lanes, giving the date where mention is found (which may be years after the erection of the sign), with the name of the occupier of the house at the time, is appended. The list is but a small one, comparatively few of the streets in the city being represented; and it is printed in the hope that other members may be able to add to it. In many instances dates were not supplied, but in these cases it may safely be assumed that the signs were in use during the eighteenth century.

The oldest sign appears to be the Blue Bell, in Cook Street, said to date from 1600, and the house bore it up to at least 1731. Next comes New Cromblin, in Corn Market, 1612; and then the Three Cups, in Winetavern Street, 1613. Of course, if the "Carbrie House," Skinners' Row, which was a private residence, be considered as a sign, these last-named must yield place to it, as having been, for some time, from the early part of the sixteenth century, the town house of the Earls of Kildare. The latest date in the list is 1813, when Eade's Tavern in Hoey's Court was closed. This last case, where the house is distinguished by the proprietor's name, frequently occurs; and though not signs in the ordinary sense, it seemed better to include any such in the list.

The most ancient signs appearing in the largest numbers in particular streets are to be found in Cook, Fishamble, and Winetavern Streets; St. John's, St. Michan's, and St. Nicholas' Within parishes; St. John's Lane and Wood Quay, where nearly all are of the seventeenth century.

The catalogue has been useful in fixing earlier dates than those assigned to certain streets in Dr. M'Cready's valuable work, "Dublin Street Names Dated and Explained." In his introduction, the compiler states that the dates given in the work are only the earliest which he has been able to ascertain from sources accessible to him at the time;

and adds that others may have it in their power to discover *earlier* dates. Acting on this, I supply earlier dates found for the following:—

Arundel Court,	.	.	.	.	1703.
Copper Alley,	.	.	.	.	1641.
Mary Street,	.	.	.	.	1722.
Meath Street,	.	.	.	.	1717.
Mountrath Street,	.	.	.	.	1727.

In examining the signs themselves, it will be found that the number of "Heads" far exceeds any other class. This particular form was mainly adopted by the publishing and bookselling trade, and so has a distinctively classical and literary character. There are just thirty in the list, and they include such names as Homer, Virgil, Cicero, Erasmus, Shakespeare, Milton, Ben Jonson, Swift, Pope, and Newton. The number *three* appears to have been specially favoured in Dublin, and in addition to three cats, goats, pigeons, nags, stags, wolves, blackbirds, and herrings, there are three keys, hats, candlesticks, legs, cups, shoes, and even bonnets. The Lions in vogue were black, red, white, golden, and yellow. The *golden* colour was much in favour, being associated with dragons, cups, eagles, keys, a ring, a ball, a flagon, an anchor, and a stocking.

"Black and all Black" as a farrier's sign seems appropriate, but the connexion between the components of the sign in each of the following cases is not quite apparent:—Blue Hand and Rainbow, Blue Tea-tub and Lace Lappet, Dove and Pendant, Golden Hammer and Heart, Horse and Magpie. The Struggler is a curious sign, which represents a man *struggling* to keep his feet on a terrestrial globe. There is at present appearing in the *Antiquary* a series of articles on "The London Signs and their Associations," by J. Holden MacMichael, which furnishes a large amount of information as to the origin and evolution of signs. So numerous are the signs being dealt with, that the end of letter B has not yet been reached, though the articles have been running for a considerable period.

Residents in the south side of Dublin in the 'sixties and 'seventies will remember the old Bleeding Horse, in Camden Street, one of the very few of the old signs that survived. The sign itself was erected on a post in the roadway, in front of the house, which stood at the junction of Camden and Charlotte Streets. At present there are in the city a Stag's Head, a Royal Oak, and a Golden Key.

The authorities for the subjoined list of signs include the following:—Sir John Gilbert's "Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin," and his "History of Dublin"; Dean Swift's Works; old wills; a MS. *Diary* of Mr. William Fairbrother (1765-71); a series of articles in the *Irish*

Builder (1886-96) on the Parishes of St. Audoen, St. Bride, St. Michael, and St. Nicholas within the walls; the publications of the Parish Register Society of Dublin; Papers in the *Journal R. S. A. I.* on the Merchants' Gild, the Barber Surgeons' Gild, and the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin; publications of the Historical MSS. Commission; Harris's "Dublin"; *Dublin Penny Journal*; Miss A. Peter's "Sketches of Old Dublin"; Dunton's "Dublin Scuffle," 1691; and the records of the Felt Makers' Gild of Dublin, now in the Record Office.

LIST OF SIGNS.

	ANGLESEY STREET.	Mention found.
King's Arms,	Tavern,	1763
	ARBOUR HILL.	
Organ House, . . . . .	. . . . .	—
	ARUNDEL COURT.	
	(Without St. Nicholas' Gate.)	
Blue Ball,	Dr. John Whalley, printer; almanacs and astrology,	1703
Munster King,	Fegan, coal,	1750-70
	ASTON'S QUAY.	
Sun,	Coal,	1750-70
Three Cats,	Coal,	1750-70
	AUNGIER STREET.	
Angel,	Carpenter,	1750-70
Ram, . . . . .	. . . . .	1750-70
	BACHELOR'S WALK.	
Bear, . . . . .	. . . . .	1750-70
Crown and Cushion,	Benj. Manifold, math. instrument maker,	1750-70
Red Lion,	Inn,	1750-70
	BACK LANE.	
Bricklayers' Arms, . . . . .	. . . . .	17th cent.
Cradle, . . . . .	. . . . .	1657
Donovan's Arms,	Residence of Jeremy Donovan, M.P., 1689 (known as such to middle of eighteenth century).	
Old Mother Redcap,	Tavern. Robert Burrell,	1700-40
Ship (No. 35),	Rich. Campsie, linen draper,	1780
Spinning Wheel,	Jonathan Gowan, bookseller,	1734-56
Tea Kettle, . . . . .	. . . . .	1750-70
	BALLYROUGH LANE.	
Coach and Horses, . . . . .	. . . . .	1765

	BLIND QUAY.	Mention found.
Black Lion and Punch Bowl,	.	1742
Fountain, .	Tavern, .	1767
Goose and Gridiron, .	.	1748
Hand and Pen, .	.	1729
Hare and Hound, .	.	—
Ligonier's Head, .	Tavern, .	1751
Mermaid, .	Capt. Ed. Ford, .	1667, and in 1742
Philosophers' Heads, .	Bookseller, .	1728
Ship, .	.	1687
Swan, .	Tavern, .	—
St. Dunstan, .	Coffee House, .	1707
Three Tuns, .	(Demised to John Chaigneau), .	1724

BLIND QUAY (UPPER).

Sun, .	Music publisher, .	—
Virginia Planter, .	Lundy Foot, tobacconist, .	1758

BOLTON STREET.

Boot, .	Inn, .	1742
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BRIDE'S ALLEY.

Cheshire Cheese, .	Ironmonger, .	1750-70
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BRIDE STREET.

Bacon's, .	Inn, .	1657
Barber's Pole, .	Inn, .	—
Bee Hive, .	Linen draper, .	cir. 1750
Cock, .	.	1746
Cross Keys, .	.	1750-70
Golden Eagle, .	Linen draper, .	cir. 1750
Golden Key, .	Aldn. Donovan, cambrics, .	cir. 1750
Green Man, .	.	18th cent.
Harp, .	Inn, .	—
Harry the Eighth, .	Inn, .	1680
Maecenas Head, .	Wm. Williamson, stationer and bookseller, .	1763
Queen's Head, .	Inn, .	1676-1800
Raven, .	Inn, .	—
Red Lion, .	Inn, .	—
Robin Hood, .	Inn, .	1728-1800
Royal Stirrup, .	Peter Vandeleur, saddler, .	—
Salmon, .	John Hunt, silkweaver, .	1744
Spinning Wheel, .	Denis Costigan, .	1747
Squirrel, .	M'Donnell and Cummin, .	1746
Star, .	Inn, .	—
Taylors' Hall, .	And. Hicks, tailor, .	up to 1727
Turk's Head, .	Inn, .	—
Three Goats' Heads, .	Inn, .	—
Three Neats' Tongues and Palton, .	And. Hicks, tailor, .	from 1727
Wheatsheaf, .	Benj. Hunt, silks, damasks, .	1741

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	BRIDGE STREET.	Mention found.
Brazen Head,	Inn, 1668. In 1696, Wm. Witherington.	
Crown,	Tavern,	1751
Cuckold's Post,	Ald. Peter Wybrants,	1669
Sugar Loaf,	House of John Desminiers, lord mayor,	1666
	BROWN STREET.	
George and Dragon,	Inn,	1750-70
	CAPEL STREET.	
Blue Tea-tub and Lace Lappet,	Lace,	1750
Dial,	Knox, cap shop,	1750-70
Indian Queen, . . . . .	. . . . .	1729
Ram, . . . . .	. . . . .	18th cent.
Unicorn, . . . . .	. . . . .	1742
	CASTLE LANE (NOW PALACE STREET).	
Earl of Galway's Arms, . . . . .	. . . . .	1708
King's Arms	Tavern,	1747
Nag's Head,	Inn,	1731
	CASTLE STREET.	
Bear and Ragged Staff,	(Rich. Edwards, tailor,	1668
	(Wm. North, girdler,	1669
Blackamoor's Head,	D. Thompson, printer,	1714
Carteret's Head,	Tavern,	1750
Castle, ¹	Tavern,	1680
Catlin's,	Tavern,	1754
College Arms,	Sam. Helsham, printer,	1685
Dove and Pendant,	Aprons,	1750-70
Drapier's Head,	Tavern,	--
Duke's Head,	Tavern. Widow Lisle,	1699
Feathers,	Tavern. Formerly Ald. Nich. Ball's,	Chas. II.
	(In 1735, "Plume of Feathers.")	
Garter,	Tavern,	1696
Golden Cup,	Nath. Goost, distiller, formerly Wm. Craushaw,	1675
Golden Stocking,	Anderson, stockings,	1750-70
Harry of Monmouth,	Tavern,	1735
Hen and Chickens,	Tavern,	1770
Horse Shoe,	Samuel Dancer, printer,	1663
Lambeck's Head,	Downs, glover,	1750-70
London,	Tavern,	1675 and 1704
Orange Tree,	Jas. Hodson, grocer,	cir. 1750
Rose,	Tavern. (Friendly Brothers met here),	1765-71
Royal Leg,	Hosiery,	1750-70
Salmon,	Henry Saunders, publisher,	1764

¹ In 1675, the house then called the "Castle," in Castle Street, formerly called "Corynham's Inns," was leased by the churchwardens of St. Werburgh's to Chief Baron Byssie.—(Deeds of St. Werburgh's.)

CASTLE STREET— <i>continued</i> .				Mention found.
Shakespeare's Head,	.	Thos. Benson, publisher,	.	1728
Spinning Wheel,	.	Nich. Workman, goldsmith,	.	1746
Stationers' Arms,	.	{ Eliphal Dobson, publisher,	.	Jas. II.
	.	{ Stern Brock, bookseller,	.	1737
Thatched House,	.	Tavern,	.	1728
Three Keys,	.	John Vaughan,	.	1706
Three Laced Shoes,	.	Samuel Vaughan,	.	1706
Tom's Coffee House,	.	.	Demolished	1710
Wandering Jew,	.	Cassandra Fyan, widow,	.	1669

CHARLES STREET (ORMOND QUAY).

Cock and Punch Bowl,	.	.	.	1750-70
Golden Key,	.	.	.	—
Reindeer,	.	Thomas Hutchinson, publisher,	.	1753

CHRIST CHURCH LANE.

Duke's Head,	.	.	.	1669
Fountain,	.	Tavern,	.	1720
Joe's Coffee House,	.	Arthur Clarke,	.	1762
King's Head,	.	.	.	Chas. II.

CHRIST CHURCH YARD.

Bear,	.	Tavern,	.	1723
Cross Keys,	.	Tavern. Thos. Ryan,	.	1710
Four Courts Coffee House,	.	.	.	1783
London Coffee House,	.	.	.	1741

CHURCH STREET.

Blackamoor's Head,	.	Mich. Leeds,	.	1709
Black Bull,	.	.	.	1734
Blue Bell,	.	{ Leased by city to Geo. Kennedy,	.	1640-1685
	.	{ „ „ „ „ Mich. Leeds,	.	1706
Pied Horse,	.	Adjoining St. Michan's Church ;		
		pulled down when room re-		
		quired for rebuilding the church,	.	1683
Plough,	.	John Canes,	.	1696
Sun,	.	Tea,	.	1750-70

CLARENDON MARKET.

Merry Shepherd,	.	Firewood,	.	1750-70
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COLE'S ALLEY (CASTLE STREET).

Fleece,	.	Burke, clothier,	.	1750-70
Hen and Chickens,	.	Staymaker,	.	1750-70
Royal Chop House,	.	Tavern,	.	1768

COLLEGE GREEN.

Apollo,	.	Circulating library. Vincent Dowling,	.	1798
Bear,	.	Tavern,	.	1741
Black Horse,	.	Win. Fownes,	.	1695
Corelli's Head,	.	Neal & Mainwaring, music pub ^l .,	.	1737
Hughes's Club,	.	.	.	1787
Jack's Coffee House,	.	.	.	1706

COLLEGE GREEN— <i>continued</i> .				Mention found.
Lord Primate's Head,	.	Wm. Winter, bookseller,	.	1685
Parliament Coffee House,	.	.	.	1706
Sceptre and Cushion,	.	.	.	1760
Three Pigeons,	.	.	.	—
COOK STREET.				
Angel and Bible,	.	Path. Lord, printer,	.	1750
Baggot's Tavern,	.	.	.	1635
Blue Bell,	.	.	.	1600-1731
(In 1692, demised by the city to John Norton, brewer.)				
Cock Coffee House,	.	.	.	Chas. II.
Grasshopper,	.	Plunkett, furs,	.	1750-70
Harp,	.	.	.	1697
Old Robin Hood,	.	.	.	1694
Ship,	.	Tavern,	.	1635
Struggler	.	Tavern,	.	1770
(The sign was a man struggling to keep his position on a terrestrial globe.)				
„ (New),	.	Tavern,	.	—
Sun,	.	Inn. Wm. Daly,	.	1697
COOMBE.				
Black Bull,	.	.	.	1653
Cock and Shuttle,	.	.	.	1750-70
Golden Last,	.	.	.	1685
Spread Eagle,	.	Staymaker,	.	1750-70
COPPER ALLEY (FISHAMBLE STREET).				
Crown,	.	.	.	1727
Printing Press,	.	Sam. Powell, printer,	.	1717
Red Lion,	.	Tavern,	.	1641
Royal Arms,	.	And. Crooke, printer,	.	1693
Unicorn,	.	Tavern,	.	—
CORK HILL.				
Bible,	.	Exshaw, publishers,	.	prior to 1760
Cock and Punch Bowl,	.	Tavern,	.	1735
Eagle,	.	Tavern,	.	1723
Globe,	.	Tavern,	.	to 1729
Hoop,	.	Tavern,	.	1733-55
Jacob's Ladder,	.	.	.	1701
Lucas's Coffee House,	.	.	.	—
Pope's Head,	.	Sleater, publisher,	.	1760
St. Lawrence's Coffee House,	.	.	.	—
Sir Isaac Newton's Head,	.	J. Brooks, engraver,	.	—
(Afterwards called "Vandyke's Head.")				
Solyman's Coffee House,	.	.	.	1691
Three Cranes,	.	Tavern,	.	—
CORN MARKET.				
Bear,	.	Tavern,	.	1708-9
Black Lion,	.	.	.	1750-70
Frying Pan,	.	.	.	17th cent.

CORN MARKET— <i>continued</i> .				Mention found.
George,	John Stubbs (formerly Ed. Page). Tavern,			1696
Hibernian Chop House,				1769
New Cromblin,				1612
Ship,	Linen,			1750-70
CRAMPTON COURT.				
Exchange Coffee House,				1766
Little Dublin Coffee House,				—
CRANE LANE (DAME STREET).				
Bear,	Tavern,			—
Bristol,	Tavern,			1765-71
Doctor's Head,	Tavern,			1707
Golden Ring,	Geo. Clark, jeweller,			cir. 1750
CROCKER LANE.				
Harrow,				1720
CROW STREET.				
Blue Door,	Dennis, artist,			after 1756
CUFFE STREET.				
Mash Cive,	Bigley,			1750-70
CUSTOM HOUSE YARD.				
Nag's Head,	Owned by Stephen Palmer, vintner; held by Henry Borhan,			1667
CUT PURSE ROW.				
Red Lion,	And. M'Gee,			1750-70
Turkey Cock (No. 12),	John Palmer, haberdasher,			1780
DAME'S GATE.				
Three Cranes Tavern,	Stephen Palmer,			1654-55
DAME STREET.				
Addison's Head,				1729
Angel and Bible,	{ Ph. Crampton, publisher, Peter Wilson, publisher,			— 1748
Bible,	Ed. Exshaw, publisher,			1760
Blackamoor's Head,				cir. 1750
Cicero's Head,				—
Crown and Punch Bowl,				1758
Daly's Club House,				—
Duchess's Head,	Bookseller,			—
Duko's Head,	Tavern,			Jas. II.
Eagle,	Jas. Manly, jeweller,			—
Erasmus Head,	Crampton, publisher,			1747
Fan,	Bookseller,			—
Gay's Head,	Peter Wilson, publisher,			1746
Golden Ball and Ring,	Abm. Bradley, publisher,			1731
Half Moon,	Ale house,			1762

DAME STREET— <i>continued</i> .				Mention found.
Hercules,	.	.	William Smith, bookseller,	1728
Homer's Head,	.	.	Publisher,	1752
Indian Queen,	.	.	Publisher,	1726
King's Arms and Two Bibles,	.	.	Bradley, publisher,	1750-70
Newton's Head,	.	.	Publisher,	1756
Olive Tree,	.	.	.	—
Robin Hood,	.	.	Tavern,	1731
Rose and Bottle,	.	.	Tavern,	1748-60
Rose and Crown,	.	.	Bookseller,	Chas. II.
Royal Coat,	.	.	Aaron Crossley, herald painter,	1705
Seven Stars,	.	.	Publisher,	—
Shakespeare's Head,	.	.	G. Risk, publisher,	1732
Shuttle,	.	.	John Watson, silk-weaver,	1777
Still,	.	.	An usquebaugh house,	1767
Sun,	.	.	Ale house,	1761
Swift's Head,	.	.	Publisher,	1766
Virgil's Head,	.	.	Sam. Watson, publisher,	1770
White Hart,	.	.	Tavern,	1714

EARL STREET (SOUTH).

Golden Key,	.	.	Grocer,	.	.	cir. 1750
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ESSEX BRIDGE.

Cocoa Tree Coffee House,	—
Old Sot's Hole,	.	.	Mrs. Swindle, chop house,	.	early 18th cent.	

ESSEX GATE.

Bible and Crown,	.	.	Publisher,	.	.	1710
Crown,	.	.	Tavern,	.	.	1710
Pope's Head,	.	.	Publisher,	.	.	1743

ESSEX STREET.

ESSEX STREET.						
Bacon's Coffee House,	.	.	.	.	.	1740
Bible,	.	.	Publisher,	.	.	Wm. III.
Black Lion,	.	.	Tavern,	.	.	—
City Chop House,	.	.	.	.	.	1775
Crown,	.	.	Tavern,	.	.	1706
Custom House,	.	.	Tavern,	.	.	1707-30
Dempster's Coffee House,	.	.	.	.	.	1706
Derham's Tavern,	.	.	.	.	.	1765-71
Dublin Coffee House,	.	.	.	.	.	1747
Elephant,	.	.	Tavern,	.	.	—
Globe,	.	.	Tavern,	.	.	1730
Golden Fleece,	.	.	Jason Hassard, draper,	.	.	before 1740

(He moved to Skinner Row, where he died, 1752.)

Golden Peruke,	.	.	Armytage, shirts,	.	.	1750-70
Merchants' Coffee House,	.	.	.	.	.	1746
Norris's Coffee House,	.	.	.	.	.	1747
Ram and Sugar Loaf,	.	.	Whitmore, grocer,	.	.	1748
Royal Garter,	.	.	.	.	.	1768
Three Nags' Heads,	.	.	.	.	.	1746
Three Tuns,	.	.	Tavern,	.	.	1706
Two Bibles,	.	.	Grierson, publisher,	.	.	1709
Walsh's Coffee House,	.	.	.	.	.	1747

	EUSTACE STREET.	Mention found.
Eagle,	Tavern,	1765-71
Elephant,	Tavern,	1798
Punch Bowl, . . . . .	. . . . .	1727
Three Stags' Heads,	Tavern,	1754
Ship,	Tavern,	1758

EXCHEQUER (CHEQUER) LANE.

Black and All Black,	Robert Simpson, farrier,	cir. 1750
Draper's Head,	John Flinn, wainscoting,	1750-70

FISHAMBLE STREET.

Bell, . . . . .	. . . . .	1666
Bull's Head,	Tavern,	1706-54
Crown,	Tavern,	—
Fleece,	Tavern,	1666
George,	Tavern (Levieu),	1710
George and Green Posts,	Dan. Hogan, cook,	18th cent.
Golden Key,	Lau. Saul, grocer,	1748
Green Man,	J. Kinnear, printer,	1785
King's Head,	Tavern. Thady Conner,	1675
(In 1730, the Hell Fire Club met here.)		
London,	Tavern,	1667
(Destroyed by fire, 1729.)		
Ormond Arms,	Tavern,	1639-71
Ossory,	Tavern,	1664
Post Office Coffee House, . . . . .	. . . . .	—
Queen's Head,	Tavern. Margaret Surdevile,	1684
Ram, . . . . .	. . . . .	1672
Roebuck Tavern,	John Husband,	1720
(He was churchwarden of St. John's.)		
Swan,	Tavern,	1639
Three Tuns,	Tavern. James King,	1742

ELMET STREET.

Blue Door,	Claude Duplain, gold lace,	18th cent.
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FORDHAM'S ALLEY (COOMBE).

Spread Eagle,	M'Guire, staymaker,	1750-70
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FOWNES' STREET.

Gay's Head,	Peter Wilson, music publisher,	1739
King's Arms,	1764

FRANCIS STREET.

Blackamoor's Head, . . . . .	. . . . .	cir. 1750
Green Tree,	Draper,	1750-70
Greyhound,	Rich. Spear, silk mercer,	1774
Half Moon and Seven Stars,	Nat. Rayner, poplin,	1750-70
Peacock,	Poplin,	1750-70
Salmon,	Mrs. Beasley, poplin,	1750-70
Spinning Wheel,	John Lincoln, mercer,	18th cent.
Three Blackbirds,	Cosgrave, house painter,	1750-70
Weavers' Arms,	Tavern,	1767

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	FRAPPER LANE.	Mention found.
Black Horse,	.	17th cent.
	GEORGE'S LANE.	
Coach and Horses,	.	1742
Windmill,	Flour,	1750-70
	GOAT'S ALLEY (STEPHEN STREET).	
Tea-tub,	Milliner,	1750-70
	GRAFTON STREET.	
City Tavern,	.	1787
Black Lion,	Inn (corner of Anne Street),	1762
	HAMMOND LANE.	
Cross Keys,	.	1750-70
	HENRY STREET.	
Coach and Horses,	.	1750-70
	HIGH STREET.	
Blue Leg,	Inn,	1750-70
Cock,	Bootmaker,	1750-70
Flying Horse,	Mark Quin,	—
Golden Flagon,	Tavern,	1701
Keys,	.	—
King's Arms,	Patk. Tallant,	1659-78
King Charles' Head,	.	1688
King's Head,	Geo. Golding, publisher,	1740
Patt's Coffee House,	(Opposite St. Nich. church),	1699
Red Cross,	George Colley, apoth.,	1666
Red Lion,	Tavern,	1714
Rising Sun (No. 40),	Thos. Potter,	1780
Rose and Crown,	.	—
Royal Peruke,	Dugan, shoemaker,	1750-70
Salmon,	.	—
Sun,	Ed. Hendrick, woollen draper,	1737
Swan,	Tavern. Dyer Phillips,	1666
Three Hats,	David Ellwood, hatter,	1709
Three Wolves' Heads,	Ald. Quaile,	1716
White Lion,	.	1661
	HOEY'S COURT (WERBURGH STREET).	
Eade's Tavern,	.	closed 1813
	KENNEDY'S LANE.	
Golden Ball,	.	1688
	KEVIN'S PORT.	
Mermaid,	Garry,	1750-70
	KEVIN'S STREET.	
Bear,	.	1750-70
	KING STREET, NORTH.	
Three Candlesticks,	Inn,	1750-70

KING STREET, SOUTH.				Mention found.
St. Patrick,	.	.	Apartment,	1750-70
LAZY HILL.				
Dun Horse,	.	.	Geo. Brookes,	1678
LINEN HALL STREET.				
Bunch of Grapes,	.	.	.	1742
LITTLE BUTTER LANE (NOW DRURY STREET).				
Eagle and Child,	.	.	Sweep,	1750-70
Three Legs,	.	.	.	1655
MARY STREET.				
Cock,	.	.	Tavern,	1746
Pipers,	.	.	Tavern,	1765-71
Robin Hood,	.	.	.	1722
MEATH STREET.				
Dial,	.	.	John Knapp, almanac compiler,	1737
Dial and Globe,	.	.	Printer,	1717
Old Ireland,	.	.	.	—
Peruke,	.	.	James Orr, barber,	1746
MEETING HOUSE YARD.				
Hat and Hand,	.	.	.	1750-70
MERCHANTS' QUAY.				
Bible and Crown,	.	.	Mary Laurence and John Watson, booksellers,	1724-78
			Thomas Stewart, bookseller,	1778
MOUNTRATH STREET.				
Flying Horse,	.	.	Tavern,	—
Reindeer,	.	.	Printer,	1727
NEWGATE.				
Black Dog,	.	.	Inn,	1661
(Formerly a tower, called Brown's Castle, on north side of the new gate in the city wall. Early in eighteenth century this inn became the Marshalsea, the prison of the sheriffs of Dublin city.)				
NEW ROW.				
Horse Shoe and Golden Key,	.	.	Hardware (Pike & Cantrell),	1780
Ram,	.	.	Inn,	1730-70
NICHOLAS STREET.				
Bull,	.	.	.	1699
Cock (No. 5), near Tholsel,	.	.	.	1780
Fleece,	.	.	Tavern,	1698
Fountain,	.	.	.	—
Patten,	.	.	.	1771
Royal Stocking,	.	.	.	—
Sun,	.	.	Tavern,	1707

94 ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.

ORMOND QUAY.				Mention found.
Flying Mercury,	.	Peter Hoey, publisher,	.	1788
PARLIAMENT STREET.				
King's Arms,	.	David Hay, King's printer,	.	1771
Mercury,	.	.	.	—
PATRICK STREET.				
King William and Queen Mary,	.	.	.	1765
Waly's Head,	.	.	.	1728
Woolpack,	.	.	.	1750
PEMBROKE COURT (CASTLE STREET N.).				
Ring of Bells,	.	Tavern,	.	1751
Two Blue Posts,	.	Tavern,	.	1735
PLUNKETT STREET.				
Adam and Eve,	.	.	.	1750-70
Churn,	.	Bacon,	.	1750-70
Parrot,	.	Coffee, &c.,	.	1750-70
QUEEN STREET.				
Plough,	.	Pattison, china,	.	1750-70
Thatched Cabin,	.	.	.	1750-70
RAM ALLEY.				
Ram,	.	Tavern,	.	—
ROSEMARY LANE (COOK STREET).				
Golden Lion,	.	.	.	1621
ROSS LANE (BRIDE STREET).				
Whip and Spur,	.	Tho. Butler, bookseller,	.	1744
SAUL'S COURT (FISHAMBLE STREET).				
Golden Key,	.	Lau. Saul, distiller,	.	1759
SHIP (SHEEP) STREET.				
Red Lion (on the mill pond),	.	.	.	1671
Thatched Cabin,	.	.	.	from 1773
(The old Glebe house of St. Bride's.)				
SILVER COURT (CASTLE STREET, S.).				
Golden Hammer and Heart,	.	.	.	—
SIR JOHN'S QUAY.				
King's Head,	.	.	.	1750-70
Royal George,	.	.	.	1750
SKINNERS' ROW.				
Bible,	.	Patk. Campbell, bookseller,	.	1696
Bow's Coffee House,	.	.	.	1692
Carbrie House,	.	Earl of Kildare,	.	16th cent.
Darby's Coffee House,	.	.	.	—
Dick's Coffee House,	.	.	.	—

SKINNERS' ROW— <i>continued</i> .				Mention found.
Dolphin,	John Foster,			1688 to 1724
Dove and Pendants,	Lady's shop,			—
Golden Fleece,	Jason Hassard, woollen draper,			1740
Hoop,	Eating-house,			—
King's Head,	John Partington, goldsmith,			—
Leather Bottle,	Robt. Thornton, King's stationer,			1685 to 1718
Mercury,				—
Milton's Head,	{ Jas. Hoey, publisher,			1730
	{ Peter Hoey, publisher,			1770
Pestle and Mortar,				1675
SMITHFIELD.				
Bear,	Inn,			1750-70
Bull's Head,	Inn,			1750-70
SMOCK ALLEY.				
Ben Jonson's Head,				1671
Globe,	Tavern,			1760
Hoop Petticoat,	Tavern,			1758
King's Arms,	Tavern,			1750-70
Walsh's Head,	Tavern,			1720
STEPHEN'S GREEN.				
Blue Posts,				—
Wheel of Fortune,				—
STEPHEN'S STREET.				
Red Lion,	Inn,			—
Shuttle,	Lartigue, haberdasher,			1750-70
Star,	Inn,			—
STONYBATTER.				
Half Moon,				1765
Red Cow,				1750-70
STRAND.				
Cock,				1750-70
Red House,				1694
SUMMERHILL.				
Two Grenadiers,				1750-70
SUTORS' LANE.				
Ram,	Ale house,			1732
SUTORS' STREET.				
Phoenix,	Tavern. Jas. Hoey,			1750-73
SWAN ALLEY (DAME STREET).				
Swan,	Tavern,			1706
(Removed in 1767.)				
SYCAMORE ALLEY (DAME STREET).				
Sycamore Tree,				1733

ST. JAMES'S GATE.							Mention found
Red Lion,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1750-70

ST. JAMES'S MARKET.							
One Tun,	.	.	.	Tavern,	.	.	—

ST. JAMES'S STREET.							
Flower-de-Luce (within St. James's Gate),	.	.	.	.	.	.	1675

ST. JOHN'S LANE.							
Dragon Cellar,	.	.	.	Kennedy,	.	.	1626
Half Moon Cellar,	.	.	.	Malone,	.	.	1629
Hell	„	.	.	.	.	.	1629
Ship	„	.	.	Mat. Dillon,	.	.	1629
Star	„	.	.	Segrave,	.	.	1626
Red Stag	„	.	.	Thos. Coleman,	.	.	1626

(These were the cellars under Christ Church Cathedral.)

ST. JOHN'S PARISH.							
Fleece,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1675
Ollefant (? Elephant),	.	.	.	.	.	.	1671
Talbot,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1668
Three Herrings,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1670
Tobacco Roll,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1646
Turkey Cock,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1696

ST. MICHAEL'S LANE.							
Three Tuns,	.	.	.	Tavern,	.	.	1702

ST. MICHAEL'S PARISH.							
Black Boy,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1673
Old Black Lion,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1676
Red Chimneys,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1671
Salmon,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1682
Sun,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1675

ST. NICHOLAS' GATE.							
Barber's Pole,	.	.	.	Ladies' caps,	.	.	1750-70

ST. NICHOLAS' WITHIN PARISH.							
Black Boy,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1685
Boot,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1684
Half Moon,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1671
King's Arms,	.	.	.	Lovett,	.	.	1679
Saracen's Head,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1700
Sceptre and Crown,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1686
Spread Eagle,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1687
Three Bonnets,*	.	.	.	.	.	.	1688
Three Pigeons,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1695
White Lion,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1682
Whittington,	.	.	.	.	.	.	1689

ST. THOMAS STREET.				Mention found.
Bull,	Inn. Mat. O'Brien,			1750-70
George,	Tavern. Fyars,			1656
Goat,	Margt. Hayes, widow,			cir. 1750
Golden Anchor,				1685
Green Tree,	Molloy,			1756
Horse Shoe,	Hardware,			1750-70
Ram,				1750-70
St. Patrick,				1683
Swan,				1664
(Mentioned in endorst. on Ch. Church deed, No. 98, 1280.)				
Talbot,				1712
TEMPLE BAR.				
Dog and Duck,				1745
Flying Horse,				—
Horse Shoe and Magpie.	Tavern,			1780
Punch Bowl,				1727
Raven and Punch Bowl,	Tavern,			1729
Turk's Head,	Chop-house,			1760
TEMPLE LANE (DAME STREET).				
Barber's Pole,				—
Shakespeare,	Tavern,			—
USHER'S QUAY.				
London,	Tavern,			1737
WATLING STREET.				
Blue Hand and Rainbow,	Doran, silk dyer,			—
WERBURGH STREET.				
Bagnio,				1690
Cock,	Tavern,			1700
George,				1690
Hen and Chickens,				cir. 1750
Phoenix,	Tavern. James Hoey,			before 1758
(Closed, 1773.)				
Yellow Lion,	Tavern,			—
WINETAVERN STREET.				
Bear,	Tavern,			1725
Black Boy,	Tavern. Sweetman,			1621-43
Black Lion,	Tavern,			1735
Common Cellar,				1632
Golden Dragon,				1646
Golden Lion,				—
King's Head,				1646
Pied Horse,	Inn. John Weaver,			1696
Spread Eagle,				1643
Tennis Court,				1699
Three Cups,	Ald. John Forster,			1613
White Horse Cellar,				1619-46

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	WOOD QUAY.	Mention found.
Half Moon,	John Tarpoll,	1643 and 1698.
Old Swan,	1643
Rose and Crown,	Thos. Sympkins,	1696
Royal Exchange,	Almanacs,	1693
Ship, . . . . .	. . . . .	1672
Yellow Lion,	temp. Chas. II.

YORK STREET.

Bunch of Keys,	Hardware. Spratt,	1750-70.
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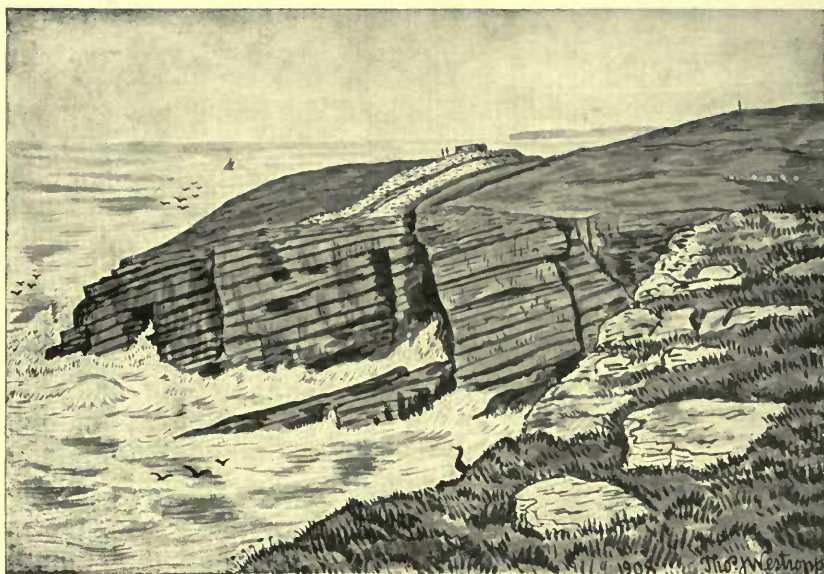
(The "Duchess' Head" and the "Robinson's Head" are mentioned as taverns in the Feltmakers' Records, but the streets in which they were situated are not named.)

NOTE ADDED IN PRESS.

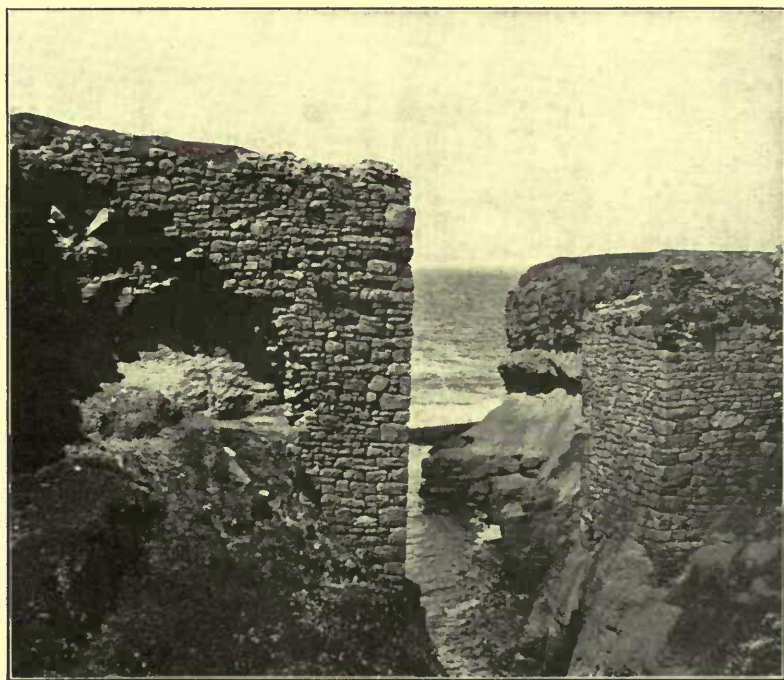
Owing to the kindness of Mr. W. G. Strickland, I am enabled to add the following signs, which he has met with in the course of investigations as to residents in the city:—

	CASTLE STREET.	
Raven, . . . . .	. . . . .	1767
	ESSEX BRIDGE.	
Golden Frame and Spectacles,	Jackson, glass-grinder,	cir. 1750.
	ESSEX STREET.	
Royal Stocking, . . . . .	. . . . .	1754
	HENRIETTA STREET.	
Admiral Vernon's Head,	Tavern,	1723
	HIGH STREET.	
Golden Key,	Opposite St. Nicholas' Church,	1767
	ST. STEPHEN'S GREEN.	
Bull,	Corner S. King Street; demised by William Starling to Thomas Buttolph,	1670
Butchers Arms,	South side,	1713
George,	Near Cuffe Street,	1727
Green Dragon,	Thomas Malone, chairmaker,	1757
Orange Tree,	East side. Robert Stephenson, nursery gardens (shop),	1743
Valiant Trooper, . . . . .	. . . . .	—
White Hart,	Corner Grafton Street. Wm. Day, from London, heating apparatus,	1755

To face page 99.]



CAHERCARBERYMORE FORT, KERRY HEAD.



THE DRAWBRIDGE, BALLINGARRY CASTLE, CO. KERRY.

PROMONTORY FORTS AND SIMILAR STRUCTURES IN THE COUNTY KERRY.

PART II.—CLANMAURICE.

BY THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, M.A., M.R.I.A.

[Submitted JULY 12, 1909.]

(Continued from page 31, *supra*.)

STARTING from Ballybunnion, we make a wide circuit round the estuary of the Cashen, here a tidal stream, and cross the Ferry Bridge into the Barony of Clanmaurice, among marshy fields and great sheets of rustling sedge and marshy plants :—

“The dreary melody of bedded reeds
In desolate places, where rank moisture breeds
The pipy hemlock to strange overgrowth.”

We drive past Derryco, a burial ground, with the eastern fragment of an early church named Darrach-Mochua and Doirechua. Then we pass through a corner of the Parish of Rattoo, the pointed head of whose fine round tower¹ rises over the thick groves to the left, and enter Killury Parish, which, early in the thirteenth century, formed part of the lands which the well-dowered Johanna (mother of Thomas, first of the Geraldine Lords of Kerry) brought to her husband Maurice fitz Raymond; it was called Killuregy in 1302, but Killury in 1387, and ever since.²

OFFERBA.—We are now in the ancient district of Ui Ferba, called the Normans' Offeriba, Offerba, and Huerba,³ a name which it retained down to the end of Elizabeth's reign. It is interesting, as a mark of the great changes of the later twelfth century, to note how many of the territories granted to the conquerors bear tribe names unknown to history. The Ui Fearba are unrecorded, and we have to look to the Aran Isles, nearly sixty miles northward, to find even a Dun fearbach, if it be of kindred name; the “Ossurrys,” tribe name for Corcaguiny, and the “Othorna,” tribe of Odorney, are also mere names. It was the patrimony of the O'Laoghains,

¹ See *Journal*, vol. ii. (1852), p. 247.

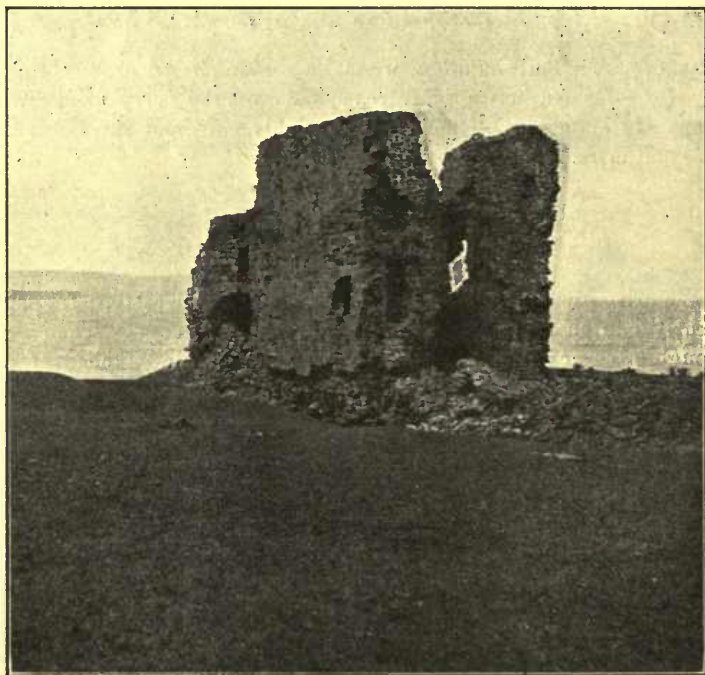
² Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, 1302; Memoranda Rolls, Exchequer, Dublin, x Ric. II. The Ordnance Survey Letters (MSS. 14, D. 11, Royal Irish Academy), p. 275, suggest that the Irish name is Cilluraigh, from Lurach, son of Cunach, whose feast day was February 17th.

³ Mr. Hennessy stated that the name survived as Iarba, in Trughlanacmy, but I cannot find it on the maps.

the later family of Lyons, Lyne, and Leyne, which probably gave its name to Kilahan Parish, if it be the "Church of Lyen," of 1302.

"The king of Ciarraighe over the clans of Ciar,
O'Conchobhair, it is right for him to be
Chief of the mead-abounding land,
From the Traigh to the fair streamed Sionainn.
O'Laoghain, hero of renown,
Over the Ui Fearba we have found"—

wrote O'Huidhrin, in 1420,¹ but he always gives the older condition of affairs, ignoring the mighty Geraldines. The native name was largely



BROWNE'S CASTLE, CLASHMELCON, CO. KERRY.
(From the North.)

overlaid by that of the latter race, "Clanmaurice," Fitz Maurice, for the Lords of Kerry who, "more Irish than the Irish" from long settlement and twelve inter-marriages with daughters of Gaelic chiefs,² took

¹ "Topographical Poems" (ed. O'Donovan), p. 113.

² Miss Hickson, *Journal*, vol. xxvii., p. 248, and *The Academy*, April, 1887.

a clan name and adopted Irish customs, though, unlike their greater relatives in Limerick, they avoided tanistry. Subordinate to them, three families, the Clahulls, Bruns, and Cantillons, occupied Ui Fearba; the two latter were so closely related that they nearly always appear together, and gave their united names to the Tuath caed of "Brown Contlon," or "Brunecontlonigh"¹ in this parish, out to Kerry Head, and up to the Cashen.

The Deanery of Offerba had a wider range, though nearly cut in two by the wedge-like deanery of Othorna and Offlannan, with its apex at Tralee, and its base at Duach, on the Feale. Offerba included all the parishes along the bay, from Slieve Mish and Mount Brandon. It then recommenced on the opposite bank of the Lee, and ran up the coast to Killury, but "Othorna" held the parishes behind Killury (Kilcarig or Kilearragh, Kilmoli or Kilmoyly, Kilthome or Kiltomy, and the church of Fieochna or Kilfeighny), while Rathygg, or Rattoo, and Disert belonged to the nameless northern deanery. The parishes of Offerba, in 1302, were Glen,² Ardbaly, Killaghny (Killiney O. S. 35), Kilsanyg (Kilshannig 27), Baliederseolle,³ Kilgoban (Kilgobbin 36), Clucyrbryn (Clogherbrian 28), Scothfig, Froynyn,⁴ Baruu (Barrow 28),⁵ Lyen (Killahan 15), Killuregy (Killury 9), Lethe, Kiltulagh, Clothan⁶ (? Cloghan 34), and the Hill of St. Brandan. In 1346, we find the two divisions of "Offarbe of the Estronde," and of the "Weste Stronde," in county Kerry.⁷ The East Strand probably ran from the Cashen to Kerry Head, the West Strand from Ballyheige to Barrow, corresponding to Brunecontlon and Clanmorris. In the grant of 1441, Ballyheige is in Offariba. The "Desmond Roll," 1583,⁸ gives Meen Conyne, Knockpoke Ballinglanna, and Ballynaskreena as in "Offariba *alias* ffarbowe," and seems to show that the "patria of Clanmorris" was divided into the Troghcaheds, Tuoghcaheds, or "hundreds" of Farbowe and Browne Contlon; parts of Ardfert, Kilflyn, and Kilmoyley were in the former; but the statements are somewhat contradictory; Listrim, Ballinroe, and

¹ So also, in 1592, the gentry of "Brown-Conclone and Offarbuye," met the commissioners at Dingle. Criecontlonch alone, appears in some documents, but more usually (as in the 1572 map, dedicated to Lord Salisbury) both Crie Browneh and Crie Concloneh occur. The common form is "Brown-Cautlon."

² Perhaps some glen in Corcaguiny and Stradbally there, but possibly Glendahlín and Stradbally, near Ballyheige. Giennagalt was in Ossurrys deanery.

³ Balyedrescol is named (Plea Roll No. 13, an. 19) in 1289 with Ardnefac, Ballynassan, and Ardagh in Killury in a grant by Roger Fleming.

⁴ Froynyn is suggested by "Fronuige" in the 1655 map of Duach Parish, intended for Finuge, but the latter is evidently the "Fynwach" (Fynooach) of the 1302 taxation.

⁵ Barrow was in Offariba in 1583, as in the Desmond Roll.

⁶ From being given next the Hill of St. Brandan; there was, however, a Cloghan at the "seven churches of Kilmore," in Killury. See map 1655.

⁷ Calendar of Chancery Roll, Ireland, p. 52.

⁸ Desmond Roll, P.R.O.I., mem. 48, the "patria of Clanmorris included the Troghkaheds, Tuoghcaheds, or "hundreds" of Offariba, or ffarbowe, and Brown-Contlon.

Cloghanin-Fynaly (Clonfineela in Kilfin), after being recited under Farbowe, are said to be in Clanmorris.

HISTORY.—The native Prince, Mac Carthy, in the early years of the Norman invasion was so ill advised as to give lands, probably those confiscated by him from the recently subdued O'Connors, to the



MAP OF WESTERN CLANMAURICE, CO. KERRY.

Geraldines. It was the old story from Roman times, when the people in a "Galatian" district were warned to beware "if ye bite and devour one another," that they were "not consumed one of another"—of the Irish "Regulus" who came to the Roman for help against his rebellious clan; of Dermot Mac Murrough and the Plantagenet—of Murrough

O'Brien and the Emperor Charles; of Conor O'Brien and Philip of Spain; and of many a later period—and it bore its natural fruits in this case also. The chief got help against his countrymen, Mac Carthy's rebellious son was put down by the raid of Raymond le Gros, and the Geraldines were planted, a thorn in the side of the Gael, practically cutting off the Mac Carthys from the O'Connors and the tribes north of the Shannon. Later genealogists stated that the lands passed to a son of this famous Raymond, but he died childless,¹ and "Maurice fitz Raymond" was probably a son of one of his nephews, Raymund fitz Griffin, or Raymond fitz Odo de Carreu; more probably the first-named.² Illegitimate children had very little chance of succeeding to valuable landed property where there were near legitimate relations; and the alleged illegitimacy of the Fitz Maurices is unsupported by documentary evidence.³ Maurice married Johanna, a niece (?) of Meyler fitz Henry, and obtained as her portion Rattoo, Killury, and Ballyheige in Offarriba; he also was granted by King John Akunkery (Ciarrhaighe-Aieme, Hakmys or Trughanacmy), Offeriba, and the Onaghtlokeleane (or Eoghanacht of Lough Lene, Killarney).⁴ The justiciar, Meyler fitz Henry, held Akunkery and Huarba (or Offeriba) on October 28th, 1200.⁵ King John also granted to Thomas, son of Maurice and first Lord of Kerry, before 1216, ten knights' fees in Iveforna (O'Dorney) and Ivefarba "from Bealtra to Grahane."⁶ These lands appear in an ancient rental of Mac Morris, Baron of Kerry; the lands "from Bealstra to Cloghane" are called "the Acres;" and their head-rent was 4 pence per acre.⁷

From that time onward the Fitz Maurice name, no longer a mere patronymic, but hereditary, held its own. Lord Thomas founded Ardfert Abbey, in 1253, and was buried there in 1280; his son, Maurice, served under King Edward I. in Scotland, and John fitz Thomas, his brother, got a grant of free chase and free warren in his demesnes in Kerry, on June 11th, 1244. Untoward incidents troubled but never permanently injured these nobles; Maurice, the fourth Lord, in a fit of ungovernable fury, killed Diarmaid Oge Mac Carthy, chief of Desmond, before the very Justices of Assize at Tralee. For this he was attainted by the Parliament at Dublin, but his life was spared, and at his death the

¹ From whom the eighteenth-century pedigree-makers derived many Geraldine lines and the Graces. Raymond had no legitimate issue, and no other descendants are named by Giraldus Cambrensis and other early writers.

² *Journal*, vol. xxvi., p. 227, vol. xxvii., pp. 235-239.

³ It probably arose from the claim of descent from Raymond le Gros and his known childlessness by his wife; but no illegitimate son is named by his kinsman, Giraldus de Barri.

⁴ *Journal*, vol. xv., 358.

⁵ *Cal. Doc., Ir.*, vol. i., 1200, No. 124.

⁶ Documents of Lord Kerry, at Lixnaw. See "Lodge's Peerage" (ed. Archdall), vol. ii., p. 185; also Dr. Charles Smith's "Ancient and Present State of the County Kerry."

⁷ Rental of Mac Morris, produced in 1615, to prove seniority of their peerage. See Carew Calendar, vol. iii., p. 313.

lands were restored to his brother. The fifteenth century was marked by the encroachments of the Earls of Desmond on their kindred and the other Englishry. The first Earl of Desmond, Maurice, married a daughter of Nicholas, Lord of Kerry, whose portion was Ballyheige, and part of Killury. How completely they asserted chiefship over the Lords of Kerry became clear when the ill-advised Earl Gerald came to his ruin. The Desmond Roll of 1583 gives the chief rents of Offariba, 54 shillings, and the rents of the chargeable lands at £117 6s. 8d., being 96 marks in half-face money, and 48 cows, at 13s. 4d. each. In the half hundred of Browne-Contlone and Cologay, it was £85 6s. 8d. (or 96 marks and 48 cows). The tenants had to supply food to the Desmond's horsemen and footmen, horseboys, gallowglasses and kerne. In all, £336 6s. 8d. The total for all Offariba was £556 12s. 4d.¹

The danger was none the less in the early sixteenth century, in the absence of the true heir, who was fighting in Italy, and only brought back by a faithful nurse, barely in time to frustrate the attempt of his kindred to seize the estates. Later in the century the family played the dangerous game of half-hearted treason under Elizabeth. The Government, in 1580, overlooked the rebellious acts of Patrick, Lord Lixnaw, as done on behalf of his uncle. Naturally this encouraged him, but he was soon in great straits, and we have a curious description of Lord Clancarty and Lord "Morys" (as he was called), in 1581—"the best robes they wore were a russett Irish mantle, worth about a crown, and they had each a hat, lethren jerkin, trowes and brogues."² Lord Thomas in 1597 was in communication with Wallop, St. Leger, and others, but never on sincere terms, and it was seriously proposed to confiscate the Fitz Maurice estates as provision for the unfortunate young Earl of Desmond. Lord Lixnaw's son, in 1600, is described by the English as "a vile and ill-natured-fellow," and was excepted from the general pardon as "one of the children of perdition," the "leader of many monstrous and unnatural outrages." After this some unknown power told in his favour, for as Baron of Lixnaw he was officially classed "among the Lords loving justice," and, in 1612, James I. rewarded his new-found loyalty by confirming him in his estates.³ Lord Thomas Fitz Maurice, Lord of Lixnaw and Kerry, established the precedence of his title over that of Lord Slane, in 1615. His descendants by their absence in England escaped the dangers of the civil wars, 1640-1650, and handed on their estates and title. Thomas, twenty-first Baron, and first Earl of Kerry, and Viscount Fitz Maurice, married the daughter of the great surveyor Sir William Petty; his second son, John, was created Baron Dunkerron and Viscount Fitz Maurice; next the Earldom of Shelburne, his maternal

¹ Desmond Roll., P.R.O.I.; it has been partly published, *Journal*, vol. xv. (consec.), pp. 162-166.

² Cal State Papers, Ireland, 1581, p. 318.

³ See Cal. State Papers, under dates, and Carew Calendar, vol. iii., p. 447.

uncle's title, was revived in his favour, and he was created Baron Wycombe. He had succeeded his uncle in the Petty estates in 1751. William, son of John, was enriched with further titles, being created in 1781 Earl of Wycombe, Viscount Calne, and Marquess of Lansdowne; his second son, the third Marquess, added to all these newer titles the venerable barony of Kerry, on the extinction of the senior line, being the twenty-third Baron.

Of the subordinate families of Offarba, the Clahulls, Brownes, and Cantillons are pre-eminent. The de Clahulls appear in North Kerry, June 1st, 1216,¹ when John de Clahull gave 300 marks for confirmation of his various lands, some inland, near Slieve Luachra. He was probably akin to the de Clahulls or Cloughs of Dundrum, Balrothery, and Balbriggan in county Dublin; of these Sir John de Clahull, Marshal of Leinster, owned Dundrum Castle; he granted Taney church, near that place, to the Priory of the Holy Trinity (now Christ Church Cathedral) in Dublin, early in the thirteenth century. The family held Shankill, but this place passed to Geffry de Tourville by 1239. Robert de Clahull held Ballyfermot, near Palmerstown. Sir John's successor, a Hugh de Clahull, in the middle of the thirteenth century, had a grandson Geffry, involved in litigation with the Purells in 1277-8. John de Clahull performed service for his Dublin lands, at Banna and Dundrum, in 1303, and the family continued down to 1381, when Nicholas de Clahull, of Balrothery and Balbriggan, was said to be uncle of John de Cantelowe, son and heir of Alice de Clahull; another heiress with claims to the lands being Amicia Cotterell, daughter of Alianore de Clahull, heiress of Sir Robert de Clahull of Balrothery.²

Of the Kerry family—the Government gave a very suggestive grant, on April, 17th, 1284, to Geffry de Clahull, "the wreck of the sea in Offerbe for ever," which we must examine more fully later on.

The Cantillons or Cantelows³ and Bruns⁴ appear in Offarba (as usual, together) in 1295. Philip Bruñ and Richard Cantillon stood security for David Fitz Gerald the sheriff, 1310; Reginald Brown and Nicholas Fitz-Maurice were appointed to inquire into felons' goods in 1310. In 1346, Maurice Fitz David, Gilbert Brown, and Maurice Cantelowe were guardians of the peace in Offarbe de Estronde, and Gerald fitz Mathew and Bartholomew Fleming in Offarbe de Weste Stronde:⁵ with power to raise forces,

¹ Cal. Doc. Ir., vol. i., 1216, No. 697.

² Memoranda Rolls, P. R. O. I. vi and vii Ed. I, No. 6 (Cal., p. 21, Repertory), xlvii, xlviii Ed. III. 70, and xvii Ric. II. Also Cal. Documents relating to Ireland under 1302; and Mr. Francis Elrington Ball's "History of the County of Dublin," vol. ii., p. 66; vol. iii., p. 83; vol. iv., p. 101.

³ Miss Hickson regards Nicholas de Cantelupe as ancestor of the Kerry family, *circa* 1200 ("Old Kerry Records," Series II., p. 297), but the names co-exist down the century. The records of the Cantelons or Condous are liable to be confused with those of the Cantillons.

⁴ Not the Elizabethan family, now Earls of Kenmare, who were settlers from Lincolnshire.

⁵ Cal. Chancery Rolls, p. 52.

all, from 60 to 16 years of age, with horses and arms, hobelars and foot soldiers, to serve against the Irish. The two families appear in the few documents of the fifteenth century known to us, and when local information again abounds, after 1580, they are still inextricably mixed in the Tuoghkahedde of Brown contlonigh. The castles seem to have been built about 100 years before, when an extraordinary outburst of building, notably of peel towers, prevailed in Munster. Down to that time it is probable that the English, like the Irish, dwelt largely in palisaded earthworks such as "Garrisons" of Camp and Kilmoyly, or Lisnadreeglee on Doon Hill, but it is noteworthy that ring forts are rather scarce round the Geraldines' chief castle of Lixnaw.¹ We reserve more of the later history of the Browns and Cantillons till we deal with their various settlements.

WRECKS AND WHALES.—So curious and instructive are the documents relating to the Clahull tenure of this district that, even at undue length, we may give the history to be found in them. As we noted, Geffry de Clahull, in 1284, was granted "the wreck of the sea in Offerbe, for ever, with all things appertaining to wreck, without hindrance of the King's Judges and Sheriffs" or other officers "and no one on the King's behalf shall molest Geffry." Rarely do two words "*wrecco maris*" give so photographic a view, 600 years ago, as now, of the dark cliffs, churning waves, and the wreckage driven by the fierce west gale on to this iron-bound coast. There were wrecks in 1284 and 1291, for each of which de Clahull paid half a mark, but from that year to 1295, he had not paid 2½ marks due thereon, during the five years. Another wreck took place, and half a mark was paid in 1295. Then six years passed and de Clahull (the account says "Geffry," but Robert had succeeded in 1295) owed 7½ marks, so he paid the treasurer 2 marks, and the sheriff half a mark, leaving 5 marks still due to the Crown. There had been apparently numerous wrecks and, as we shall see, two stranded whales in eighteen years. We have not followed the subject after the reign of Edward I, but have met stray entries down to 1330, when the Exchequer Rolls give a payment of £3 10s. made by "Robert de Clahull, for having the wrecks of the sea of Offerbe."²

Robert fitz Geffry de Clahull, by too liberal an interpretation of his father's grant, got involved in lawsuits with the Crown. The Justiciary Roll³ records the matter, laying down that "Great Whales of the sea,

¹ Lesnau in 1307; the Carew MSS. attribute it to a Carew, circa 1380, citing a document in possession of MacCarthy Reagh. Smith derives its name from the ancient Luceni ("Kerry," p. 28 and p. 197); it is really Leac Snamh. It stands on a low mound, partly artificial, near Lixnaw Court, and has deep vaults below it, and strong loop-holed walls.

² Pipe Roll, xii Ed. I.; Cal. Documents, Ireland, 1291, p. 491; vol. ii., 1284, No. 2198; Pipe Roll (36th Report D. K. R.), anno xii (Report 38); anno xxix, p. 55; Anno xxx-xxxiii, Exchequer Records; see also *Journal*, xv., 352.

³ Calendar (ed. by Mr. James Mills, i.s.o., Deputy Keeper of the Records, p. 29); an. 1295, mem. 16 dorso, and 21 dorso.

cast upon the land, belong to the Crown." One of these monsters, in 1295, got stranded on Robert de Clahull's land in Offerba. We are left to imagine how the good news was spread by the excited persons who first saw the hapless leviathan, the rush from all quarters, the promiscuous attack, with every sort of weapon, the struggles and roaring of the sea beast and the appropriation of its mangled body by Robert de Clahull, to his own use, as his father had done before.¹ The jackals of the Crown got wind of the matter, and de Clahull was summoned to the assizes at Ardarte (Ardfert). He pleaded that the king had enfeoffed his father Geffry de Clahull with the wreck of the sea, so often as it should happen on his land, he paying 6s. 8d. per annum. John de Ponte, counsel for the crown, replied that "whales are not wrecks"; Robert replied that by "the ancient custom of Ireland" whales were so reputed.

Now the Irish Law certainly seems to have included under the head of "waifs of the sea" both whales and wrecks; "whatever thing is cast ashore in a territory," says the Seanchus Mór, "whether a crew of shipwrecked people, or a whale, the whole territory is bound to save it from the strand." The chief, after giving notice to the mariners and the three nearest districts, took the "waif"; the head of the family, in whose land it was, going to the King and "fasting upon him." The King then gave notice that he would take distress—and the whole party came to save it. There was a distress of three days for consuming the things cast upon the beach. In the case of other waifs notice should be served on the King, Erenach, chief brugaid, brehon, chief smith, miller "and the people of one fort" (liss).²

The Irish law, however, proved a negligible local custom in this case. Robert in vain urged further, that on the last windfall of the kind his father had appropriated it and "was quit" by the Itinerant Justices of Ardarte; and he claimed equal rights as his father's heir. The Court of Dublin finally decided that, "unless such a fish is specifically mentioned" in a charter, the grantee had no claim to it; they ordered inquiry to be made where the whale grounded, and what advantage the Crown took thereby, but whether the Crown recovered anything we failed to discover.

¹ Lord Kerry showed his relative, the anonymous diarist, in 1709, the tooth and two jawbones of a whale cast up on the shore west of Lixnaw (MSS. Trinity College, Dublin, I., 4, 13).

² "Seanchus Mór" (Rolls Series), vol. i., p. 129; vol. ii., p. 229; Book of Aicill, vol. iii., p. 273. The whale is often alluded to in early Irish literature, especially in sagas like the "Voyages of Brendan" and others. See also the Dind Senchas (*Revue Celtique*, vol. xv.), section 76, a Rosuall (? walrus) spouts and causes a pestilence at Murrisc in Mayo. The whale (according to the Book of Leinster) slays flying creatures when he spouts upward, fishes when he spouts downward, and animals when he spouts at the land. There were quaint carvings of whales at Glendalough (Petrie's "Round Towers," p. 249).

PROWNE'S CASTLE, CLASHMELCHON (Ordnance Survey, No. 9).

As we drive over the ridge, along the road nearest to the coast, we get a charming but distant view of Ballybunnion and its cliffs; we pass on our right the so-called "Seven Churches" of Kilmore,¹ a disused "Killeen" burial-ground, with no trace or record of a single church, still less of seven. There are not a few earthen ring forts, but they are commonplace, low, circular (or slightly oval) lisses with shallow fosses, and rarely any trace of stone facing. Derryrá rath is larger, with two rings and the unusual feature of a well in the outer bank, whence a little stream flows down to the river Cashen; its name records an ancient oak wood. The Killury fort names are of but little interest—Lissagower, of the goat; Lisnagoneeny, of the rabbits (or of the O Conyne family of Meenconeen); Lissaniska, of the water; Lismoyle, bare; Lissanaffrin, of the Mass (recalling the secret religious rites held in such secluded places during the prevalence of the penal laws), and Caherbuckhaun, the stone fort of the he-goat. Certain families are represented in the names Rahealy and Dunferriis, the last name being the Pierces, a branch of the Fitz Maurice stem. We at last reach Clashmelchon.

The name is locally believed to mean "the trench of the bald (earless) dog" (maol-cu), the clash, or trench, being the fosse of the Castle from which the spectre appears for the material purpose of rabbit-catching. Ghost dogs are common in Munster; there was a Laghtnegunbane (grave of the white hounds) in Meenogahane, to the west of Clashmelchon;² the "Black dogs" of Cratloe, Ennistymon, Dromeliff, and Ross are found in county Clare, and the dog of the Red-House Hill, in county Limerick. Borlase³ collects a mass of legend relating to such dogs at forts and dolmens in county Cork, such as at the "Tobar-an-mhadaidh-mhaoil," well of the bald dog (which Colgan latinizes "molossus sine auribus"), like the Clashmelchon hound. I have known several people convinced of the malignant power of such demons; one lady even quoted from the Psalms the phrase "from the power of the dog" to support her views, as Hugh Brigdall, in 1695, quoted "the arrow that flieth" as justification for his fear of fairy darts, i.e. flint arrow-heads.⁴ Strange to say, O'Daly (killed December, 1617), in his bitter satire on "The Tribes of Ireland," compares the Clan Maurice and their "hags" to "bald dogs,"⁵ though his wit is now meaningless. Clashmelchon, however, means almost certainly the entrenchment of Maelchu, an ancient personal name, well known as that of St. Patrick's master, and may refer to the fortified headland at the later castle of the Bruns.

¹ See O. S. Letters, p. 276.

² Civil Survey of Clanmorris, P. R. O. I., p. 6.

³ "Dolmens of Ireland," vol. iii., p. 875.

⁴ MSS., Trinity College, Dublin, I., 1, 2, p. 17.

⁵ Ed. by O'Donovan, p. 73.

The Brownes gave their name to another fort, probably near Glendahlin, for we read of John Browne, of Dunbrowne, and Thomas Contlon of Ballingarry pardoned by Elizabeth;¹ and "Donybronick" is shown on a map of the same period, lying to the west of Ballingarry, about Tiershanaghan; but the maps are very unreliable, with one exception (a map of Baptista Agnesi in 1544), not even showing the great peninsula of Kerry Head.

Local tradition, in 1841,² attributed Browne's Castle to a certain "Robber Browne," unrecorded in history. If, like the de Clahulls, the Brownes enjoyed the wreck of the sea, the family might easily have won such repute and their head have been remembered as a local "gentle robber Browne." As early as 1281, and as late as 1756, when Dr. Charles Smith wrote his History, Ballyheige Bay, and indeed all the coast, was "infamous for shipwrecks";³ small vessels hugged the shore too closely in attempting to reach the Shannon, and got embayed where sunken reefs and high cliffs waited for the victims purveyed by the merciless gales. A tourist in 1709 blames the round tower of Ardferit for many wrecks, it being mistaken for that of Scatterry in the Shannon estuary,⁴ but this seems incredible from the difference of the landscapes surrounding the two towers. Tradition also tells at Clanmaurice, as at Loop Head, that the wrecker "plied his accursed trade"; but Miss Hickson⁵ in a long search found no evidence in the State records, nor did I, against the people of Kerry or Clare. Like all who gathered "the harvest of the unvintageable sea," wreckers, wreck-gatherers, smugglers, and robbers were confused in tradition.

In 1583, several gentlemen of Offariba were attainted for their share in the Earl of Desmond's rebellion, among whom were Thomas Browne of Browne Contlon, John Browne of Kerrybrowne, and Maurice Browne of Kilmore (at the "Seven Churches"); the latter alone was pardoned. John and William Browne of Clashmollane, or Clashmolchan, lost their lands after the war of 1641-51. Ten years later (October 26th, 1656), Richard, baron of Collooney, was confirmed by the Act of Settlement in Cloghane, Clashmoleken (34 acres profitable, 54 unprofitable; arable and mountain pasture). Monegonine (138 acres) and Mynoghane (592 acres) in Clanmorris.⁶

¹ Fiant, No. 4660.

² O. S. Letters, Co. Kerry, Killury, p. 277.

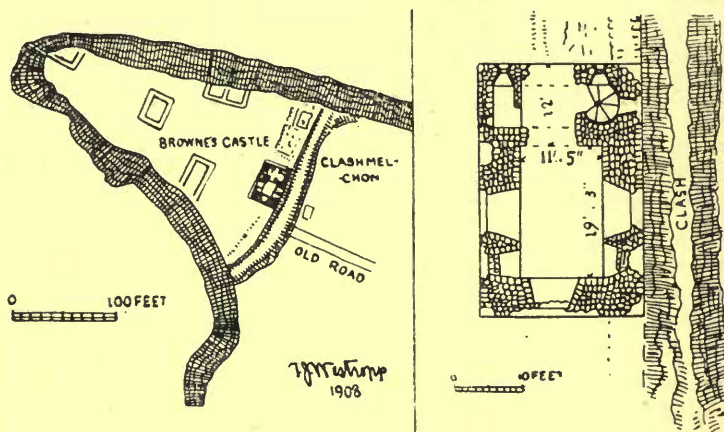
³ Smith's "Kerry," p. 209; "Old Kerry Records," Series II., pp. 36, 49.

⁴ MSS., T.C.D., i, 4, 13. The *Tourist* calls the tower "very low," possibly referring to its site; for Smith and Wilson (*Postchaise Companion*, 1786, p. 181) describe it as 120 feet high. Miss Hickson remembered its fallen fragments "like great cannon" beside the churchyard wall. It fell in a gale, 1771. It is to be hoped that local antiquaries may discover and publish some view of the interesting structure: see also *Journal*, vol. ii. (1852), p. 250, and vol. xxv., p. 30, and Proc. R. I. Acad., Ser. 3, vol. v., p. 302.

⁵ "Old Kerry Records," Series II., p. 49.

⁶ Confirmations, under Act, xviii Car. II., pars. 4 dorso, enrolled 19th November, 1666.

A long bohereen brings us past two fairly perfect forts, the western with a souterrain, across a field, to the old brown ruin on the cliff amidst lovely scenery. In a little bay to the North rises the great square pillar of the "Kippen Rock" from a low reef covered at high tide.¹ Beyond is the wide Shannon Estuary, and to the south and west are the dark lines of rampart-like red sandstone cliffs and "beaked promontories," boldly stratified, pierced with great caves, and fringed with silver spray. This lovely coast is almost unknown, even to visitors to Ballybunion, for want of a road running near to it.



BROWNE'S CASTLE, CO. KERRY.

THE CASTLE.—Browne's Castle stands to the north-west of a straight fosse across the neck of a tapering headland, on which are the foundations of at least five houses. The fosse is usually 12 feet wide, and 6 feet deep with no outer mound, and but slight trace of an inner one. The archaic name "Clashmelchon," and the belief that the Clash was this very trench, favour the view that Browne's Castle (like Dunlecky, Cloghansavaun, Pookeenee, and Ballybunion) was a promontory fort before the castle was built. There was no gangway, but the track of an old road down the field crosses the fosse at the S.-W. face of the tower, where probably there was a drawbridge. The castle itself is an oblong building 36 feet long; the base has a strong batter, which accounts for the length being given as 33 feet 9 inches by the O.S. Letters and 31 feet by 21 feet by Miss Hickson. We checked our dimensions on a second visit, and find that the "eastern" and "western" sides are 35 feet 6 inches to 36 feet, and the "northern" and southern 22 feet 8 inches outside. The door is to the "north," and, with the vault and "murder hole" of the

¹ As in 1880, so now, the inhabitants descend the cliff, and raise seaweed by a primitive windlass (a saltier of timber), over which runs a rope tied to a horse.

porch, has been quite destroyed since 1880, when Miss Hickson found the sockets for the hinges and bar intact. In 1841, there was a chiselled arch of brown sandstone, at some height above the ground, which was probably a window, but was regarded as a door. In 1908, we only found two stones, the half head of a pointed "arch," made of gray slaty stone, and a jamb of greenish stone. Since then some of the vaulting and two patches of wall at the "north" end have fallen, and much is ready to follow.

Entering, we find the broken spiral stair to the left and the porter's lodge to the right. The latter is vaulted, and is only 5 feet 7 inches long and 4 feet 6 inches deep, lit by two loopholes, the "northern" neatly chamfered and recessed, with lintelled heads and splays. The porch is 12 feet deep from the outside to the inner room. The stair led to the upper floor, crossing by the vaults to the "north-west" angle; another stair ascended to the top main story, and probably to the roof. The turrets, named in 1841 and 1880, have left no trace, but the "Letters" are often wrong in usage of architectural terms. In the main part were two stories under a vault, and one above it; the rooms are 19 feet by 11 feet 8 inches. The basement had a large window to the "south," and others, deeply recessed, to either side, with smaller lights beside them. The upper floor rested on rude stones and plain rounded corbels; it was lit by plain lintelled windows, corresponding to those below, all defaced and the south end half gone; there was also an ambry. The vault is somewhat rounded, and, like those of the "lodge" and the windows, was turned over wicker. The top room has got defaced gaps to the sides; the whole "south" end and the upper parts of its walls are destroyed. There are no fireplaces, and the side walls are 5 feet 6 inches thick.

In 1841 side walls extended northward from the tower along the edge of the fosse; some 20 feet of it were standing in 1880. The foundations were being dug out in 1908, and have been quite removed. The "Letters" say these side walls were 60 feet high, probably a mistake for 6 feet. Soon, if the present systematic destruction continues, this interesting coast mark and the best preserved of the towers on the coast from the Shannon to Barrow must vanish, and the "clash" alone remain to mark its site.

In the garth lie five house sites; the sea has cut parts of them away, and the headland is now barely 225 feet long; the walls are 3 feet thick. The first site lies 48 feet "westward"¹ from the tower, and is 18 feet wide; the sea has destroyed the low cliff with its "southern" end. The second is 93 feet from the castle, 29 feet from the "northern," and 12 feet from the "southern" cliff; it is 33 feet wide and 57 feet long.

¹ The axis of the tower really lies somewhat north-east and south-west instead of north and south; we use the simpler terms for convenience.

The third is 201 feet from the peel and 24 feet from the broken end of the headland, beyond which flat reefs show how far the sea has cut away the rock. The fourth site lies on the "north" cliff and had two rooms. The fifth lay near the tower on the old inner mound to the north. Outside the fosse, opposite the castle, is the foundation of a cottage. All are probably later than the sixteenth century.

MEENOGAHANE (O. S. 8).

The townland of Meenogahane, Min o g Cathain,¹ O'Keane's mountain flat, lies not far to the west of Clashmelchon. The O'Cahanes were possibly the Clare family,² coarbs of St. Senan down to the reign of Elizabeth, and of good standing in their county. One of the Kerry line has the honourable record of refusing, at personal risk, to assist in the robbery of the Danish silver at Ballyheige in 1731. Like Browne's Castle, its records are late and uneventful. It was confiscated in 1604 from Edmond, son of Robert, and grandson of Thomas FitzMorris, yeoman, who joined the rebellion of 1579, and it was then called Moynogahan.³ In 1612, Thomas Lord Lixnaw was confirmed in Myneconyne, Mynokahane, Glanedahlen, &c. The first division seems now merged in the second one, and was called after the family of O'Coneen, long connected with the Geraldines by fosterage, for John of Callan, before his death in 1264, sent his sons to various chiefs for safety during his wars with the MacCarthys. His son Gibbon was fostered by O'Coneen in Thomond, and so got nicknamed Gibbon O'Conneen. The family accordingly was in high favour with the FitzGerald, and some were given lands near Tralee, where they subsisted at least in 1632. The Pierces (a race of Geraldine blood, descendants of Piers, younger son of Thomas, first Lord of Kerry, 1280) owned Meenogahane, and gave their name to Pierce's Island on its coast, a tall rock, isolated at high water. It was possibly a fortified headland cut away by the sea, but I am not aware of any remains of defences. The Pierces, locally "Ferris," also held Dun Ferris, Rattoo, Ballybreanniny, and numerous other lands in Clanmaurice.⁴ The chance preservation of a copy of the lost Civil Survey of Clanmaurice⁵ gives us a careful account of the places in 1655.

"MINEOGAHANE held by Thomas MacEdmund Piers, an Irish Papist: meared on the east by a Banke and Pathway, mearing between the

¹ O. S. Letters, p. 280.

² Represented among the Clare gentry by the Keanes of Beechpark, who (of Ulster origin in the male line) descend from a daughter of "Robin of Ross" (Robert Keane of Ross, near Loop Head, 1730), of the Clare line. They still retain the Shrine of St. Senan's Bell: see *Journal*, vol. xxx., p. 237.

³ Patent Rolls, Ireland, an. xi Eliz., *Journal*, No. xiv.

⁴ "Book of Distribution," P. R. O. I.

⁵ Civil Survey, P. R. O. I., Clanmorris, p. 6.

said lands & Ballyneskiny¹ & Graigentlea aforesaid, & leading southward to another Bank, which, on the south side, divides the premises Cahirenduff & Clanderews, belonging to Sir John Crosbey and by the said Banke shuteing westward to the heape of stones called Laghtnegunbane; On the West by a banke twixt the said Land & Cloghanosane² belonging to Sir John Crossley,³ and partly by a little spring running Northward to the sea; and on the north by a . . . to a hill spring, directing eastward, to the above said Bank, where it begunn & in that Quarter mearing betwixt the premise & Mengeonine⁴ belonging to Col. Edmund Fitz Morris." Perhaps "Laghtnegunbane," grave of the white hounds, was a dolmen⁵ or a cairn, haunted by ghostly dogs, like the "Maelchu." Whether any existing fort represents Cahirenduff we cannot tell. The Act of Settlement, in 1665, confirmed Lord Collooney in the mountain pasture of Mynoghane.⁶ It was held by the Hewetsons in 1756, when Smith wrote his History. They were a Yorkshire family, which settled in Ireland in 1649 and in Kerry in 1735, when John Hewetson, "the rich foreigner," married a daughter of the Knight of Kerry.⁷ The histories and topographies tell us nothing of this interesting townland, save of the unusual noise made by the sea breaking against its cliffs in stormy weather.⁸

LISHEENCANKEERAGH.—There is an interesting earthwork named "the Lisheen," but known in 1840 as Lisheencankeeragh, the little fort of sheep's head. Presumably Cankeeragh was the promontory it once entrenched, of which the greater part has been cut away, though the stronger strata of its base show as a reef for a considerable distance seaward of the neck. We pass down a steep road through Paddock and up the hill to the north of the Quay. So dangerous are the cliffs here that one of the men at work on a farm kindly ran across two fields to warn us of the danger of going out on the fort, saying that the edge falls when a bird lights upon it, which seems hardly an exaggeration. The Lisheen is a typical cliff fort which has survived its promontory, but as yet is little injured by nature. There is no sign of an outer ring. The fosse convex to the land is 9 feet wide at the bottom and 21 feet at the field level; it is 6 feet or 7 feet deep and 130 feet round the foot of the bank.

¹ Ballinescoiry to south-east of Meenogahane on the 1655 map. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

² Probably Castle Shannon, see *infra*.

³ Crosby.

⁴ Myneconeen. Miss Hickson (*Journal*, vol. xv., p. 164) says its name "Been Conneen" subsists. I did not find it on the maps or the ground.

⁵ Dolmens, however, do not seem to occur in Clannaurice and Trughenacmy; only one is known in Iraghtic Connor.

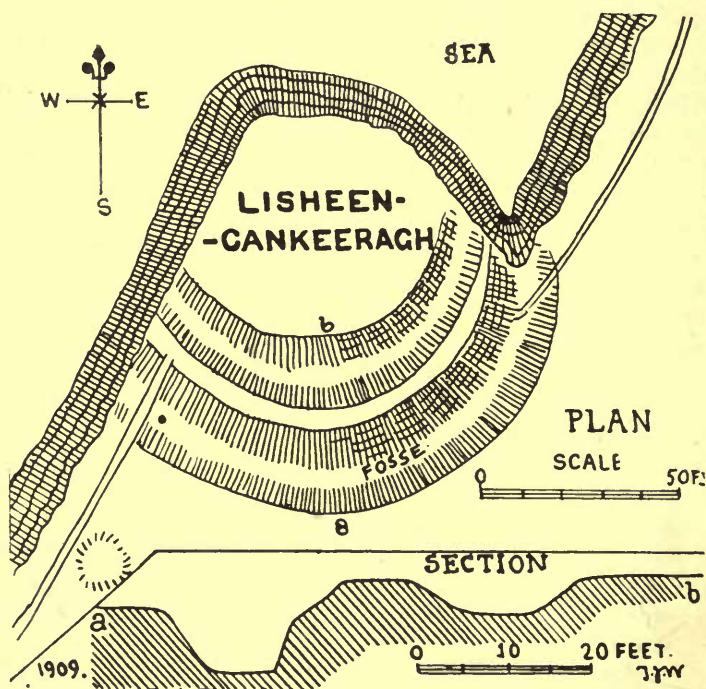
⁶ xviii Car. II., pars. 4, dorso, No. 6.

⁷ See "The Hewetsons of Finuge, 1498-1906," and an article by its author, Mr. John Hewetson, *Journal*, xxxix.

⁸ Smith's "Kerry," p. 212. The *Postchaise Companion* (1786, p. 182) tells how in Poulafooca Cave, near Ballingarry, "the noise of the waves was so great as to be heard at many miles distant."

The inner ring is 10 feet to 12 feet high over the fosse, 24 feet thick at the base, and 6 feet wide on top. There is a slight depression, about 4 feet deep and 6 feet wide, behind the ring, beyond it a carefully shaped curving slope, 9 feet at base and 6 feet high. A little circular hut site, 12 feet across, lies 27 feet south of the fosse, where the latter meets the cliff to the left. The outlook to Kerry Head is very fine, but the rising ground shuts off all view to the north. A large steep earthen ring fort, tufted with furze and featureless, lies up the valley below; its fosse is filled up for most of the circuit.

Westward from the Quay, at about half a mile distant, is a headland pierced by two caves, T-shaped in plan. The map shows on its neck part of a curving earthwork, which we failed to see. We may call it Illaunamuck, as it lies near that rock, over a pretty bay.



LISHEENCANKEERAGH CLIFF FORT, CO. KERRY.

CASTLE SHANNON (O. S. 8).

The next townland, Dromnacarra, has an earthwork with a low mound and small annexe "keyhole-shaped" in plan. It lies on a cliff, 100 feet high, near Inshaboy Point, or Meenbaun, white flat, as it is now called, though not so marked on the maps.

Passing another stream westward, or better and more easily coming

down a bohereen from the main road along its shallow valley, "where prickly furze buds lavish gold," we reach Castle Shannon. The site commands beautiful views of the great red cliffs, maroon, deep purple, and orange, jutting out in garish contrast with the emerald shoals, peacock-blue sea, and dazzling foam on the bright day of our visit. The castle has been entirely levelled; there seem to have been slight traces of a rock-cutting at the north end of the neck, about 50 feet wide, but no clear trace of a fosse or foundations; only faint mounds, easily overlooked, mark its site.

The old name seems lost; it was probably Cloghanshenan¹—"Cloghan" in Clare (e.g. Cloghansavaun) and "Clogh" in Limerick and elsewhere frequently mean a stone-house (Cloughkeating,² Clough-jordan, &c.)—and is equivalent to the present name, "Castle Shannon." This townland, as we saw, meared Mineogahane and Mineconine to the west, where a little stream ran northward to the sea. Dromnacarra, not named in 1655, is probably a new townland, derived from the ridge between the two brooks, when Mineconeen was blotted out.

Cloghaneshenan, with Mynechonene and other lands, was confirmed to Thomas, son of Patrick, Lord Lixnaw, January 14th, 1596.³ It is not the "Cā Senan" of Baptista Boazio's map of that time, or Speed's map of 1610, the latter being Can Shenan, or Kerry Head. Smith only tells us that Castle Shannon was the residence of Rev. Thomas Connor, chanter of Ardfert Cathedral, in 1756.⁴ Even this may not refer to the castle on its dangerous and narrow site, but to some house in the townland.

BALLINGARRY, CLOGHANELEESH (O. S. 8).

Ballingarry Castle is by far the most interesting (though in part at least the latest) of the fortifications on the cliffs north from Kerry Head. The place, "Gardenstown," belonged to the Cantillons from 1280 onward, but its castle is not mentioned. In 1585, when Thomas Contlon, *alias* Grontlonagh (Cantlonagh), gentleman, was pardoned for his share in the Desmond rebellion, he held Ballyngarry.⁵ In 1596, Ballingarrie, Cloghanelisie, Killury, and other lands of the Cantillons were granted to George Isham, of Bristol, as property of the late Gerald Earl of Desmond.⁶

¹ The "Cloghane" townlands in that case ran thus from east to west—Cloghane-shenan (Castleshannon); Cloghanebane and Cloghaneleesh (Ballingarry).

² So Cloughkeating, held by the Keatings, 1331; "Cloghnarold, *i.e.*, Harolt Castle," in the Rental of O'Conyll, 1452, and held by Richard Harold, 1389; Cloghatriada, Cloghdalton, and many others: see "Ancient Castles of the Co. of Limerick," sections 129, 309, &c., &c.

³ Patent enrolled 1597.

⁴ It is not marked on the 1655 map, being unconfiscated land, but the blank to the west of the division of Meenogahane (corresponding to Dromnacarragh) is evidently Castle Shannon, and presumably "Cloghanosane" of the mearing.

⁵ Fiant of Elizabeth, No. 4660.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 6034. They were probably the Killury lands, the portion of the first Earl's wife.

which shows that the new grantee only took the head rents and left the occupants undisturbed; but the castle was held by the FitzMaurices six years later. In 1602 Gerrot Roe Stack,¹ Lord Kerry's brother-in-law, garrisoned the castle of "Berengary." Hearing of this, Captain Bois sent to his commanding officer, Sir Charles Wilmot, at Limerick, to tell him of the new element of danger. Wilmot lost no time, but took two small cannon and set off by sea to "Ballingarrye, in Clanmorris," which castle was "blocked up by Bois and 800 men." Among the besieged were MacMorris, Stacke, Donell O'Sullivan Mor, Hussey, called "the scholar," and others. Wilmot writes: "I do not see how possibly they can escape, for the place is within a huge cliff on the sea, and no way to come in or out but by a bridge. The rock is 50 fadoms down into the sea" (a gross exaggeration), "so that no boat can relieve them." Bois had "taken from them" the water, and there were in the castle about 100 persons. How long it held out we are not told. Gerald MacMorris surrendered, perhaps in 1603, and some of the leaders in the garrison were executed.² The castle is marked on the map dedicated to "Lord Bourley," the Lord High Treasurer,³ and in the later 1610 map; it is shown as a tall tower on the neck of a headland in the map of 1655.⁴ Smith calls it "a small castle, built by Col. David Crosbie, together with some entrenchments, to defend a narrow isthmus, that led into a small peninsula, whither he retired with several English families during the wars of 1641, to avoid the hostility of the Irish. He built several houses for them ("the Englishry"), and caused two covered ways to be made to the castle and the drawbridge." This evidently only applies to the outlying turrets and sunken ways, for in 1602 the castle with its drawbridge was confined to the "Island." Smith took his material from the Crosbie papers (still extant), so we use Miss Hickson's extracts to supplement his account.

The garrison included persons of the names of Cantillon, FitzGerald, Rice, Tito, Walsh, Piers, Lawlor, Reidy, MacDonough, Dowling, O'Donohan, Casey, MacBrien, Hogan, Healy, and FitzPatrick, with one Kelly, who betrayed them. Crosbie held the castle for nearly five years. He got assurance from the Confederate Catholics, but it was not observed, as his house at Gortnaskehy was destroyed, his lands plundered, and Ballingarry still blockaded. Murrough Lord Inchiquin contrived to supply the garrison by water from county Clare. After "a year" the

¹ The Stacks were an old English family, which gave a Bishop to Ardferit in 1462, John Stack, who died in 1488, and whose successor was appointed in Stack's lifetime by Papal Provision of 27th October, in the latter year. A Gerald duff Stack was one of the three gentlemen of Clanmorris who had not taken arms against the Crown by 1587. The family sold Ballyloughbran to the Raymonds in 1600, but held Garranea and Stackstown, now Crotha, near Killyn (where Stack's Mountain bears their name) in 1649: see *Journal*, vol. xv., p. 353.

² Carew MSS., Cal. 1603. Smith's "Kerry," p. 297 (he confuses Berengary with Ballingarry in Co. Limerick), and Old Kerry Records, Series II., p. 3.

³ Hardiman maps, T.C.D., No. 3.

⁴ Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, No. 110.

drawbridge was treacherously lowered one night by Sergeant James Kelly and Calough FitzPatrick, a pikeman, and the Irish were admitted. Crosbie, who was ill, was roused by his niece at the first alarm, but, before he could rally his men, he was a prisoner. The Irish brought him to Ballybeggan Castle, near Tralee, intending to put him to death, but his niece, Katherine MacGillicuddy, contrived to get a message to her brother and cousin, Colonels MacGillicuddy and MacElligott, the sons of Crosbie's sisters, and they arrived in time to rescue their uncle. Crosbie was released and joined Lord Inchiquin at Cork. He was restored to his estates after the civil war, in 1651, and died in 1658, leaving a numerous offspring; he was buried at Ardferit. We do not here trace the history of his family after the close of their connexion with the old cliff fort he so gallantly defended for five years.

In 1786, the *Post Chaise Companion* says:—"Ballengarry is the scite of an old fort, separated from the country by a chasm of prodigious depth, through which the waves drive,"¹ but gives no history or tradition of the place.

THE CASTLE.—The remains are complicated, and best understood from the plan.² There are no certain remains of an early fort, but the earthworks on the "Island" and a semicircular trench, forming no integral part of the triangle of hollow ways, suggest a trace of such a structure as Islandikane.

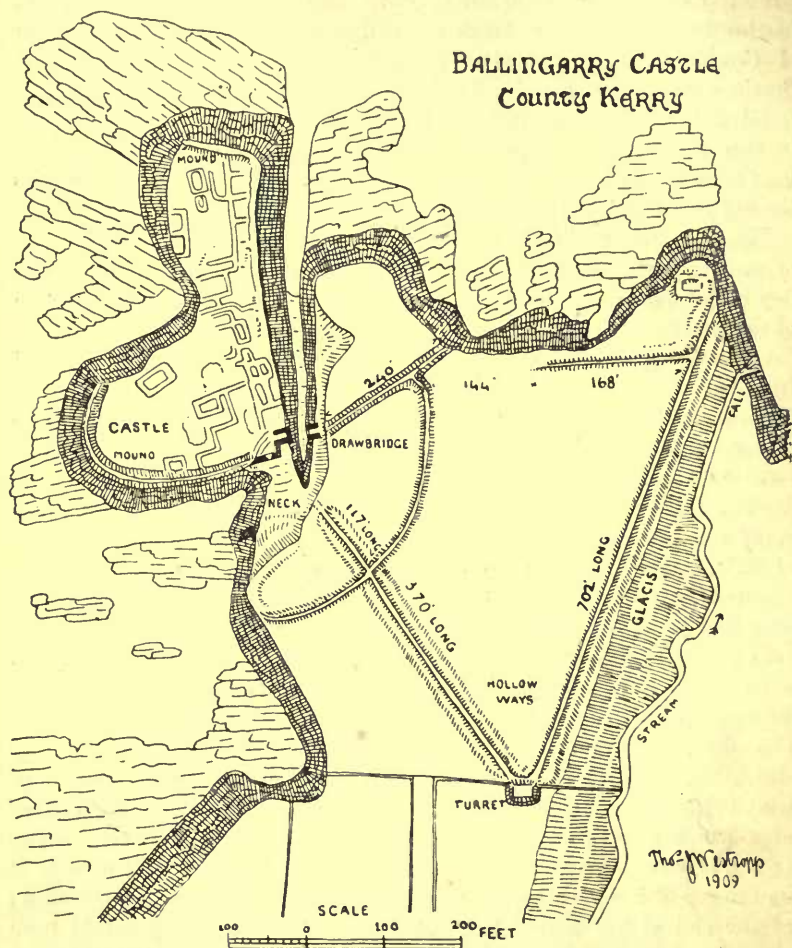
The ruin lies in Ballyheige parish, and is much defaced. To the landward we find Crosbie's turret; all its facing removed, a square mound of fallen masonry, 5 feet to 7 feet high; in 1841, a fragment of wall remained, 4 feet high and 6 feet thick. From this turret radiated two long hollow ways, supposed by the Ordnance Survey (with no authority save Smith's "covered ways") to be subterraneous passages. They form a V; the western is nearly 477 feet long, being a trench 8 feet to 10 feet wide, between two mounds, now 4 feet high and 12 feet thick: it runs to a deep hollow, which with a long narrow creek defended the inner ward. The eastern "way" is shown on the map as a "site," but is as well preserved as its neighbour; it runs for 702 feet to the foundation of a watch-house at the angle of the cliff, the site 27 feet long. The trench is defended by a mound, 4 feet high and 12 feet thick, outside it on the top of a steep slope, above a little stream falling over a low cliff; at the end of the mound is a set stone. The slope has probably been cleared to form a glacis on the more exposed flank, the western side and the north being fringed with continuous cliffs. From the north-east

¹ Col. 182. See for above history Smith's "Kerry," p. 211, and "Old Kerry Records," vol. ii., p. 4. Col. Crosbie recites his services at Ballingarry and Kinsale (January, 1641, to February, 1645) in his petition to Cromwell: see last work, p. 21. I find no allusion to the siege in the Depositions T.C.D.

² We enlarged the one on the 25-inch ordnance map, and worked in the detail, and checked the whole by actual measurement on the ground.

³ *Journal*, vol. xxxviii., p. 347.

corner of the "way" another trench, more slightly marked, runs westward for 168 feet, ending abruptly; thence in the same line, at 144 feet to the west, we reach the centre of the trench crossing the neck of the northern headland from the drawbridge. This last trench is 240 feet long to the steep bank; it is 30 feet from the edge of this to the face of



the landward pier of the drawbridge. Its mound was 9 feet wide; its fosse 6 feet across. A curved trench cuts at 117 feet from the northern end of the western way, and joins the "neck trench" at the 144-foot mark already noted. From its northern end a mound runs round the edge of the cliff and north eastward for 90 feet, in a curve. It evidently joined the western "way."

Crossing the deep hollow, with a picturesque view of the creek and drawbridge, we reach the older works. A strong wall with a reëntrant angle is worked into the cliff; it had a loophole, with a wide inward splay, beside which is a small ambry. The bastion is 28 feet long to the south, and 13 feet 6 inches to the east, and its wall is 5 feet to 5 feet 4 inches thick, the outer face rising from the cliff at the creek. From it projects a tower, 24 feet long and 19 feet wide; its side walls are 5 feet thick and 9 feet apart, the outer face flush with the cliff. It is now filled up to the top, but had a slope (or stair) to a gateway, now built up, whence the drawbridge led to the landward pier already noted. The long narrow creek is now called the "Leap" of Ballingarry; we have noted how often "Leaps" occur at fortified headlands.¹

The "Island" of Ballingarry is fenced, from the bastion onward, by a mound, 4 feet to 5 feet high and 12 feet thick, running in a regular curve round the south-west bend of the cliff; beyond this the mound and several house-sites have been cut away by falls of the cliff, showing severe erosion since 1645. The promontory has slight traces of a mound at the northern end, and perhaps along the eastern side, though, if so, very little remains.

Inside the garth a street of houses ran along the eastern side. There are six sites and a large enclosure near the bastion, an oblong house on the west of the south-eastern group, six more on the farther part of the promontory, and a long building with at least three rooms upon the eastern cliff. We indicate them as well as we had time to lay them down, but not as carefully detailed or checked as we could wish. They are all built of large blocks of red sandstone, and are all levelled to the foundation.

On either side of the laneway to the castle we find a large circular ring-fort of earth, probably once stone-faced; they are named respectively, the western, "Lisnamuck," the eastern, "Lisnagry," from the pigs and cattle once penned in them.

There is a very striking view of the low red cliffs, endless reefs, and small arches and the more distant bolder shores towards Castle Shannon and Kerry Head from nearly every part of the castle.

It is unfortunate that the 1841 "Letters" rarely do more than copy and revile Smith. Browne's Castle is alone described in detail, the other interesting sites, with their names and folk-lore, are virtually passed by in silence.

KERRY HEAD (O.S. 13, 14).

After leaving Ballingarry we ascend a lonely, heathery upland, on the flank of the hills forming Kerry Head. Over its ridge we lose the broad view of the Shanuon estuary, and gain one of the far more

¹ *Journal*, vol. xxxviii., p. 347.

beautiful bay, too great for a name, which ends in the bays of Tralee and Ballyheige, with its golden sands and its crescents of surf ramping to the shore. Beyond it lie the magnificent range of Slieve Mish and the whole length of Corcaquiny, with the great domes and peaks of Caherconree, Beenoskea, and Brandan, running for twenty-five miles farther seaward than the great headlands which ward the Shannon. The low, dark Magharees stand out in the glare of the bay, hiding their monastic ringwall, with its venerable cells and oratory, while inland lies the low sandy fringe, running into the undulating grassy country round Ardfert, and back to the confused masses of Stack's Mountains and Grannaruddery, and the bounds of Trughanacmy.

We meet but little of antiquarian interest—a couple of circular, furze-clad earthworks; one, its rings about 6 feet high and its garth 100 feet across, is named Lisnaleagh, of the calves, showing (like so many names of forts here) that it was used for domestic animals when the existing names of this character were conferred. We pass a weird pile of huge rocks, built without hands, rising tower-like, with projections like animals' heads. Another typical ring fort, like Lisnaleagh, is passed near Glenderry Bridge; it has a souterrain, now closed. At last, about four miles from Ballyheige demesne, the road degenerates to a rough bohereen, becomes impassable for cars, runs on to an open moor as a mere track, dies away, and we find ourselves on the short crisp gorse and heather overlooking a vast expanse of sea. Well might the ancient Irish, on the outmost fringe of the old world, liken eternity to "an eye measurement of the sea,"¹ as the priests of the inmost recesses of Asia call their Dalai Lama, "expanse of water." Below us, to either side, is a headland, each white with seabirds,² each fenced by two stone walls grey with lichen, the southern called Cahercarberybeg, the northern Cahercarbery-more.

Kerry Head has little written history, and its evident early importance has left no record. Its forts are not recorded till the middle of the eighteenth century; it is not shown on the early maps, 1570–1610, but is evidently a non-projecting "Ca Senan" (Shannon Head), with a "Ca done," perhaps a fort Caherdoon. It attracted notice for its beautiful amethysts. In 1709 the "Tourist," a resident in Dublin, a friend (or relative) of Lord Kerry, left us an interesting account of his expedition to see "the blew Kerry stones" in "ye west point of Kerry Head, or Teduff." The forts here and elsewhere are never noticed, but he tells the well-known story of the sea sweeping a ship to the summit of a rock 30 or 40 feet high; the crew (save the sick master) escaped just before a second wave lifted and hurled the ship down the cliff to

¹ "The Battle of Magh Leana," p. 99.

² The Patent Roll, v Jac. I. (No. xx., pars. 1, dorso), grants the puffins reserved to the late Earl of Desmond in Clonemorris to Sir Thomas Roper. In 1756 the value of these birds was a peck of meal for two salted puffins; they were eaten as fish during Lent (Smith's "Kerry," p. 112).

entire destruction.¹ Smith, in 1756, mentions the same event at "Ballyheige Head" names "Cahercarbree," and describes the Cleeroe, the Bone, and the Amethyst cliffs, telling about a set of these beautiful gems given to Queen Charlotte.² In 1786 the "Postchaise Companion"³ describes the amethysts as "various degrees and shades of purple: some approach to a violet, and others are of a pale rose colour," while some are "as colourless as chrystal." We may note that Cumberland's "Voyage to the Azores" in 1599 mentions stones "clear as crystal naturally squared like diamonds," as found in Corcaaguiny.⁴

The noble Bay evidently represents the "Dour potamos" of Ptolemy's Atlas, for (as Miss Hickson notes) the Plain of "Magh Dúr" near Tralee, "Moidore well" (Moydur, in early form), and "Bunyoinder" or "Bun-awoun-dur" (Bun abhainn dúr, mouth of the river Dúr), on the south shore, contain that name. Camden so regarded the river Lee, at Tralee; Smith rejected the view because of the insignificance of that stream, but a mariner would have regarded the whole vast bay as the mouth of the Dúr.⁵

BALLYHEIGE PARISH (locally pronounced Ballyhigue) was named from an old church, now levelled, at a place of that name, meaning Teigue's town. Legend says that an older church lies under the bay, where some rocks show in the water,⁶ buried in the sea like Monaster Letteragh, in Mayo, and Killstuiffen, in Clare, "si quaeris urbes, invenies sub aquis." Its weird and striking legend is familiarised by Crofton Croker.⁷ Durfulla, "Leaping Water," the daughter of a sea king, loved and wed a Cantillon (or MacElligott), sacrificing, like Undine, untold wealth and centuries of life to her love. She died young, and was laid in the sea-girt churchyard. Then her father yearned to have his daughter's grave near him, and he set his "gnawing, white-toothed waves" to cut the roots of the island and sink it in the deep. He pledged his mer-folk to bury Durfulla's descendants, the Cantillons, till human eye saw the sea-folk at their task, and human ear heard their dirges. How this service ended is told fully in "Florry Cantillon's funeral."

The Cantillons held Ballyheige from the thirteenth century under the Lords of Kerry, one of whom, Nicholas, gave it and other lands in Killury as the marriage portion of a daughter married to Maurice the first Earl of Desmond; but some confusion seems evident in this

¹ "Tour in Kerry" (MSS., T.C.D., I., 4, 13. Smith tells the same story in 1756. ("Kerry," p. 211), and is followed by most later writers.

² Smith's "Kerry," pp. 211, 402.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 182.

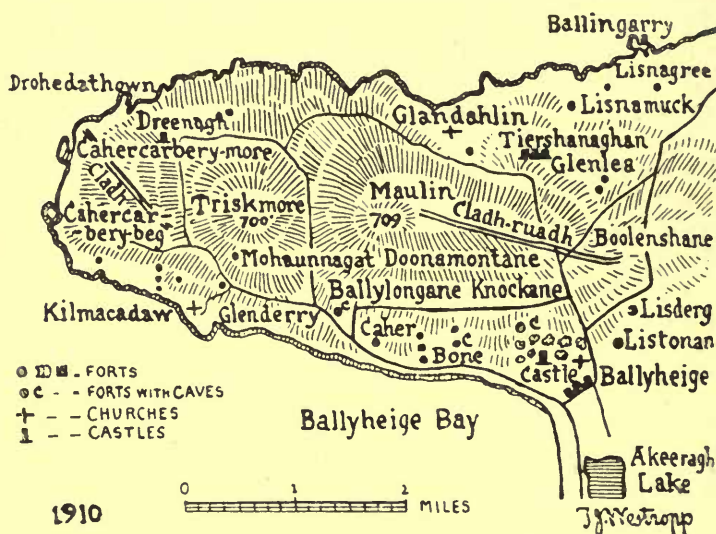
⁴ "Voyage to the Azores," Hakluyt Society.

⁵ *Journal*, vol. xxiv., p. 259, "Old Kerry Records," Series I., pp. 125 and 127; Smith's "Kerry," p. 230.

⁶ Smith, p. 216.

⁷ "Fairy Legends of the South of Ireland" (1862), T. Crofton Croker, p. 190.

statement. In 1441, Thomas, Earl of Desmond, and Edmond, son of Maurice Cantillon, "Lord" of "Ballyheige or Heyston in Offeriba," are named in a charter. The Lordship of the place was confiscated from Gerald Earl of Desmond, after the rebellion, in 1582, and was granted to George Isham, in 1597, and to Thomas, Lord of Lixnaw, in 1612. Thomas Cantillon still held Ballyheige or Heyston, and Thomas MacDowny and James MacThomas claimed Glanedahlin from the grantees. Miss Hickson regards Heyston as the Norse "Haa Stein," or



High Stone, but it is evidently a translation (or adaptation) of "Teige's town." In 1623, Richard, son of Thomas Cantillon, owned the three Ballyheiges or Heyston and Kilvickydee (Kilmacadau), but it was forfeited by Thomas Contillone in 1651. It fell into the hands of the Drurys, and was confirmed to Robert Drury, November, 1667. In August, 1680, the Crosbies got a lease for thirteen years, and among the "claims"³ put in before 1702, on the lands confiscated in 1688, Elizabeth Crosbie lodged one regarding the lease and release of

¹ Smith, p. 197.

² Chichester House Claims, No. 2914. Some say that the Crosbies are of Celtic origin, and O'Donovan gives their descent as from Patrick Crosbie, a son of Mac an Crossan, O'More's bard, citing a tract in the State Paper Office, dated 1600 ("Tribes of Ireland," note, p. 25). Others derive them from the Crosbie family of Great Crosbie in Lancashire. They settled in Kerry late in Elizabeth's reign.

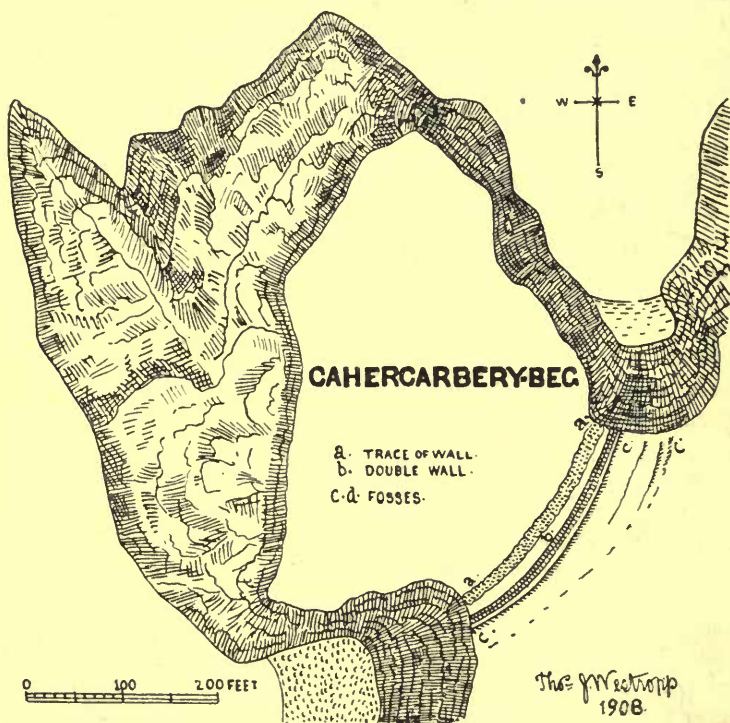
³ Inquisitions, Chancery, No. 7 and No. 31, James I, Series II., *Journal*, xxii., p. 144, and same Inquisitions, Elizabeth (grant to Charles Herbert), and Charles I., No. 80; Fiants, Elizabeth, 6479, 6497, and 6034. The forfeiting proprietors of Clanmaurice are given in "Old Kerry Records," Series II, p. 37, and in John O'Hart's "Irish Landed Gentry" (ed. 1884), p. 290; Iraghticonnor is given, *ibid.*, p. 291.

Ballyhigue and other lands, "lest the proprietor should be any forfeiting person." The Cantillons still subsist among the gentry of Munster, but many fled abroad: some won unspotted fame in the campaigns of the eighteenth century; one gained a doubtful place in history, and a legacy from Napoleon, by his attempt to assassinate the Duke of Wellington, and another, the Chevalier Antoine de Cantillon, was created "Baron de Ballyhigue" by Louis Philippe.

CAHERCARBERY (O.S.13). The Cahercarberybeg and Cahercarberymore at the end of Kerry Head, in Tiduff, give one an impression of vast antiquity. Compared with others of our stone forts, the heaps of grey, mossy stones seem to belong to remoter ages even than the great ruins of Moghane and Turlough Hill, still more so than the other ring walls of Aran, Clare, and Mayo, and those of County Kerry. Also the fosses are greatly filled and the rings worn down, with little if any trace of deliberate levelling, apparently only by ages of rain and storm. Whatever be the truth, the earthworks of Tara, Emania, and Dun Ailinn seem fresh and late compared to the timeworn ramparts of the Cahercarberymore and beg forts. History and tradition are silent; and to add to all this sense of age and mystery, the site is lonely in the extreme; the only living things visible on my visit were the drifts of snowy gulls and the sheep dotted up the green and velvet-like slope, below the gold and purple crown of the hills. Despite the allegation of size in the name, Cahercarberymore is really little larger than its neighbour, but it is seen in its full extent, while the Cahercarberybeg walls run over a hummock and can only be half seen. Each fort contains about 3 acres, but much is steeply sloped; there are no landing-places or sheltered coves near them, and they were probably from this cause and lack of shelter intended merely as temporary refuges to the people of Kerry Head from landward raids, not the home of sea-rovers as a starting-point for conquest. The steep seaward slopes add to their unsheltered character; as a rule, the garth is either level or slopes towards the defence. Such is the case at the promontory forts of Caherconree, Doonsheane, and Doon-Eask in this county, at Doonaunmore in Clare, and (to take a notable continental example) at the rock of Solutré in France. Whether this unusual selection implies inexperience in the early builders, or merely the want of such refuge and lack of more convenient headlands, need not be at present decided.

CAHERCARBERYBEG. The rampart runs over a high bowed ridge, and is convex to the land and 240 feet long; it consists of two walls and as many fosses. Of the inner or westerly wall, a long band of small field stones, mere filling, remains, rising but little over the sward; all the facing is gone, and it is 12 feet wide. An interspace of velvet-like sea-pink lies between the walls, which are 31 feet apart; the north end having fallen away, we can see that a layer of stones underlies it, and that the walls, as usual, rested on the old surface. The outer (or

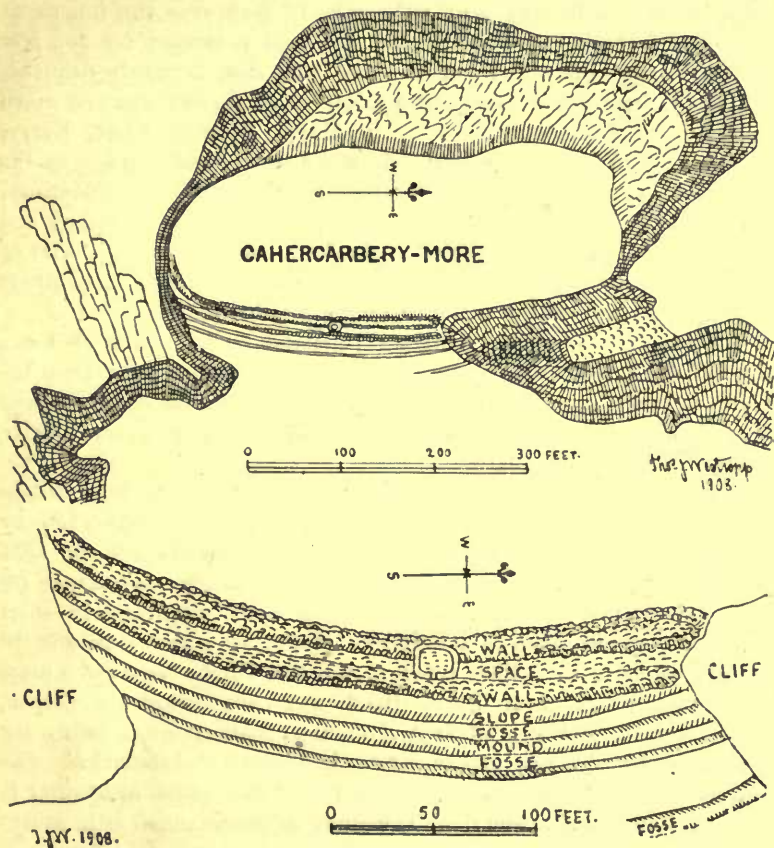
landward) wall is of fairly large stones with relics of the facing; it either consisted of two sections or of a rampart and terrace, the western being 6 feet, the eastern 8 or 9 feet, and the thickness from 14 to 16 feet. The outer wall in such structures is usually thicker than the inner section, and it is possible that it resembles the "murum duplex," noted by Cæsar in the Gaulish forts. The faces in the middle of the wall are of course best preserved, but all is being overturned (as too usual) by idlers. The interspace may have been occupied by huts, but there are no traces here or in the garth, and we are inclined to believe



CAHERCARBERY-BEG FORT, KERRY HEAD.

that the eastern wall was built out of the material of the western wall in early times, though we can give no reason for the change, except the fact of the otherwise unaccountable demolition of the less accessible inner wall, while so much of the outer wall remains. Outside (i.e., landward) is a shallow ditch 6 feet wide, and a low mound 33 feet away, along which, here and there, are traces of a deeper fosse 5 to 8 feet wide, like all these ditches unusually narrow. The fortifications are about 100 feet over all, and 240 feet long, and there are no hut rings in the field outside the fort.

CAHERCARBERYMORE. This fort lies about half a mile from the last. We pass along the edge of boldly stratified red and brown cliffs, crossing bright little brooks from the hill side, and reach a bold headland, with a picturesque creek and caves to the south. The works consist of a series of three mounds, with fosses and two walls inside, curving convex to the land. The walls rise on a natural ridge at a fault in the rock, which, as usual, attracted the fort-builders to adopt it as part of



CAHERCARBERY-MORE FORT, KERRY HEAD.

their defences. The fort, though greatly defaced, forms an imposing object; the storms, and perhaps man, have spread and lowered the walls, but the two lines with an interspace can be disentangled in the wide belt of stones on which a rude cattle shelter has been built near the middle of the rampart. The inner is 315 feet long, curving round the edge of the south cliff, which shows that no great change in the rocks has occurred there since its construction. The outer wall is

280 feet long, cut at both ends. The walls and interspace measure respectively 8, 12, and 18 feet to the south; 5 to 7, 8, and 21 feet at the middle; and 6, 9, and 15 near the north end. At the foot of the wall is a mound, over 6 feet thick and 3 feet high, then a fosse 6 feet wide and rarely over a yard deep, then a mound 6 feet thick, and the outer fosse 9 feet wide, and rarely over a foot deep, though clearly marked. At 21 feet outside the northern end of it is another ditch 10 feet wide, dying away southward. The heaps of red and purple blocks, sheeted with long grey moss, rise 10 feet over the innermost fosse and 5 feet above the garth, and are well preserved for 285 feet from the north cliff. The curve round the cliff is much removed, probably by the bane of Irish antiquities, idlers, throwing stones down the cliff. No forts known to us in Mayo, Galway, Clare, Kerry, Waterford, or Wexford have such narrow mounds and ditches as the Tiduff forts, or the two walls close together, but with an interspace; the nearest approach to the latter feature is in Dun Aenghus and Cahercommaun, but both of these are ringforts, not promontory forts. I prefer accordingly to give full descriptions and plans, and to leave others to attempt the explanation of the two forts of Cahercarbery.

There is another long projecting headland to the north at Fox's Cove, but the map shows no entrenchment, nor could I see any from the hillside to make me add to the delay and toil of a long and wearying day, darkening into what resulted in a cold, damp evening, and a drive prolonged till long after dark.

THE CLEEROE (O.S. 13-14). The Cladh-ruadh, or Red Ditch, phonetically called "Cleeroo" was first, I believe, noted in 1756, by Dr. Charles Smith.¹ Many have quoted, but none seem to have extended or re-examined his description. Let this be my excuse for giving this imperfect account, for I only saw comparatively short portions at opposite ends of the Head. Smith says that "an ancient boundary called in Irish Clee Ruad, or the Red Ditch, begins at a place called Cahercarbree, near Kerry Head, and runs toward the Cashin, where, on the other side of that river, it appears again, crossing the mountain of Knockanure, and runs into the County of Limerick." The Knockanure mentioned is not the brown hill of that name, so familiar to visitors at Ballybunnion and those travelling on the Shannon or in south-eastern Clare, but a place, half way between Listowel and Athea, near which village and within the bounds of county Limerick traces of the "Cladh" are also found.

The word "cladh," like every other Irish name for ancient entrenchments, tells us little, if anything, of its object or character. The Dagda, that divine fort-builder, trenched Rathbrese, and is described standing in its "cladh."² Early writers apply the word to the rampart of that

¹ "Kerry," p. 219.

² The double entrenchments must be remotely ancient, as the trench "Slicht loirge

Tara fort where King Laoghaire was buried upright and in arms; while Adamnan uses it for an ordinary bank or dyke.¹ In Clare the peasantry call an entrenched hill "Cladh na ngall." The works possibly date from Richard de Clare's repulse, in 1315, when marching by the shortest route from Bunratty against the Bruce's invading hosts.² The ditch commences, not at Cahercarbery, but some 1100 feet to the north of that fort, at the edge of an abrupt cliff. Perhaps it once commenced at a bay, or fort, long since obliterated by the sea. The entrenchment is not defensive, like the Duncladh, Worm Ditch ("cladh na peiste"), or Dane's Cast in Ulster and the great works of the Raduff in Idrone, Co. Carlow,³ or that on the border of Limerick and Cork. Nor does it resemble the parallel mounds of the ancient roads in Co. Limerick and Co. Waterford, which are called "Rian Bo." If a mearing, it is strange to find it so regardless of natural features; it begins at a cliff, runs through the middle of a peninsula and over hills, plains, and rivers, regulated by no recognizable point of the compass or prominent mountain, without tradition in any early book or modern legend to explain its object, or to cover the ignorance of the inhabitants of the district.

At its western end the ditch is only 3 or 4 feet wide and deep, with a mound of earth and stones to the south, rarely over 6 feet thick or a foot or two high. One might cross it without suspecting it to be more than a defaced field ditch; but as you follow it up the hill, doubt as to its being anything noteworthy vanishes. It runs towards the E.S.E. straight up the hill (cutting at one point through a ridge of rock) for about 4500 feet through Tiduff, and vanishes on the moorland about 6000 feet from the cliff. No trace is recorded for about 2½ miles, when the Cladh suddenly reappears on the moor near the eastern summit of Maulin Hill, in Dromatoor. It runs in a nearly straight line eastward through Doonamontane and Knockane, forms the south mear of Glenlea, and continues in a south-easterly course by an old path in Booleenshare, beyond which it is lost, while a considerable group of ring forts appears. In all the Cladh extends for nearly 2 miles. We know of no further trace, but commend the search to local workers. Thence, if Smith be accurate, it ran to the Cashen, between which river and the "cladh" a track of an old road is shown on the map (No. 16). This begins at Ballynegara, near Lixnaw, running through it, Ballyhennessy, and Clooncolla to the bounds of Ballyhorgan, near Ballintogher, in a north-

an Dagdae" was attributed to the Dagda (Battle of Moytura, p. 87), and made by the prongs of his fork.

¹ "Battle of Moytura, p. 65. Dind Senchas of Tara, and Adamnan's "Life of St. Columba."

² *Journal*, xxi., p. 464. The hill seems to have had marks of triple entrenchments in 1839, but only one ring is shown on the map, and only slight traces of this one remained even in 1891.

³ See Mercator's map of Idrone; led by this, O'Donovan and O'Curry found traces of the "Gripe of the Black Pig" in Kellymount, 1839 (O. S. Letters, Killenny, vol. ii., p. 254).

easterly direction. The ring forts lie mainly beside the present road through Causeway, which on that account is probably an ancient line of traffic, if not the successor of the Cladh-ruadh itself. Perhaps these lines represent the "Toghers of Lixnaw," made, with the bridge, after 1312 by Nicholas, Lord of Kerry. The names "Ballintogher," near the more northern track, and "Causeway" support the latter view, while not excluding the former.

After passing the Cashen and Galey rivers and Knockanure, it was next found at Athea. As we have endeavoured to show, the famous fortress of Tara Luachra lay near Portrinard,¹ between Athea and Abbeyfeale, and may have been the objective of the Cladh. Southward, near Abbeyfeale, another ditch commences, called the Cladh dubh or Cleeduff (Black Ditch), and eventually the Cladh-buidhe or Cleebwee (Yellow Ditch). The Rev. J. Begley² most kindly gave me notes on its course. He says:—"The Cladh Dubh runs from Abbeyfeale Hill through the townlands of Drumtrasna, Ballycommene, Tournafulla, and the commons of Cleanglas." He heard that it was found at Drumroe, a part of Killeedy Hill. "It is a small, flat ditch passing through the townlands," and is made of crumbling, boggy clay. "The Cleanglas people call it 'Cladh-buidhe,' and say they always heard it ran from sea to sea." It seems to have continued to Rathgogan, near Charleville, in Co. Cork, where it was called the Cladh-dubh-na-ratha, "the Black Ditch of Rath" (gogan).

There is (it may be remembered) a similar work near Lismore, in Co. Waterford, running along the foot of the Knockmealdown Mountains, and called the Cladh-dubh. This joined the double-fenced Rian-bo, running from Ardmore to Ardfinnan, and possibly once to Cashel; but whether it ran westward to join its namesake near Charleville remains to be tested.

Father Begley tells me further that "there is part of a very formidable rampart between the counties of Cork and Limerick to the west of Tullylease. Some poor people, about thirty years ago, levelled a part of it, built houses upon the foundations, and enjoyed the privilege of being in neither county, as they managed to arrange the door in such a way as to evade the law. I cannot say that this is part of the old Cladh. I thought at one time that it might be the fosse filled up by Meyler fitz Henry in the Co. Limerick, and referred to in Sweetman's Calendar." It is much to be hoped that, before the remains and traditions now perishing so rapidly get absolutely lost, some worker may emulate the valuable work of Rev. Canon W. H. Lett, Rev. Patrick Power, and Mr. De Vismes Kane³ by tracing and recording the long earthworks,

¹ *Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. xxvi. (c), p. 62.

² Who first recorded this remarkable "track": see "Diocese of Limerick," p. 25.

³ *Journal*, vol. xxviii., p. 1, and vol. xxxv., p. 110; *Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. xxvii.

whether tribal bounds or entrenched roads, of the early Irish in Clannmaurice and elsewhere.

An incidental allusion to the Cladh-dubh in 1642 shows that it was known as a road on the borders of Limerick and Kerry. In the Deposition of Edward Vaucher, March 21st, 1643, he says that, when sent, about midsummer last (1642), by Sir Edward Denny from Cork into Kerry to prevent the garrison of Tralee from surrendering to the Confederates, "he was by the way taken prisoner about the *Black Walk*, in the middle of the mountains called Slieve Lougher, by Teigue Mac Auliff, of Castle Mac Auliffe, Conoghor Clough, near Liscarroll, and others, who brought him to Adare, where he was exchanged for Captain James Browne."¹ The Black Ditch, in far later times, used to be followed by people having to drive cattle over Slieve Luachra. There was also a Cassan-na-bo-ruadh, or Red Cow's Path, from Inchigeola Lake to Tobbernakilla, on the mountains of Muskerry, in Western Cork, said to have been made by a fairy cow,² but probably originating in the prosaic fact of being used by local drivers. Cork has also another legend of a "Bo ruadh," red (or skinless) cow, which, with two fine calves, came from Coolacleevaun to be milked in Lisduff fort. The peasantry carried off the calves, but the cow pursued, recovered her young, and disappeared with them into a fort. A similar legend is told of a "Bo vaun," white cow, and her two calves, but she fled to Gaorha Island, in the River Lee.³ Not to multiply examples of such legends, the double lines of the Rian-bo-phadruig trenches at Ardpatrick, Co. Limerick, and Ardmore, Co. Waterford, are alleged to be made by the horns of St. Patrick's cow,⁴ while the Ulster and Carlow lines were rooted by the formidable "Black Pig,"⁵ and the Worm Ditch was made by the sinuous track of a huge serpent.

RING FORTS, KERRY HEAD.—Ring forts, usually earthen and stone-faced, are numerous round Ballyheige. We can only briefly give their names and numbers, for we only examined a few. Lisduff has two rings, a fosse, and a souterrain or "cave." Round Ballyheige to the north are Lissaniska, Lissard and six lesser ones, Lislaur, with a cave, Lisroo, Lisderg, Caherulla, Lisheenatraw, Lisnaleagh, Liscgortnarughel, and Listoneen. Westward they are few; three have caves; three lesser

(c.), p. 301; Canon Lett, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, new edition, vol. iii., pp. 23, 67; "Ancient Forts of Ireland," section 149. I have reconsidered and modify the views in the last paper as to the impossibility of regarding the Dun Cladh and Worm Ditch, the Dorsey and Dane's Cast, as connecting and forming one work.

¹ Depositions, Co. Kerry, T.C.D. Library, published by Miss Hickson in "Ireland in the Seventeenth Century," p. 127.

² MSS., R.I.A. 12 i. 9, p. 340.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

⁴ "The Cattle Raid Cualnge" (ed. W. Faraday), p. 141, says that the Bull "dug a trench" in Cualgne in Co. Louth, and went along the Slige Midluachra road, where he "made a trench there, whence Gort buraig, field of the trench."

⁵ Mr. Kane collects the legends in his paper, *Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. xxvii. (c.), p. 322, and the Dind Senchas of Moylena connects the Dub Clais, Black Trench, with a pig (*Revue Celtique*, xvi., p. 63).

ones, with a Caher (still used for burial in 1841), lie in Ballylongane, with the "Bone."

The "Bone," bodhun (bawn or cattle fort), is a late structure, possibly, as Smith suggests, made by the Cantillons. It measures about 168 feet each way, being roughly rectangular, but with rounded corners. The wall is of stone, set in clay mortar, and about 7 feet thick and high. It had loopholes. A cave is said to run from it to the shore.¹ It has been greatly defaced since 1756.

We noted Glenderry liss; westward from it are two forts and three small house rings, two with "caves." The "Garrison," to the southwest of Ballyheige, has been described, with a plan, in the first part of this paper.² Mohaunnagat, a small fort, lies on the slope of Triskmore Hill.

CHURCHES (O. S. 14).—To complete as far as possible this account, we must briefly describe two churches.

TEMPLEDAHALIN lies in the lonely valley of Glandahalin, on the northern shore of the Head. It is named from a sainted lady, Daithlionn,³ and stands some 300 yards from the shore, being built of large blocks of sandstone. The northern and western walls had fallen before 1841. It was a small early oratory, 18 feet 10 inches long and 11 feet wide, the walls about 3 feet thick, and the south side 9 feet high. The southern door had a lintel, but was defaced. The east window had inclined jambs and an arched head of four stones running through the wall. Near it Tobar na sul, "well of the eyes." As its name implies, it was believed to cure sore eyes.

KILMACADAW, Cil mhic Deaghaid, Kilvickydae in 1623, Kill Mac Ida in 1756, was named (it is said) from a brother of St. Dahalin, "son of the widowed St. Ida," says Smith. He adds that the Corridons,⁴ in the latter year, preserved a wooden image which they had brought from Clare, called the image of St. Ida.⁵ The church stands in a group of cottages near the south shore, and is built of large sandstone blocks. The gables are levelled, and all features defaced. It is 46 feet long by 16½ feet wide. The holy well lies near the cliff.⁶

¹ Smith, p. 219. For other fort names—Thomas Cantylone of Ballyheige, at his death, February 2nd, 1613, held Lyshyeronikane, Lyshydowne, and Donnemountaine, in this district.

² *Supra*, p. 12. Miss Hickson describes none of the forts in this district save the fine fort of Liscanearla, or Lissnadreeglee, on Doon Hill, near Odorney—*Journal*, xv., p. 361.

³ The name is also found north of the Shannon, at Lisdundahlin, Co. Clare, near Loop Head (see *Journal*, xxxviii., p. 228), supposed to be called from a warrior, a brother of the "Lone Woman" (*ibid.*, p. 351).

⁴ Migrants from Clare, like the Cahanes and Cuneens; Philip Corridon is ordered to be transplanted as a "Papist proprietor in Clanmorris," January 27th, 1657 (Council Book, Dublin Castle). Thomas Corridan, of Tighduff, in 1731 solicited Darby Trassy to carry off the Danish silver stored at Ballyheige Castle.

⁵ Smith's "Kerry," p. 211.

⁶ Described in O. S. Letters, Kerry, Ballyheige, pp. 283, 284.

This paper has been unduly prolonged, but this may be condoned for the sake of those to whom, even when living in Kerry, this beautiful and interesting part of the Atlantic coast was, like its local history, unknown. No one seems to have worked systematically on these two northern baronies. The task is eminently one for local students, especially the clergy. Names, folklore, and legends, perhaps even antiquities, which suspicion may have concealed from me, might be collected by them. I found that (unlike the inhabitants of Mayo, Galway, and Clare) the people on the coast of Kerry Head and near Ballybunnion were uncommunicative and at times openly resentful of a stranger engaged in so incomprehensible a pursuit as examining old forts and trying to ascertain local names. I must, however, except the people at Leck and Lissadooneen and those of Killury Parish, who were uniformly kind, friendly, and ready to help. We can only hope that, when others have spread the light on the history and national importance of such researches, suspicion may be disarmed, and the helpful courtesy found nearly everywhere in Connacht and Munster may become a characteristic of all the people of the coast of Northern Kerry.¹

¹ I must acknowledge kind help from Rev. J. Begley as to the Cladh dubh; Mr. M. J. M'Eney in many questions of the records; and Dr. G. U. MacNamara in photographic matters. Mr. J. Cooke kindly lent me a plan of the "cave" at Ballybunnion Castle; but as it seemed, from what I saw on the spot, to be unconnected with that structure, it was better in so long a paper to adhere to my original plan.

(To be continued.)

THE NAME AND FAMILY OF OUSELEY.

BY RICHARD J. KELLY.

[Read MARCH 29, 1910.]

THE name of Ouseley was in Ireland, particularly in that part of the West, Dunmore, in the County of Galway, once very well known. It had many distinguished representatives one hundred and fifty years ago, and even some fifty years later; but Ireland has none of the name to-day. It gave men to Science, to Diplomacy, to Music, to all the professions; and its last notable representative was Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley, an eminent musician, and the composer of several religious airs, who died Precentor of Oxford in 1889. Wesley found one of his ablest assistants in the Rev. Gideon Ouseley, who was born at Dunmore. He was a famous preacher, who nearly always addressed the people in Irish, which he spoke as well as he did English. He was a noted and ardent controversialist, and wrote many controversial books, now little read. A Life of him by Thomas M'Cullagh was published by Charles Kelly of London some years ago, and sold for a penny. Therein are recounted more or less accurately the principal facts and stirring incidents of the rather stormy life of this "swaddlin' preacher," as it was then the habit of the people of Ireland, we learn from the author, to call the Methodists. Gideon was, as I said, born in Dunmore (Co. Galway) in the year 1762, on the 24th February, the elder son of John Ouseley, of Derrymore House; and he was so called after his grandfather Gideon, the fourth son of Jasper Ouseley, who was the first of the family to come to and settle in Dunmore. He received his education from a Catholic priest, the Rev. Thomas Keene, P.P., of Kilmeena, near Westport, who was himself educated, as were all the Catholic priests then, on the Continent, and whom his pupil described as "a perfect Latinist and mathematician." From one Dr. Robinson of Dublin, who was brought down as tutor to his cousins, afterwards Sir William and Sir Gore Ouseley, the eminent Orientalists (sons of Captain Ralph Ouseley), Gideon learned Greek, and he was a proficient in Latin, English, Greek, and of course Irish, speaking and writing all four languages with equal facility and fluency. Gideon was intended for the Protestant Church by his parents, they and all before them, since their advent to Ireland from Shropshire, being Protestants. In the old records of the Dunmore Church, Dr. M'Cutecheon of Belfast found entries of the Ouseleys dating from 1719 to 1812, almost a hundred



THE CASTLE, DUNMORE, CO. GALWAY.

100-1-100-100

years' continuous family history, when the connexion ceased so far as such written evidence went. The last of the Ouseleys in Dunmore was Captain Richard Ouseley, who died in 1830, and who left half of whatever little he possessed to his nephew Richard Kelly, of Turrock, Loughrea, my grandfather. Gideon's father removed, with his family, to a place he purchased near Castlerea, in the adjoining county of Roscommon, called Spring Lawn, and there they grew up. Near this was born Sir William Wilde. Here Gideon met and married Miss Harriett Wills, of Wills-grove (a relative of the great dramatist), and entering on their married life at a place called Wood Hill, there they lived happily for some years. He returned to Dunmore in 1791 with his wife, and took up his residence at Derrymore House, about a mile from the town, while his father lived at the Castle Farm. The present house of Prospect, which replaced the old one, was built in 1834, and it is just beside the old Castle of Dunmore, one of the far-famed O'Connor castles still in fair preservation. In 1791 we find Gideon Ouseley as the rector's churchwarden of the church of Dunmore, once a Catholic monastery. To the loss of his eye by an accident was attributed by his biographer what he called his conversion to Methodism. A man named Hart, who was accompanying Gideon on a walk, happened to be carrying an old fowling-piece, which accidentally went off, and the contents lodged in Gideon's eye and blinded him. The great John Wesley visited Galway twice in the course of his wonderful missionary career, his second visit being in 1791, the year before which Gideon Ouseley joined that body. Wesley founded a society in Galway, and Duncan Wright, who was a soldier, used to preach in his regimentals to those that cared to listen to his fervid discourses. He left the Army, and became an itinerant preacher; and it is curious to add that it was through the Army that Methodism came into Dunmore, as it did into Galway. A detachment of the 4th Royal Irish Dragoons happened to be ordered to take up its quarters in the barracks at Dunmore, always a cavalry station down to within the last twenty years, and with them came Quartermaster Robinet, who hired a room there, and started preaching. Ultimately, to further the cause, came David Gordon of Birr, who, with John Hurley, a Wicklow preacher, then stationed at Aughrim, about twenty-eight miles from Dunmore as the crow flies, initiated Gideon Ouseley, and he joined the body in 1792. Gideon became a very enthusiastic preacher. He went through the country preaching, often with more zeal than discretion, and consequently provoking unpleasant interruptions from the crowd. At the time of the Rebellion, Gideon Ouseley lived in Ballymote, Co. Sligo, and later on went into Sligo. He was a remarkable preacher, we are told, and he nearly always preached in the vernacular. He died in Dublin in 1839, on the 14th May, and was buried with his brother Sir Ralph and his wife Harriett Wills in Mount Jerome Cemetery. The Willses were in themselves a distinguished

family, one of them being an author of renown in London, and a writer of plays. The dramatist died there some thirty years ago. I believe Sir William Wilde, a renowned antiquarian, was connected with the Willses of Willsgrove, near Castlereagh, and was born near that town. Such was Gideon Ouseley, in a way a most remarkable man; and it is curious that Wilde and Wills should have been born so near to each other.

Now a few words about the origin of the Ouseley family so far as it is known, and particularly of its connexion with Ireland. The Ouseleys were originally a Shropshire family. Various are the etymologies that have been suggested for the name. Some say the original family was Lee, and that, dwelling in the West, they became known as West Lees, later Wesley and Ouseley. This theory is more ingenious than correct; and it would seem to be inspired by a wish to connect them with the Wesleys, with whom later on, as we know, Gideon was so conspicuously connected. Others attribute the name to the fact of their residence near or beside the well-known river Ouse; and that seems the more probable. The family crest is a wolf's head, with a bleeding hand in its mouth, the motto being "*Mors lupi, agnis vita.*" The legend is that a gallant warrior of the name of Ouseley married a most beautiful girl, whose name was Agnes, in the time of Edward I, who, after his return from the Holy Land, marched into Wales to attack its prince. Ouseley, being a well-to-do loyalist, invited his sovereign to his house, and, going to meet the king, left his newly wed bride at home, who, when she was proceeding to welcome the royal party the next day, with her maids of honour, was attacked by a wolf, which bit off her hand. The husband killed the beast in the act, and cut off its head. Before this adventure the Ouseley arms were "or, a chevron in chief, sable"; but on this occasion, and in consequence of this incident, the king granted the augmentation of "three holly leaves vert," and added a crest of a black wolf's head erased, with a right hand in its mouth, couped at the wrist gules on a ducal coronet, with the words "*mors lupi, agnis vita.*" It is said that in some Shropshire church is a monument to this Ouseley and his lady, representing her as wanting the right hand. The first authentic record we have goes back to one Thomas Ouseley, of St. Winifred's, Salop, in 1486. In the 14th year of Elizabeth, 1572, Richard Ouseley, great-grandson of the above Thomas, held by grant of the Crown the estate of Courteen Hall, in the county of Northampton, and was succeeded by his son, Sir John Ouseley, in 1598. He was a military officer, went as ambassador to the Emperor of Morocco, and fell at the siege of Breda in 1624, leaving by his wife Martha, Richard, who became a major in the service of Charles I (from 1625 to 1640). He left as his heir his eldest son (1650), the Rev. Richard Ouseley, Rector of Cottingham, who was succeeded by his brother Jasper, who married Sarah, daughter of Henry Chambers, and left an only son Jasper.

Richard Ouseley, of Courteen Hall, in Northamptonshire, married Jane, daughter of Mr. Arden of Kent. There was no issue. He married secondly Magdalen, third daughter and heiress of John Wake, Esq., in said county, by whom he had issue John, born in 1568; Richard, born in 1570; Jasper, born in 1571; Mary, born in 1573; Bridget, born in 1575; Dorothy, born in 1580; William, born in 1584; Magdalen, born in 1586; Anne, born in 1588.

Sir John Ouseley, knight, eldest son of the aforesaid Richard Ouseley, married Martha, daughter of Bartholomew Tate, Esq. By her he had issue Dorothy, born in 1589; Knightly, born in 1590; Richard, died an infant; Anne, born in 1593; Richard, born in 1594, on the 16th November; and Francis, born in 1597.

Richard Ouseley, of Courteen Hall, Northamptonshire, was the only surviving son of the aforesaid Sir John Ouseley. He married a daughter of Mark Parker, of Underwood, near Alderney, county of Buckingham, and had the following issue:—John, born 6th June, 1624. He came over to Ireland, and died at Ballycogley, Co. Wexford, on the 4th November, 1660. I cannot find if he left any descendants, or if he were married. The extracts from the old Courteen Hall records simply state his coming and settlement in Ireland. Richard's other children were—Richard, born at Courteen Hall on the 11th October, 1625; Martha, born May, 1627; Elizabeth, born July 12, 1629; Jasper, born September 12, 1630; Charles, born November, 1631, and died in the Barbadoes, September 26, 1649; Mary (no date given for the birth); Stephen, born on St. Stephen's Day, 1634, died July, 1635, barely a year old at her untimely death; Penelope, born 26th December, 1635; Anne, born March 27, 1637; Mark, died at the age of one month, 25th June, 1638; and a second, Mark, who was born in September, 1642. In the Northampton Probate Registry (1638–40) appears this entry:—"1639, Sept. 21.—A. K. Suppe, of London, and Francis Ously, of Courteen Hall, to marry at Collingtree." All these items are taken from the Registry Book of Courteen Hall, Northampton, and were published in a genealogy of the Ouseley, Davis, and Kelly families by my grandfather, the late Richard Kelly of Dublin, printed for private circulation, in 1870.

Of the American branch of the Ouseley family, which became known and spelt their name as Ousley, a record was published by Thomas Ousley, of Chicago, Ill., U.S.A., many years ago. I have never seen the publication; but in this connexion it may be interesting to note that one of the few yet remaining of the name in England is a well-known publisher, my friend John Ouseley of Farringdon Street, London. Another of the name is a writer of some distinction, John Mulvey Ouseley, of Dunmore Road, Wimbledon. He is son of Richard Dominick Mulvey Ouseley and Anne Theresa, daughter of the late John Carter, of Maryborough, Queen's County. He is a senior member of the Pearson staff, and is the writer of several novels and plays. Another of the name is Major Ralph Glynn

Ouseley, D.S.O. 1900, B.A., born in 1866, and married to Peggy Harriett Donnell. He served in South Africa, 1899–1902 (despatches, Queen's and King's medals, four clasps, D.S.O.), and is acting at present as a magistrate in Pretoria.

Of the other Ouseleys in England, there lives in Gloucestershire Sophia, daughter of Richard Standish Ouseley of Waterford, who has married William Meredith, by whom she has two children, Kathleen Mary, born in 1894, and Rose Fitzgerald, born 1899. There also resides at No. 10 Inverness-terrace, Kensington Gardens, London, Louisa Alice Ouseley, youngest daughter of the late Colonel Joseph Walker Jasper Ouseley, of the Bengal Army. His half-brothers were Sir William and Sir Gore Ouseley.

To return to the Irish branch, Richard Ouseley, of Ballycogley, Co. Wexford, was the first of the family who came to and settled in Ireland; and he may fairly be taken as the head and founder of the Irish Ouseleys, afterwards so famous, indeed, far more so than their English cousins. He married Anne, daughter of William Noss, and relict of Captain Henry Gibbon; and by her he had issue, viz.:—Mary, born in Tralee, November 11, 1655; Anne, born in Tralee, December 2, 1656; John, born at Kilgobbin, Co. Kerry, died June 24, 1658; and a second son called John, born also at Kilgobbin, on April 19, 1659; Elizabeth, born at Ballycogley, September 14, 1661; William, born there, who died on the day of his birth in 1662; Katherine and James, twins, born at same place, died infants in 1663; Benjamin, born and died May 25, 1664; Martha, born at same place on May 8, 1665; and Jasper, born at Ballycogley, on 6th August, 1666. It would seem from these extracts that the family first lived at Tralee, but soon settled at Ballycogley. Jasper Ouseley, only surviving brother of Richard Ouseley, married Sarah, sister of William Chambers, of Kilboyne, Co. Mayo, and by her he had issue Jasper, born at Tralee, who died at Kilticloghan, near Dunmore, in the Co. Galway. He was evidently the first who came to Dunmore, and the founder of that celebrated family. A brother, Charles, married Margaret O'Dowd, and another brother, Francis, married Elizabeth Marshall, while Anne married William Williamson, and Amelia married Daniel Surridge, whose descendants lived in Dublin up to a few years ago, the last dying in Great Brunswick Street.

Jasper Ouseley, eldest son of the above-named Jasper, married Dorothy, daughter of the Rev. James Johnston, and by her had William, born at the Castle, Dunmore, on the 11th October, 1693. He died in Dublin on January 28, 1755, and is buried in the family tomb in the old church of Dunmore, Co. Galway. There was a daughter born in 1690, who died an infant, and, after the fashion of the family, the next daughter was also called Sarah, who was born in 1695, and married William Elwood. She died in 1745. Jasper, a son, was born on 23rd

February, 1690, and died in 1697, aged seven years. Richard, born 12th February, 1697, who married Sarah Broughton, and died on Nov. 10th, 1761. Jasper (another of the name), born 20th October, 1699, at Dunmore Castle, married Julia Bodkin, of Kilclooney. He died in 1785. James, born 4th November, 1703. Gideon, born 25th November, 1705, married Mary Broughton ("called the handsome"), and died on August 20, 1781. Anne, born April 5, 1707, married Michael Cormack. Elizabeth, born "Sunday, 13th October, 1709."

William, the eldest son of Jasper Ouseley and Dorothy Johnston, married Elizabeth Morley, and had issue one son, Jasper, who married Priscilla, daughter of William Gray, and by her had one child, Elizabeth, wife of Robert Wills. Jasper married secondly Margaret, daughter of George Lee, of Yorkshire, by whom he had issue one son, Ralph, born in Dublin, February 7, 1739, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Holland, of Limerick, by whom he had three sons and three daughters, all, according to the family records, born in the Castle in Dunmore, and many of them were certainly distinguished: Sir Gore Ouseley, born June 24, 1770; Sir William Ouseley, born April 13, 1771; John Ralph Ouseley, born May, 1772; Elizabeth, married to the Rev. Robert Warren; Priscilla, married to the Rev. Mr. Leycester; and Alice, of whom, beyond the name, there is no record.

The Ouseleys would seem to have come to Dunmore as agents for Lord Ross. Even when he sold his estates there to Sir George Shee, Bart., Ralph Ouseley continued agent, and lived in the old castle, then habitable. It was one of the strongholds of the Birminghams, and Lord Athenry, of that family, in 1425 founded a friary there for Augustinian Eremites on the site of the older abbey of Domnagh Pdraig, or Stone House of St. Patrick, for it was here, on his way up from Mayo, that the National Apostle founded a monastery, and placed St. Fulartach over it. The present Protestant church stands on the site of the earlier Patrician and later Augustinian foundation.

It is surmised that the Ouseleys of Dunmore took the names "Ralph" and "Gore" from the Ross family. Sir Ralph Gore, the sixth baronet, was raised to the Irish Peerage, as Baron Gore, in 1768; and he became Earl Ross in 1771. He died in 1802, and with him his title. The Gores originally lived in Dunmore, and then owned large estates there.

Ralph Ouseley had issue Ralph, a lieutenant in the 45th Regiment, who was killed at the memorable siege of Busaco, in 1810; Joseph Walter Jasper, a colonel in the Indian Army and a professor, whose youngest daughter, as mentioned, is still living in London; Jane Priscilla, born and resided with her mother in Limerick, was resident in London in 1878; and Maria, who died young.

Ralph Ouseley, who married Miss Holland, was the father of Sir Gore Ouseley, G.C.H., F.R.S., F.N.S. He was born on 24th June, 1770,

and married Harriet Georgiana Whitelock, and had issue Frederick Gore of Claremount, County of Herts, born August 12, 1825; Mary Jane, deceased; Alexandrina Percival, died December, 1862. Sir Gore was an eminent orientalist, and a great Persian scholar. He died at his seat, Hall Barn Yard, Herts, on Monday, November 18th, 1844, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. He was created a baronet on 5th October, 1808, and appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Persia. In 1812 Sir Gore was honoured with the insignia of the Royal Persian Order of the Moon and the Sun, and in 1814 with the insignia of the Grand Cross of the Imperial Russian Order of Alexander Nowski. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, and of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg, and a member of the Calcutta and London Asiatic Societies, and of the Royal Society of Literature. By his demise a pension of £5000 reverted to the Crown, which he received in return for his eminent diplomatic services in Persia. He was an acknowledged authority on Persian literature.

His son, Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley, of Claremount, Herts, M.A., and Musical Doctor, Precentor of Hereford, Professor of Music in the University of Oxford, and Incumbent of St. Michael's, Tenbury, succeeded to the title and estates, and on his demise the baronetcy lapsed. A memoir of this distinguished musician, the author of several well-known hymns, was written by F. W. Joyce, M.A. From it we learn that he was born on the 12th August, 1825, and that there stood sponsors for him His Royal Highness the Duke of York and the Duke of Wellington, whose principal names he bore, and with them the Marchioness of Salisbury and Miss Ouseley of Limerick, the stepsister of his father, whom he succeeded as second and last baronet in 1844. He himself died in 1889.

Sir William Ouseley, the second son of Ralph, and brother of Sir Gore, was also a very distinguished scholar. He accompanied his brother on his Persian mission, became an adept in the language, and for his services was knighted in 1800. He was an LL.D., and the author of several learned works. In an old bookseller's list I recently came across the entry, "Ouseley, W., *Epitome of Ancient History of Persia*, extracted and translated from the *Jehan Ara*, a Persian ms., folding front map," and "For the Provost of Eton, with Mayor Ouseley's compliments," written on the fly-leaf. Who this mayor was I cannot find, unless it be a mistake for "major." Sir William married Julia Frances, daughter of Colonel Irving, by whom he had issue William Gore, K.C.B., D.C.L., born 26th July, 1797, an eminent diplomatist; Julia Frances, born June 18, 1799; John Ralph, born 12th May, 1801; Eliza Martha Maria, born 28th May, 1803; Amelia, born 6th January, 1806; Richard, born 29th June, 1809; Frederick and Henry Chambers, two other children, the dates of whose births are not given. He married secondly in 1829, Maria, daughter of H. Van Ness, Governor of Vermont, U.S.A.,

and had issue Frances, who married the Hon. J. Fitzmorris, and had two sons, William Charles, who died in 1858, and Lieutenant Ouseley, R.N., who died in 1858 also; Sir William, the elder, who died in October, 1842, at Boulogne, and Sir William Gore, who succeeded him in March, 1866.

John Ralph, the third son of Ralph Ouseley, was born in 1772, and was a major in the Bengal army. He died in 1868. He married Grace Madeline, daughter of William Walter James, and had issue Richard, who was a Colonel in the Bengal army. He lived for some time in Hosungabad in India, and became a great student of the Buddhist religion, becoming an enthusiast in the matter. He married secondly a native princess, by whom he had four daughters. His widow married Sir A. King Cade, Bart. Two of his sons, Frederick and William Chambers, we have no record of, and Reginald, another son, died in Gloucester House, London, in 1877, aged fifty-eight. There was a daughter, Julia Frances, who married John Augustus Scott; Eliza Martha, who married Lieutenant-General Sir John Fowler; Cordelia Madeline, who married Mr. Adolphe Dominique Richard de Valemey, and died in 1873.

Richard Ouseley, the second surviving son of Jasper Ouseley and Dorothy Johnston, was born 12th February, 1697, and died November 10, 1761. He married Sarah Broughton, and succeeded his father in Kilticloghan and Woodfield near Dunmore, and had issue two sons; the elder, Jasper, resided at Lissy Connor, and was the father of John Ouseley of Bawn, County Longford. William, the second son, who was born December 20, 1738, and who died January 9, 1805, at Rushbrook, Claremorris, County Mayo, married Miss French, of Rockfield in same county, and his issue were Bartholomew, of whom nothing is known; Sarah, married to Dr. Finglass of Castlebar, County Mayo; Anne, married to Henry Blake of Spring Vale, Ballinrobe, Co. Mayo; Celia Teresa, who died unmarried, aged eighty-six years; Ellen, who married Dr. McDonnell of Westport; and Alice, of whom there is no record. William Ouseley's second wife was Mary Anne, sister of the late Michael George Prendergast, M.P. for the County of the Town of Galway, and by her he had one daughter, who married Fitzgerald Higgins of Trafalgar Park, Westport, County Mayo, and a Captain in the army. His eldest son, Charles Fitzgerald Higgins, J.P., born in 1815, married, in 1842, Amelia Virtue, daughter of Sir Paul Jodrell, Bart., of Sall Park, Norfolk, having a son, Richard George Jodrell Higgins, born in 1843. His second son was Colonel George Gore Ouseley Higgins, J.P., born in 1818, who died unmarried on May 8th, 1874. He was colonel of the North Mayo Militia, and M.P. for County Mayo from 1852 to 1857. Ellen, a sister, died unmarried in London in 1874; Mary, a nun in the Westport Convent, died in 1855, and Margaret, a Sister of Charity in Cork, died last year, leaving the family property to the community.

In a note-book of Richard Ouseley, of Prospect, near Dunmore, appears the following account of Jasper Ouseley's family. This quaint note-book was in Richard Kelly's (my grandfather's) possession, and copied by him. As it is more particular in its details, I give the exact record:—"Jasper Ouseley, third surviving son of Jasper Ouseley and Miss Johnson, born at the Castle, Dunmore, Oct. 25, 1699, married Julia Bodkin, Aug. 4, 1722, and by her had issue—1723, June 10, Dorothy, born at Carrowbane, died an infant; 1724, May 15, Elizabeth, born at Carrowbane, on Thursday morning; 1725, July 3rd, Jasper, born on Friday morning at six o'clock in the morning, died in Jamaica; 1727, Oct. 10th, Bridget, born on Tuesday, at four o'clock in the morning; 1728, Oct. 10th, Sarah, born on Wednesday, at four o'clock in the morning; 1731, Feb. 4th, James, born on Wednesday, at three o'clock in the morning; 1733, Feb. 22, Richard, born at seven o'clock in the morning; 1735, April 21st, Dorothy, born on Monday, at six o'clock in the morning; 1736, Oct. 4, Margaret, born on Sunday, at three o'clock in the morning; 1738, Dec. 20, William, born on Thursday, at seven o'clock in the morning; 1741, Sept. 3rd, Gideon, born on Thursday, at six o'clock in the morning—William and Gideon died young at Spring Gardens; 1785, March 13, Julia, died in full sense and memory, aged eighty-nine years; 1790, March 13th, Jasper died at Prospect of the gout, had it forty-one years, walked in the parlour one minute before he died, greatly regretted as an honest, upright man. He and his wife were sixty-three years in wedlock, in the greatest harmony. His age was ninety-one years."

Such is the quaint record of a family as kept by one of them. A few words about the above-mentioned:—Dorothy died an infant. Elizabeth was three times married—first, to Mr. Levaey of Park; secondly, to Daniel Carroll of Adrigole, and thirdly, to James Landen of Burrisoleigh. Bridget married William Langley of Dunmore, by whom she had three sons, John, James, and William. The two eldest emigrated to Washington, U.S.A., as did William, who returned and got his parents' and uncle's (Richard Ouseley's) property. He died unmarried in Dunmore in 1840. Richard Ouseley rebuilt Prospect, and died at Dunmore in 1804 aged seventy-one, having bequeathed his property to his nephews, Jasper Kelly, son of his sister Margaret, and William Langley. Margaret Ouseley married Anthony Kelly of Turrick, Castle Park, leaving a son, Jasper, whose son, Richard Kelly, J.P., resided in Tuam for many years, and died in Dublin in 1887. Margaret died in Loughrea in 1822, aged eighty-six years, and is buried with her husband, Anthony, in the old cemetery there. Gideon Ouseley married Miss Broughton, and their son, John, married Anne Surridge. Their other children were Dorothy, born 1738; John Earle, Clotworthy, Maria, Henry, Arthur, Constance, Eleanor, and Margaret, who married John O'Connor. A daughter of John married Alderman Edward Bonsall of Dublin, and she died in 1825.

Gideon married Harriet Wills of Wills Grove, County Roscommon, and he died in Dublin in 1839. There were Frances, William, Jasper, Daniel, George, Frederica; Elizabeth, who married Lieutenant Kearney, and died in Dunmore in 1825; John, who died in Jamaica, leaving a daughter, who married R. Dale of Lincoln; Ralph, who married Elizabeth Roundtree, and died in Lisbon, 1842, a Major-General; Emily, who married William Sudell of Carlow; Anne; and Susan, who married Charles Murphy. Gideon, above-mentioned, I have already spoken of. He was the celebrated Methodist preacher. He had no family, and is buried at Mount Jerome. Major-General Sir Ralph Ouseley, sixth surviving son of John Ouseley of Derrymore, Dunmore, born in 1772, was a major in the 68th Regiment during the Peninsular War, and got the formation of a Portuguese Regiment. He married Miss Roundtree, and had issue Thomas John, born 1805, and died 1874; Gore Whitelock, born 1806, and died in 1828; Rebecca Sophia, who married Rev. Francis Lemar. Sir Ralph married, secondly, Sophia Francesca, daughter of Don Alfonso Miguel, by whom he had issue Gideon Jasper Richard. Sir Ralph died at Lisbon, but a memorial is erected to him in Mount Jerome. His son married Elizabeth Grove-White, daughter of Dr. John Grove-White, a Protestant clergyman of Limerick. Such are the Ouseley family, and not one of the name can be found in Ireland to-day, so far as my means of information go, but many collaterals exist, among whom I may claim to be one. The Ouseleys were, as this record shows, a very celebrated family in their day. My esteemed friend, Dr. Grattan Flood, in reply to a letter I published in *Notes and Queries* in 1908, asking particulars of the family, said—"I find Major Thomas Ouseley in command of troops at Wexford in January, 1667. Ralph Ouseley of Limerick, died Feb. 8th, 1803, father of Sir Gore Ouseley. Ralph Ouseley of Limerick was a great friend of Joseph Cooper Walker, and there are several references to him in his 'Irish Bards.' I met a Mr. Ouseley in Wexford a couple of years back. My great-grand-mother married a William Ouseley."

In the *Gentlemen's Magazine* (the date I cannot give, but it is referred to in the Rev. Mr. M'Cullagh's Memoir) appeared an account of the defeat of General Lake at Castlebar, by the French, in 1798, written by a Captain Johnstone, who, recounting his experiences of the fierce fighting, attributed the saving of his life to Ralph Ouseley, a lieutenant in Lord Roden's Fencibles. At the imminent risk of his life he cut his way through the French forces, and seeing a wounded officer, went to his relief, and brought him away in safety to Tuam, whither in hot haste the English army fled.

The Rev. Gideon Ouseley's "Life" was written by the Rev. William Reilly and the Rev. William Arthur, and the Memoir I referred to by T. M'Cullagh, who, when a boy, heard Gideon preach at Athlone.

Dr. Grattan Flood (who, like myself, is interested in this once

illustrious family) also tells me that in 1664 one Richard Ouseley was resident in Wexford, and became a J.P. for that county; and in an old Dublin Directory of 1800 I found that there lived in Marlborough Street at that time a William Ouseley, who was a solicitor, or, as they were better known in those days, an attorney-at-law.

In the old graveyard of Castlebar is a tombstone with the following inscription relating to the marriage of one of the Ouseleys with the families of Finglass and Jordan of that town. It runs thus:—

“Here lieth the remains of Sarah Finglass *alias* Ouseley, who departed this life on the 17th of March, 1831, aged 59 years. She was a kind, endearing, and affectionate wife and mother, and sincere friend. Her memory will be for ever engraven on the hearts of her afflicted husband and children. Here also lieth the remains of Sarah Finglass, her affectionate and beloved daughter, who departed this life on the 9th November, 1829, aged 16 years. Also Anne Mary De-Exeter Jordan, *alias* Ouseley Finglass, the beloved wife of Constantine De-Exeter Jordan, Esq., of Rathslevin Castle, barony of Gallen. Also Mary Paulina De-Exeter Jordan, the beloved daughter of Myles J. De-Exeter Jordan, M.D., of Windsor House, who died on February 26th, 1884, aged 17 years.”

At Windsor, in Berkshire, is a residence known as Ouseley Lodge, evidently so called from its former connexion with that family.

The late John Byrne, Collector-General of Rates in Dublin, was connected with the Ouseleys; and his son, John Ouseley Byrne, who was a barrister, died some years ago. Another son, Gerald Byrne, is a solicitor in Dublin.

In Walker's "Irish Bards," published in 1786, is a memoir of Cormac Dall, i.e., the blind, who was born at Woodstock, near Ballindina, in the county Mayo, in 1703. He wrote an elegy on John Burke, of Carantanglass, Dunmore, who was a noted breeder of horses. One of his breed was known as Paidrin or Rosary, from the circumstance that when a sickly foal a poor woman on the estate nursed and reared it, and when going about finding it pasture she used to say her beads. In this poem the horse is mentioned, and Walker, reprinting the verses in his valuable collection, says he owed them "to the kindness of his learned and ingenious friend, Ralph Ouseley, Esq.; and also a portrait of him taken at eighty-three, taken from life by William Ouseley, Esq., a young gentleman who united every elegant accomplishment." These Ouseleys were the Dunmore Ouseleys.

A writer in the *Dublin University Magazine* of 1875 says of the Ouseleys:—"From the little town of Dunmore near Tuam sprang some remarkable men of the name of Surridge and Ouseley. Two of the Surridges were distinguished scholars of Trinity College. Of the Ouseleys

we may mention Sir Ralph Ouseley, Bart., a distinguished Oriental scholar, who was Persian Ambassador; his brother, Sir William Ouseley, was Secretary to Lord Wellesley in India; General Sir Ralph Ouseley was much distinguished in the Peninsular War; and his brother, Gideon Ouseley, was the famous Methodist preacher, whose 'Old Christianity,' and wonderful sermons in the Irish language, addressed to the people at fairs and markets, are still within the recollection of the old people of the western province," and for which the preacher was accorded anything but courtesy by his hearers, if I may judge by an account of one of his street sermons in Tuam. It may be incidentally mentioned that Henry Mossop, the celebrated actor, was born in Dunmore, as Archdall says in his *Monasticon Hibernicum*; his father was rector in Dunmore, and a great friend of the Ouseleys, who were his parishioners.

In his "Irish Bards," published by Luke White in Dublin in 1786, Joseph Walker says in the preface that "the Reverend Mr. Archdall, of Dublin, and Ralph Ouseley, Esq., of Limerick, exerted themselves with zeal in the promotion of my design."

In the notes he speaks of William Ouseley, of Limerick, as delineating the harp in the trophy made by John Kelly in 1726.

Walker, in his notes on Cormac "Fíor Sgealaighide," makes frequent reference to Mr. Ouseley, and particularly to his description of the way in which the old bard used to recite, saying of him that in "rehearsing any of Ossian's poems, or any composition in verse (says Mr. Ouseley), he chants them pretty much in the manner of our cathedral service."

Cormac resided beside Mr. Ouseley in Dunmore, county Galway, at a place called Sorrelltown, with one of his daughters, happily married. He was blind, and, as Mr. Ouseley said in his account of him, which Walker publishes, "one of his grandsons leads him about to the houses of the neighbouring gentry, who give him money, diet, and sometimes clothes. His apparel is commonly decent and comfortable, but he is not rich, nor does he seem solicitous about wealth."

"Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley, Baronet, younger son of Sir Gore Ouseley, diplomatist (Baronet 1770-1844), was born at Grosvenor Square, London, godson of the Dukes of Wellington and York, educated privately and at Christ Church, Oxford; B.A., 1846; M.A., 1849; Mus. Bac., 1850; Mus. Doc., 1854; incorporated Mus. Doc. at Durham, 1854, Cambridge, 1862, and Dublin, 1888; succeeded his father in 1844; Curate of St. Barnabas', Pimlico, London, and of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, 1849-51; Precentor of Hereford Cathedral, 1845; Professor of Music in Oxford, May, 1855, to his death; LL.D. of Cambridge and Edinburgh; Canon Residentiary of Hereford from 1866 to his death; composed music at three years of age, and opera to words by Metastasio, at eight; composed two oratorios, 'The Martyrdom of Polycarp,' and 'Hagar'; bequeathed his musical library of 5000 volumes to the College of

St. Michael, Tenbury, which he built and partially endowed, and spent £64,000 on the College; edited E. Hauman's "The History of Music"; author of a treatise on harmony and on counterpoint fugue; died suddenly in the District Bank in Hereford, 6th April, 1889, and buried at St. Michael's, Tenbury. Mr. Havergal published memorials of Sir F. A. G. Ouseley (1889), with portrait, and Mr. J. S. Bampey his compositions, in 1892.

"Joseph Walker Jasper Ouseley, born in 1799, attached to the College of Fort William, Calcutta, in 1821; Assistant Professor of Sanscrit, Mahratta and Bengali, 1824; Professor of Arabic and Persian, 1825; Secretary to the College; Superintendent of the Mysore Princes, 1834-44; Professor of Arabic and Persian at East India College, Haileybury, 1844-57; Examiner in Oriental Languages for Civil Service Commission, 1862-83; Colonel, Bengal retired list, 1854; died, 10 Inverness-terrace, London, 1889.

"John Thomas Ouseley published and edited the *Manx Punch* for several months; author of poems, Douglas, 1869; died 1874.

"Sir William Gore Ouseley (eldest son of Sir William Ouseley, orientalist, 1767-1842), born in London; attached to the British Embassy at Stockholm; Secretary Legation, Rio de Janeiro, 1823; Chargé d'Affaires in Brazil, 1838; Minister to Argentine Confederation, 1844; author of several political works; died in Albemarle Street, London, 1866."

From Boase's "Modern English Biography" (1897) are taken the above notes, condensed, on the last four of the name.

In the "Dictionary of National Biography" appears an account of Gideon Ouseley, as well as of Sir Gore, Sir Frederick Arthur, Sir Ralph, Sir William, and Sir William Gore Ouseley. From this we learn that Gideon Ouseley's principal work was, "A Short Defence of the Old Religion or Pure Christianity against certain Novelties"; some inquiries addressed to the Rev. John Arthur Thayer, Roman Catholic Missionary, and several other works, principally controversial. The Rev. Wm. Arthur, in 1876, published a memoir of the ministerial life of Ouseley, by Rev. W. Reilly, 1847.

The following notes on the Ouseley name were kindly supplied to me by Mr. Crossle of Dundalk:—

Died between 19th Aug. and 1st Sept., William Ousley, Esq., Exshaw's *Gentleman's and London Magazine* for Sept., 1767, p. 592.

Trial of Geo. Robert Fitzgerald, Esq., at Castlebar, on 10th April, 1786, Wm. Ousley, Esq., of Rushbrook, in the Petit Jury. *Ibid.*, June, 1786, p. 285.

31st July, married Robert Wills, Esq., to Miss Ously, of Britain Street, Dublin. *Ibid.*, Aug., 1773, p. 510.

Extracts from Walker's *Hibernian Magazine* :—

Died in Limerick, Mrs. Ousley, wife of Ralph Ousley, of Dunmore, Co. Galway, Esq. Dec., 1782, p. 664.

Dublin, 14th Feb., 1800—Major Wm. Ouseley, the orientalist, was on Saturday presented with the degree of LL.D., in Trinity College, Dublin. Feb., 1800, p. 127.

Rev. Robert Warren, Vicar of Tuam, married to Miss Ousley, eldest daughter of Ralph Ousley, of Limerick, Esq. June, 1790, p. 336.

Died in Limerick, Mr. Ralph Ousley, third son of Ralph Ousley, Esq. Feb., 1791, p. 192.

William Ousley, of Rushbrook, Esq., on the jury at a trial at Castlebar, to try Mr. Fitzgerald, 7th June, 1786. June, 1786, p. 334.

Limerick, 27th January, 1796—Account of a duel between Lieutenants Ousley and Prentice, both of the Prince of Wales' Fencible regt.; neither party hurt. *Freemasons' Journal*, 30th Jan., 1796—The account of the duel in the *Freemasons' Journal*, is in the Masonic Hall, Dublin, having been presented by my father, Dr. Crossle, of Newry.

The only Ousley in Army List for 1800 is Ralph Ousley, Lieutenant 73rd Foot, disbanded in 1763, and now on the Irish half-pay list. Army List, 1800, p. 655. John Thomas Prentice, Captain New South Wales Corps, 2nd March, 1797. *Ibid.*, p. 324.

Rev. G. Beamish Saul, M.A., formerly an Irish Methodist minister, and a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, has died at Crickhowell, England, aged seventy-one years. His father was Rev. Dr. John Saul, one of the converts of the famous Irish missionary, Gideon Ouseley. Deceased was an excellent scholar and a very devoted minister. 2nd Sept., 1907.

Following is an old deed referring to the Ouseleys and to another now almost extinct family, the Echlins of Tuam :—

Abstract of memorial in Registry of Deeds Office, Dublin :—Book 97, page 489, No. 69321—Memorial of indented deeds of lease and release of four parts, dated 4th and 5th July, 1739, and made between Loftus Jones of Ardneglass, in Co. Sligo, Esq., of the 1st part; Rev. John Echlin, of Castletown, Co. Galway, Doctor in Divinity, and Alice Echlin, his wife, of the 2nd part; William Ousley, of the City of Dublin, gent., of the 3rd part; and Wm. Knox, of the City of Dublin, gent., of the 4th part.

By which said deed of release it is recited that Lewis Jones, late of Ardneglass, the father of said Loftus Jones, being in possession of the town and lands of Bracklonagh, Rathfagurry, *alias* Rathnagurry, Bunrannagh, Brogher, Taghelorh, *alias* Killina lower, Tahihigg, and Carrow, lying in the co. of Sligo, did, in 1697, sell and convey all the sd. premises to George Crofton, of Kappagh, co. Mayo, Esq., and his heirs, and further reciting that the Rev. Robert Echlin, late Dean of Tuam, and father of the said Doctor John Echlin, did, in 1709, purchase all the sd. lands from the sd. George Crofton, and

that the same, after said Robert Echlin's decease, became vested in the sd. Doctor Echlin. And further reciting that the sd. Lewis Jones is lately deceased, and sd. Loftus upon his decease, set up a title to sd. premises, insisting that his father was but a tenant for life, and had not any right to set the same as aforesaid. And reciting that Suites at Law and Equity were commenced between sd. Loftus Jones and John Echlin concerning the same, and that sd. Loftus Jones did, in Easter term last, obtain a verdict in ejectment for sd. lands. And reciting that sd. Loftus Jones and John Echlin for the purpose of putting an end to said Suites, came to an agreement that sd. John Echlin should in consideration of the sum of £1,350, being the purchase-money paid by sd. Robert Echlin for same, release and convey to sd. Loftus Jones, all the sd. John Echlin's estate, right, title, and interest of and to sd. lands and to all arrears of rent due thereout, subject nevertheless to the payment of sd. sum of £1,350 for the same with interest thereon at the rate of £5 in the hundred to sd. John Echlin, his exors., admors., and assigns, which is therein agreed to be secured to sd. Loftus Jones by mortgage on said lands in said release mentioned. And it is by sd. indenture of release witnessed, that they should release each other from all demands on account of costs and mesne rates of sd. premises, and that in performance of said agreement, and to secure to sd. John Echlin the sd. sum of £1,350 with interest, in consideration of the sum of 10s. a piece to them, paid by the sd. Wm. Ousley to each of them, they, the sd. Loftus Jones and John Echlin have given, granted, sold, aliened, released, and confirmed unto sd. Wm. Ousley and his heirs, all that the town and lands of Rathpaygurry *alias* Rathnagurry, 2 quarters of land, the quarter of land of Bracklonagh, the quarter of Carrowreagh, the quarter of Buncranagh, the Cartron of Brogher, *alias* Brokie, the lands of Taghacloigh, *alias* Killina lower, and Taghyhiggen, all situate in the barony of Leyney and co. of Sligo. To hold all sd. granted and released lands and premises unto said William Ousley, his heirs and assigns for ever. To the use of sd. John Echlin, his heirs and assigns for ever, subject to a proviso and condition that if sd. Loftus Jones, his heirs, exors., admors., or assigns should pay unto sd. John Echlin, his exors., admors., or assigns the sd. sum of £1,350, together with interest, on 30th June, 1742, that then and upon the payment of all said principal sum with interest, that then the sd. grant shall be, and enure to the sole use and benefit of the sd. Loftus Jones, his heirs and assigns for ever. As to the perfection of sd. deeds of lease and release by said John Echlin and Alice his wife, are witnessed by John Vesey, Doctor in Divinity, William Crery, clerk, and Francis Davis, Notary Public, all of Tuam, co. Galway, and the perfection by the sd. Loftus Jones are witnessed by Thomas Blakeney, gent., and Wm. Vesey, Esq., both of the city of Dublin.

Registered 14th July, 1740, by Loftus Jones, in presence of sd. Thomas Blakeney and of Christopher Bowen, of the city Dublin, gent.

THE DEDICATIONS OF THE WELL AND CHURCH AT MALAHIDE.

BY P. J. O'REILLY.

[Read MARCH 29, 1910.]

THE question of the identity of the patron saint of the church of Malahide, submitted to the Society by Lord Walter Fitz Gerald at the meeting held on February 25th, is one to which no clue was obtained prior to the discovery of the document reciting the terms of Sir Peter Talbot's will, which Lord Walter Fitz Gerald has just found in the Public Record Office. This will is mentioned in "Fingal and its Churches" (pp. 146, 147) by the Rev. Robert Walsh, whose knowledge of its existence was evidently derived from D'Alton. The latter says, at p. 173 of his "History of the County Dublin":—"Sir Peter Talbot, . . . by his will of 1529, directed that he should be buried in the church of Malahide, beside Dame Janet Eustace, and left considerable bequests for the repair and maintenance of its chancel"; but he does not mention the source from which he derived this information, nor the important fact that a will existed which named the patron of the church.

Though the church, or chapel, of Malahide is mentioned in a number of ancient diocesan documents, ranging in date from a list of "The Churches of the Deaneries of the Diocese of Dublin," *circa* A.D. 1212-1228, to Archbishop Bulkeley's Visitation of A.D. 1630, none of these afford the slightest clue to the identity of its patron. Nor do the dedications of the churches now at Malahide help in this respect. That of the Protestant Parochial Church is modern. It was built in 1822, and was dedicated on November 22nd of that year as the church of St. Andrew. The dedication of the Roman Catholic Parochial Church to Pope St. Silvester is of earlier origin, being derived from a neighbouring St. Silvester's well, which, in my opinion, was not dedicated to Pope St. Silvester. This well was situated towards the centre of the roadway at the top of New Street, the side street running northwards from The Mall, or main street, to the shore, and was in a line with the fronts of the houses on the north side of The Mall. The well is now covered in; but the source supplies a pump erected at the rear of the new National Schools. When I first saw it in the sixties, it was surmounted by a small, slate-roofed, circular stone-house about 12 feet high and nine feet wide, in which a flight of steps descended to the well, the door of which was then kept locked. This well is not shown on the 25-inch Ordnance Survey map surveyed in 1868; but it is laid down, unnamed,

on the 6-inch one of 1837 in a manner which shows that it was then either covered or enclosed by a small, irregularly oblong quadrilateral structure lying north-west and south-east, the space enclosed being wider at the latter end, which probably was the entrance to the well. D'Alton, writing in A.D. 1838, describes the latter thus:—"In the middle of the town is a well of clear, wholesome water, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and covered with an arched enclosure within which her statue was formerly set." D'Alton was misled as to the dedication of the well by the facts that, till a comparatively recent period, a patron was held at it on Lady Day in August, which afterwards was transferred to the Sunday following that feast, and that a statue of the Blessed Virgin had formerly been placed there, as is shown by the continuous tradition of the people as to the name of the well, and the dedication of the Roman Catholic church.

Arguing from analogy, I believe that the well was not originally dedicated to St. Silvester the Pope. The Irish holy well usually acquired its reputation for sanctity through a personal connexion between it and some venerated religious, and, in most cases, still retains the name of its real patron. Nevertheless, it is certain that the original dedications of many of these wells have been changed through one or other of the following causes:—(a) Numerous rededications by which, after the Anglo-Norman settlement in Ireland, foreign saints specially venerated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were substituted for older Irish patrons through the influence of English-speaking ecclesiastics; (b) errors arising from a similarity of the names, or of the sound of the names, of distinct persons; (c) coincidences in the dates of festivals of different saints. Earlier dedications to local patrons should, therefore, be looked for in the case of wells dedicated to saints who had no personal connexion with Ireland, or, apart from those dedicated to Christ or the Blessed Virgin, to scriptural personages. In the county Dublin the wells of St. John at Kilmainham, and St. Margaret near Finglas; of St. Anne at Glenasmole, and St. Paul at Killenardan; and of St. James at Jamestown, near Stepaside, are examples due to one or other of the above-named causes. As regards the first, the dedication of the well at the cemetery of the ancient church of St. Maighnen at Kilmainham was evidently transferred from Maighnen to St. John by the Knights Hospitallers of St. John, who held the site of Maighnen's church and cemetery; while, as St. Margaret's Church is called *Domnachmore Mehanor* in comparatively late diocesan documents, it and St. Margaret's Well were evidently originally dedicated to some St. Mehan or Michan, the change in this case being clearly due to the veneration created throughout Europe during the crusades of the eleventh century for the virgin-martyr of Antioch. St. Anne's Well and St. Paul's Well, originally dedicated to Cymric ecclesiastics, Sanctain and Pol-Hen, who settled in this country, belong to the second category, as they are clear

cases of confusion due to similarity of sound in Sanctain's case, and to similarity of name in that of Pol-Hen. The dedication of the well at Jamestown—which was transferred from Mochain, brother of St. Kevin of Glendalough, to the Apostle St. James the Less, through the date of the latter's feastday coinciding with that of St. Mochain, to whom the church and well at that place, anciently *Baile Mochainn*, were originally dedicated—is an example of the third. Such transfers were facilitated by a decreasing use of the Irish language, and an increasing use of English, in the districts in which they occurred; and there seems to have been a stage in the process of transference, which in some cases was prolonged through centuries, during which a well was known by its new name to the English-speaking and by its old one to the Irish-speaking people of the district. In the case of Jamestown, for instance, Archbishop Alan, in the sixteenth century, found the "natives" calling the "Ballyogan" of thirteenth-century diocesan documents by its correct Irish name, *Baile Mochainn*—which the Archbishop renders "Ballymochan" in the *Liber Niger*.

An instance which seems to me to be analogous to that of the dedication of the well at Malahide occurs in Kerry, where, at the church of Glenbeaghy, or Glanbegh, in Iveragh, the real patron of which is a St. Grigoir, who has left many traces of his presence along the western coast of Ireland, the patron is now held on March 12th, the feast-day of St. Gregory the Great. In this case the fact that Grigoir and his pupil Faelcu visited Rome was the cause of the confusion. Irish ecclesiastics, who in early times penetrated to Iceland and the Orkneys, were termed *Pupa* or *Papa* there; and, in Grigoir's time, those of them who visited Rome were termed *Pupa* or *Papa* (Pope) by the Irish on their return to Ireland. "Aelchu, who was named the Pope of Ara,"¹ says MacFirbis, writing of Grigoir's pupil Faelchu, "was called Papu, i.e., Papa (Pope) . . . because he obtained the Abbacy of Rome after Gregory, and he vacated the abbacy, and went in search of his master across to the west of Europe and to Ara of the Saints." Another variant of this extraordinary legend, occurring in a note made on the transcript of the Felire of Oengus in the *Lebhar Breac* (Stokes, lxiii), at the 12th of March, shows that Grigoir was also believed to have got the "abbacy" of Rome:—

" Gregory of Rome,
Grandson of Deda, son of Sen,
Gregory of Ard Mail,
Abbot of Rome of full Latium,
Into Ireland came."

¹ Faelcu or Faelchu (wolf-hound), and Aelchu, as given by Mac Firbis, are different forms of the same name, the initial *f* of *fael* being dropped in the latter form. Instances of this change occur in the martyrologies. For example, those of Donegal and Tallaght commemorate Faeldobhair of Clochar at June 29, but he is called *Ael dohair* in that of O'Gorman, which dates from the fourteenth century.

We find this legend in another form in a Life of St. Enda of Killeany on Aranmore, which states that "Three holy men went from Ireland into Britain . . . after some time they went to Rome . . . the Roman Pontiff died, and the people and the clergy sought to make St. Papeus, one of the three, Pope . . . which he refused to consent to. . . . At length the three return to Ireland and go to Aran." This passage, which refers to the ecclesiastics, traditionally known as "The Three Popes of Aran," together with the others quoted, shows that Faelcu and Grigoir were both "Popes"; "Papeus," the name given to him, whom the Romans are alleged to have endeavoured to make Pope, being evidently a Latinized form of *Pupa*, the title given by MacFirbis to Faelcu, whom he absurdly alleges was made Pope in succession to St. Gregory. That Grigoir was one of the "Three Popes of Aran," and had been to Rome, is shown by the facts that Gregory, in Irish *Grigoir*, is alleged by the annotator of the *Lebhar Breac* to have come to Ireland, and that MacFirbis states that Faelcu left Rome "in search of his master," and travelled "across to the west of Europe and to Ara of the Saints." At the latter place Gregory, from whom "St. Gregory's Sound," between Arranmore and Inishmaen, is named, founded a church—called *Cill-na-geannanach*, or the Church of the Canons, from the fact that he and his small community followed the rule of Canons Regular—upon the latter island; and the fantastic story that Faelcu obtained the abbacy of Rome after Gregory is probably a distorted version of a tradition that he succeeded Grigoir as superior of the community at *Cill-na-geannanach*, Grigoir being confounded in later times, through his title, *Pupa*, with Pope Gregory the Great, and his patron being held at Glenbeaghy on the latter's festival.

A similar transfer of dedication, due to a similar cause, seems to have taken place at Malahide. Pope St. Silvester, who had no more connexion with Ireland than St. James the Less, died more than a century before the advent to Ireland of Palladius. His festival, on December 31st, was not made general throughout the church until A.D. 1227; and if a local commemoration of him was introduced to Malahide, it must have been established there at least 900 years after his decease, and would certainly have been held on or near his feast-day, not in August. If, therefore, we find that there existed a Silvester who lived, worked, died, and was venerated in Ireland, and who was likely to have had the title *Pupa* given to him in the period during which it was applied to ecclesiastics who had been to Rome, it is manifest that such a person would be more likely to have been the patron of an Irish "St. Silvester's Well" than Pope St. Silvester. We know from the seventh Life of Patrick in Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga* that Palladius brought with him twelve associates, one of whom was named Silvester, in Irish *Silvester*, and another Solon, Latinized Solonius. We know that three Palladian churches were founded, one of which—called *Donnach Airte*, by St. Evin,

and *Dominica Arda*, by St. Ailran, and identified with Dunard, in the parish of Redeross and barony of Arklow, County Wicklow—was served by Solon and Silvester, who appear to have lived together there after the departure of Palladius, and to have died and been interred there, and whose remains were afterwards exhumed and enshrined, and carried to *Inis Baithin*, now Ennisboyne, in the same district, where a local tradition asserts that Palladius first landed. The “Tripartite Life,” the seventh given by Colgan, is the only known Life of Patrick which agrees in the mixture of Latin and Irish in its text, and the division of the latter into books, with the description given by Jocelyn of a Life which the latter states was written by St. Evin, who lived in the sixth century. In the introduction to his edition of the “Tripartite,” Dr. Whitley Stokes shows that all extant copies of the latter present philological and historical evidence, which prove that these copies date, at earliest, from the middle of the tenth century. This fact, however, does not prove the non-existence of a sixth-century original, nor that later interpolated pre-tenth-century copies of the latter, on which those extant may have been founded, did not exist. The coincidence between the structure of the “Tripartite” and Jocelyn’s description of that of St. Evin’s work is so remarkable that it seems morally certain that the latter is the basis of the former; and as it seems incredible that a twelfth-century writer should have attributed the authorship of a document written but two centuries before his period to a sixth-century one, and Jocelyn should, in the middle of the twelfth century, have probably been in a position to have known of the existence of both books, had two books of the kind existed, and would probably have described them, I think it is safe to assume that the “Tripartite,” as we know it, represents a sixth-century original, plus the interpolations of four succeeding centuries. Colgan’s words, “*Tertia Domnach-Airte, in qua jacent Sylvester & Salon, duo Sancti ex Romanis,*” when dealing (*Acta SS.*, p. 249) with St. Evin’s “Life of Patrick,” are therefore important. They show that Silvester and Solon were believed, either by St. Evin, or by some interpolator of his work, who could not have lived later than the tenth century, to have come, like Palladius, from Rome. If at any time during the period in which the title *Pupa* was given to ecclesiastics who had been to Rome, a belief obtained in Ireland that Silvester had come from thence, that title would probably have been applied to him; and in later times, when the practice had become obsolete, and the true signification of the title had been forgotten, it would naturally lead, as in the case of Grigoir, to confusion between him and his papal namesake. No acts of this Palladian Silvester remain; the only reference to him occurs in incidental mentions of him in the accounts given of Palladius in the various “Lives” of Patrick, which Colgan quotes exhaustively in his *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ* at the 10th of March, the day on which “Silvester Eps.” is commemorated in the “Martyrology of Tallaght.”

In none of the very meagre mentions made of Palladius is there any reference to the latter having visited *Inbher Domnainn*, the estuary of Malahide; but as the latter was then the best harbour between *Inbher Dea* (where Palladius landed, and from whence he sailed from Ireland) and the estuary of the Boyne, it is possible that, when leaving Ireland, he may have put in there to obtain food and water on his voyage along the Irish coast to Scotland, and that Silvester may have landed there and afterwards returned to the district which his leader had evangelized, and in which Silvester and Solon ultimately died. It is also possible that he may have accompanied Palladius to Scotland, and, returning to Ireland after the latter's death, may have landed, and stayed some time, at Malahide. A personal connexion between the Palladian Silvester and Scotland and Malahide is suggested by two entries made by Dempster. The latter, whose proclivity for making Scotchmen out of Irish saints secured for him the title of "the saint-stealer," is not too reliable as a historian; but he could hardly have been cognizant of the celebration of an Irish local patron such as that held on August 15th, at St. Silvester's Well at Malahide; no notice of which, as far as I am aware, has hitherto appeared in print. Yet, in his *Menologium Scotorum*, published in 1622, he says at June 11th, "In Marria Silvestri S. Palladii Socii," thus indicating the former existence of a local celebration at that date in honour of Silvester, the companion of Palladius, in Mar in Scotland, while at August 15th—the very day at which the patron was held at St. Silvester's Well at Malahide—he says:—"In Scotia Silvestri presbyteri, qui S. Palladii comes contra Pelagianos strenue depugnavit," as if the Silvester in question had been generally commemorated in Scotland on that day. It is obvious that, if Dempster did any of his saint-stealing in connexion with these entries, and no such Scottish festivals existed, the fact of those entries being made under these conditions would strengthen, rather than vitiate, the evidence they give that the Silvester commemorated at August 15th at Malahide was the companion of Palladius. It would, if these entries were pure invention, be an amazing coincidence that their inventor should have selected for one of them the precise day on which a patron was held in Ireland at a Silvester's Well; while, if stolen, they must, like Dempster's other pilferings, have been taken from some Irish source—and as far as I can ascertain the only Irish source from which his entry at August 15th could have been taken is the celebration at the well in Malahide. As Jocelyn states that the Palladian Silvester was a bishop, and the only bishop of the name mentioned in the Irish calendars is the "Silvester Eps." commemorated at the 10th of March in the "Martyrology of Tallaght," the latter is probably the associate of Palladius, and March 10th his general festival in Ireland; while the celebration at Malahide on August 15th is probably a minor local commemoration, having a common origin with that alleged by Dempster to have been held in Scotland on that day.

The transference in the popular mind of the dedication of the well at Malahide from the Palladian bishop to Pope St. Silvester is accounted for by the belief expressed by Colgan that Silvester came from Rome—a belief which would imply the probable assignment to him at a comparatively early period of the title *Pupa* or Pope, through which, in later times, he would have been confounded with his papal namesake.

The existence at Malahide of a holy well dedicated to St. Silvester would lead one to expect that the church there would derive its dedication from him. Whether a primitive church connected with Silvester existed there we cannot certainly determine; but that in the early part of the sixteenth century he was not regarded as the patron of the medieval church of Malahide is shown by the words of Sir Peter Talbot's will. A recital of the terms of this document, which is dated September 12th, 1526, not 1529, as stated by D'Alton, occurs in a county Dublin Exchequer Inquisition, No. 3 of Mary. In it the testator makes bequests for the "reparacion" of the church of Malahide and of its chancel, which a century afterwards, at the time of Archbishop Bulkeley's visitation, were ruinous; and he bequeaths his "damask gowne furred with buge" or "budge"—lambskin with the wool dressed outwards, a fur used as trimming on the robes of gentlemen and wealthy citizens in Elizabethan and Stuart times—and his "doublet of crymasen velvett," to make "crosses" for the vestments used in it. The ecclesiological interest of the will, however, lies in these words of its first clause: "I bequeath my soule to Almyghty God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, and my body to be buryed in Saint Fenwe's church in Malaghyde." "Fenwe's" was my reading of the patron's name from the original inquisition; but Lord Walter FitzGerald, whose experience of writings of the period is infinitely greater than mine, read it "Fenweis Church," and the latter is the form given in an old transcript of the document. As this name is certainly a mere phonetic rendering of some Irish one, and in the possessive case, in which it appears, the sound of either form of it will equally reproduce the name, I think either reading will serve to investigate the origin of the latter. The first part of this name, *F'en*, represents *Finn* or *Find*, a man's name meaning "fair" or "white," which is sometimes used alone, but oftener in combination with diminutive or qualifying affixes; the latter being occasionally varied, and the resultant forms applied indifferently to the one individual. Thus, St. Finnian of Moville, who is called Finnio by Adamnan in his "Life of St. Columba," is also called Findbarr in the same narrative; while Finni, Finne, and Finan are common variants of this name. The phonetic change from *Finn* to *Fen*, which obtained in the fifteenth century, is not yet extinct in Fingall, where a local dialect arising from the Danish occupation of that district was in use, and influenced Fingalian pronunciation. Thus, in comparatively recent books, St. Fintain's tiny oratory at Sutton, county Dublin, is called "St. Fenton's"; and in

the mid-fifteenth century British Museum codex of Adamnan's work, the two references to Finnian of Moville, given as "Finnio" in other copies, are rendered "Fennio." To ascertain what the affix *we* or *wei* in "Fenwe" represents, account must be taken of the fact that there are no characters representing the English *v* or *w* in the Irish language, in which the sounds of these are obtained by the aspiration of other letters. The sounds of the English *v* and *w* are approximately represented in Irish by an aspirated *b* or *m*; and if "Fenwe" or "Fenwei" was a correct phonetic rendering of the original name, *m* in its aspirated form must have been the initial letter of the affix attached to *Finn* or *Find* to form the name of the patron of the church. As our martyrologies contain no such name, the form given by Sir Peter Talbot is clearly but an approximate phonetic rendering of the original, which probably contained an affix beginning with an initial *b*, which, following *Find*, would be aspirated and produce the sound of the English *v*. The only ecclesiastic I can find in Irish martyrologies whose name fulfils this condition is entered on January 27, as *Findbeo Inbir Melgi* in the twelfth-century St. Isidore copy of the eighth-century Martyrology of Tallaght; as *Finnbeo Inbhir Melge*, in O'Clery's seventeenth-century excerpt from a now unknown copy of the same calendar; as *Findbeo*, with the gloss of *Inber Meilge*, in the twelfth-century Martyrology of Marianus O'Gormain; and as *Finnbheo of Inbher-Melge* in that which O'Clery finished on April 19, 1630, in the Franciscan Convent of Donegal. While the latest of these calendars is the only one in which the character indicating aspiration has been written, the *b* of this affix was aspirated at the time the earliest of these documents was transcribed, though the fact was not then indicated by a written character; and the pronunciation of the name was therefore Finnveo.

Neither Finnbeo nor the locality of his church has been identified. Though commemorated in all our martyrologies, he is not even mentioned, much less dealt with, by Colgan, the Bollandists, or O'Hanlon, or any writer on Irish hagiology with whom I am acquainted: while the entries quoted from the calendars appear to be the only reference obtainable to *Inbhir Meilge*. The latter name was probably applied to a river-mouth or estuary connected either with some tragic episode or with some circumstance suggesting the idea of death: for *meilg*, a common Irish name for 'milk,' is also an Irish name for death, and it forms portion of the name of the little insect which—through the faint, ticking noise made by it when boring into wood at night—is known in Ireland as the *Cluigin Meilge*, or Death Watch.

It is obvious that when dealing with an unidentified person or place concerning whom or which direct and conclusive evidence as to identity is not obtainable, any suggestion of identity must be tentative; and it is in that sense that the following statement of mingled fact and inference should be taken.

Two legends are recorded, either of which may possibly have caused the title *Inbher Meilge*—the river-mouth or estuary of death—to have been applied as an *alias* to the estuary of Malahide. Keating, when relating the landing in Ireland of the *Fir Domhnainn*, says: "Gann and Seangann [landed] the Tuesday after that in Iorrus Domhnan"; and, four lines further, "Fir Domhnainn is given to Geanann and Rughaidhe. And some antiquaries say that it is to Innbhar Domhnann, in the north-west of the province of Connacht, these two came to land with a third of the host, and that it is from them Innbhear Domhnann is called." That Keating erred in confounding Inbher Domhnainn with Erris, county Mayo, and placing it in Connaught, is certain. O'Curry (MS. Materials, pp. 385, 402, 485) identifies it with the estuary of Malahide, and states that "A singular evidence of this identification remains on the spot itself; for even to this day, the current and eddy below the present [railway] bridge is by the inhabitants called 'Moll Downey,' which cannot possibly be anything else than a corruption of *Maeil Domnain*, *maeil* being an ancient name on the east coast of Erin for an eddying or whirling current." The *Fir Domhnainn* would hardly select a whirlpool for their landing-place, as it would be too dangerous; and it is difficult to see why this eddy should be connected with them by oral tradition for upwards of two thousand years, when all memory of *Inbher Domhnainn*, the name of the entire estuary, had been locally forgotten, if the spot in question had not been the scene of some disaster sufficiently serious to ensure this marvellous survival of an archaic pre-Christian place-name. Had such occurred, the estuary might possibly have been called *Inbher Meilge* as well as *Inbher Domhnainn*; but the fact that the former name seems to occur in the martyrologies alone suggests that it may possibly have been an *alias* borrowed by the martyrologists from some document relating to Irish hagiology, and applied by them to some estuary generally known under another name. Possibly a legend recorded in the Tripartite (Stokes, p. 35) may explain the origin of this name, if it was applied to the estuary of Malahide:

"Patrick had completed his voyage and his vessel took harbour at Inver Dea in Leinster. . . . Then he came to the decision to go and preach to Miliuc . . . So he showed his mast to land, and went prosperously voyaging eastward along the coast of Ireland till he anchored in Inber Domnan. He found no fish therein and inflicted a curse upon it. He went to St. Patrick's Island and sent to Inver Ainge. Nothing was found for him there. So he inflicted a curse upon it also, and both are barren."

It appears to me that the author of this narrative would not hesitate to describe an *inbher* he believed to be so accursed and barren that fish would not live in it as *Inbher Meilge*; and that may have been

applied by some hagiologist to either the mouth of the Nanny River at Laytown or to the estuary of Malahide.

The curious absence, apart from three martyrologies, of all reference to Finnbheo, which prevented Colgan and the Bollandists from treating of him, inclines me to regard this name also as an *alias* or alternative name for some one or other of the various ecclesiastics named *Finn*, or *Find*, or its alternatives, who figure in our calendars. In endeavouring to estimate the probability or improbability of this assumption, the meaning of the affix *beo*, the sense in which it was used, and the changes to which it would be liable, should be examined. The sense of this word, which is usually equated with "lively," would, I believe, be much better conveyed in this case by the word "active," the meaning given to it in a similar instance by MacFirbis. Like *Finn* or *Find*, it was a personal name, which also figures in our calendars as *Beoan*, little Beo, the name of three bishops commemorated in them; and has its feminine equivalent in *Beoin*, the name of a virgin saint commemorated on the 1st of February. Like the *Find* of Findbheo, it was sometimes qualified by having another proper name figuratively indicating some personal quality affixed, as in the case of the sixth-century bishop Beo-Aedh of Ardcarna; *Aedh*, which literally signifies "fire," being added to distinguish the Beo in question as ardent in charity and devotion. I have already mentioned that Findbheo would be pronounced "Finnveo," but that pronunciation might be affected by one or other of two causes. In Munster, the *bh* might be eliminated in the spoken language, and Findbheo become Finneo; but that change would be unlikely to occur in Fingall. There seems to have been another process which this word was liable to undergo when affixed to *Find*. Duald MacFirbis was a contemporary of Sir Peter Talbot, and wrote his *List of Certain Bishops, circa 1655*. This document and others appear to furnish evidence that the final *o* of *bheo* was sometimes dropped when the word was used, as in the case of Findbheo, as a qualifying affix to a name ending with a final *d*. This appears from an entry made by MacFirbis, which I believe gives the true sense in which the word was used as an affix in the case of Findbheo and other ecclesiastics. He says, "Aidbhe, i.e. Aedh-beo, for he was active in prodigies and miracles." This passage is a variant of a gloss made in the copy of the Feilire of Oengus in the *Leabhar Breac* on the same Aidhbe, bishop and abbot, of Terryglass, at May 24: "Aidbe, a live fire, ab eo quod vivus in mirabilis."¹ If this process of eliminating the final *o* succeeding *bhe* was applied to Finnbheo, the latter name would be pronounced Finnve; and it seems to me that a transition in the popular pronunciation from Finnve to Finnwe, and its Fingall equivalent, Fenwe, would be not only possible but probable and likely.

¹ The final *o* of *beo* is also eliminated in another *Leabhar Breac* gloss on a mention of this abbot in the "Feilire of Oengus"—"Aidbe tuathac Tíre" (Aidbe, the northern of Tir). See Dr. Whitley Stokes's "Feilire," p. lxxxii.

I have already mentioned that the apparent absence of all reference to Findbheo, save the bald mention of his name and place in three martyrologies, suggests the possibility of this name being an *alias* for some person who figures in the latter under one or other of the variants which the name Finn, or Find, assumes; a condition precedent to any possibility of Findbheo and any of the latter persons being identical being that the Finn in question should in some way be connected with an *Inbher*. This condition is fulfilled in the case of *Finnian Lobhar*, or Finnian the Leper, commemorated on the 16th of March. The chief source we have of information concerning him is a Life by an anonymous English author which has been published by the Bollandists, and which Dr. Lanigan has characterized as "a wretched little compilation crammed with fables," and "written by some Englishman after the settlement of the English in Ireland." It is a confused tangle of passages from the Acts of various Finniains, blended with the legends relating to Finnian the Leper current at the time it was compiled, some of which latter may have some historic value. This Finnian seems to have been born on "the eastern coast of Bregia,"—a description which might apply to Malahide—and some statements made in his Life are important as indicating a connexion between him and the neighbourhood of the latter. It alleges that he was educated by a senior named Brendan. Dr. Lanigan ("Ecc. Hist.," vol. ii., pp. 85, 86, note 29) doubts the accuracy of this statement, which he assumes to refer to St. Brendan of Clonfert. The latter visited Gildas in either Britain or Brittany between A.D. 520 and A.D. 530, and, later in life, some time after A.D. 563, visited Columb in Scotland. It seems, therefore, quite possible that, when returning from either of these visits, Brendan of Clonfert might have spent some time in *Ard Ciannachta*, the district surrounding Swords and Malahide, in which Finnian the Leper was born, and may have taught the latter. Be that as it may, there is conclusive evidence of the presence in this district of some ecclesiastic named Brendan, and of the probability of some connexion between the latter and Finnian the Leper. There is a "St. Brendan's Well" in the field south of the roadway at the Protestant parochial church at Coolock (Ord. Survey Sheet, No. 15), four miles south-east of Malahide; and, by an inquisition (38th Charles I.) taken on April 18, 1635, Edward Ophie was found seised of "3 messuages and 100 acres in the town of Cowlocke in the county of Dublin, one acre called the acre of the Donnoghies" (now The Donahies, close to Coolock), and "two parcellis of land called Trops geard and Brandon's parker, containing 9½ acres, and one called the Lumpher's leas, 4 acres." Here we have a St. Brendan's Well and a Brandon's Park associated with "the Leper's" leas, or meadows, for the "Lumpher" of this inquisition is evidently a similar corruption to that which has occurred in the case of "the Lubber's Wood," which lies less than two miles north-west of Swords, on the south side of the road from the latter to Rathbeal and

Saucerstown, close to the latter places, but it is not marked on the Ordnance maps; and the "Lumphers" leas and "Lubber's" wood both probably derive their name from the leper abbot, born in this district, who was so prominently identified with the Monastery of Swords. An "Oldwynning," mentioned with Rathbeal and Saucerstown, and the tithes of which, with those of the latter places, are stated by the inquisition of 1547 to have belonged to the Economy of St. Patrick's, may be another memorial of Finnian Lobhar. The word *finn*, which corrupts to *whin* and *winn*, and which, in the sense of "white," forms part of the name Winnings, in the parish of the Naul, county Dublin, is doubtlessly represented by the *wynn* of "Oldwynnings." That the name Finnian was liable to corrupt to Winning is shown by the fact that in Scotland the feast of a St. Finnian, alleged, possibly erroneously, to have been St. Finnian of Moville, whose festival is September 10th, was celebrated on January 21, at Kilwinning, where there is also a "St. Winning's Well"; the ancient patron being in after times converted to an annual fair called St. Winning's Day.¹ Possibly "Oldwynnings" may represent "Old-Finnian's," and may be an obsolete name once applied to the Lubber's Wood. It is also alleged that (having left Brendan and gone to his mother's country in the south of Ireland, where he remained for many years) "afterwards visiting his own country he came to a place named Sord," i.e. Swords, about three miles from Malahide. It also quotes a curious legend related in a Life of St. Aedh, or Maedoc, of Ferns, which brings the festivals of Findbheo and Finnian Lobhar together in a way that the entries in the martyrologies would not lead one to expect. Though Finnian is commemorated on March 16th, this legend shows that, when the Life of Maedoc was compiled, a tradition must have existed that the date in question was not that of Finnian's death. The account given of this vision is, that Finnian saw descending from heaven to the city of Ferns a miraculous chariot, in which were seated a venerable old man dressed as a cleric, and a virgin clothed in a religious habit. Finnian inquired who they were, and the aged cleric told him that his companion was the holy Virgin Brigid, and that he was Maidoc; adding, "My feast shall be celebrated on to-morrow, and the festival of this holy virgin on the day succeeding . . . be joyful and prepare, for on the day following you shall go to heaven." As the feast of *Mo-Aedh-og*, or Moaedoc of Ferns, is January 31st, and Brigid's is February 1st, the writer of this Life must have believed the 2nd of February to have been the day of Finnian's decease. The fact that the latter is commemorated in the calendars at March 16th is not incompatible with his decease on the 2nd February. While, as a rule, the dates entered in the latter are those on

¹ Forbes' "Calendar of Scottish Saints," p. 466; "New Statistical Account of Scotland," vol. iv., pp. 553-559.

which the persons commemorated died, festivals were often transferred to other dates for various reasons: these transfers being sometimes purely local. Thus Finian of Lindisfarne is commemorated in Ireland on January 9th, and in England on February 17th, neither day being that of his decease. Colgan's suggestion that Finnian's feast was transferred from February 2nd, because the latter is the date of the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, and that March 16th may have been the date of the translation of his relics, when the latter were exposed to public veneration, seems likely to be the true explanation of the transfer in his case.

On the unreliable authority of O'Donnell's *Life of Columb, Harris, Archdall*, and others allege that Columb founded the Church of Swords and placed Finnian the Leper in charge of it. That Columb founded the Church of Swords seems certain from the name, *Surd Columb-cille*, unanimously given to the place by Irish writers and martyrologists; but that he placed Finnian the Leper in it in immediate succession to himself is problematical. That Finnian figures next to Columb in the ecclesiastical history of Swords, of which Dr. Lanigan believed he probably was the founder, is certain. Though the later martyrologists connect four different churches with him, Swords is the only one mentioned in connexion with him in the Martyrology of Tallaght, and it is mentioned first on the list of Finnian's churches in all the later calendars; while, apart from the church of Swords itself, the only churches recorded to have existed at that place are a chapel dedicated to St. Brigid, and another dedicated to St. Finnian Lobhar, which stood in its own cemetery near the vicar's glebe in the south part of the town on the road to Furrows (Mason's "*History of St. Patrick's*," p. 49).¹ The site of this chapel has hitherto been unidentified, but Mason's statement gives a clue to its locality. Furrows is evidently the place now known as Forrest and Little Forrest,² the road from Swords to which passes a well, named "Slip's Well" on the Ordnance maps, which lies about 200 yards south of the glebe of Swords. As, some eighty years since, the Ordnance Survey collector was informed that the name of this well was "The Slip's Well," and that it was also called "The Sore-Eyed Well," it clearly derived the former name from the Irish *slíop*, a lip or mouth; and as these names show that the well was resorted to for affections of the mouth and eyes, it must have been a holy well, and probably marks the site of the cemetery and chapel of St. Finnian which lay south of the vicar's glebe on the road to Furrows. The church of Swords is the mother-church of that of Malahide, and an inquisition of 1547 found that the

¹ An Inquisition (James I, No. 11) mentions this chapel as "The Mary priest's chamber, *alias* St. Finnian's, lying in the south vicary of Swords within the town."

² In an Extent of the townlands of the parish of Swords, made in the latter half of the eighteenth century, Dean Verschoyle mentions a moiety of this denomination as "Great Furrows or Forest"; while an Inquisition taken on January 18th, 1547, mentions the same moiety as "moche Fforrowe."

vicar of Swords was entitled to half the oblations given at funerals at the latter; there was therefore probably some close connexion between these churches, both of which are practically seated on the estuary of Malahide into which the Broadmeadow-Water flows at Swords. This four miles of inlet is subject to strong currents, being mostly dry at ebb-tide, while parts of it are covered by ten or twelve feet of water at spring-tides. These currents render it dangerous, particularly at Muldowney, a name which has been transferred by the people from the *maeil*, or eddy, to the bank which causes the latter; and Lewis ("Topographical Dictionary," vol. ii., p. 337) described its channel as narrow and tortuous, and dangerous to navigate without a pilot, in 1837. The Anglo-Irish Life of Finnian, after mentioning the latter's return to his own country and Swords, states that he often passed to a certain island and visited religious brothers who were there. This island may, possibly, have been *Inis-Mac-Nessan*, now Ireland's Eye, but more probably it was Lambay, where Columb founded a church which he left in charge of a deacon, Colman; a foundation which would probably be dependent on the church of Swords. Another legend related after the foregoing may, if the estuary of Malahide was called *Inher-Meilge*, possibly explain how that name came to be applied to it. The Life says (Bollandists, Acta SS., March xvi, p. 447): "quidam discipulus ipsius, nomine Beocan submersus est, vir Dei orauit: qui mersus fuerat viuis surrexit, quod qui viderant glorificabant Deum." The writer clearly intended to convey that this miracle happened after Finnian had returned to Swords and was governing that monastery; and the dangerous adjoining estuary would be the most likely place for a monk residing there to have been immersed.

It does not follow from the apparent difference in their names that Finnian Lobhar and Finnbheo are not identical. Irish hagiology presents numerous instances of alternative names being applied to the one person, but in Finnian *Lobhar* and Finn-*beo* we have, not two names, but one, qualified by different and apparently irreconcilable affixes. The contradiction these affixes imply, if applied to the one person, disappears if we remember that Finnian—whose strenuous career would justify the affix "active" being appended to his name—was an extremely aged man at the time of his decease; and that, out of his long life, he suffered from the affection from which he got the title *lobhar*, for but thirty years before his death. If he was Finnian *Lobhar* then, and for thirty years before, he had previously had a youth and manhood of, perhaps, forty years or more in which to earn the title *Beo*. Nor does it follow that the different dates of Finnian and Finnbheo's commemorations necessarily mean that they were different individuals. Aedh, *alias* Beoc—which, rightly or wrongly, is equated with *Beo* in the Martyrology of O'Gormain—of Lough Derg in Donegal is commemorated on the 1st of January and the 24th July; the former being probably the day of his

decease, and the latter the date of the translation of his relics: and our calendars furnish many instances of such dual celebrations. If Findbheo and Finnian were identical, and the latter was connected with the church of Malahide, and a local celebration of him had been established there, the obstacle of the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, which caused his general festival to be transferred to March 16th, would account for the local celebration being held on January 27th, five days before the date of his decease. The facts that Findbheo would corrupt to Fenwe, the sixteenth-century name of the patron of the church of Malahide; that the latter is situated on an *inbher* on the "coast of Bregia"—the district in which it has been suggested that Finnian was born, and with which he was connected in after life; that Findbheo also is referred to an unidentified *inbher*, mentioned only in the calendars; that Fenwe's church at Malahide was closely connected with that of Swords with which Finnian was so prominently identified; and that Findbheo's festival approximates so closely to the day of Finnian's decease; all indicate a probability that Fenwe of Malahide and the Findbheo of the martyrologies are identical with Finnian of Swords. "*Ennio mac h Fiatach*" is the form in which the name of the latter's namesake, St. Finnian of Moville, is given in O'Clery's excerpt from the missing copy of the Martyrology of Tallaght. This form of the name, in which Finnio has been transformed to Ennio, has been produced by dropping the initial *f* of Finnio and substituting *e* for the *i* of *Finn*: the latter change being similar to that which took place in the case of Fenwe, *alias* Findbheo, of Malahide. We have therefore two forms of one name, Findbheo and Finnian, both of which might corrupt to Fenwe, for Finnian represents *Finni-an*, little Finni: *an*, little, being an affix of endearment attached, like *og*, to the names of venerated ecclesiastics; and Finni, like Finve, might easily corrupt to Finwe and Fenwe. Nor is the probability of this identity of Findbheo and Finnian lessened by an unobtrusive feature of Fenwe's church at Malahide. The Anglo-Irish Life of Finnian Lobhar alleges that, while the latter was in Munster, he was made a bishop, which is doubtful; but the story is nevertheless valuable, for it shows that this tradition existed in the twelfth century. That he was an abbot is certain, and the only human effigy upon St. Fenwe's church—a mitred head, carved above its southern doorway—shows that those who raised the latter believed that either a bishop or an abbot was the patron of the church of Malahide.

As Columb founded a church upon Lambay—a foundation probably connected with Finnian Lobhar and the church of Swords—a suggestion as to the origin of the name of this island may not be out of place here. In an entry in the Ordnance Survey Field Books, and elsewhere. O'Donovan states that the present name of the island represents Lamb-ey, i.e. Lamb-island; but the correctness of this derivation, which has been

adopted by Dr. Todd, and has since been generally accepted, seems to me to be doubtful. There was considerable intercourse between the coast of Fingal and other portions of our eastern coast and that of Wales, with the result that the old-Irish word *land*—which, like the Irish *tigh*, while primarily meaning a house, has been generally applied also to a church—has been imported in its Cymric form, *lann*, and in some cases has entered into the church-names of Fingal where it survives in a corrupted form. A chapel at Bremore, near Balbriggan, was anciently named *Lann-beachaire*, the church of the bee-man, because of some bees brought from Wales by St. Modomnoc, and left there by him with St. Mollaga, who was its patron. This chapel is called “Lambeeher” and “Lambecher” in old English diocesan documents. In another Fingallian instance *lann* has been more effectively disguised. An inquisition taken at Lusk on January 17th, 1542, mentions “Loghchynny and Lamlotterie.” When a second inquisition was taken in 1687, this place was still “Lamlottery”; but when a third was taken on September 15th, 1695, it had become “Drumlottery *als.* Lamlottery,” and this misleading name, Drumlottery, is that by which this place, a townland in Lusk parish, near Loughshinny, is now known. The *lam* of this place-name, like that of Lambecher, is clearly a corruption of *lann*, while “lotterie” or “lottery” represents a diminutive of *leitir*, a damp slope or hillside, a word anglicised “lattery,” the name of a county Antrim townland, which is combined in that form with *lann* in the present name of this Fingallian little-wet-slope of the church, called Drumlattery in the Townland Index of 1861. That in this case *lam* is a corruption of the Welsh *lann* is shown by the mention of a place called “Lanie” in an inquisition taken of the possessions of the Monastery of Holmpatrick at the time of the dissolution. This place—now divided by the parochial boundary of the parishes of Lusk and Holmpatrick into two townlands—adjoins Drumlattery, extending eastwards from the latter to the sea; it is now named Lane, and was certainly originally part and parcel of Lamlottery. The corruption of *lann* to *lam* is not peculiar to Fingall or Ireland. Lambeg, the name of two townlands and a parish near Lisburn, was called “Laudebeg,” a name which preserves the old-Irish form of the word; and *Lann Abhaich*, the Church of the Dwarf, near Glenavy, county Antrim, corrupted into Lenavy, Lynavy, Lunavy, and (in a visitation of 1661) Glanavy. The name of the Scottish island, Lamlash, which is called *Malas-eyjar*, Malas’, or St. Molaise’s, island, in the *Saga of Hacon* (“Icelandic Sagas,” Rolls Series, vol. i. p. 349), clearly represents *Lann Molaise*, while that of Lumphanan, in the diocese of Aberdeen, is probably a corruption of *Lann Finan*, as it is believed to have been dedicated to Finnian Lobhar, of Swords, who was also commemorated at Kilfynan, Elan-Finan, Mochrum, Monymusk, and Migvie in Scotland.

Apparently the first written mention of Lambay is the Latinized

form, *Lambeia*, which appears in the confirmation given by John, when Lord of Ireland, to the Archbishop of Dublin in A.D. 1184, and also figures in that given by Pope Innocent III to Archbishop Henry de Loundres in A.D. 1216. It is remarkable that for some time after these documents were published the ancient Irish name of the island continued to appear in diocesan documents concurrently with the later foreign name which was consistently and unanimously ignored in later times by Irish scribes; there was no abrupt disuse of the older name, but a period during which the use of the latter overlapped that of the newer one. Thus, while we find the island called "Rachrauni" in the Bull granted by Pope Alexander III to St. Laurence O'Toole in 1179, five years before John's first confirmation of 1184, we also find it called "Rechán" by Pope Urban III in 1186, and by Pope Celestine III in 1192, and "Rocheán" in an *Inspecimus* made in 1496 of John's second confirmation of A.D. 1202, both of these forms being renderings of the Irish *Reachrán*; so that the use of the Irish name survived the first appearance in English diocesan records of the newer one by at least eighteen years. On the surface, the "Lambeí" of John's first confirmation appears to represent a combination of the English *lamb* and the Danish *oe* or *ey*; but it should be remembered that the place-names given in diocesan documents dating from after the death of St. Laurence O'Toole were renderings given by Anglo-Norman churchmen ignorant of Irish and of the meanings of Irish place-names, and that these renderings were sometimes very crude phonetic imitations of the latter. As the sound of the corruption *lam* and that of the English *lamb* are practically identical, an Anglo-Norman cleric confronted with a name in which *lam* was prefixed to the Danish *ey* might be pardoned for concluding that it represented *lamb*, and excused for correcting the defective orthography of the "natives" by adding a final *b* to it and making the island's name *Lambeí*. If, before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, the island had been known to the Irish generally by the Irish equivalent of its present name, it would have been called *Uan-inis*; while if it was known to the Fingallians by the Irish-Danish equivalent of that name, they would probably have called it *Uan-ey*; but as no trace exists of such names, and Irish writers from the eighth to the eighteenth century unanimously mention it by variants of its ancient Irish name, it seems to me that the inference to be drawn is that the name "Lambeí" is either an Anglo-Norman introduction, or else an Anglo-Norman version of some Irish-Danish Fingallian name which they found locally applied to the island at the time of their arrival. The hypothetic assumption that in the middle of the twelfth century, and less than twenty years after the Anglo-Norman capture of Dublin, an island lying off a district the speech of the inhabitants of which was an Irish-Danish dialect that existed in a modified form till comparatively recent times, should be known by a name one half of which was English pure and undefiled, appears to me so exceedingly improbable as to be

untenable. Apart from its improbability, the Lamb-island theory has the defect that, lambs being likely to be sent to most fertile islands near the Irish coast as well as to Lambay, if an island of the size of the latter had really had its name changed because of lambs being sent to it, we should expect to find a multitude of Lamb-islands around the Irish coast. On the Ordnance Survey maps four Lamb-islands are laid down, and a remarkable feature of these is their diminutive size. They range in area from a nominal 7 acres in the case of a Kerry islet (Ordnance Survey Sheet No. 78), the greater part of the area of which is indicated as bare rock; to a Galway islet (Ordnance Survey Sheet No. 112) containing 2 roods, 7 perches, and a little rock among the Muglins off Dalkey Island, county Dublin; from which I would infer that, in these cases, Lamb Island is a modern name applied by English-speaking people to islets so small that they could not furnish sustenance for sheep, and a few lambs were consequently placed upon them. If Lambay did not get its name through being a feeding-ground for lambs, the name must have some other meaning; the presence in it of *ey* shows Danish influence, and the name, whatever it may represent, existed in pre-Norman times. The absence from Irish records of any name for this island but *Reachran* and its variants, and the presence in its present name of the Danish *ey*, coupled with the facts that in the sixth century St. Columb founded a church upon it for Colman, son of Roi; that in A.D. 832 Tuathal MacFeradhach was abbot of Reachran and Durrow, a Columban monastery; that a church appears to have existed on it down to the fourteenth century, when a patent of confirmation for a chantry on the island was granted in 1337; and that a patron—which in later times was transferred to the Feast of Corpus Christi (the Thursday after Trinity Sunday)—was formerly held there at Trinity Well on Trinity Sunday; suggests that Lambay probably represents *Lam-ey*, and that the latter was a locally applied corruption of *Lann-ey*, Church Island, dating from the period intervening between the Danish and the Anglo-Norman settlements in Fingal.

It is strange that, though the island is portion of a Danish-settled district, no mention of it but one appears to occur in ancient Norse or Danish literature; and the identification in question is circumstantial rather than certain or conclusive. From evidence afforded by the context of the poem, the best Norse and Danish students of the sagas are inclined to regard Lambay as being the scene of a sea-fight, described in verse 19 of the Icelandic Saga, *Krakas maol eller kvad om Kong Ragnar Lodbrok* (C. C. Rafn, Copenhagen, 1826) as having occurred at *Lindiseyri*, a name which Rafn translates into Danish as *Lindesore*, the Strand of the Island, or Strand Island.

The names Dalk-ey, Lamb-ey, and Ireland's-ey seem to me to be the result of a grafting upon Irish names of the Danish *ey* as a substitute for *inis*, and to show that *ey*, a variant of the Danish *oe*, was

probably the Fingallian word for *island*; but we have no trace of *lindes* in Fingall or elsewhere in Ireland. If the name given in the Icelandic Saga was applied in either its Norse or Danish form to Lambay, and if, as seems quite possible in that case, traditional remembrance of it existed among the first Danish settlers in Fingal, in later times, when their descendants had lost the language of their ancestors and a local Irish-Danish dialect had been substituted for it, *ore*, or *eyri*, might be confounded with *oe* or *ey*; and the Norse or Danish word for "strand," which forms the termination of "Lindiseyri" and "Lindesore," might have been metamorphosed into the Fingallian word for "island," which forms the termination of Lambay. Had this occurred, the meaning of *lindes* must also have been forgotten, and, as a church existed on the island, *lindes* might have been corrupted into *land* or *lann*, examples of the application of which to churches occur in the immediate neighbourhood of Lambay. In this way a Fingallian corruption of a Norse or Danish name applied to the island by the first Danish settlers in Fingall may have been established, and this may have locally changed the island's name from *Reachran* to *Lann-ey*, and may later on have resulted in the corruption *lam* being substituted for *lann*, and *Lam-ey* made the island's local name and the basis on which the present name was founded. The probability that something of this kind happened, and that "Lambay" is the corrupted Irish-Danish descendant of some Danish name, is strengthened by the fact that the Irish never used or recognized the use of this name, which was certainly a local one of Irish-Danish coinage.

ST. CHRISTOPHER IN IRISH ART.

BY FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER, M.R.I.A., FELLOW.

[Read MARCH 29, 1910.]

AT Jerpoint Abbey, in County Kilkenny, there is much sculpture amongst the tombs and in the building itself. Built up against one of the pillars of the cloister, in high relief, were two figures that



ST. CHRISTOPHER BEARING THE CHILD.

Facsimile of the earliest dated (A.D. 1423) woodcut reproduced by Roland, 1775.
(From the collection of F. J. B.)

deeply attracted my attention, because I had not previously noticed similar figures in any other part of Ireland. Many of the cloisters of our abbeys have been destroyed, and with them much legendary lore

which the monks chose to carve there on wall and column. Every stone of a cloister is worth examining. Here are found the best mason-marks, quaint little pieces of Celtic ornament and symbolism. I have noticed such at Quin, and at Drumahaire there is a St. Francis preaching to the birds. At Bective there are quaint figures in the cloisters, also at Fore. I have only noticed one St. Christopher, and that is at Jerpoint. This abbey was founded in 1158, but the cloisters date from the end of the fourteenth century, so the statue is about the later date. The story of St. Christopher is generally told in mural paintings. Many hundreds still remain in England and on the Continent, and there are numerous old prints with similar portraits. Shortly, the legend is as follows:—Christopher (literally, Christ-bearer) received his name because he bore Christ across a stream in Syria. When he gave up paganism, he desired to do some great Christian service, being a giant in stature and strength. He undertook to ford strangers across a deep stream. Once in the night a little Child presented himself to be carried across. Christopher carried the Child on his shoulder until the burden grew so heavy he almost sank in the waves. He succeeded at last in getting across, when he said, "Child, thou hast put me in great peril; if I had had the whole world upon me, it might be no greater burden." And the Child answered, "Christopher, marvel nothing; for thou hast not only borne all the world upon thy shoulders, but thou hast borne Him that made and created the world. I am the Christ whom thou servest."



ST. CHRISTOPHER BEARING THE CHILD.
Sculptured Stone in Jerpoint Abbey
(Photograph by F. J. B.)

And so the saint is mostly represented crossing a stream, with a tree-like stake in his hand for support, and the Infant on his shoulders. There are those who say the whole story is allegory; that Christopher is Christ the Cross-bearer, the Child is the offspring of Adam, the river is Death. The saint is a giant or mighty person, because the Redeemer

was able to bear the burden of the sins of the world. Be all this as it may, here we have St. Christopher carved in stone after the manner of the Irish, and set up in the cloister of an Irish abbey as a lesson and an example. The figures are boldly carved, the whole stone being about 3 feet high. The saint is kilted and draped in the Gaelic way, showing bare legs and feet, with a wave across the feet and a large fish cut upright beside the left leg, reaching from the foot to above the knee. In his right hand he grasps a stout stake or tree, with a crowned or branched top, while his left arm lovingly embraces the Child, thus showing a Gaelic fervour lacking in all the representations I have seen of other countries, where the Child sits on the shoulders unclaspèd. A halo surrounds the head of the Divine Infant, whose face is upturned, and His right hand is upheld in the attitude of blessing. The saint has on his head a cap or crown, and his beard is interlaced and twined in the Irish style. The whole representation savours of local art, with the deep Gaelic spirit so commonly traceable during the Irish revival of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In conclusion, I may add that the late Walter B. Mant, Archdeacon of Down, wrote at Hillsborough a poem on this subject, and published same in 1861 in a volume entitled *Christopheros and other Poems*.

Miscellanea.

Historical Notices of Crannogs.—In Fynes Moryson's "Itinerary," Part II., published in 1617, I have recently noticed accounts of attacks on crannogs by the Lord Deputy Mountjoy and his forces. So far as I am aware they have not been quoted in the *Journal*. As the "Itinerary" is rather a scarce book, I think the following extracts may be appreciated by some of those who take an interest in the subject of Irish lake-dwellings:—

Anno 1600.

Pages 88, 89, 90. "His Lord^p returned back the eighteenth of February to Sir *Tibbot Dillons* house, and the nineteenth to *Danoar* twelve miles, being *Brian Mac Gohagans* Castle in *West-Meath*. While his Lordship lay in this Castle, he rode forth the twentieth of February, to view a strong hold, seated in a plaine, and in a little Iland, compassed with bogges and deepe ditches of running water, and thicke woods, in which fastnesse Captaine *Tirrel*, with some of the boldest Rebels, then lay. At the first approach to the bogge, two shot of the Rebels came out, our horsemen standing on a hill, moved continually, but my selfe being a raw souldier, stood still, and because I had a white horse, I gave the Rebels a faire marke, so as the first shot flew close by my head, and when I apprehending my danger, turned my horse, the second flew through my cloake, and light in my padde saddle, (which saved my life), and brused my thigh. Presently his Lordship sent Sir *Christopher Saint Laurence*, Captaine *Winsor*, Captaine *Roper*, and Captaine *Rotheram*, with wings of Foote into the Wood, to discover the fortified Iland. And on the other side sent Captaine Leg to the same purpose. While these skirmished with the rebels lying intrrenched, Master *Darcy* riding by the skirt of the Wood, was shot in the neck. The two and twenty day his Lordship drew forth againe, and we carried hurdles and fagots to passe into the Iland, but the water carrying them away, and his Lordships Guard being not well seconded by the Irish, wee came off with losse, and Captaine *Rotheram* was shot.

"The same twenty two of *February*, his Lordship in counsell resolved to proclaime, that all such as had any rebels goods, should discover them, or be guiltie of Treason: That none upon paine of death should parley with the rebels: that the Countrey should bring in victuals to the Campe, which no man (upon paine of death) should take from them without paying the price of the market. And thus purposing to force the rebels out of the fortified Iland, and then to plant a garrison at the Abbey

neere adjoining; and to charge the new submitted subjects to joyne with this garrison in the service, as also to take order for the safe victualing of the same when he should be gone, his Lordship resolved the next day to make another attempt against the Iland wherein *Terril* lay, preparing all things to second the same, and taking order to bring victualls to the Campe from all parts, and especially from *Athlone* by boates.

"The twenty three of *February*, his Lordship drew forth to the Abbey, where hee had lodged foure hundred souldiers, there he dined and proclaimed *Terrils* head at two thousand crownes, and after dinner drawing to the Iland, he divided the forces, sending part to put boates into the water, and so to assaile the Iland, and causing the rest to be led into the Woods to fetch out the rebels corne, and to burne the houses, and such things for their reliefe, as they could not bring away. The twenty foure of *February*, being Shrove-tuesday, there fell a great snow, so that we were forced to lie still, and the next night the Rebels did steale away, leaving the Iland to his Lordship, where the next day wee found much corne, some Murrians and Peeces, eight Cowes, and some garrons. The twenty six, his Lordship drew the forces beyond the Iland, into a pleasant Valley, wherein was a ruined house of *Sir Edward Herberts*, and the ground was well plowed by the Rebels. Our men burnt houses and corne, and his Lordship gave an Angell to a souldier to swim over the water, and burne the houses in another Iland."

Pages 97, 98. "The sixth of Aprill 1601, his Lordship received advertisement from Captaine *Josias Bodley*, at the *Newry*, that he, and Captaine *Edward Blany*, Governour of the Forte of *Mount-Norreys*, purposing to surprise *Loghrocan*, could not carrie a boat, which they had provided to that purpose, but he carrying certaine fireworkes provided in case the boat should faile, went to the Fort, and joyning with Captaine *Blany*, marched towards the Iland, where they arrived by eight of the clocke in the morning, and leaving their forces behind a Wood, they both went together to discover the Iland; which done Captaine *Bodley* made readie thirtie arrowes with wildfier, and so they fell downe with one hundred shot close to the water, where the shot playing incessantly upon the Iland, while the other delivered their arrowes, suddenly the houses fired, and burnt so vehemently, as the rebels lodging there, forsooke the Iland, and swumme to the further shoare. That after they saw all burnt to the ground, they fired a great house upon their side of the shoare, and killed there sixe *Kerne*, (gaining their armes) besides *Charles* and *Calliachs*, and after the burning of other houses also, they brought away some Cowes and Sheepe, with other pillage; and they understood by a prisoner, that there were about thirty persons in the Iland, whereof onely eight swumme away, (of which foure were shot in the water), so as the rest either were killed

or lay hurt in the Iland. Likewise they understood by the said prisoner, that great store of butter, corne, meale, and powder, was burnt and spoiled in the Iland, which all the rebels of that Countrey made their magazine. Further, that some forty Kerne skirmished with them at places of advantage, in their retreat for two miles march: but howsoever the common opinion was, that the Rebels sustained great losse by this service, yet of the English onely two were slaine and seven hurt."—S. A. D'ARCY.

A Double Bullaun near Bagenalstown.— On page 60 of this volume I described two bullauns in the Glen of Aherlow, and I now illustrate another from county Carlow, which is of interest as showing how much these basins differ from each other, and how unlikely it is that all of them were intended for the same purpose. The Aherlow bullauns consist of hemispherical basins cut in loose blocks which are of no great size, and appear to have been roughly worked to shape all over, while the present specimen exhibits two conical, or funnel-shaped cavities, placed close together in the top of a rounded and undisturbed rock,



FIG 1.—DOUBLE BULLAUN AT KILDREENAGH, NEAR BAGENALSTOWN.

about 6 feet by 5 feet, and 4 feet high. Conical bullauns are less common than rounded ones; and I do not know of a better example than this, the basins of which are 15 inches in diameter, and 17 inches deep. The rock in which they are cut forms part of the fence of a lane, which branches off the road from Bagenalstown to Newtown, near the

latter, and leads to several farmhouses in the townland of Ballywilliamroe. The fragments¹ of a large cross are built into the same fence close by; and the ruins of Kildreenagh Church are in the field on the opposite side of the lane. Fig. 1 is photograph, and fig. 2 a sectional drawing of the bullaun rock.—HENRY S. CRAWFORD.

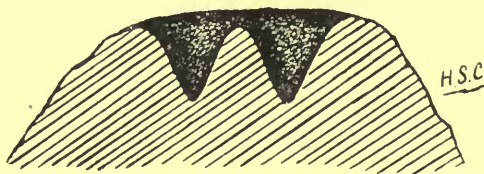


FIG. 2.—SECTION OF BULLAUN AT KILDREENAGH, NEAR BAGENALSTOWN.

The Irish Elk.—Since I first recorded an alleged local name for this great animal among the people of Carrahan, in county Clare, I have been disappointed that no one has added any names from other localities. The Carrahan turf-cutters say that “Fiaghmore,” near Spancil Hill, is called from the “big deer” found in the bog near Coolasluasta Lake. That the great antlers and bones impressed the mind even of the medieval Irish is clear from the “Agallamh.” In Mr. Standish Hayes O’Grady’s translation we find Caeilte relating how a red stag was slain by the spears of Dermot O’Duibhne and his companions: “I secured one antler, Dermot the other, and he carried it off to Tara Luachra to Finn. He set the butt of it on one of his feet, and the topmost tine on the crown of his head.”²

A paper on the rarer animals of Ireland, and their record in our early literature, would be a valuable addition to our field work. It is one of the points where the students of science and archæology can join hands. Much has been done for the early Irish horse and ox, but the bear, the wolf, the whale, and the very contentious subject of the squirrel have been hitherto calling for antiquarian elucidation in vain.³—THOMAS J. WESTROPP.

¹ See *Journal*, vol. xxxvii., p. 219 (No. 9).

² “*Silva Gadelica*,” vol. ii., p. 176.

³ Part of a supposed musical instrument, made of the horn of the Irish elk, was found in the fosse of the inner earthwork of Desmond’s Castle, Adare: see “*Memorials of Adare*.” This, however, proves nothing as to the late existence of *Cervus Giganteus* in county Limerick.

In the townland of Basketstown, otherwise Bostrickstown, about two miles north-east of the village of Summerhill (formerly called Lynch's Knock), county Meath, is a celebrated spring of beautifully pure and clear water, which has never failed. It is known as Tubbernavanna (the blessed well). The well is built over, and a tablet let in to the stone work has the following inscription :—

“Hunc Fontem non immerito Beatum ab accolis appellatum propter
salubritatem et perennem aquae copiam in usum eorum munivit
Ricardus Wesley Armiger
A.D. 1738.”

This Richard Wesley was the then owner and resident of Dangan Castle, a short distance from the spring.

Time had begun to tell on the stone work ; but a couple of years ago, thanks to the action of a gentleman resident in the neighbourhood, it has been repaired.

There is another well about a mile distant in the townland of Galtrim, and which gives its name to a sub-denomination of that townland known as Tubber-a-stick. Can anyone say what the latter part of this word means?—E. J. FRENCH.

Notices of Books.

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

**Primitive Paternity: The Myth of Supernatural Birth in relation to the History of the Family.* Two volumes, by Edwin Sidney Hartland, F.S.A., Hon. Fellow R.S.A.I. (London: David Nutt, 1910.)

MR. E. SIDNEY HARTLAND is one of the greatest living authorities on Anthropology, and long ago won distinction in this field of research by his remarkable work *The Legend of Perseus*. For the past sixteen years he has laboriously pursued the investigations which he had opened by this line of inquiry, and has just published the results in *Primitive Paternity*, in two volumes. No more remarkable work has issued from the Press in recent years—remarkable alike for its intrepid penetration into the dark mysteries shrouding human birth in the minds of savage races, for the wealth of illustration it displays, and for the sustained balance of judgment it exhibits under an immense load of detail and argument. No writer bears the burden of his erudition more lightly than Mr. Hartland; and his style is singularly clear and lucid, which makes the book, apart from the astounding nature of so much of the material, particularly attractive to the reader.

It is difficult for civilized man to understand the attitude of mind of the savage who thinks that human birth is due to supernatural agency, and who fails to understand the physiological process of conception. Yet this is now the state of mind among the savages in Australia, and was at one time universal. In matters of natural phenomena the savage mind is that of a child; and as little children are deceived by a tale that the advent of a baby is due to a find in the cabbage-garden, so the mystery of birth, being equally unintelligible in the lower culture, is explicable on any grounds other than the true physiological one. Mr. Hartland exhaustively pursues the idea of supernatural birth advanced in his earlier work, and from the variety of agencies—the sun, wind, rain, bird, beast, fish, plant, and other things animate and inanimate—to which conception is attributed—it passes belief that the human mind could be so credulous. But the illuminating illustrations which he gives of practices in Europe in modern times, on the Continent and in these islands, to procure conception are no less astonishing; they show not only how general was the belief, but with what persistency

it kept hold of the human mind, so much so that certain practices by women, at the present time, both at home and abroad, to ensure safe delivery in childbirth are but survivals in modified form of the primitive belief.

The philosophy of the savage, if we can credit him with such, upon which the idea of supernatural birth is based, has its roots in the beginning of things in the lower culture, and lies far below animism in the development of human thought. In it no line of distinction is drawn between things organic and inorganic, or between the groups of the animal world and vegetable life. All things, among men of the most primitive type, are peopled with personalities; and however vague and nebulous they may be, they are nevertheless by no means immaterial. Long periods of time elapsed before the idea of soul or spirit, as an immaterial essence, took hold of the mind of man. Even in the higher religions of our day the material aspect is not altogether absent, and is accountable for many vulgar superstitions and rites. The early crude idea of soul, and its gradual development, are responsible for the belief in re-incarnation and its natural sequence, transmigration, though the line of demarcation between them is often not clearly defined. Through the maze of custom and habits to which these beliefs lead, Mr. Hartland steers an easy and singularly clear course. Never at a loss for an illustration, and master of the comparative method of treatment, without which much of the book would be a wilderness, the author proves an ideal guide. All birth, as he shows, is merely a new manifestation of a creature previously existing in anything in nature—a belief which is but the correlative to that in the supernatural cause of human birth. It follows, therefore, that Mother-right—that is having descent only through the mother, with the tribal customs arising from it, which has been universally held—is due to the kinship of the mother's offspring, and to the entirely alien position of the father in the family. Social life in modern civilization is so bound up with Father-right that it is difficult for us to understand how a community can be held together by any other right. The *patria potestas* has been the fundamental principle in the family units out of which all modern civilizations have been built up. The utterly subordinate position of the father under Mother-right seems inconsistent with strength or unity in a tribe. But its kinship was clearly understood, with the attendant blood-covenant and its rites, as Mr. Hartland describes; and as far as family headship in a male was concerned, the mother's nearest relative takes the place of the father. As the father is not reckoned akin to the children, exogamous marriages are usually compulsory. When savage races are organized into totemic classes, all male members of the totem class are forbidden to have any sexual relationship with the women within the kin. The blood-covenant by which members were admitted into the clan was not a primitive institution, though an early one, as

the author points out. It existed in ancient Ireland, and was practised in Scotland, where clanship remained so strong, down to as late as two centuries ago. The development of society under Father-right was a slow and gradual process; and the principle of kinship under Mother-right remained long among patrilineal races, and far down into patriarchal times. Examples of its survival are found in the Old Testament, the marriage of Abraham and Sarah being due to their not being of the same kin, as he explains to Abimelech; marriage, too, at a much later time, was permissible between Amnon and Tamar, as the latter pleadingly points out.

Marital relations, with all their ramifications, among primitive races all over the globe are treated by Mr. Hartland with masterly comprehensiveness. Much of it is painful reading, though written with restraint, as many notes and references to authorities show. It is impossible for us in the short space afforded by a review to do more than give a glance at the main features of the book. The work as a whole is a masterpiece, and a notable contribution to anthropological science. It is worthy of the pen of a subject of an empire that sways the destinies of a greater variety of races than any other on the globe. We rise from a perusal of Mr. Hartland's book with a clearer vision than we ever had before of the development of human society from its most primitive conditions to its organization in civilized states. Many myths, legends, and customs that have descended to our own time gain a fresh interest from a clearer understanding of their origin and real significance. A work so scholarly, so sober and balanced in judgment, and so void of controversy, is sure of the fullest possible recognition of all interested in the deeper study of mankind. We heartily congratulate Mr. Hartland on his great achievement, and all the more so as he is enrolled among the small but distinguished band of Honorary Fellows of our Society.

An Irish Utopia: A Story of a Phase of the Land Problem. New edition, with a special Introduction (now first published) dealing with the subject of the Irish Round Towers. By John H. Edge, M.A., K.C., ex-Legal Assistant Land Commissioner. (Dublin: Combridge & Co., Ltd., 1910.)

THE special Introduction to the new edition of Mr. Edge's work is worth reading, as in a few pages it summarizes the various theories advanced as to the origin and date of the Irish Round Towers, and weighs the evidence adduced in support of each. The Bibliography of the subject at the end of it is valuable.

The *Utopia* was penned with a purpose—that of pleading for mutual toleration and forbearance among Irishmen of all classes and creeds; and the descriptions of the scenery in Wicklow, one of the most beautiful

counties in Ireland, with which the work abounds, make it practically a handbook or guide to the more celebrated portions. Mr. Edge also devotes considerable attention to the antiquities of the district; and as the Round Tower at Glendalough is often mentioned, it seemed to him due to his readers of the new edition to supply the information contained in the special Introduction.

English Church Brasses. By E. R. Suffling. Published by L. Upcott Gill, London. Price 10s. 6d. Pp. x + 456.

THERE are very few Monumental Brass Tablets in Ireland, and none of early date; the most notable are two small tablets, both of the sixteenth century, in St. Patrick's Cathedral. The opportunity of making a collection of brass rubbings does not therefore occur in Ireland, but Mr. Suffling's book may be heartily recommended to all who take an interest in the subject.

Many of the larger works on Brass Rubbings are now out of print, and obtainable only at a prohibitive price; and there is undoubtedly room for a book such as the present, dealing fully with the subject, and published at a moderate price. Apart from the collector's point of view, Monumental Brasses are of much interest to the antiquary from the details they preserve as to the armour and costumes from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries. Mr. Suffling's book contains 237 illustrations of extant brasses reproduced from rubbings, and these are not only excellent in themselves, but most admirably selected to illustrate examples of the various styles of armour and costume, civil and ecclesiastical, of the periods shown on brasses.

The chapters devoted to the costume of ladies and the civilian costume of men are very well done, and the notes on the ecclesiastical vessels, &c., occurring on brasses are useful. There is an extensive and most useful chapter on the localities of brasses; and the directions for copying and mounting brasses seem most practical.

The book is furnished with a dictionary of terms applied to armour, a bibliography, and a good index.

A second edition of the *Guide to the Celtic Antiquities of the Christian Period*, by Mr. George Coffey, *Hon. Fellow*, has just been published, the first edition, which was reviewed in vol. xxxix., p. 403, of the *Journal*, having been exhausted. The second edition has been enlarged and revised, and contains many new illustrations, including one additional plate; and the new matter includes chapters on beads, querns, and Scandinavian objects. The price is 2s. paper, and 3s. cloth.

Jour. R.S.A.I. } Vol. xx., Fifth Series. }
 } Vol. xl., Consec. Ser. }

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A work entitled "The Crofton Memoirs," being an account of John Crofton, of Ballymurry, county Roscommon, Queen Elizabeth's Escheator General of Ireland, his ancestors and descendants, and of others bearing the name, compiled by Henry Thomas Crofton, ex-President, Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, assisted by Rev. W. Ball Wright, M.A., author of "The Ussher Memoirs," "Ball Family Records," &c., and by Miss Helen Augusta Crofton, authoress of "The Slacke Family in Ireland," &c., is now ready for the press, and will shortly be issued in a limited edition of 120 copies at 21s. each. It will be illustrated with views of family seats, portraits, rubbings, &c.

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PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART III, VOL. XL.

Papers

PROMONTORY FORTS AND SIMILAR STRUCTURES IN THE
COUNTY KERRY.

PART III.—CORCAGUINY (BRANDON TO DUNQUIN).

BY THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, M.A., M.R.I.A., FELLOW.

[Submitted JULY 12, 1909.]

(Continued from page 131, *supra*.)

THE Barony of Corcaguiny (*Corca Dhuibhne*), "the outmost limit of the West," is formed of that noble mass of lofty mountains, running for some thirty-five miles into the sea, which is one of the most impressive features of Western Ireland, and the grandest of the coast of Munster. As we see it from Loop Head or Kerry Head, it swells up from near Tralee, piled mountain on mountain, and breaking into two divisions, the first, Slieve Mish¹ (*Sliabh Mis*), ending abruptly in the cliffs on which Curoi's fabled fortress stands. Below this is the depression of Glennagalt (*Gleann na n-Gealt*), its lowest pass rising high above the sea, and Glenaish

¹ Mis was daughter of Mairid and wife of Coimgen horn-skin, son of Deda: she was sister of Eochaid and Rib, from whom are named Loughs Neagh and Ree (*Dindsenchas, Revue Celtique*, vol. xv., 1894, p. 445.)

(*Gleann Fhais*), commemorating Fas, one of the earliest princesses of the Milesians in our Bardic Legends.¹ Westward, other enormous mountains culminate in Mount Brandon, more than 3000 feet high ; beyond this are the lovely Bays of Ventry, Smerwick and Ferriter's Cove, the rugged Sybil Head, the great mass of Mount Eagle,² and the shapely peak of Croagh Marhin, rising abruptly from the great deep, and overlooking the jagged Blaskets.

This magnificent district shares with Aran and Burren the reputation of being one of the richest museums of early remains on our western coast. More than this, primitive conditions have maintained primitive customs, and we have seen slab-graves similar in plan to the long dolmens,



FIG. 1.—ANTIQUITIES IN WESTERN CORCAQUINY.

made in 1890, and beehive huts made so late as 1904. In this is the needed warning not to assert the vast age of a structure, however primitive; for the forts of Corcaguiny, unlike those of Clare, Galway, and Mayo, are of small stonework, where not of earth, and the huts in them may be of unsuspected lateness in very many cases. The "gallauns" and ogham stones rarely concern the main objects of this paper, neither do the dolmens, yet we must note a few specimens of each class of these antiquities.

Crossing over the pass of Glennagalt, seeing through various valleys the low square tower of Minard and the high headland girt by the great

¹ See Keating's "History of Ireland," vol. ii. (ed. Rev. P. S. Dinneen, Irish Text Society, vol. viii., p. 91). Scota, wife of Milesius, was also slain in the Glen, and was buried near the north shore, between Sliabh Mis and the sea.

² "Knock-an-Uiller" in 1827. See "Iar Mumhan" (MSS. R. I. A. 12. c. 11), p. 131.

earthwork of Dunsheane, we pass through beautiful scenery to the landlocked creek and town of Dingle (*Daingean Uí Chuis*¹). The name was written, Dengyn in Ossuri, Dengynhusse, and Dengenhusse among the Norman colonists of 1290;² this name is reputedly derived from the Husseys, but possibly from the "Coosh" or creek.³ The great fort of Doon lies hidden behind Eask Hill to the south of the Harbour. From the town, a valley runs northward across the peninsula to the creeks near the foot of Brandon; there we find the fortified hill-headland of *Dún Ruadh*, a fort unmarked as such on the maps despite its size and imposing situation. Farther westward on the beautiful crescent bay of Smerwick is the Fort Del oro, or *Dún an Óir*, latest of the cliff forts of Corcaguiny. Still farther west is the long, doubly entrenched Doon Head, behind Ferriter's Castle, while down the west face of the great peninsula, facing the Blaskets, are Doonbinnia and Dunmore. Round Sleah Head eastward are the series of six, or perhaps seven, forts from Dunbeg at Fahan on to Dunsheane, and one at Minard. Past Minard and Brandon, eastward, the coast is unsuitable for such forts, and none occur. The great buff, green, and blue mountains,⁴ though lacking the richer colours of Mayo and Connemara, make endless beautiful views, with the creeks and golden strands, while over the great southern bay lie the beautiful mountains of Iveragh⁵ and Valentia out to the distant sea peaks of the Skelligs, and westward to the Blaskets and Teeraght, nearest spot of Irish soil to America.

FORTS.—The promontory forts of Corcaguiny are among the most interesting of their class. Four, Doon⁶ Point, Doon Eask, Dunroe, and Dunbeg, have massive walls of drystone; the latter, in addition, has four wide fosses, with intervening mounds and stone-faced entrances to its gangway. Almost as complicated in general plan is Doon-Eask; it has three fosses, outside a strong stone wall, on a natural rampart of crag; while on the summit of the hill, of which its headland forms a buttress, is a strong curved wall defending even the approach to the inner defences. Doon Point has two natural gullies, strongly fortified by the hand of man with mounds and walls: the outer in later days was strengthened by Ferriter's Castle; inside the inner are several early stone huts. Minard, Dunbeg, Monacarroge, and Foilnamna forts have

¹ Annals of the Four Masters, 1579–80. See Cal. State Papers, Ireland, 1588, September 6th, Dengen e chos, Danglecusha, and Dungle-Cush.

² Plea Rolls (Ireland), Edward I.

³ For "mac" and "O" slipped into and out of names all too easily in records of that and later years.

⁴ Marhin, 1331 feet high; Brandon, 3127; Beenoskea, 2713; and Cahirconree, 2713 feet high.

⁵ Pronounced Ee-věrah, the ancient Uí Rathach, once part of Corcaguiny. There is a map of about 1600 in the Carew MSS. which calls it Ivragha; it is reproduced in Miss Hickson's "Old Kerry Records," vol. i.

⁶ [The objectionable anglicized spelling *Doon* for the Irish *Dún* is retained merely because it is the spelling in the Ordnance map, and so identifies the places with the names on that Survey.—ED.]

also huts inside their defences. The lesser forts are of a simple design; even the fort Del Oro has only two slight bastions to differentiate it from the primitive types. The mounds of most others (save Dunmore and Dunsheane) are convex to the land, with a fosse and inner and outer mounds. Dunsheane (like Baginbun, Dunabrattin in county Waterford, the Bailey Fort, at Howth, and Doon near Ballybunnion) has a lesser fort on a headland projecting from the main one; the two parts have the separate names of Dunmore and Dunbeg.¹ The forts at Minard and Foilnamna (*Faill na Mna*) have no outer mounds, nor has Dunmore at Dunquin, the largest though the least fortified of them all. Doonbinnia has two fosses; the mound between them (like those at Ferriter's Castle, the inner Dun of Kilmore, in Achill beg, and at the Dun of Ooghagappul near Clare Island Abbey²) has a banquette, and so is distinctly defensive. Doonywealaun is perhaps the most typical of the group, though much injured and rapidly perishing.

The fort of Doon-Eask gives one the impression of great age, and raises problems hard to be even answered; the great strength and steepness of the earthworks at Dunsheane are comparable to those of Doonegall fort, in Clare, and Lissadooneen in this county.³ The extreme complexity of the entrance gateway of Dunbeg implies an advance in defensive knowledge beyond any other fort entrance known to us, and so is probably comparatively late.⁴ It retains the only perfect gateway, unlike most other Cahers, in which is a great roofed passage, and guard-rooms; the gate of Dunroe, on the other hand, is most primitive, with its great lining slabs, like those of the huge "cahers" of Turlough Hill and Moghane, the last (if it be as old as the ornaments found near it) dating several centuries before our era, in the later bronze age of Ireland.⁵

Another simple and probably extremely early cliff fort is the inland one of Caherconree. It has no elaborate gateway or wall cells, only the strong rampart, convex to the land, with terraces inside and a slight fosse outside its ambit.⁶

Some of the more complex features may date from the eighth or

¹ As will be noted, a cliff fall has destroyed all safe access to this Dunbeg, but part of the fosse is still visible.

² I hope to lay notes on these fine cliff-forts before the Society at no distant date.

³ *Supra*, p. 14.

⁴ At least in its present form, for a very early fort may have been rebuilt. At Dunbeg the simpler outer wall is evidently the latest. For evidence of rebuilding in various forts, see *Trans. R. I. A.*, vol. xxviii. (c), p. 1, Dun Aengusa; *Journal*, vol. xxiii., p. 289, Langough; vol. xxxi., p. 4, Caherdoonerish. Examples of addition to earthen forts are collected in the first paper.

⁵ *Journal*, vol. xxxv., p. 224, and *Trans. R. I. A.*, vol. xxvii. (c), p. 228; for the find, see latter, p. 220.

⁶ This fosse outside a true *cathair* is, I think, very rare; I only know one case in Clare, two in Kerry, two in Mayo, and one in Donegal, but there may be other unrecorded specimens. Besides the notable case of Staigue Fort, there is a good example near Minard in the fine but crowded Cahernanackree, which I hope to describe in a later section of this paper. Another notable case is that of Moghane, of the great age of which there can be but little doubt.

ninth century, and some perhaps, like the ring fort of Clonroad in county Clare, so late as the thirteenth century; while the Spanish Fort is of the days of Drake and Raleigh. As to the abnormal features of Dunbeg, few other examples of the wide inner passage being stone-roofed seem to occur,¹ even in the complicated Staigue Fort; guard-chambers are found in it as well as in the Mayo cliff forts. The corridors such as occur in the (so-called) "Fort of the Wolves," Ballynavenooragh cathair, the Grianan of Aileach, and one fort near Caherrush in Clare, may be akin to these. The bar slides and squints from the guardrooms seem quite a unique feature in Dunbeg.

In this section we confine ourselves more closely than in the less known northern baronies to the cliff forts. Notes on several of the chief ring forts we hope some time to publish, but the ogham stones, the venerable oratories, the Romanesque church of Kilmalkedar, the carved stones and the folklore, lie outside our present scope. John Windele, Richard Hitchcock, George Du Noyer, Archdeacon Rowan, Richard Rolt Brash, Lord Dunraven, Mr. R. A. S. Macalister, and Mr. P. J. Lynch, have all done much to describe and illustrate the remains of this peninsula; to their valued labours we must only refer. As always, while keenly alive to our limitations, we give all in our power to illustrate the earlier history of the places in which the cliff forts are found. The records, on any supposition, belong for the most part to times far later than those in which the great trenches were dug and the dry-stone walls raised; but it is well to give them, if only to help local study with those to whom the Record offices and libraries of Dublin are practically inaccessible. Methodical archæology in Ireland is still in its infancy, and to bring together and spread helpful material is a duty. Few places are worthier than Corcaaguiny of an exhaustive survey. This is beyond our power; but every section done is a step towards the more perfect result that waits for its worker, and we give our pioneer work as an addition to (not as an attempt at completing) the record of this part of the west.

THE CORCA-DHUIBHNE AND OSURRYS.

Corcaaguiny is the modern variant of the name of the earliest tribe found in the authentic records of the district—the Corca-Dhuibhne. They claimed a prehistoric origin² from Duben, a heroine of somewhat doubtful character; but there were several variants of the tale.

Conaire, High King of Ireland in the middle of the second century,

¹ There is at least one other instance in Cahermoygilliar, county Cork, near Kinneigh. Of course the actual entrance has sometimes more than one lintel, as at Dun Aengusa, and Moherarooan, county Clare, and others, but the wide passage inside the gate is usually open. At Cahermoygilliar the passage is 25 feet 4 inches long with a covering of seven slabs, the outer impost being placed on edge; it is from 6 feet to 7 feet 3 inches high.

² See O'Donovan in note, *Ann. Four Masters*, vol. i., p. 215.

left three sons, each named Cairbre, who were surnamed Musc, Baiscinn, and Riada. From Cairbre Musc was named Muscraige or Muskerri, from Cairbre Riada the Dalriada, and from Cairbre Baiscinn the Corca-bhaiscinn in south-western Clare, with whose forts we have already dealt.¹ Cairbre Musc had a son Duben, whence Corca Dhuibhne or Corcauiny.

The second, and (from its offensiveness to Christian ideas) probably the older, legend made Duben a *daughter* of Conaire and sister-wife to Cairbre Musc, by whom she was mother of twin sons, the elder, Core, being ancestor of Corca Dhuibhne.

Antique scandal was interested in the Lady Duben, and there was a repellent third version, probably the oldest of all.² "Corca duibhinn, son of Cairbre mús [of the race of Lughaid, son or Ith, son of Breogan], was father of the Corca Dhuibhinne. Core (called duibhne [pro Duibhfinne], his mother's name Duibhfinn) a quo Corca Dhuibhne; Duvinnia autem filia Carbrai mús cui et filius Core noster." "Cairbre mús, baschain and righfada; why are they called the Cairbres?"—Because, when the battle of Cenn Febhrat was fought between Lughaid mac Con and Eoghan mór, son of Olioll Olom, they slew their mother's husband, King of the Ernans, in her arms,³ as an enemy of Olioll. Whence "corbadh" (taken to mean "parricide") gave "corb." Cairbre was named Musc from "mo aisce" (exorbitant desire), for he had children by Duvinnia. Cairbre riada was named from "righfada," "long forearm," or "far realm," for he went to Scotland, and was ancestor of the eastern Dalriada, while Cairbre baschain was named from bas-caein, "euthanasia," for he alone of the brethren had a gentle death "on his pillow," somewhat of a reproach in those and later days.⁴ "Angus was Cairbre mús's real name; Eocho, was Cairbre riata's, and Cairbre bascan's was Olioll." These far-fetched derivations and wide variants show how doubtful a set of tales had come down to the ancient antiquaries who collected the tribal "origins." Whatever may be the central historical nucleus, the name at least is very early, for the patronymic "Maqi mucui Dovinias" is found on several ogham stones in the district. For example, at Ballintaggart⁵ (a sepulchral ring-mound, showing how little such entrenchments differed from the residential forts), lying not far from Dingle, on a low, rising ground near the railway, we find among the storm-ragged fuchsias and thorn-bushes two boulders. These bear the epitaphs "Maqi Iariki maqqi mucui Dovvinias," and "Netta Laminacca

¹ *Supra*, vol. xxxviii., pp. 28, 221, 344, and vol. xxxix., p. 113.

² "Silva Gadelica," vol. ii., p. 535.

³ Borlase, "Dolmens of Ireland," vol. iii., p. 1038, identifies him with Carausius.

⁴ Even in 1542 the Four Masters seem surprised at the death of Torlough O'Brien "in his bed" at Inchiquin. Another chief after a warlike career dies "against his pillow," to the amazement of all. One recalls the contempt of Kingsley's Hereward for "a bed death"—a true echo of the Sagas.

⁵ Owned by Stephen Rice of Dingle I Cough in 1637 (Chancery Inquisition, P. R. O. I., No. 68).

koi(?poi) maqi mucoi Dov. . . ." In Lord Ventry's garden at Burnham,¹ not far away, on the harbour, is another, "Maqqi Ercia maqqi mucoi Dovinia," and, most striking of all, from its position on the sea-girt hill behind the entrenchment of Dunmore, "Anmo Dovinia."² Mr. John Mac Neill has made it probable that these "maqi mucoi" terms imply descent from a divine ancestor or tribal deity;³ if so, "Duben" was possibly a clan-god of remote antiquity, but we dare assert nothing, for "theophorous names," and even god-names were common in every nation, and Duben and Segomo (like Lugad and Greine, or Sylvanus and Phœbe) may have been borne by mere mortals and actual ancestors of clans, which attached to their mortal forefather tales that resembled the myths of their divine namesakes.

Later tales made the father of Diarmait Ua Duibhne ancestor of the Corca Dhuibhne,⁴ perhaps an attempt to escape from the "vicious circle" of the Duben myths.

The place was well famed in early legend. Here, some 1300 years before Christ, the Milesian colonists won their first great victory over the Tuatha De Danann in Glenaish.⁵ Here stood the mountain fortress of the famed Curoi mac Daire, now Caherconree,⁶ where he was betrayed by his faithless wife, Blanaid, to the vengeful Cuchullin. Here was fought "that dim battle in the West,"⁷ when Daire Donn, King of the World, was kept at bay for a whole year, and finally defeated by the Irish under Finn mac Cumhail.⁸ Legends tell how Baedan, evidently first Christian king of Duben's race, came to meet St. Patrick.⁹ But even the last moderate statement rests on little foundation, less foundation even (as we shall see) than that wildest of tales "the battle of the White Strand" at Ventry.

The history seems to begin in the ninth century of our era. In the

¹ Ballingollin, an old Rice estate, passed to Col. Frederick Mullins after 1650. He named it after his old home, Burnham, in Norfolk. From him descend the Lords of Ventry.

² For all these epitaphs, see Richard Rolt Brash, "Ogham Inscribed Monuments of the Gaedhill," pp. 179, 201; Sir Samuel Ferguson, "Ogham Inscriptions," p. 34; Professor R. A. S. Macalister, "Irish Epigraphy," vol. i., pp. 34, 55. See also for "Anme Dovinia," *Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. xxvii. (c), p. 334.

³ For example, see Mr. J. MacNeill's "Notes" in *Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. xxvii. (c), pp. 334, 339, for divine descent and mutilation of "mucoi" epitaphs. The *Ui Maic Deichead*, a sept of the *Ciarrhaighe* in this county, and the *Maqi Deicheada* oghams as kindred names to the mythic *Deiche*, who gave his name to a lake, mountain, and glen, as well as to *Fir Dechet*. *Cian*, ancestor of the *Cianachta*, was father of the god *Lugh*. *Conmac*, ancestor of the *Conmaicne*, was son of the sea-god *Manannan*.

⁴ See *Cath Finntraga* for Diarmait's hereditary territory here.

⁵ Keating's "History," *loc. cit.*

⁶ This is contradicted in "Caher Conri" by Rev. M. Horgan, Cork, in 1860. The author attempts to show that the real site of Curoi's fort was Cathair Conri, near Lough Curraun, where he states a similar legend and a stream name *Fionglas* exist. However, a poem of Flann, in 1086, locates Curoi's fort on Slieve Mish.

⁷ "Dind Senchas" (*Revue Celtique*, vol. xv., p. 448); Keating, *loc. cit.*, p. 223.

⁸ "Cath Finntraga" (ed. Kuno Meyer).

⁹ "Agallamh": see "Silva Gadelica," vol. ii., p. 108.

"Book of Rights" the tribute of the Corea Dhuibhne marks their importance. They were assessed at 1000 oxen and 1000 cows as tribute to Cashel, the same as the tribute of Ciarrhaighe Luachra, which implies that they then covered Iveragh and Magunihy with the present barony that preserves their name. The old name of Valentia Island "Dairbhre O'Duibhni" confirms this for Iveragh. They are again named as owing to Cashel submission, attendance, refection, and provision, with 30 cows, 30 oxen, and 30 cloaks. The difference here between them and the Ciarrhaighe, who paid 600 or 700 of each, arises probably from the Connacian origin of the latter tribe. The ancient poem, embedded like a fossil in the prose, says, "30 cows from the men of Duibhneach."

The tribe lay rather out of ken of the annalists, and we hear little of its history. About 916 it aided to defeat the Norsemen of Waterford.² In 1064, Turlough O'Brien, King of Munster, plundered it, and the Eoghanacht of Lough Lene, at Killarney, killing Ui Cearbhaill, chief of the latter district. Its chief, Mathgamhan (Mahon, the bear) Ua Seaghda, died in 1095, for the tribe had then divided in three, the Ui Seaghda (O'Sheas) in Iveragh; the Ui Failbhe (O'Falveys) in Coreaguiny, and the Ui Chonaill (O'Connells) in Magunihy. Some, however, give a different origin to the O'Connells, as the race that held and gave their name to Ui Chonghaile (or Connello) in western Limerick. In 1138, Mahon, son of Core (the ancient name was continued), King of Ciarrhaighe, and Corea Dhuibhne, tanist of Munster, died. In 1150, Dermot O'Conor, king of Connacht, and Tiernan O'Rorke pursued the O'Briens through Ciarrhaighe Luachra, defeating them at Slieve Mish. The invaders then brought ships from Corea Dhuibhne "on wheels" to Killarney Lake (Lough Lein), and ravaged that district. One of the O'Falveys, chief of Coreaguiny, was slain by the O'Sheas, of Ui Rathach (Iveragh) in 1158,³ which shows that the O'Falveys were in possession down to the generation that saw the Geraldine settlement.

O'Huidhrin, in his topographical poem, before 1420, as is his wont, reproduces the older state of affairs, ignoring with true poetic license the presence of the powerful Normans—

"The host of Corea Duibhne, O Seagha, and O Failbhe—
O Conghaile of the slender swords over bushy fortified Magh O Conchiinne—
From the Maing westward is hereditary to them.
O Failbhe is owner as far as Fionntraigh (Ventry);
O Seagha has obtained—without denial—
A country not wretched—he is king of Ui ratha (Iveragh)."⁴

So imperfect are the records of the Norman colonists of Coreaguiny for a century after their settlement that little can be argued about the

¹ Edition, O'Donovan, pp. 43, 47, 61, 65.

² "Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill" (ed. Todd), p. 28.

³ Annals of Four Masters, and Dublin Annals of Inisfallen, for entries from 1064.

⁴ "Irish Topographical Poems" (ed. O'Donovan), p. 109.

disappearance of that ancient tribal place-name. It is taken by another, evidently tribal, O'Surrys; this is commonly equated with "O'Shea" (on the principle of the equation of Macedon with Monmouth); but the O'Sheas did not hold Corcaguiny, where they first, I believe, appear in the later seventeenth century, and the names have nothing in common. Far more probably the O'Surrys¹ were some insignificant tribe like the Offariba, or the Othorna,² who escaped our annalists by their obscurity, and held lands under the O'Falveys. Granted, like Offariba, by MacCarthy to Raymond le Gros, before 1180, it passed to the descendants of the latter's nephew,³ and they held it, with little or no surviving record, down to the thirteenth century. The Plea Rolls of Henry III, in an account for 1261-2, name John, son of Thomas (for they maintained that confusing and primitive system of names long after the invention of surnames, to the trouble and confusion of historical students), who collected £20 in Ossurr as an imposition during war, after war, and after the king's peace was proclaimed.⁴ In 1278, the "Cathreim Thoirdhealbhagh" tells a curious story, unsupported save by the usual reliability of that history.⁵ In the wars of the rival clans of O'Briens under Torlough and Donough (the latter, supported by their terrible ally, Sir Thomas de Clare), Cuvea MacNamara, Chief of Clan Cuilean in Clare, in 1279 went to seek aid for Torlough from Donall MacCarthy, the prince of Desmond. The news reached de Clare, who wrote to MacCarthy, a man highly esteemed for wisdom, justice, and honour, offering to purchase "the Hound" (Cu) from him. "Surely not for any hound then living was ever offered a larger or more amazing price than de Clare bid for Cuvea—the entire country of Corea duibhne." MacCarthy replied jestingly, but in deep seriousness, "I will not sell the hound without his consent to the bargain," so "Cuvea slipped unhurt through these machinations."

When we come to examine other evidence, we find that Sir Thomas de Clare had married Juliana, daughter of Sir Maurice fitz Maurice, Lord of Offaly. Her mother, Emelina, had sold to her husband for 100 marks, and a moiety of the distant lands of Tristledermot and Kilkea in county Kildare, "her lands in Kery called Surrys." This was found by a jury in 1281, but the date of the exchange was probably many years earlier. Juliana de Clare herself "had rights" in these lands; for Emelie, late wife of Maurice fitz Maurice, had a suit against Gerald fitz Geffry about lands at Kylmaekeder and Morerathn (Marhin), of which Emelie and her husband had enfeoffed Christiana de Marisco; and mention is made

¹ I find no equivalent to the O'Surrys in the "Onomasticon Goedelicum."

² These may have been of the Ui Torna in Kerrycurrihy, Cork, or the Ui Torna Eigeas, subjects of the Dalcassians: see "Onomasticon Goedelicum" (Rev. E. Hogan, s.v.), p. 679.

³ See *supra*, p. 103.

⁴ Report, No. 36, Deputy Keeper, Records, Ireland.

⁵ See *Trans. R.I.A.*, vol. xxx., p. 133.

of the rights of Juliana, late wife of Thomas de Clare in 1290, in the same district.¹ So far facts, but how Emeline's son-in-law could deal with her lands to which there was more than one co-heiress, and still more, how he could offer to sell a well-established Norman colony to a Celtic chief, are insoluble. We can only suppose that the letter was cynically sarcastic, perhaps to "draw" a practicable negotiation, or convey a hidden threat. It probably meant "give me the Hound and I'll pay you a fancy price, or—," but the chief was brave and strong enough to refuse and rebuke under the laughing gravity of the reply. De Clare, in fact, is not assigned any "rights" in Ossurys in any of the elaborate inquisitions taken after he fell in the battle of Tradree before his rival, King Torlough, in 1287.²

In 1298, Osuieres cantred was fined £7 8s. 10½*d.* for knowingly receiving the outlaw, Nicholas O'Kathbothy; the villats of Kilmalkeder, £7 2s. 7*d.* for the escape of William Bochar, a certain Trawent³ (first recorded of the Trants) and others. Next year the villat of Dengyn (Dingle) let a Walter Landrey⁴ escape, and had to pay accordingly. This wild district, with so many spots almost inaccessible to the settlers, must have often facilitated such incidents. In 1299, there was a lawsuit to enforce Emelina "de Lungespeye" (for like most well-dowered widows then she had married again) to perform her right service for her free tenements of Ossurys to Maurice de Carreu,⁵ which suggests (despite strong reasons for tracing the descent through Raymond fitz Griffin), that the lands had descended from Raymond le Gros in the line of his brother Odo de Carreu, and the latter's son Raymond.⁶ The records relating to the Fereter family, and the manor of Dingle, in 1290, we reserve for notes on those places. In the collapse of the central government under Edward II, and the subsequent opportunist management of public affairs, the records fall away, and after the reign of Edward II there is practically a blank page for 150 years.

In the fourteenth century, however, a few facts should be noted. The church, that most conservative of bodies, laid down the bounds of Ossurys

¹ For these and the succeeding notes, see Cal. Documents relating to Ireland, vol. ii.; Plea Roll, No. 13, an. xvii Edw. I; *ibid.*, No. 33; No. 46 m. 36; Cal. Inquisitions, Edw. I., p. 431.

² C. D. I., vol. ii., and the Pipe Rolls.

³ In Plea Roll, 1297, No. 33. The Sheriff of Kerry, Ric. de Cantiluppo, deals with the goods of a Philip Trawent to the value of 12s. 8*d.* The Trant name still attaches to Caheratrant and Ballyameentrant, at opposite sides of Ventry Harbour.

⁴ Member of the de Londres or Delanders family, once also prominent on the Geraldine manors of county Limerick. We find Ballylanders in that county, and the Owenalondrig River at the Trabeg, near Dingle, to commemorate their name. They still flourish in Limerick, where we find them having held lands at Glin (1222); Glenogra (1239); Iveruss (1317); Carrigkittle (1373); Kilcosgrave and Nantinan (1584).

⁵ Plea Roll, No. 46 (1299), m. 36, "judicium, quod attach."

⁶ Compare with *Journal*, vol. xxvi., p. 227, vol. xxviii., pp. 235-239, and *supra*, p. 103; the question is still very doubtful.

in the Papal Taxation of 1302-7.¹ We already noted how it had assigned to Offariba the northern slopes of the hills from Brandon eastward to the great backbone of mountains, almost impassable, bounding the deanery of Ossuerus on its landward side. Where its eastern limit crossed the peninsula is not certain. The following parishes are given:—Doncyn (Dunquin);² Kendroma (Kildrum); Dungles (Dingle); Kilmalkeddar, Garfynnagh, Kinnard, and Mynard, retain their old form of names; "Rathleyn" ("feyn," or "teyn," as read, for the roll is greatly stained and injured, being almost useless in the form given by Sweetman) may be Rath fionnain, Rath na bFiann,³ or Rahinnane, but more probably is Martheyn, or Marhin, Mathtyrin in the Plea Rolls of 1290,⁴ an important parish, otherwise unrepresented; "Iveragh" is possibly Fytragh (Fyntragh), or Ventry, unless that place be the name read as "Fynnaght"; "Dunaghny" might, if more distinct, be Dunurlin, as "Dunmurlyn" appears in the contemporary Plea Rolls; "Inse" is Inch, part of the present Ballinvoher parish;⁵ it lies on the Emlagh River, whose name means "boundary." "Villa Pontis" seems uncertain; Ardnegaltin may be the high ground from Glennagalt pass. The parish of Kilquane is not given, unless it lurks in the defaced "Rathleyn." As the barony stops at Caherconree, the deanery possibly did not extend further eastward than Glennagalt.

In 1346, Edward III appointed Nicholas Husee⁶ and Robert Trawent as guardians of the peace in Ossurys, with power to impress men, arms, and horses, for service against the Irish.⁷ I have not found the place-name after this date. It is possible that this or the following century saw the issue in its present recension of the battle of Ventry,⁸ probably resting on older days and legends; but we pass through the fifteenth century with no local information. Dingle must have prospered down to the Earl of Desmond's fatal revolt, but it is only in the record of the great confiscation of his estates that we find again even the name of "the O'Duibhne, to whom a step backward was grief," in the term "Dingleoush in Corkouyne,"⁹ and Ballymoore, Downkyne, Smerwick, with Galf. Ferryter's lands, and the islands in Corkow-whyng.¹⁰

¹ C. D. I., vol. iv., page 297. A fuller copy appears in Mr. Terence King's "History of Kerry," Part 2, p. 157—a helpful little book, not as widely known as it deserves. For the parish churches, see Ord. Survey Letters (MSS. R.I.A., 14. D. 11); Ballinvoher, p. 366; Dingle, p. 108; Dunquin, p. 78; Dunurlin, p. 326; Garfinny, p. 348; Kilmalkedar, p. 82; Kilquane, p. 76; Kinnard, p. 355; Marhin, p. 340; Minard, p. 361; Ventry, p. 72.

² Dún caoin in 1558 (Ann. Four Masters); see also under Ferriter's Castle, *infra*.

³ "Cath Finntraga" (ed. Kuno Meyer), p. 63.

⁴ "Cruachan Adhrann," in "Cath Finntraga," is probably Croagh Marhin.

⁵ Ballinvoher, like Dingle, is a dispersed fragmentary parish, part being so far west, as at Fahan. Inch is at the eastern end.

⁶ Husseys derive from Hugh de Hoesse, who served under de Lacy and Maurice Fitz Gerald about 1180. The Irish *Ui Chuis* need fuller elucidation.

⁷ Cal. Chancery Rolls, No. 45, anno xx Ed. III.

⁸ See *Trans. R.I.A.*, vol. xxxi., p. 311. It is found in a fifteenth-century MS.

⁹ Desmond Roll, 1533; see also Undertakers' Certificates, 1587 (of 1582), "the watermill of Dyngleyoushe," in the trokshed of Corkouyne.

¹⁰ C. S. P. I., 1587, No. 154.

THE PROMONTORY FORTS.

KILQUANE PARISH.

DOONROE,¹ *Dúnruadh* (Ord. Survey map, No. 34). The first promontory fort noted on the north shore of Corcaguiny is not marked as such even on the new maps. The name, attached to so evident a natural fortress, fenced landward by streams and slopes, led me to examine the spot with most satisfactory results. It is indeed remarkable how the surveyors were "able not to see" such great walls 10 to 15 feet high and thick, and from 300 to 600 feet long, as those of Doonaunmore,² in Clare, and Doonroe, in Kerry; but the fact remains. It is on a most noble reach of coast, commanding a fine view of Knockbristee (*Cnoc briste*), the broken hill, at the end of Brandon Mountain, whose highest peak collects the clouds at a height of 3127 feet above the sea. A short walk brings us to an equally impressive view of the equally rugged peak at Ballydavid Head, warding the mouth of Smerwick.

Two small creeks, Coosavaddig and Coosatna—the first a small harbour—lie to the west and east of a low, steep knoll, leaving it less defended, though with a steep descent, for about 600 feet. The summit is a heathery plateau, where turf is still cut, for the removal of which a rude roadway climbs the slope and cuts through the wall. Farther eastward, an older way, a green zigzag through the brown heather, leads up to the ancient gateway. Beginning at the eastern cliff, we find that for 20 feet the wall has been removed; thence runs a strong rampart of very early appearance, built of large, rude slabs, with fairly large filling. This forms a revetment to the brow, which has been scarped for 15 feet down. The wall runs in a fairly straight line along the natural line of the slope, and is 12 feet to 15 feet thick and high. It has a low mound to the back in the few places where it is not level with the moor. This is about 8 feet thick, but rarely over a foot high. There may have been a parapet to the wall, but, if so, none remains. Of the facing, too, despite its massive size, only a few feet exists for most of the distance; but the appearance of the wall remains all along, with few breaks, and great "slips" of stones extend down the steeper slopes, as at the fort of Moghane. The line of the wall is from E. N. E. to W. S. W., where it meets the steeper slope above the stream and creek, and stops abruptly, though some trace of scarping continues. Measuring from the eastern break (about 20 feet from the cliff, but the steepness of the slope renders it hard to define the gap), the facing remains for about 42 feet, for three to five or six courses, 4 feet or 5 feet high for the most part, too rude to

¹ In the townland of Ballinahow. It was a Hussey property in 1641, and, with Castle Gregory and other lands, was forfeited in 1651.

² See *supra*, vol. xxxv., pp. 346, 349; for omissions on the map, see p. 343.

show a batter, though one seems to have existed, the upper slabs being set back appreciably in parts. Then the higher facing is gone for 15 feet, after which is another reach 27 feet long. At 45 feet farther on we reach the entrance; a natural gully, improved by human labour, fixed its position, as in the great fort on Turlough Hill. There are a displaced jamb-slab and two more *in situ* lining the passage, each 4 feet 6 inches long by 4 feet 6 inches to 6 feet high and over a foot thick to the east, and three 5 feet 6 inches, 5 feet, and 5 feet 6 inches wide, and 4 feet to

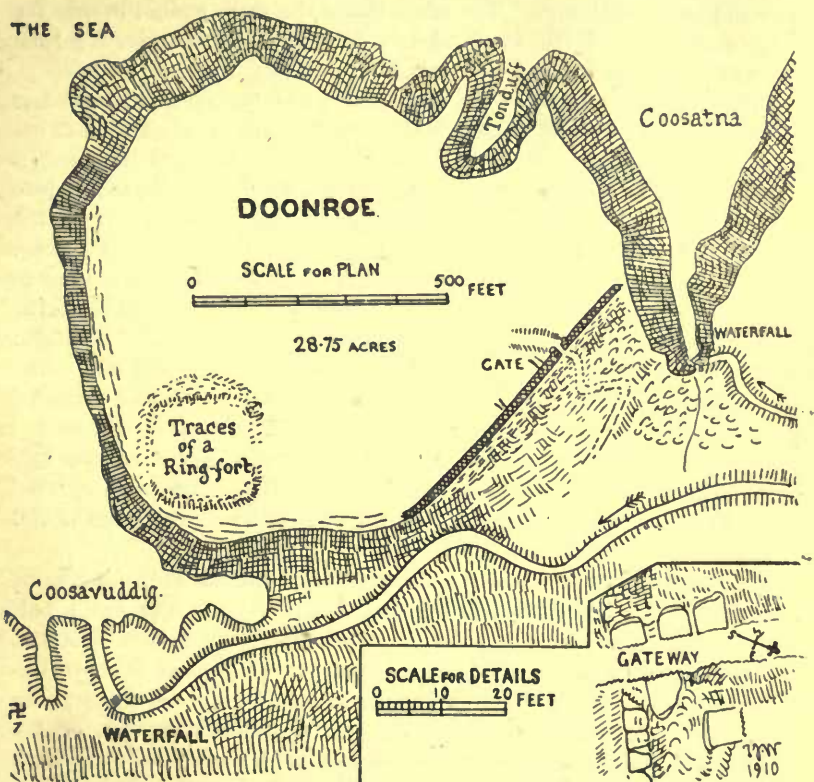


FIG. 2.—PLAN OF DUN RUADH.

5 feet high to the west. The entrance is 18 feet 6 inches long through the wall and mound, 5 feet 2 inches wide outside, and 9 feet inside. Westward from this the wall continues in parts 14 feet high, but rarely with much facing. There was an enclosure with low earthen mounds abutting on the wall, about 35 feet from the gateway, and perhaps a second, of which, however, barely a depression remains. At 78 feet from the gateway the facing remains in better preservation. The wall is cut by the modern track at 117 feet; it then runs on for about

290 feet, dying out on the hillside. The whole was evidently over 600 feet long.

At the S. W. corner of the platform are, here and there, low heaps of stones, traces of a fairly large ring-wall, but impossible to measure. It was somewhat straight to the south, and little remains to the north, west, and east, save scattered stones. It is, as so often, far more definite when seen from the hill beyond the western creek. Probably much of it, and of the better-defined rampart, was destroyed for materials for the pier and other buildings. The slope under the main wall, towards the eastern end, had a further natural defence in great slabs projecting from the hill, but evidently not set artificially.

The fortress recalls, as we noted, the undoubtedly prehistoric fort of Moghane and that of Turlough Hill, in Co. Clare, though neither has such rudely massive masonry. The slab-lined gateway especially recalls these two forts, being a very rare feature among Irish cahers.¹ It also occurs in the outer mounds of Dunbeg, probably the oldest part of that fortification, while similar gateways occur at Dun-Kilmore on Achilbeg.

The eastern stream makes a pretty little waterfall into the sea beside the fort, and the shore of the western creek is usually covered with the canvas canoes, successors of the "walnut-shell-shaped" leather currachs, used down to the "sixties" of the last century in Clare,² and still found on the Boyne. Fifty-seven of these light boats lay there, like stranded porpoises, the day these notes were taken. It is a curious coincidence that a place called Tiduff lies on the hill behind Doonroe as one does behind the Cahercarberrys on Kerry Head. The name *Dún ruadh*, "red fort," is probably derived either from the heather bloom or from the dull reddish-brown rocks.

In Ballynavenooragh and the surrounding townlands Ballinknockane, Shanakyle, and Clash, from a quarter of a mile to a mile and a half south-east from Doonroe, is a large settlement at the foot of Brandon. It possesses over thirty stone huts and five ring-walls (Caherbally-knockane, Lisnagraigue, Cahernavenooragh, and two others), all enclosing huts. In the townland of Kilquane, near Ballybrack Bridge, on the Feohanagh River, is a notable crescent fort, with a deep fosse and high rings of earth, on a low scarp, which, at any rate in recent times, has not been cut away.

¹ And, we may add (so far as our present information extends), elsewhere. Dr. Güebhard can only find a parallel among the Berbers.

² And apparently at Ferriter's Cove after 1827, "of wicker and horse-skin" (John Windele's *M.S. Iar Mumhan*, 12. c. 11, R. I. A., p. 136). He derives the Blaskets from *Blaosg* or *Blaosg*, a shell or bubble, as do several of the older writers.

DUNURLIN PARISH.

DÚN AN OIR,¹ the Fort Del Oro (O. S. 42). Very different from the forgotten but archaic Doonroe is the modern but too well remembered Dunanoir, "the Spaniards' fort." Forgetting how, at Haarlem and many another town and fortress, during the continental wars of the same century, worse massacres and more unspeakable outrages had taken place, those bred in gentler times are coming to regard the slaughter of the "Spaniards" at Smerwick in 1580, not merely as an indelible stain on the humanity of Lord Grey and his officers, but as an exceptional outrage. Those who, though at the place, were free from responsibility tell emphatically how quarter and terms were refused, and the garrison surrendered at its own risk. Mercy had been a better policy, but, in the struggle to the death of those fierce and evil times, those who chose the less excellent way are not to be branded as they should be had they lived in better days. The next invaders came with proper credentials, and there was no repetition of Smerwick² at Kinsale. The frightful story of the Desmond rebellion, and its results to the old, the helpless, the blind, the women, and the children of three counties, is better worth horror and censure than the slaying of a band of desperadoes, provided they had really been refused terms of surrender. Let us first tell the events in order, and then note how the weight of the evidence lies, having as little bias towards the Tudor statesmen as towards the Continental adventurers and banditti.

There was, early in 1579, an uneasy feeling that a Spanish invasion of Kerry was likely to occur. So far back as February more substantial statements were forthcoming. Patrick Lombarde, a Waterford merchant, wrote from Lisbon to his wife, bidding her tell the Mayor, Pierce Walsh, that James, son of Maurice Fitz Gerald, was ready to sail with three ships. James was son of that fierce Maurice Fitz Gerald, son of the fourteenth Earl of Desmond; who had killed his cousin, the thirteenth Earl, and gained (like Lord Inchiquin seventy years later) the terrible sobriquet of Maurice "an Tothane," the burner. That Gerald, the foredoomed Earl, was in touch with James is evident, and this was cited among Gerald's crimes when he was proclaimed traitor. Shane O'Ferrall, one of the friars from Askeaton, close to the Earl's favourite castle, went over to Spain, found James at the court, and brought him to Bilbao.³ By July 17th, James reached Dingle, with six vessels. The provost reported to the Earl that he suspected who was on board; but the

¹ There was another Doonanore on Cape Clear Island, county Cork, also a castle on a rock, with a drawbridge to the land; and another Dunanoir in Glennasmole (Ossianic Society. vol. vi., pp. 172-194).

² Spanish soldiers only two years later (1582) slew 30 French nobles, 50 gentlemen, and 200 soldiers at Villa Franca, though the French produced Letters Patent from their Government. and proved that they were not pirates (Introduction C. S. P. I., vol. for 1574-85, p. lxxix).

³ C. S. P. I. (vol. 1575-88), pp. 304, 309.

strangers sailed round to Smerwick Bay. There, at the castle of one Pierce Rice,¹ they made a cutting across a headland, and fortified the point, called "Dún an Óir," with "golden expectation." The Earl played his favourite part of prevaricator. He mustered a force, and "colourably besieged" the fort, met James and accepted a parcel-gilt silver basin and ewer and a chain of gold from him, Desmond's countess sharing in the interview and the gift. An English ship captured two vessels of James's fleet, but John of Desmond, Dr. Saunders, and others were now in communication with the invader, and Desmond, after making a pretence, whenever he thought the Government was about to act, feigned an attack. When the shipping was gone, he raised his pretended siege, and left his kinsman free to escape or fortify the place. He is also said to have given them cannon. As usual, the rebels did very little really to strengthen their position. They made raids, sent to the Pope for help, and tried to get aid from Portugal and Spain; but Philip prided himself on his "leaden foot," and he only passively encouraged any thorn in Elizabeth's side. Desmond, too, was more than useless. Meanwhile, the Pope spared a gang of bandits—fine, handsome men, but the scum of Italy;² and, with some Spaniards, close on a thousand were mustered. After the winter, an English officer named Thomas ravaged the region round Dúnanóir, burning "seven towns of the rebels" in Smerwick in March, 1580; and Admiral Winter sailed into the bay the following month. Fenton inspected the fort in July. Evidently it was deserted at times, and neither side was ready, for it was only on the 12th and 13th of September that three vessels brought the new levies, and 500 men landed. They re-edified and probably enlarged the fort. Rumour said it had walls 18 feet high, and was impregnable; but the English knew it was weak. Rumour had steadily increased the ships from three to four, from four to eight, from eight to twenty-seven, by the end of September. Meanwhile, the foreigners hanged and killed various English messengers, and watched the hills for the thousands of Irish they expected to reinforce them. Then illness broke out from the climate, and probably from bad food. The only incident was that Sir Richard Bingham sailed into the bay and exchanged shots with the fort on the 17th October. Autumn was dying, and the storms, cold, and darkness dismayed the exiles. Many were ill. Deaths took place daily, and homesickness and fear helped. Many were glad to take ship, and some 200 retired, but over 600 remained, of whom 400 were Italians, Spaniards, and Basques. The O'Flaherties, who had joined them and formed a band of some 200 men, sailed back to H-Iar Connaught. Saunders, the Papal legate, left them about the 28th October,³ and the

¹ Petrus Ruissius and a few lads held it. James took him and fastened him on one of his war machines, on which Rice called to his "men" to surrender.—O'Sullivan Beare.

² So O'Sullivan Beare writes.

³ Letter of Bernardino Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador to King Philip (Calendar

main hope of the invaders, James fitz Maurice, had fallen in Co. Limerick in a skirmish with the Burkes of Caherconlish. All was ready for the final tragedy.

THE SIEGE. — Lord Grey and Admiral Winter had at last moved. The English ships the “Swiftsure,” the “Tiger,” the “Marlyon,” and (most familiar to modern ears) the “Revenge”—commencing its long action against the Spaniards—lay in Smerwick Harbour, beside the fort.¹ The Spaniards had still one vessel in the creek beside them.² Grey came across from Dingle and inspected the fort on the 17th November. He

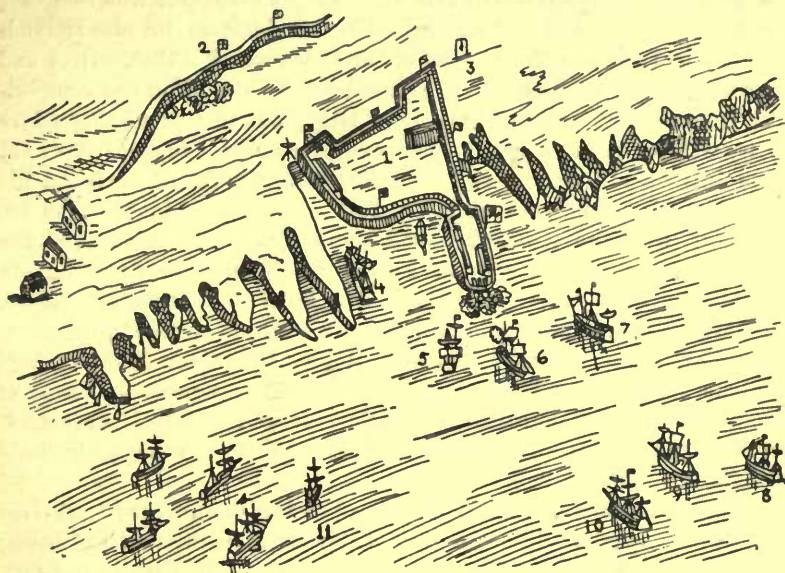


FIG. 3.—SIEGE OF DUN AN ÓIR.

first fired to draw its fire, and John Zouche was slightly grazed by a return bullet. When the early dusk closed in, the English commenced their trenches, which they pushed “within 14 score” (feet presumably). They also landed two culverins from the fleet. The fort returned their fire till two of its cannon were disabled during the 8th, and when

of Spanish State Papers, 1580, p. 69). Nicholas Saunders signed a report dated October 19th in Fort del oro (*ibid.*, p. 59); they hear that the Governor (Lord Grey) is coming to attack it. Cornelius, Bishop of Killaloe, “Geraldine,” James Lord Baltinglass, Bustian de san Josepho, and others also signed the report.

¹ See contemporary sketch-map published by Miss Hickson in “Lord Grey of Wilton at Smerwick” (*The Antiquary*, vol. xxv., 1892, p. 264). We give an outline of the original sketch-plan of the siege from Miss Hickson’s copy. The reference numbers are—1. Fort del oro; 2. Mariners’ Trench; 3. galloway; 4. Spanish vessel; 5. “Achate”; 6. “Tiger”; 7. “Marlyon”; 8. “Swiftsure”; 9. “Revenge”; 10. British vessel; 11. British tenders. We omit most of the shading for distinctness.

² Mendoza tells King Philip that the site of the fort was so badly chosen that it commanded no port, pass, or forest, and the garrison had to burn their ships for fuel.

the second night fell Grey advanced his trenches to "5 score" feet. During the night four sallies were made from the fort; and "when the day peeped" on the 9th, they fired very hotly. Grey, noticing their fire as much more efficient than that of his gunners, with some difficulty located it as coming from what seemed a wooden cabin. He now pressed hard on the garrison,¹ and at last they hoisted a sheet, with cries of "Misericordia," and craved a parley. Zouche and Captain Pers were sent to them, and returned with the camp master. The latter represented how they had been led on by promises, and blamed Spain; but he was stopped till one of the Spaniards was sent for, who said that the king (Philip) had not authorized his subjects to invade Ireland, but they had gone on the request of the Governor of Bilbao. Grey and Spenser say that all terms were refused. "No condition nor composition were they to expect," says Lord Grey, but to "yield themselves to my will for life or death." Two more "courses," to and fro, to get them their lives led to nothing. "Finding it would not be," their Colonel asked to be left for the night in the fort. In the morning² the officers came out, with the standards rolled and trailing. Then followed the crowning act. Grey "sent in certain bands, who straight fell to execution. There were 600 slain." We learn that, the night before, the garrison, in the hope of getting favour with the besiegers, delivered three of the Irish—Father Laurence Moore, Dr. Oliver Plunkett, and William Walsh (Saunders' servant). The first was probably priest of Dunurlin. They were called on to acknowledge the Royal supremacy, refused, and were tortured and hanged on the fort, after their limbs were broken with mallets.³

The slaughtered foreigners lay heaped on the shore where Lord Grey saw them. Local tradition says, probably with truth, that the bodies were thrown over the cliff. Then the Irish and English in the fort, both men and women, were hanged. Some twenty or thirty of the foreign officers alone were spared.⁴ The news reached the Court by the

¹ The allegation that they had no reason to surrender does not tally with the fact of their hoisting the black and white flags, a preconcerted signal to their Geraldine allies that the fort was untenable (C. S. P. I. 1574-85, p. lxix.). Mendoza in his letter to Philip, December, 1580, O'Daly ("Incrementum Geraldinorum"), and Abraham Darsie, 1625 (History of Elizabeth, p. 406), say that the garrison was terrified by the English fire, and sought a parley; Bingham notes that they had no water in the fort (C. S. P. I. No. 32); Holinshed's chronicle, 1587 (vol. ii., p. 1314), that the English gave so hot an assault that on the 9th the fort was yielded. Mendoza even excuses Grey's suspicion by suggesting the contemptuous doubt whether "it was possible for any soldier to believe there could be so few brave men in the fort . . . as to surrender without striking a blow." He never suggests that they were induced to yield by any cause but fear.

² Given as the 9th by some of the original documents, but evidently from the detailed accounts it was the 10th.

³ Bingham and the anonymous writer to Walsingham, November 11th (C. S. P. I., p. 267), confirm the account of the priestly writers. A similar horrible execution took place by order of Perrot at Quin "Abbey," county Clare, in 1584. The culprit was half strangled, his bones broken with an axe, and hanged still alive. The executions for high treason were even worse.

⁴ There is a list of them among the State Papers: see S. P. I., p. 267.

11th December—Mendoza writing to Philip. Elizabeth blamed those who had spared the officers instead of the rank and file; but praised the good service done by Grey as greatly to her liking. Lord Burghley protested against the massacre; but probably a certain cold-blooded correspondent was right who said that “the gladsome news of the slaughter of the Spaniards will entertain the Court”; and one bishop—one regrets that it was Hugh Bradie, of Meath—called it “the most profitable service achieved since Her Majesty wore the crown.” Rumours, however, soon spread that a promise had been given to the victims, which brings us to the necessity of collecting the contemporary evidence bearing on this heavy charge.

WAS QUARTER PROMISED?—As we see, Lord Grey says that “no condition nor composition were they (the enemy) to expect,” and that their attempts to get quarter “would not be.” Bingham,¹ who was not responsible in any contingency, wrote to a friend that the slaughter was commenced by a band of plunderers who landed from the fleet. Mendoza gathered in London that Lord Grey had told them that as they came only “by order of the Pope . . . he could not treat them as soldiers, but simply as thieves.”² *Notwithstanding this*, they surrendered on condition of their lives being spared.”³ Spenser, a mere civilian, and so also irresponsible, in 1595,⁴ attempted to clear Grey of the “blot on the ’scutcheon,” “a great touch to him in honour,” in these words: “I can assure you, myself being as neare them as any, that he was so farre either from promising or putting them in hope . . . for grace was flatly refused”; and when their Colonel treated that they might surrender “at least with their lives . . . it was strongly denied him, and told him by the Lord Deputy himself, that they could not justly plead either custom of war or law of nations.” Geffry Fenton, in a letter to the Chancellor, 11th November, says that the fort “simply surrendered.” The letters of the Mayor of Waterford and William Smith on 20th and 27th November do not allude to a broken promise;⁵ and Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, in his vehement protests to Elizabeth on other obnoxious acts of Drake and her other subjects, never saw fit to allude to the most disgraceful act of all, if the terms of a surrender were broken.⁶ Lastly, Camden, in his great work in 1595, denies, and Holinshed’s Annals, as continued by Hooker, do not state that the garrison was admitted to a parley, or obtained any condition.⁷

¹ Cotton MS., Titus A. xii, 313, Brit. Mus. Letter, Nov. 11th, Bingham to his friend Ralph Lane.

² This contradicts O’Daly as to Grey’s “blandness and courtesy.”

³ Calendar of Spanish State Papers, 1580, p. 69.

⁴ It was written 1595, and published about 1598.

⁵ C. S. P. I., pp. 272, 270, and 267.

⁶ Besides the authorities above cited, see the Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, vol. for 1574–85—especially the preface and pp. 120–268, Calendar of Carew MSS., vol. 1575–88, pp. 163, 250, 304, and 309. The many biographical works add little to the facts in these sources.

⁷ See W. Camden’s “Britannia,” 1600, p. 766, and his “Annals,” 1595, p. 294,

The historians usually quoted for the other side—apart from the contradictory lines of Mendoza, which seem to us, with an expression of Lord Grey, to hold the key to the problem—usually write thirty to fifty years later, and are lamentably inaccurate even in non-contentious details.¹ O'Sullivan Beare² and O'Daly³ say that the siege lasted forty (instead of five) days; the Four Masters say that "not one" of the garrison escaped, but "all were slaughtered." "What is truth?"—that vital question at all times. We cannot, like O'Donovan⁴ (who was, as all know, obsessed by the authority of the Four Masters, in this as in other matters), dismiss the defence as "a mere fiction of Spenser's"—a most uncritical verdict and a mere assertion. Spenser was capable of approving most cruel schemes for the reduction of rebels, fitter for the days of old Israel than even for his fierce days. But was he a liar? If we reject the evidence of those present at the spot on the awful morning of November 11th, 1580, and even of all within twenty years of the event, we must conclude with the latest assailant of the "*Graia Fides*,"⁵ and say "it is impossible to know the truth." To quote later writers and "reckon their votes," to bring into witness Cox (1687), Leland (1773), Froude, and even Kingsley's "*Westward Ho!*" is unworthy of a critical historian.⁶ On the other hand, the unfavourable rumour was strong, early in the field, and persistent.

To us, the clue seems, in our present state of knowledge, to lie with Grey and Mendoza's informant. Grey did not give terms (as *both* agree), but he bade the enemy yield themselves "*for life or death*," and the word "life" possibly excited false hopes of the former alternative being adopted. "Notwithstanding," says Mendoza, "that the Viceroy said he could only treat them as thieves, they surrendered on condition of their lives": that is to say, Grey, bound by no personal promise, refused to recognize their reservation; and so they perished with a sense of injustice which survived them, and dogs the memory of Lord Grey to this hour.

WAS RALEIGH THERE?—John Hooker, and later writers all following his statement,⁷ say that Raleigh had the ward the last day, and that he and Mackworth conducted the slaughter. John Hooker, alias Vowell, in his continuation of Raphael Holinshed's chronicles, is a contemporary,

"negatum," "nec hoc concessum," "absolute submisserunt"; and R. Holinshed's "*Annals of all the Kings of England*, 1587, p. 1314.

¹ They never give any contemporary witness for their statements.

² "*Historiæ Catholicæ Ibernæ Compendium*" (1621), tom. 2, lib. 4, cap. xv., p. 96. He was not born till eight years after the massacre.

³ "*Incrementum Geraldinorum*."

⁴ *Annals of the Four Masters*, 1580.

⁵ Rev. Denis O'Connor, c.c., in a very interesting paper on "*Dunanoir*," in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. xxvi., Ser. iv., pp. 1-13.

⁶ Though not uncommon, it is amazing how uncritically most writers deal with the event.

⁷ R. Cox's "*Hibernia Anglicana*," 1687, p. 369, says that Raleigh was at Rathkeale, and stayed behind the deputy. Hooker is followed by Leland, "*History of Ireland*" (1773), vol. ii., p. 283, and most later writers.

but his account is not vouched by himself as accurate.¹ He undoubtedly differs from the statements of those on the spot, and embellishes Raleigh's subsequent achievements into a romance. On this account, to enhance his hero's deeds, he ascribes to him what to modern minds is a great blot. Raleigh's discredit seems to rest on his admirer's authority alone. As examples of Hooker's errors we find him stating that there was a parley before any assault on Fort del Ore; that Denie and Michael Butler repelled the Spaniards' sally on November 7th (it being really Zouche and Mackworth); and that the fort was razed; we know that the slaughter was actually conducted by Denny.² No letter of those actually present even mentions Raleigh as being in the camp. Still more strong seems the evidence that Raleigh's pay—and therefore presumably his services—ran only from July 13th to September 30th, that year, and did not commence again till April, 1582. Legend seizes on a name with little discrimination: we might rely on Limerick and Clare legends to assert that "Cromwell" was at a particular place in those counties and destroyed it as soon as rely on the Smerwick Legends, where history (save one careless writer) is either silent or proves an alibi.³

Nearly every suitable headland we have met in Mayo, Aran, Clare, Waterford, Wexford, and Dublin, with most of those in Cork, have proved to be fortified, so we may be permitted to suppose that the very suitable little headland in Smerwick was not without its early occupants and defences. However that may be, the present fort and rock-cutting are modern, for Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls, in the train of Sir William Pelham, then Lord Justice, has left us a very definite statement.⁴ He writes, July 21st 1580, in his memoranda of "the expedition to the Dingell": "We went to see the Forte of Smerwicke, five miles from the Dingell. The thing itself is but the end of a rocke shooting out into the Baye of Smerwicke under a long cape, whereon a merchant of the Dingell, Piers Rice, about a year before James Fitz Maurice's landing, built a perty castle, because a ship laden with Mr. Furbisher's newe found riches happened to presse upon the sandes near to the place, whose carcase and stones I saw lie there, carrying in his mynde a golden imaginacion of the cominge of the Spaniards, called his bylding Downeenoyr, the golden Downe, James Desmond did cut a necke of the rocke from the maynlande having a hole with grete labour digged into it, and to my measurement, it conteyneth but 40 foote in length and 20 for brode." The account has its difficulties: where was

¹ Holinshead (ed. 1586), pp. 171, 172.

² So both Grey and Bingham, *loc. cit.*

³ If silence proves anything, it is at least noteworthy to find Raleigh's name absent in the accounts of Grey, Bingham, Spenser, Fenton, Mendoza, Camden, the Four Masters, and O'Sullivan Beare. That Raleigh would have regarded the mere slaughter with horror is, however, most unlikely, in view of his other actions in the Desmond wars and elsewhere.

⁴ "Old Kerry Records," Ser. I., p. 149.

the long cape overhanging the headland? How has every trace of the castle disappeared,¹ and the inner fort *grown* to 98 feet by 76 feet, from 40 feet by 20 feet? unless the latter were really paces of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 feet each, or referred to the neck, which has since been cut away. The memory of the great event clings to the site; taking the simplest accounts among the natives, one gets everywhere such replies as "there were some Spaniards killed years ago," "the old people said there was fighting at Dunanore," "the general that killed the Spaniards, slept the night before in Gallerus Castle," and so forth—some even suppose the Spaniards were in the "big ships," or Armada. Miss Hickson, as a child, was shown the rock down which "Raleigh" precipitated the Spaniards. His name is correctly pronounced "Rawley" in the legends.² The English are said to have planted their guns against Dunanore in the field called Knocknagan, now called Gortnagan, the hill (or field) of the skulls, at the northern end of the beautiful strand where the low cliffs begin. This is of course quite incorrect. The local legends certainly bear no mark of being taken from books or from even a distinct modern account.

THE FORT.—The accounts of the Spaniards' impregnable fortress with works 18 feet high is borne out neither by the sketch plan of the attack in 1580, nor by the remains. The natives, Lord Grey says, were "stiff-necked, far from loving obedience" (which was to be expected), and he "could hardly get any to overthrow the fort," which remains quite recognizable as in the plan of 1580. According to Dr. Charles Smith, in 1756,³ "the fort de Ore" consisted of "a curtain, 20 yards long, a ditch, and two bastions . . . near the edge of a cliff that formed a small isthmus of about 10 yards square, surrounded almost by the sea. The upper part of the isthmus was cut away, instead of which they had a drawbridge. . . .⁴ The country people say that the Spaniards buried the Pope's consecrated banner⁵ somewhere near this place with a considerable quantity of treasure."⁶

The drawing of the siege in 1580 gives a vivid impression of the inroads of the sea since that date: for the outer ward continued almost

¹ It may have been demolished for material for the outworks.

² "The Letters from the Kingdom of Kerry" (1845), p. 56, tell how at Fort del Ore was fought the last battle of the Irish against the Saxons; "but another record states that here the Spanish troops made a stand against the English, and that Sir Walter Raleigh was one of the commanders of the Queen's troops. The point is called Dunourlin Head." (See also O'Connor and Hickson.)

³ "History of Kerry," p. 186, and "The Compleat Irish Traveller," 1783, vol. ii., p. 158.

⁴ This is alluded to by O'Sullivan Beare and other writers.

⁵ The anonymous correspondent to Walsingham says: "At our first coming they advanced four ensigns and the Pope's banner in the midst of the inner fort."

⁶ "The Letters from County Kerry" and other sources tell of the nameless church built near the fort, and the "finds" of gold crosslets or (variantly) corslets, &c. Kilmalkedar Church (a fine, early Irish Romanesque building) is also stated to have been built by the Spaniards. Dunorlin was equalled with Dun an Oir. (See Lady Chatterton, "Rambles," vol. i., p. 190.)

into line with the present rock cutting and was fenced all round. The sites of the long timber houses behind each bastion are much cut away. The fortress as shown in this venerable drawing is strikingly like the actual remains.

The outlook over Smerwick Bay to the great mass of Brandon, and round to Croagh Marhin and the natural pyramids of the "Three Sisters," is fine in the extreme, and (sitting among the wild hyacinths, the vetches and long grasses) it is indeed hard to realize that the peaceful spot (so small and unlike even the greater early forts of the district) could ever have been a place of assault, bombardment, and wholesale slaughter of disarmed men.

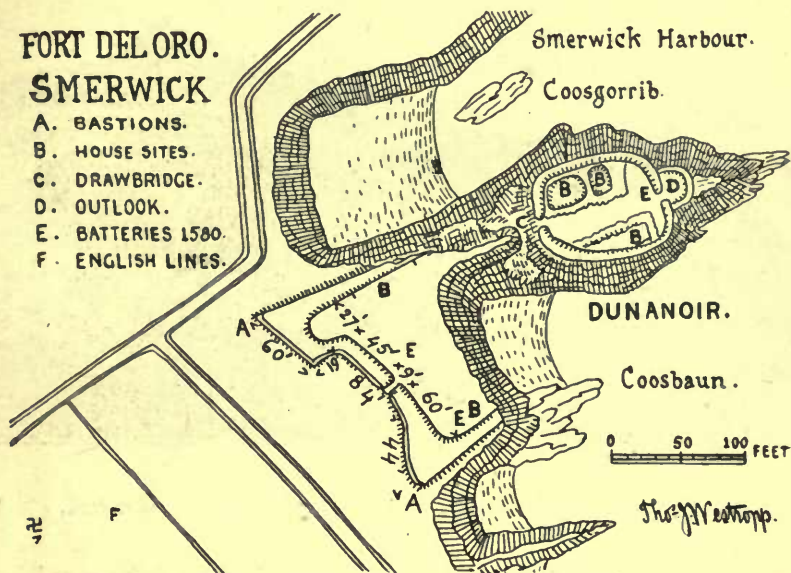


FIG. 4.—PLAN OF DUN AN OIR.

The fort consists of an outwork, with two bastions starting from the cliff to the south. The earthworks are low and small, hardly rising 6 feet over the field; they measure 160 feet north and south, or 140 feet between the mounds, which are 10 feet thick and rarely more than 4 feet high inside. The curtain is 84 feet long:¹ the bastions project 5 feet and 19 feet at the north-west and south-west corners; the northern is about 60 feet, the southern 42 feet across; the earthworks of the first are 22 feet thick in front, 12 feet to 15 feet at the sides, and 27 feet inside, those of the latter 8 feet to 12 feet thick, and 24 feet inside. The

¹ Not 60, as in the old descriptions.

side mounds fence the cliffs to each side; but much of the southern had been cut away by the fall of the cliffs at 90 feet back from the face.

The neck is about 62 feet or (if we only take the narrow part) about 40 feet, as Sir Nicholas White noted it: the difference possibly marks the collapse of the cliff since 1580; and instead of 20 feet,¹ it is barely 6 feet wide at the rock of the fosse, and access is now by a mere track on a dangerous slope with rude steps, hardly a foot wide; grassy slopes fall almost to the sea-level on either side, the cliffs being hardly 50 feet high in parts.

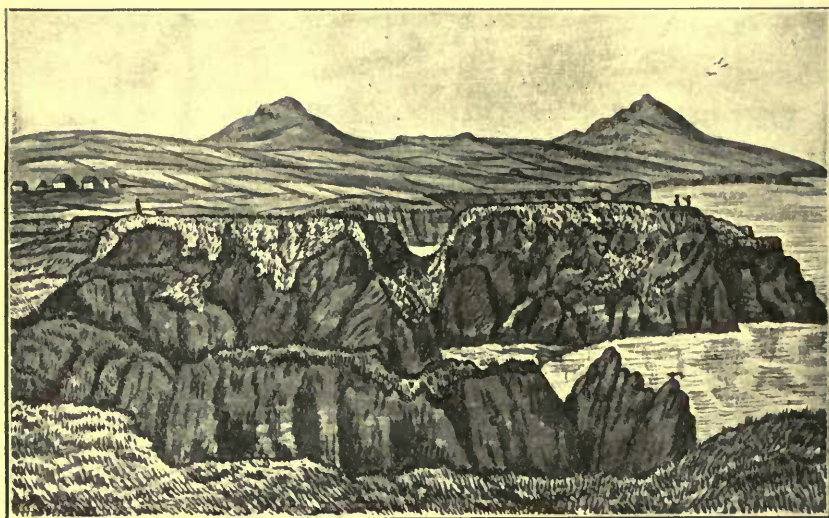


FIG. 5.—VIEW OF DÚN AN ÓIR ("THE FORT DEL ORO"), SMERWICK, CO. KERRY.

The inner fort rises 14 feet or 15 feet above the rock cutting, and is still (as in 1580) fenced all round² by a mound 5 feet to 9 feet thick, and a few feet high, 4 feet in parts. The platform measures 76 feet north and south and 90 feet east and west. There are three hollows to the north, marking the sites of the range of wooden penthouses shown in the original plan; they are 32 feet, 18 feet, and 12 feet long, and 13 feet wide, mere low mounds 3 feet, showing that the walls were partly earthen. At the south side was a more irregular hollow, where we see there was another house in 1580. The guns were ranged along the eastern mound to bear on the "Revenge" and her companion ships, in the bay before

¹ 40 by 20, if intended for the dimensions of the headland, must be in yards, not feet.

² The Four Masters mention "the deep trenches (dunchlaidh) and impregnable rampart which the Italians had constructed round the Island" of Dún an Óir.

the headland. The Spanish ship lay in the creek under the inner fort. Outside the earthwork was a projecting end with a slight fence 3 feet thick and 15 feet long; beyond it an unfenced spur ends the headland. I saw no trace of the English entrenchments; they were 100 feet from the ditch of the fort, and were probably slight, as they were made in two nights.¹ The fort is in good, grassy land, not among the sandhills, as "Westward Ho!" depicts it.

DOLMEN OF CLOONTIES (42).—It may seem out of place to record a dolmen among these forts, but it is unmarked on the new map, and in this early stage of Irish field work consistency is a small sacrifice where information can be given to other workers. The monument lies in Cloonties near the north end of the field in which the "E" of the townland name occurs, near a bend in the narrow road from Ballygilsha to Fort del Oro and Smerwick. The axis of the main chambers lies north-east and south-west. The eastern end is nearly filled and has large

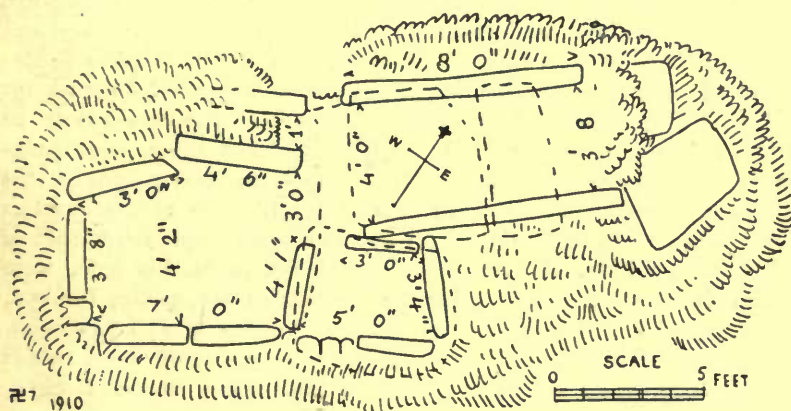


FIG. 6.—PLAN OF THE DOLMEN AT CLOONTIES.

side slabs, the northern 8 feet 10 inches long, and a foot thick, both much buried in the low mound that covered (and still partly embeds) the structure; there are two chambers: the western is irregular, 7 feet 6 inches to 7 feet long, and 4 feet 2 inches wide; the other to the south, where the west and east chambers meet; this is 3 feet 5 inches to 5 feet 2 inches long, and 3 feet 8 inches to 4 feet 2 inches wide. It has a single cover, like its larger neighbour, whose roof-slab rests on and over-laps its roof-cover. The main cist has two covers 3 feet 6 inches and 4 feet wide; the end slab at the east end remains, but is displaced. Another slab of stone stands 42 feet away to the north-east.²

¹ Miss Hickson in *The Antiquary*, vol. xxv. (1892), page 264, "Lord Grey of Wilton, at Smerwick, in 1580."

² Borlase, "Dolmens of Ireland," pp. 1-4, gives several dolmens in western

The earthwork and low "pillars," bearing the ugly name Ulligadrivel (the fort so called on maps is "Lissadrevil"), is reputedly a place where smugglers hid goods. The fort is of low mounds, with taller gallans, but calls for little description.

FERRITER'S CASTLE (O. S. 42).—The family of Ferriter, or Furetyr, from which this place takes its name, is one of the old Norman colony of the thirteenth century. Their records in this district begin in 1290, when legal proceedings and an inquiry took place to ascertain whether John, father of David le Nef, was seised in fee of 60 acres in Mathtyrin (Marhin),¹ which Martin le Fureter holds. In another suit the same year John le Fereter was summoned to reply to David le Fereter, Philip Trant (Trawent) senior, and Peter Kyvernok. The matter at issue was whether Walter le Fureter died seised of a messuage, mill, and other property in Kylnerath, Ballywylekyn, Dunmorlyn (Dunurlin), &c., which Martin le Fureter holds, and whether the said Walter, father of said Philip, had held the same mill. Six years later an Inquisition had to be taken in a case between David de Neth ("le Nef" before) and Martin; Emelina, who was widow of Maurice fitz Maurice, was also pleading against Simon de Fureter, claiming dower off Inistuskert Island in Kerry (Inistooskert, or North Blasket). The case was to be tried in Cashel, in Trinity Term, but Simon did not appear, and judgment went against him by default. These facts seem to imply that Maurice, or his predecessors, had granted the Blaskets to the Fureters long before 1290, and that the family had spread round the base of Marhin. In 1300, Maurice fitz John and Erniburga, his wife, were plaintiffs against Isabella La Fureter for rent in Dunhorlin, Dunkyn, Inismakynelan, and Iscenbro,² as dower of Erniburga, who was widow of the above Martin le Fureter. Lastly, we may give of many entries one, in 1323, where Maurice fitz John, of Donmurling, claimed Donkyn,

Corcaguiny. (O. S. 42.) Labba an Irweenig. Caherard, three incumbent stones on uprights. ("Iar Mumhan," p. 444, and O. S. L., p. 81; O. S. 52.) Ballinvicar, Dunquin, near "Tivoria," a nearly buried dolmen, 10 feet long, with several covers, one cross scribed. (O. S. 33.) Beendermot, "Dermot and Grania's Bed," down the steep slope. Ballyferriter Hill, not marked (Windele, "Iar Mumhan," p. 177, and sketch). (O. S. 53.) Doon fort, "Giant's Grave," of which hereafter. Lady Chatterton names a "pagan altar" on Mount Brandon ("Rambles," p. 168). Another fine dolmen, on the hill in Ballyferriter, is sketched and described by Lady Chatterton ("Rambles" (2nd ed., 1839), vol. ii., p. 189). The view shows a perfect cist surrounded by an enclosure of slabs, two of considerable height. It is unmarked, and Hitchcock says it was destroyed; but this ought to be verified, and at least the site recorded if possible. The Ord. Survey Letters of Kerry (p. 79) call the Dunquin dolmen itself "Tigh Mhoire"; the map marks it separately as "Grave."

¹ Marthain, in Irish at present.

² Dunquin and the Islands of Inisvickillaun and Inisnabro. The last name is derived "from its quern form," say some (which cannot be recognized in nature). It is strongly suggestive of certain cave names ending in *bró*, the Irish for a quern, from the sound of pebbles grinding in the waves, or, according to some, of seals at play, or of the fairies grinding meal. Mr. T. King gives a poem on the "*cuar na bro*," or cliff of the fairy quern, at Dunquin, "History of Kerry," Part 1, p. 39.

Kylmokedyr, and Dengyn (Dingle) in Kerry as dower of his said wife, a free tenant, in right of her late husband.¹ These all show how wide were the lands of the Ferriters. In early times they were known as Feleteragh, Finiter, and even Fedetor, and held apparently the lands named Finniterstown, under the Geraldines in county Limerick. The Limerick Finniters, or Feletors, were probably the Minutors of 1216.² We have seen that the family owned the Blaskets, probably long before 1296; tradition says they held them on condition of supplying their feudal superiors with hawks,³ but evidently a monetary rent was involved. The usual blank occurs, but with no change in the family fortunes, as is also usual, for the long silent two centuries from 1350 were evidently witnesses of little change (like the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) in the position of the lesser gentry of the west and south. Nicholas Fereter appears on the old lands in Corcaguiny in 1565; Edmund Feleteraghe, or Ferreter, of Ballysebele, or Ballysible, got pardoned by Elizabeth in 1574, 1601, and 1602,⁴ with John and Nicholas of the same family. Ballysible is, of course, Sybil Head, and Castle Sybil, or Ferriter's Castle. It so appears so late as in Smith's History, but, at the date of 1567, a map gives us Feriter Haven, Filiter's Crack (creek), and Filliter's Castle, so the names are concurrent. The building probably dates about 1460 to 1480. The map of 1610 gives it its present name of "Ferriter Castle," and that of 1631, followed by Dr. C. Smith, calls it "Castle Sybil." Tradition said the Sybil, or Elizabeth, was widow of one of the Ferriters, but omits to fix her date; it was at least before 1565.⁵ The Earls of Desmond had acquired some rights over the lands, which accordingly appear in the Desmond Rolls of 1583,⁶ as "Ferriter's Lands, Kylvelkeadear, and Kylfinlaughskarron." Edmund survived his last pardon for many years. An inquisition in 1626⁷ tells how he had held Blaskes, or Ferriter's Island, and enfeoffed John Hampton (deceased) in the same for £80, redeemable in 1619. The family continued unmolested till the Civil War; Pierce Ferriter held Ferriter's towne, or Ballyferriter, and was a poet of some local repute. His

¹ Plea Rolls, No. 13 anno xviii Edw. I, m. 4, m. 13 dorso; also Nos. 14, 143 anno xvi and xvii Edw. II, m. 9, No. 16; anno xix Edw. I, m. 60 dorso, No. 51, m. 100 dorso.

² See Proc. R. I. A. xxvi (c), p. 222. "Black Book of Limerick," pp. 28, 29, 40, 41, 92, 95.

³ Smith in his "History of Kerry" speaks of "the hawks of this coast" as "remarkably good"; those of the Blaskets were better than others from being "always on the wing."

⁴ *Plants Elizabeth*, Nos. 921, 2482, 6494, and 6555.

⁵ Lady Chatterton, "Rambles in the South of Ireland" (1839), vol. i., p. 192, gives a long artificial legend of Sybil, daughter of Robert Lynch of Galway. Sybil elopes with Prince (? Pierce) Ferriter, and is besieged by her betrothed, the Prince of Ulster; she hides in a sea cave and is drowned just as her husband slays the pursuer and raises the siege. No local version of this tale seems to have been recorded elsewhere.

⁶ P. R. O. I. Roll, mem. 43.

⁷ P. R. O. I. Chancery Inq., Charles I, No. 12.

elegy on one of the Knights of Kerry, who had died in Flanders, is extant—

“The Banshee of Dunqueen in sweet song would implore
To the spirit that watches o’er dark Dun an Oir.”

The whole English version has been given by Lady Chatterton¹ and others. A letter from Honor, “Lady Kerry,” remains, expostulating with “honest Pierce,” who, she had heard, was joining “the rebellious crew” then about to attack Tralee Castle. Her advice was rejected, and in the end Ferriter, with a bishop and a priest, was hanged at Sheep’s Mount, Killarney, and their dirge was sung by another poet named O’Connell.² After 1651, the executed Pierce, and a Thomas Ferriter, were put on the list of “Papist proprietors” of Corcaguiny, but Ferriter’s Quarter had passed to Edward, son of Dominick, son of Stephen Rice, Ballyoughtragh, and the castle had belonged to Pierce at his death, and was confiscated. Rice’s lands passed to Jane, Countess of Mountrath. Even with the aid of Mr. George Dames Burtchaell, I found little about the Ferriters in the Herald’s office. A marriage of Stephen Rice of Dingle with Helena, daughter of Pierce Ferriter of Ferritor’s Fort in Kerry, is recorded. Stephen’s nephew died in 1702. It is noted that this Pierce was Member of Parliament in 1613, and surrendered his commission from the Prince of Orange “lest he should be compelled to fight the king,” and he died in 1622. Later on a Peter Ferritor marries Jane, daughter of Frederick Mullins. A will (proved 1731) is extant of Redmond Ferriter of Ballymanbeg, county Kerry, October, 1728. It leaves his lands to Peter Minutor, who is to assume the name of Ferriter, an interesting reunion of these long divided but kindred names, after 500 years. The family arms are not on record.

The family, despite their ruin as landed gentry, are still flourishing among the lesser land-owners of Dunurlin and elsewhere, and one daughter of that ancient house sat in the ruins of her ancestor’s castle as we planned its remains. She was proudly aware of the old standing of her family, though reduced to look after cattle on that storm-swept headland.³

DOON POINT.—The castle stands in Ballyoughtragh south, on the neck of Doon Point, and evidently occupies the site of an older fortress, whatever be its age. For two strong fosses, adapted out of natural

¹ “Rambles,” vol. i., pp. 250–254. She renders Dunqueen as “fortress of lamentation,” from “the slaughter of the Irish assembled here to oppose the landing of the Danes about the time of Constantine”; she also seems to connect the names Dunanoir and Dunurlin.

² “Old Kerry Records,” Miss Hickson, Ser. I, p. 174, Ser. II, pp. 30, 39, 183, 210; also “Rambles,” pp. 211–213.

³ The best of the older Anglo-Normans of Munster are now to be found among the “yeomanry” and peasantry; see notes in “Ancient Castles of the County Limerick,” Proc. R. I. A., vol. xxvi. (c).

clefts, and fenced with earthworks, and the inner with a dry-stone wall, cross the head, and defend in the inner ward only the remains of very primitive huts. The site (like nearly every point on the Dunurlin coast) commands a panorama of the greatest beauty. The peaked Blaskets—Inishtooskert, Tearaght, and the Great Blasket—raise their domes and sharp peaks seaward, while to either side is a beautiful bay, the northern overhung by the mass of Sybil Head, rich in natural buttresses and finials, and the southern lies at the foot of the loftier peak of Croagh Marhin.

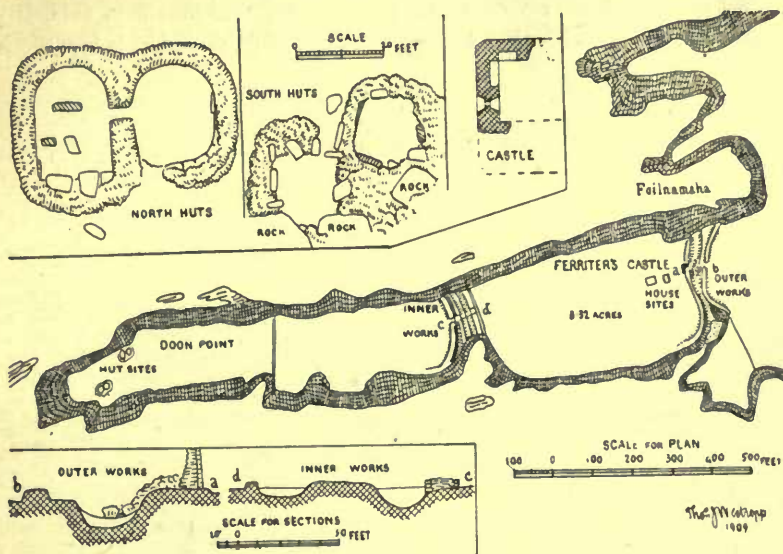


FIG. 7.—PLAN OF DOON POINT.

Crossing the sandhills we pass along low cliffs, with a pretty little cleft with two natural arches, and marvels of stratification, twisted and crumpled into every shape. We first reach a great entrenchment, partly natural, like that of Doonegall in county Clare,¹ running to a deep creek at the southern end. It lies north and south, being slightly convex to the land, but somewhat irregular. It partly utilized a natural gully along a fault in the rock by scarping the crag, and digging down through the drift in other places. The trench is 25 feet wide to the north, 18 feet at the tower, and 19 feet at the creek, where it is 16 feet below the garth. Both sides are fenced; the outer mound is 27 feet thick, and 5 feet to 7 feet high, over the field 6 feet to 8 feet high, and has a terrace or banquette, 10 feet wide, inside it. This is a rather rare feature in such a position, but occurs at the next cliff-fort, Dunbiinnia, and in a cliff-fort on Clare Island, in Mayo, at Ooghmagappul. The inner mound is

¹ *Supra*, vol. xxxviii., p. 37.

nearly 35 feet thick at the base, but greatly defaced. It curves round the creek and along the south cliff, which evidently has suffered little change since the entrenchment was made. The fosse extends for 105 feet to the north of the tower, of which huge fragments choke the middle, and is 228 feet long in all to the creek, the headland being some 250 feet across, and extending some 600 yards back from the castle. There is no raised gangway, but a winding roadway descends and ascends the fosse at the tower. The rock-cutting, mainly natural, begins at 174 feet southward from the north wall. The inner mounds along it are 12 feet to 16 feet thick, and 5 feet or 6 feet high, revetted with a wall of mortared masonry, evidently contemporaneous with the tower. The fosse is 25 to 30 feet below these,

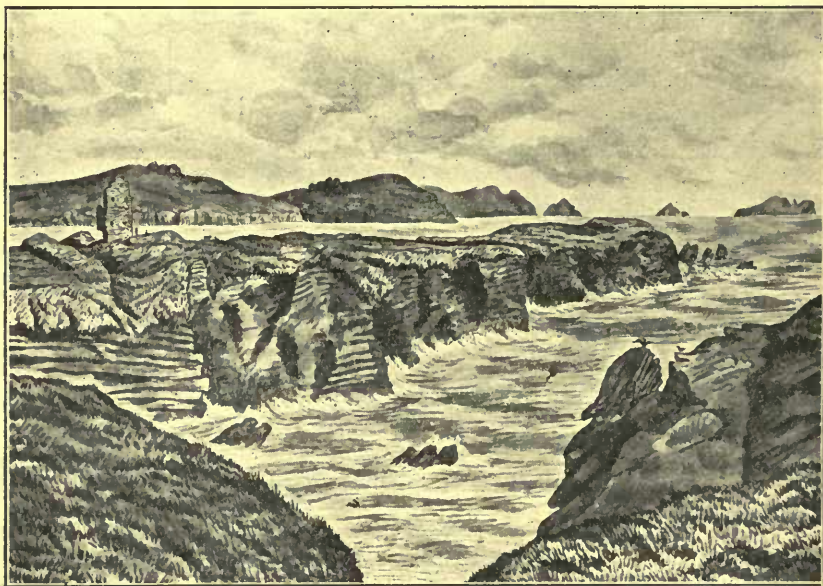


FIG. 8.—VIEW OF FERRITER'S CASTLE AND DOON POINT, CO. KERRY.

and slopes sharply at the cove, with a sort of little terrace along the cliff. The whole was sheeted with beautiful beds of primroses at our first visit. Inside are low foundations of three (if not more) houses near the tower; one is 24 feet long; they were possibly clay buildings, such as frequently adjoined such towers.

The castle was greatly ruined, even in 1841;¹ the Ordnance Survey Letters describe it as 13 feet long, north and south; only fragments,

¹ For these descriptions, see Ord. Survey Letters, Kerry (14 D. 11), p. 328; Hall's "Ireland, its Scenery and Character" (1841), vol. i., p. 273; Du Noyer's Sketches, in the collection of our Society, vol. iv., p. 56; Hitchcock's account in *Journal*, vol. iii. (1854), p. 384; "Letters from the Kingdom of Kerry," 1845, p. 55.

11 and 12 feet long, remained of the north and south sides. The angles were cut off, and were 1 foot 10 inches and 2 feet across their faces. The walls were over 5 feet thick, and 55 feet high; the lower story was vaulted, and there was a fallen turret, with a spiral stair, to the south-west. The door was near the south end of the west wall; on entering, a second door to the left led into the basement, and there was a shaft in the wall over the gateway. There were two west windows—slits of chiselled red sandstone blocks—the upper with a pointed head, the lower lintelled.

Richard Hitchcock described it a little later, but apparently¹ six weeks before (August, 1845) there had been a strong gale, which overthrew half of the tower, reducing it much to its present state. Of the west wall, 22 feet remained, and 12 feet 6 inches of the north side. As we found it in 1909, the stair turret had gone, with the doorway; only 12 feet of the north and 21 feet of the west wall remained; the chamfered angle was 23 inches wide, the walls 5 feet thick. It is of good masonry, but the stones are weather-worn, and pitted by shell-fish, having been evidently taken from a beach. The under-vault had an oblong west light, splaying inward and outward, and partly built up in early times. There are large ambries at the north-west angle. The vault ran north and south, and has all fallen; one jamb of the north window remains. The next story has an ambry to the north and one side of the west window. There is a distant view of the tower before its fall in Hall's "Ireland."²

Crossing the pleasant short sward for 534 feet westward, we reach a second entrenchment, about 100 feet across, with every mark of early origin, being of no defensive value to the occupants of the later castle, and with no mortar-built work. It is slightly convex landward, and has two fosses. The eastern mound is 20 feet thick, and is much levelled, though 6 feet in parts; then there is a shallow fosse of the same width; then a mound 6 feet high and 34 feet wide, largely of splinters of rock. Much of the middle has been levelled for a wide roadway. The next fosse is 21 feet to 24 feet wide, the inner mound 15 feet thick, of earth and stones, faced on both sides (like so many ring-forts in the districts) with dry-stone walls; large foundation blocks, and a few feet high of the wall along the south cove, alone remain. It was adapted to strengthen a natural cleavage hollow. The inner mound is 77 feet across the neck, and nearly 140 feet in all, curving round the cliff edge. At 444 feet from it another levelled wall, evidently late, crosses the head; 551 feet from it are the foundations of several stone

¹ R. S. A. I. Journal (Kilkenny Society), vol. iii. (1854), p. 384, but he quotes from the MSS. unpublished "Letters from the Kingdom of Kerry" (August, 1845). There is his own interleaved copy of the latter work in the Library of the R. I. A.

² Du Noyer's "Sketch" (R. S. A. I. collection, vol. iv., p. 53) in 1853 shows the north view as it is at present. It is a fine and accurate view, like that of Dunanor in the same volume, p. 45.

huts, whence, to the end of Doon Head, is a veritable garden of great velvet-like bosses of sea-pink, white, rose, and deep carmine. The rock breaks off at 135 feet from the huts, and over 1560 from the castle.

The cloghauns are best described by the plans. The two northern are slightly oval; the more perfect, next the cliff, is 18 feet 6 inches by 19 feet; the other, 21 feet by 16 feet; the walls, 5 feet to 6 feet thick. The gateway of the last is traceable. The other group of huts near the southern cliff is less regular, as the builders utilized rock ledges and natural rocks very ingeniously to form part of their walls. The western compartment is 14 feet 6 inches by 27 feet, with a doorway; the eastern is nearly circular, 14 feet 6 inches across the walls, 3 feet to 5 feet thick. There are other raised slabs and faint traces of other huts.

The whole fortifications have thus three fosses and five mounds, with a stone rampart, equalling in complexity (though of wider design) the forts of Dunbeg and Doon Eask, with their three or four fosses, three to five mounds, and inner stone walls. It is (as so often) most inadequately marked even on the maps of 25 inches to the mile, the huts and inner works being unmarked.

We meet a most picturesque series of views as we drive round the foot of Croagh Marhin, and over the high pass of Clogher Head. We see a very low, little mound, with a circle of small pillars, to the south of the road in Ballyferriter; two low earthen ring-forts—Lisnaraha and Donagheor—and several low gallauns, or pillars, as we ascend the Head. Below lies an isolated rock—Doonycoovaun—probably, from its name, the fragment of a sea-wrecked cliff-fort, but with no apparent remains. Losing sight of the saw-like outlines of Sybil Head, the pyramidal “Three Sisters,” Smerwick, and the “cloud-capped towers” of Brandon, we pass a crest of huge jagged rocks called Minnaunmore, and then the Blaskets, with their Sound, and Dunmore Head, open in all their beauty before us.

DUNQUIN PARISH.

DOONBINNIA (*Dún na Beinne*) (52).—The “fort of the hill-head” lies on the edge of a heathy moor, overhanging the Sound, with its jagged rocks and foaming tideways, and behind it the pink-brown mountains of Dunquin. It is on the common of Ballyicken, near the Yellow Cove. The entrenchments comprise two wide fosses, each with an inner mound, and convex to the land. The inner is about 80 feet long, the outer 110 feet; they measure the inner, 27 feet thick, 5 feet to 7 feet high over the fosse, and less than 4 feet over the garth; the outer rises 4 feet over the gangway, the fosse being barely a foot deep; at that point it is 12 feet thick, including a low banquette 9 feet wide. The mounds were once doubtless fenced with a strong stockade, or “Sonnach” of timber. Antiquaries write as if timber was unknown in the (at present) nearly treeless districts where the forts occur. This was probably never the

case. Even in Aran there were forests; we have shown¹ how plentiful woods were in the "treeless" districts of Clare, Limerick, and Kerry. We read of the woods in Corcaguiny;² indeed, wherever there is a sheltered spot in any of these places, trees still grow freely. So the low, weak earthworks were in all cases (we may reasonably presume) strengthened by palisades, or with walls of dry-stone, now removed. The outer fosse is 12 feet wide, shallow, and with no outer ring; the whole seems wasted by ages of storm. The enclosure, too, has been much broken by the sea: a sickle-like cape and a detached rock, with a creek, mark its older extent. It is 300 feet long.

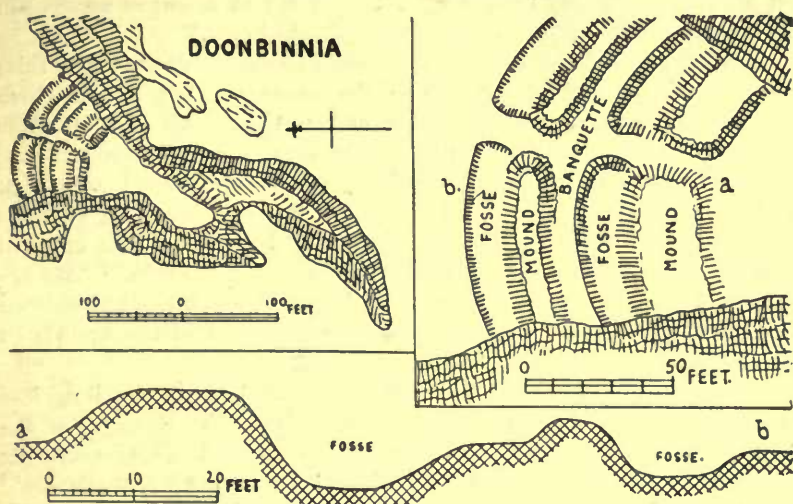


FIG. 9.—PLAN OF DOONBINNIA ("DÚN NA BEINNE").

We overlook the scene of the wreck of the hapless Armada ship, "Our Lady of the Rose." She had started from Spain as the vice-flagship of the squadron of Guipuscoa, and was of 945 tons, with 26 guns, 50,000 ducats in gold, as much in silver, 50 more great pieces, cannons of the field, and 25 more of brass and cast-iron. Her crew was about 297 men,³ and she bore 700 in all, including many youths of the noblest families of Spain, under Martin de Villa Franca. With another ship under Recalde she approached that deadly coast, her crews weak from despair, storm, and disease, and maddened by thirst. On September 10th, 1588, she got into Death's Net of the Blaskets, and sank in the sight of the San Juan Bautista, which narrowly escaped her fate. Among those

¹ *Trans. R. I. A.*, vol. xxvii., p. 270.

² As, for example, the "10 acr bosci" in Dengen, 1300 Plea Roll No. 47, m. 19d, and the woods on the hills in sight of Fort del Oro in 1580.

³ So in Medina Sidonia's Report to King Philip, Cal. Spanish State Papers, p. 281.

on board "when the remorseless deep closed o'er the head" of so many princes, was (it is alleged) the young Duke of Ascule, reputed son of King Philip. Only one young man got to shore. Recalde brought his ship to Corunna, to die there in a few days of mortification and hardship. Lewis says that the Prince was buried in Dunquin church. He is of course followed by later compilers. No authority is given, and, apart from other considerations, the statement is very improbable. Smith, in his "History of Kerry," quotes the deposition of the survivor of the wreck. "The Prince of Ascule, who is about twenty years of age,¹ a slender man, of reasonable stature, his hair brown, stroked upwards, a high forehead, very little beard . . . he had on a suit of white satin when he was drowned . . . with russet silk stockings."

We might feel sure that few facts could be better attested than this; but it affords another example of the hundreds of points in Irish archæology needing reconsideration and testing. All writers, from Smith to Froude, and since, call the ship wrecked in the Blasket Sound "Our Lady of the Rosary." At least one Spanish report says that, September 10th, 1588, "Our Lady of the Rosary" was lost, only one man escaping, "Don A. Meneses, who declared there had been drowned the Prince of Ascoli and eleven other nobles and gentlemen."² We are also told that "Our Lady of the Rose" was blown up and abandoned to the English when they first beset the rearguard of the Armada on July 31st.

Now the ship in Blasket Sound was "Our Lady of the Rose," of the squadron of Guipuscoa, while "Our Lady of the Rosary," of the Andalusian squadron, perished in the English Channel. This is confusing enough; but when the editor of the "Calendar of Spanish State Papers"³ asserts that "the Prince of Ascoli was not with the Armada at this time," but that he "remained in Flanders, and lived for many years after," and that confusion arose between his name (Antonio Luis de Leyva) and that of Alonzo de Leyva, who, to avoid entangling O'Neill with the English, put to sea in an overcrowded galeass, and was lost near the Giant's Causeway—then, indeed, we almost lose our trust in records.

Howbeit the unfortunate ship passed in between Great Blasket and Beginis, and anchored in the Sound;⁴ she dragged her anchors, and was lost, probably on the Stromboli Rock (named from a later wreck), off the end of Dunmore Head. The only tangible relic, above the waters of

¹ C. S. P. I. p. 40, the Prince of Asculagh, aged twenty-four.

² Cal. Spanish State Papers, 1588, p. 467; Cal. Irish State Papers, 1588; letter of Dominick Ryess, Sovereign of Dungle Cush, as to ships and frigates in Blasgay Sound, September 6th.

³ Mr. A. S. Hume, *loc. cit.*, pp. 450, 451; the C. S. P. I., p. 40, however, says the Prince, was in Medina Sidonia's ship, went ashore at Calais, and was left behind, but came on board the "Lady of Rosary," with 500 men, drowned on Tuesday last. (Letter September 15th.)

⁴ "Between Fereter's main island and the shore," C. S. P. I., September 11th, 1588.

the devouring Sound, is a small brass cannon, marked with an uprooted tree, now at Clonskeagh Castle, Dublin.¹

The old forts of Doonbinnia and Dunmore overlook from their high rocks the scene of that dismal tragedy, only one of hundreds, in that great prose epic of the humbling of Spain. As we look at the surf breaking on the hidden rocks and the white races of the tideways, we are vividly reminded of the awful text on the Dutch Medal that rejoiced over the ruin—"Efflavit et dissipati"—and the strangely grim old Irish saying—"Nothing escaped but the news of their destruction."

(To be concluded)

CORRIGENDA.

Vol. xxxviii., p. 223, correct the scale of the general plan to 100, 200, and 300 feet.

Vol. xl., p. 99, last paragraph, "called the Normans' Offariba" (altered in press), read "called by the Normans Offariba."

¹ See paper by Rev. W. S. Green, *Proc. R. I. A.*, vol. xxvii. (c), pp. 263-6.

THE MOTE OF STREET, COUNTY WESTMEATH.

BY GODDARD H. ORPEN, B.A., MEMBER.

[Submitted JULY 5, 1910.]

THE illustration shown on page 215 is from a photograph taken by myself of a key said to have been found at a depth of 25 feet below the centre of the top surface of the mote of Street in the county Westmeath. The key was sent to me by Mr. Charles Anderson, of Street, who found it in the circumstances described in the following statement addressed to me, and dated the 9th March, 1910 :—

To GODDARD H. ORPEN, ESQ.

STREET, CO. WESTMEATH,
9th March, 1910.

DEAR SIR,

The key which I sent you was found in my presence during the process of sinking a shaft from the centre of the top surface of the mote at Moat Land, close to the village of Street, about forty-five years ago. The shaft was sunk, under my superintendence, to a depth of 30 feet, by order of the late Mr. John Wilson of Daramona, to see if there was any masonry inside the mote. Nothing was found except this key, which was unearthed at a depth of 25 feet from the top. The key has since been preserved by Mr. Wilson of Daramona.

I have been told by some of the old inhabitants that there was formerly a deep trench all round the base of the mote, but a former tenant (Mr. McCutchan) had it filled up some seventy years ago to prevent accidents to his stock. The trench is, however, still traceable round the mote. The mote is about 58 feet high, 48 feet across at the top, and 475 feet in circumference at the base.

(Signed),

CHARLES ANDERSON.

In reply to further inquiries, Mr. Anderson very frankly says: "I do not remember seeing the key lifted, but remember that it was not noticed or visible until the depth [of 25 feet] was reached. I had three men working at the excavation of the shaft, and it had no trace of having been previously opened." Mr. Anderson adds that the men employed were trustworthy, and that he does not think they would have acted deceitfully, or played any tricks while engaged in the exploration.

Considering the long lapse of time—forty-five years—since the finding of this key, we cannot wonder that Mr. Anderson's memory is not more precise. Indeed, at that time even experts in excavation were not always as careful as they should be, to record the precise position in which an object was found. And yet the precise position is all-important. Without a trustworthy contemporary record, inferences

drawn from a find must be at best doubtful. If this key really lay under 25 feet of long undisturbed earth, we might fairly infer that it had lain there since the erection of the mound. As it is, however, it is open to anyone to suppose that it may have dropped into the shaft from a much higher level without having been noticed.

Turning now to the key itself, its form and general appearance can be sufficiently seen from the photograph. It is apparently an anvil-made key of solid iron, now much attenuated by rust. The wards consist simply of two angular notches at each side of the division, which is not quite central. The key is 8 inches long, and weighs $7\frac{1}{2}$ oz. The distance from the wards to the D-shaped loop is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, suitable for a thick door.



FIG. 1.—KEY FOUND IN THE MOTE OF STREET, CO. WESTMEATH.

That the early English settlers in Ireland used locks and keys needs no elaborate proof. In the accounts of the Earl of Norfolk's manor of Old Ross (1284-5), we find that 7d. was paid for the lock of the great gate or door, and 5d. for a lock for the sheep-fold—and this at a time when the wages of occasional farm-labourers were 1d. a day.¹ About fifty years later two locks for the barn and workshop at the farm of Grangegorman belonging to the Priory of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, cost together 7d.²

I have endeavoured to obtain expert opinion as to the date of this key, but the answers received are cautious and indecisive. Mr. E. C. R. Armstrong, of the National Museum, Dublin, after consulting Mr. Coffey, writes: "It is difficult to decide the age of keys, but though the wards of this one look oldish, the top part has a more modern appearance, and it is doubtful if it is a very old object"; and he adds that he does not think it could be placed so far back as the twelfth or thirteenth century. Mr. O. M. Dalton, of the department of British and Medieval Antiquities in the British Museum, replies: "Medieval

¹ Hore's History of Wexford, vol. i, p. 34.

² Account Roll, Priory of the Holy Trinity, p. 36.

keys are always difficult to date. Most, though not all, of those excavated are of the fourteenth century, and of bronze, not of iron. Your example does not seem to have any features characteristic of known keys of the Norman period. It would therefore hardly be safe to draw conclusions from it, especially as objects which are both slender and heavy often work down into the ground in a surprising manner. My own impression is that the key is not as early as the thirteenth century." Mr. St. George Gray, Curator of the Museum of the Somersetshire Archæological Society at Taunton Castle, writes :—"The dating of the key of which you send a photograph is no easy matter, and I believe this form was used from about Norman times till the beginning of the sixteenth century ; and in the collection of keys in this museum, I place this form in the division, fifteenth to sixteenth centuries." In a further letter Mr. Gray says :—"Norman and medieval keys have seldom been found, I believe, under conditions which in themselves make certainty possible. Your key is of a fairly common type in iron, and if it could be dated by other finds made in association with it in the motte, the discovery would be all the more important. Keys were commonly made of bronze down to the fourteenth century, and after this iron was the commoner metal for them."

Experts, then, so far as their opinions have been ascertained, while acknowledging the difficulty of dating medieval keys, agree in thinking that this key is not so old as the thirteenth century. As it is improbable that the mote was erected at a later period, and in view of the possibility that the key may really have fallen from near the surface during the process of excavation, I draw no inference from this find. I merely record it in the hope that more certain light may hereafter be thrown on the doubtful points. I may, however, observe that iron keys could only be preserved for 700 years, if to some extent protected from rust, and that in any case plain examples, such as this, would not be likely to find their way into museums, nor, if without a history, would they be worth preserving there. We need not wonder then if curators of museums have not many dated examples on which to found a reasoned opinion. However, even if I could prove incontrovertibly that this key had lain 25 feet under the mote, the fact, though it might add something to our knowledge of the dates of keys, would not, in my opinion, add anything to our knowledge of the dates of motes. Motes in Ireland may be ascribed with considerable confidence to the end of the twelfth or the early part of the thirteenth century (or, in exceptional cases, perhaps a little later), on the general grounds which have already been advanced ; while the key, it appears, cannot be dated with anything approaching the same precision.

While on the subject of finds in motes, I may be pardoned if I digress for a moment from the mote of Street to refer to a more easily dated, and therefore more instructive, find, which has indeed already

been recorded, but from which the true inference, obvious as it now seems, has not been drawn.

When identifying the mote of Mount Ash near Castlering in the County Louth, with the *caput* of the early manor of Aes (Es, Ays, Aishe, &c.) in Uriel,¹ I failed to notice the record contained in a former number of our *Journal* of a prick-spur made of bronze, covered with gilding, and having a copper goad, found in 1872, about 4 feet below the top of the mound.² It is beautifully illustrated in the Paper recording the find. The writer, the Rev. George H. Reade, in

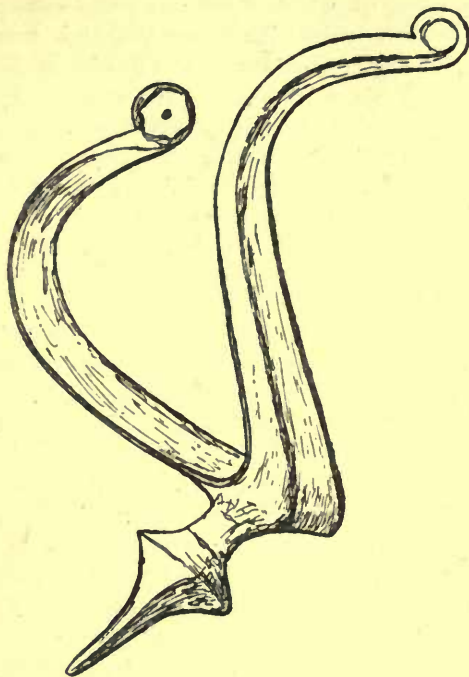


FIG. 2.—PRICK-SPUR FROM MOUNT ASH, CO. LOUTH.

accordance with the usual theory current at the time, but on apparently very insufficient grounds, supposed Mount Ash to be a Pagan sepulchral mound. Nevertheless he quotes authorities and gives sound scientific reasons for thinking that the spur “belonged to some Anglo-Norman knight who came over with Strongbow at the close of the twelfth century.” It cannot have been Irish, seeing that the Irish used no

¹ *Journal*, vol. xxxviii. (1908), pp. 252-6.

² *Ibid*, vol. xiii. (1874-5), pp. 322-6. For the benefit of those to whom this comparatively early volume of the Society's *Journal* may be inaccessible, a line drawing, made from the plate, is given here, with the consent of the Committee (fig. 2). When possible, however, reference should be made to the original illustration.

spurs,¹ either then or at a later period, and its form, marked by the curved rims, and the use of a point instead of the later rowel, is characteristic of the thirteenth century. Mr. Reade could find no better way of accounting for the presence of this spur in what he supposed to be a Pagan burial-mound, than by supposing that the Anglo-Norman knight was interred (*more pagano*) in the mound! But the presence in this mound of a thirteenth-century spur can now be accounted for in a much more natural way. From the figure of Mount Ash given in "Louthiana" (1748), it is pretty plain that it was an ordinary Anglo-Norman mote, of which there are many examples in English Uriel. From English records it appears that Ash was a subordinate manor of the royal demesne of Louth, and was let by King John during pleasure to one of his minions, Richard Cambiator,² who from his surname would seem to have been a money-changer, or perhaps a money-lender to whom John was indebted. A later owner (1252-3) was Richard Cocus, le cu, or "the Cook."³ Perhaps neither of these gentlemen is likely to have been the owner of this remarkable spur. I have made no study of spurs, but Mr. Reade, referring to Auguste Demmen's "Ancient Weapons of War," says that none of the fourteen different kinds of prick-spurs there represented is "at all equal in beauty of form or perfection of finish to this spur found in the mound of Ash." He calls it "quite unique," and says that there is no specimen in the Royal Irish Academy at all comparable with it. Now, in the year 1256, the manor of Ash appears to have been granted along with the adjoining manors of Louth and Castlefranc (= Castlering) to no less a personage than Geoffrey de Lusignan, the Poitevin half-brother of Henry III, and these united manors, after having been temporarily taken into the king's hand during the years 1296-1302, were restored to Geoffrey in the latter year,⁴ shortly before his death. Is it altogether fanciful to connect this remarkable thirteenth-century spur with this remarkable thirteenth-century tenant of the mote-castle on whose site it was found? At any rate its presence on the castle-site need no longer cause any surprise or create any difficulty. I do not know where this interesting spur is, but surely it ought to be in the National Museum under Mr. Coffey's care.

¹ "Sellis equitando non utuntur (Hibernienses), non ocreis non calcaribus. Virga tantum quam manu gestant in superiore parte camerata, tam equos excitant quam ad cursus invitant."—*Gir. Camb.*, vol. v., p. 150. Dr. Joyce (*Social History*, vol. ii., p. 417) gives some interesting examples from Irish literature of the use of the *virga camerata*, or *echlasc*, as it was called. Mailmora's *echlasc* was heavy enough to break all the bones of the head of King Brian's messenger; Wars of the G. and G., p. 146.

² See *C. D. I.*, vol. i., No. 2259, and *cf.* No. 595.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., Nos. 36, 197, 291.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 524, and vol. v., No. 143. For other references to the manor of Ash, and for the identification of Castlefranc with Castlering, see my Paper on "Motes and Norman Castles in County Louth," *Journal*, vol. xxxviii. (1908), p. 250, &c.

Another statement in Mr. Reade's paper (p. 326) is worth recalling at the present time. Speaking of the mound at Inishkeen, county Monaghan, which I visited in 1908, and supposed to be a true mote,¹ he says: "An old man lately informed me that in his youth he entered it with another; that they found a large passage lined with stones and covered with large flags. His friend went on before him, and that following him, he came to a recess or small chamber in the side of the flagged passage, where he found a well of water, so very cold that on tasting it he fainted, and knew no more until his friend, who had gone on, drew him out on his return." If the existence of this well in the mote of Inishkeen could be established, it would be interesting as pointing to a possible purpose for the souterrains found occasionally under motes, namely, to lead to the castle-well.

To return to the mote of Street—The Irish name for Street is *Sráid*, which was first anglicised 'Strade' and then translated 'Street.' To distinguish it from other towns of the same name, it was called *Sráid Maighe Breacraighe*, from the plain in which it is situated. The following entries in the annals probably refer to this castle. 1295, "The Castle of Magh Breacraidhe was levelled (*do leagadh*) by Geoffrey O'Farrell."² 1410, "The castle of Magh Breacraighe was taken by the English of Meath and the justiciary from O'Farrell."³ 1455, "*Caislen na Sráide* (the castle of the Street) was broken (*do briseadh*) by O'Farrell; and the son of Mac Herbert was slain by him while taking the castle."⁴ 1464, "The Sráid of Moybreeray burnt by Baron Delvna [i.e., the baron of Delvin], both church and houses, and many preying and burning [*sic*] committed betwixt them, to wit, the Nugents and Herberts."⁵

Though I have found no earlier reference to this castle than 1295, both on general grounds and for the reasons hereafter given, I should place the erection of the mote of Street quite early in the thirteenth century, if not at the close of the twelfth. The site was well within the region of early Anglo-Norman domination. Even in the eastern baronies of Longford, grants were made to his followers by the elder Hugh de Lacy,⁶ and at his death in 1186 "Meath from the Shannon to the sea was full of castles and of Foreigners."⁷ There were mote-castles north, and south, and west of Street, as well as numerous ones

¹ Inishkeen was a manor of the Archbishop of Armagh. "The constable of the castle of Inskyn, Co. Uriel," is mentioned in the Ir. Pipe Roll, 6th Ed. II, 37 Rep. D.K., p. 44.

² Ann. Ulst.; Ann. Loch Cé; Four Masters, 1295.

³ Four Masters, 1410. Thomas Butler, Prior of Kilmainham, was justiciar at this time (Harris).

⁴ Four Masters, and Ann. Duaid MacFirbis, 1455.

⁵ Ann. of Duaid MacFirbis, 1464.

⁶ Thus he gave lands in the barony of Shrule to William le Petit. See the grant transcribed in the Song of Dermot, p. 310.

⁷ Ann. Loch Cé, 1186.

to the east. The castle of Granard was built by Richard de Tuit in 1199,¹ and there can be no doubt that it is represented by the great mote of Granard, round the top of which stone foundations have been observed, and in the centre the foundations of a circular building. It lies about six miles north of Street. Near by, Richard de Tuit founded the Cistercian Abbey of Larha, and in this connexion it is worth noting that the rectory of Street belonged to this abbey at the dissolution²—a fact which probably points to an Anglo-Norman benefactor. The *caislén cille Bixsighe* was erected in 1192 by Geoffrey de Costentin, and is now represented by the mote of Kilbixy or Baronstown with rectangular foundations on the summit. It lies about five miles to the south of Street in the same barony of Moygoish. Sir Henry Piers, writing in 1682, says: "There is here a large piece of an old square castle called Burgage Castle, and forty acres of ground adjoining it called also Burgage land."³ On the map the site of Kilbixy town is marked in "Burgess land"; and so in the case of Street, the mote indeed is in the townland of Tinode, but across the river is the townland of Burgesland. In each case the name, I think, points to the *burgus*, or town, which grew up under the shelter of the Norman castle, and marks the lands let in burgage tenure to the burgesses. The castle of Ard-abhla, now known as the mote of Lissardowling, lies about ten miles to the west of Street.

But I think it can be shown with great probability that the district about Street was granted to an ancestor of the Delamare family at least as early as the time of Walter de Lacy, and the Delamares appear to have held on here up to the confiscations of 1641. I do not undertake to examine the whole history of the place, but, working backwards from the known to the less known, I may give the following references, which are, I think, sufficient to establish the above proposition:—On the 23rd October, 1641, "Theobald Delamare was in possession of the town and land of Street, containing 675 acres in the parish of Street, and barony of Moygush."⁴ In 1598, "Delamaire of the Street" was one of the principal gentry in the county of Westmeath.⁵ Delamare's country in the sixteenth century appears to have been equivalent to Moybrackry, and to have included the parishes of Russagh and Street.⁶ From some of the entries in the Irish annals already quoted it may be

¹ Ann. Loch Cé, 1199, and Ann. Inisfallen, quoted, Four Masters, 1199, note Z.

² Fiant, Eliz. Nos. 1401, 3300.

³ "Chorographical Description of Westmeath" in Vallancey's "Coll. Hib.," vol. i, p. 76.

⁴ Inquis. Lageniae, Westmeath, 1 Car. II.

⁵ Hogan's "Ireland in 1598," p. 110, "Maurice Delamare of the Straide"; Cal. Pat. Roll. Eliz. (Morrin), pp. 245, 618.

⁶ Stat. 34 Hen. VIII. "Rosaughe, or the De la Mares' country, anciently called Moyurackeye," Car. Cal., vol. vi, p. 458. For the situation of Moybrackry, see "Topographical Poems," p. 56, and O'Donovan's note (No. 273).

inferred that the "MacHerberts" were in possession of the castle of Street or Moybrackry in the fifteenth century; but MacHerbert appears to have been the Irish name for the descendants of Herbert de la Mare, the probable ancestor of the Delamare family. Thus in 1486, soon after the last of the above annalistic entries, we find Richard Delamare was "Lord of Rossagh,"¹ or Russagh, now the name of the adjoining parish, but to be equated, as we have seen, with Moybrackry or Delamare's country. And in 1297, immediately after the first annalistic entry, John de la Mare, knight, owner of the castle of Moybreckry, was summoned before the justices at Mullingar for imprisoning various persons in his castle at Moybreckry.²

We can, however, trace the Delamare family as lords of Moybrackry at a much earlier date. Near Kilbixy, Geoffrey de Costentin founded the Priory of Tristernagh about the year 1200. Now, by some "Copies of Evidences taken out of the Abbey Book of Tristernathe," and preserved among the Carew Papers, it appears that among the founders and benefactors of the Abbey were John de la Mare, Herbert de la Mare, and Herbert, son of Herbert de la Mare.³ Also from the same source it appears that Walter de Lacy gave a release "to the prior and convent of Kilbixi (Tristernagh) of the service they do for the land of Kenvard in Moybrekiny to Lord Herbert de la Mare for Thomas de Molendinis." This place is clearly Kennard in the parish of Street, and it belonged to the Priory up to the dissolution.⁴ Thomas de Molendinis is also named among the benefactors, and from this release we may infer that he held Kennard from Herbert de la Mare, who held the lordship of Moybrackry from Walter de Lacy.⁵

I have thus traced back the Delamare family as lords of Moybrackry from 1641 to the early years of the thirteenth century, or to about the period when the mote of Street was probably erected. I should like to be able to point out the probable owner of the key of the Mote of Street with as much plausibility as I have pointed out the probable owner of the Spur of Mount Ash; but unfortunately both the date of the key and the precise position in which it lay in the mote are too uncertain to admit of any plausible guess as to the individual owner. I can only say

¹ Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, Dub., vol. ii., p. 18.

² Cal. Justiciary Roll, pp. 78, 79.

³ Car. Cal. Misc., 400-1. The Registry of the Priory of Tristernagh is said to be preserved in the Bodleian, but I have not seen it.

⁴ Fiant, Eliz., Nos. 1401, 3300.

⁵ A Herbert de la Mare held land from Hugh de Lacy the elder at Grenoc (Greenoge) in Meath in the reign of Henry II, Reg. St. Thomas's, Dub., p. 35. He was probably ancestor of the family. From some extracts taken by Sir James Ware from the Register of St. Mary's Abbey, it would seem that Hugh Tirrell of Castleknock was the first grantee of lands about Street. He gave the churches of Mastrum (Edgeworthstown) and Rossagh (or Russagh) to the Prior of Little Malvern. He may, however, have made these grants without having built castles or exploited the lands. Chart. St. Mary's Abbey, vol. ii., pp. 17, 18.

generally that we may suppose the key to have belonged to some member of the Delamare family, who seem to have held the castle in spite of levellings and burnings for upwards of four centuries.

NOTE ADDED IN THE PRESS.

Since writing the above, I have noticed in Mr. Berry's new volume of the "Statutes of Henry VI" (p. 637) the following reference to the castle of Moybrackry:—"Also, at the prayer of Meiler, the son of Meiler de la Mare, chief of his nation; That whereas the enemies of the King have broken the castle of Moybreckre (*le Chastell de Mibrakry*), and killed the brother of the said Meiler there, and the said Meiler has laboured and made the said castle against the will of his enemies, with great strength, to the great costs of the said Meiler; and there is still great part of the said castle not repaired: that the said Meiler may have eight pence from every ploughland within the liberty of Meath." This was in 1459, four years after "the castle of Street" was broken by O'Farrell, and the "son of MacHerbert" slain there, as already noticed. This reference therefore is pretty conclusive both as to the identity of the castle of Street with the castle of Moybrackry, and as to the identity of the MacHerberts with the Delamares. Long before this time we must suppose that the castle buildings were of stone; but the stone-work seems to have entirely disappeared. There is, however, no other known castle-site in the neighbourhood of Street, and the great earthen mound alone remains to recall a stormy period in the life-history of the spot.

THE MOTE OF LISARDOWLAN, COUNTY LONGFORD.

BY GODDARD H. ORPEN, B.A., MEMBER.

[Submitted JULY 5, 1910.]

THE photograph reproduced below was sent to me by Mr. James Mackay Wilson of Currygrane, Hon. Local Secretary for the County Longford. He describes the mote as about 40 feet high, and 36 feet in diameter at the top. The mote is surrounded by a ditch, outside of which, towards the south, is a raised enclosure, partly faced



LISARDOWLAN MOTE, CO. LONGFORD.

on the outer scarp with stones. Beyond, and including this raised enclosure, is a larger area surrounded by a sunk ditch or fosse. These defences are roughly circular in plan, and are carried round the mote so as to join the mote-ditch on the north side of the mote. Close outside the earthworks to the west are traces of stone foundations.

The mote is in the townland of Lisardowlan, or Lisardowling, as it is pronounced on the spot, in the parish of Templemichael, near the road leading from Longford to Edgworthstown. Close at hand is a place

called Sraid (Irish, An t-Sraid, "the street"), a name, as in Street in Westmeath, and in several Stradballys, often applied to an early Anglo-Norman town, though here nothing that could be called a town survives.

I have found the following allusions to this place in the Annals:— "A great hosting by Aedh, son of Cathal Crovderg [O'Connor], to the castle of Ard-abla (*co caislén aird abla*) in the territory of Breffny, when they entered the castle and burned it, and killed everyone whom they found in it, both foreigners and Gaels."¹ This was probably the mote-castle, and we hear of it no more. The O'Farrells probably recovered the district in the course of the thirteenth century. In 1377, the castle of Lis-ard-abhla was built by John O'Farrell.² This was, no doubt, a stone castle, and probably the foundations traceable to the immediate north of the mote belong to it. Here, in 1383, John, son of Donnell O'Farrell, lord of Annaly, died.³ There is a further allusion to the place in 1460, when it was still in the hands of the O'Farrells.⁴ In 1634, the castle and lands of Lissardowla were held by Robert McLishagh Ferrall as parcel of his manor of Bawn, which he held of the king-in-chief by military service.⁵ Bawn is near Moydow, and, perhaps, represents the castle of Magh dumha, built by John de Verdon in 1261, and levelled by Geoffrey O'Farrell in 1295, on the same occasion as he levelled the castle of Moybrackry or Street, as mentioned in my paper on the mote of Street.

Lisardowling, then, appears to be an example of a mote first occupied by the Anglo-Normans, and afterwards taken and adopted as the site of a castle by an Irish chieftain. Mote-Farrell, in the parish of Clonbroney, not far off, may be another example. From a description given to me by Mr. J. Mackay Wilson, it appears to be of the usual type, with a small bailey to the south. The mote is "faced with stones" round the top, and has some "regular mason-work" on the side opposite the bailey, just where what seems to be the pier of wooden bridge is often found.

The original Irish name was simply *Ard-abla*,⁶ "the height or hill of the apple-trees," but in 1377, and later, it appears as *Lis aird-abla*, "the fort of the hill of apple-trees." It is not *Lissard*, "the high fort." The form Lisardowling would point to a diminutive, "the height of the little apples" (crab apples).

I have been careful to give the various forms of the name at different periods, because they seem to me to indicate one way in which an Anglo-

¹ Ann. Loch Cé, 1224.

² *Ibid.*, 1377; so Ann. Ulst. and Four Masters have *caislén lis aird abla*, or an equivalent form, and the translated Ann. Clon. has 'Lisardawla.'

³ Four Masters, 1383. He was interred in the monastery of *Leath ratha* (Abbeylara).

⁴ Ann. Duaid MacFirbis, and Four Masters, 1460 (Lis-ard-Aula, Lios airdabla).

⁵ Inquis. Lageniae, Longford, No 11, Car. I.

⁶ Ann. Ulst., 790; *Bellum aird ablae*; Four Masters, 786, *Iomaireaco Aird Abhla*.

Norman mote may have obtained an Irish fort-name, without our necessarily supposing that an Irish fort existed on the site in pre-Norman times. Thus, this place in the eighth century is called *Ard-abla*, and in 1224 the mote-castle is called "the castle of *Ard-abla*." In 1377, however, when O'Farrell built his stone castle beside the dismantled and probably long-deserted mote, the earthwork may have been called by the Irish (whose use of the words *rath*, *lios*, *dún*, &c., fits into no theory that has as yet been expounded) "the liss of *Ard-abla*,"¹ and, accordingly, the castle became known as *Caisleán leasa aird abhla*, "the castle of the liss of Ardowla." In most cases, however, where a mote is known by an Irish fort-name, the fort-name had, I think, come to denote the townland or other district before the mote was erected, and the mote-castle was known as the castle of the district-name, and, therefore, may or may not have been on the exact site of the eponymous fort. The alphabetical townland list shows at a glance the enormous number of townland names commencing with 'lis,' 'rath,' 'dun,' &c. It is not surprising, then, if motes were erected on some of these townlands, and came to be known, as they usually are, by the townland name.

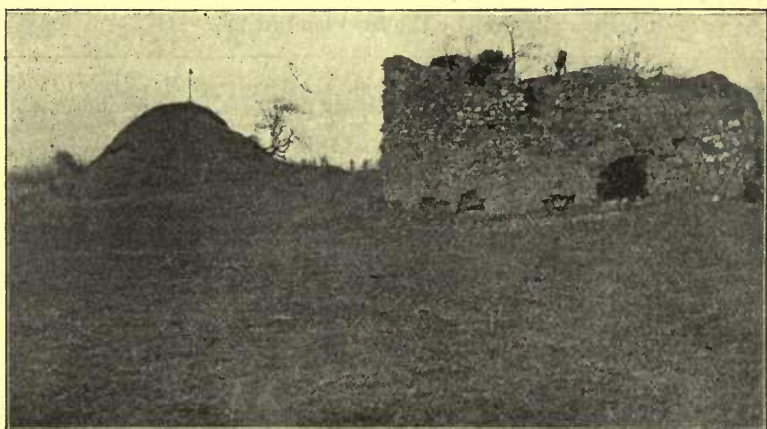
¹ Liss-names are very common in Longford. The Rev. Joseph MacGivney ("Place-names of County Longford," 1908) gives fifty-one liss-names, thirteen rath-names, and only three dun-names.

THE MOTE OF CASTLELOST, COUNTY WESTMEATH.

BY GODDARD H. ORPEN, B.A., MEMBER.

[Submitted JULY 5, 1910.]

THE photograph reproduced below was taken by Mr. James Tuite of Mullingar, one of our members. It affords a good example of the proximity, so frequently to be observed, of a mote to the ruins or site of a stone castle. In judging the relative sizes of castle and mote, allowance must be made for the well-known effect of the lens in rapidly reducing the apparent size of objects in receding planes. The mote is a much more formidable affair than appears in the photograph.



CASTLELOST MOTE, CO. WESTMEATH.

Castlelost is the name of a parish in the barony of Fartullagh, county Westmeath. Mote and castle are about a mile north of Rochfortbridge. To the east of the mote is a slightly raised bailey, 61 by 46 yards, and on the edge of this bailey, about 18 yards from the mote, the castle was built with its door facing the mote. It is conjectured that the earthwork was formed out of an esker knoll, that the eastern part of the knoll was cut away to about the height of 6 feet, and that the material thus obtained was used to form the mote, while the denuded part served as a raised bailey. There are traces of another enclosure to the north, and when the stone castle was built, another bailey was added to the south. The road from Rochfortbridge has cut

into the mote at one side, and the opposite side has been mutilated, so that the space on the summit, probably originally circular, is now about 23 by 13 yards. The mote rises about 16 feet above the raised bailey. The church, about 400 yards to the north-east, appears to have been semi-fortified. There are some curious sculptured stones here in the arch of the east window, which ought to be examined and described. Others were removed, and have been built into the new chapel at Meedian, where they are preserved. I owe the above notes to Sergeant Lyons of Ballyhaunis. To judge by the engraving in the *Irish Penny Magazine* (p. 393), the stone castle was not of very early date.

Little appears to be known about this castle, except that in the sixteenth century it was a castle of the Tirrells. Its very name is a puzzle, and has suggested an obvious pun. I think, however, I can give the true etymology, and show that the place belonged to a Hugh Tirrell, probably the well-known seneschal of the elder Hugh de Lacy, and at any rate was in the hands of the Tirrells from the early years of the thirteenth century.

According to an extract made by Sir James Ware, from the Register of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin,¹ it would appear that Hugh Tirrell, Lord of Castleknock, was also Lord of Portloman (a parish to the west of Lough Owel), Castlelofty (Castlelost), Knockrath (?), Mastrum (better known now as Edgeworthstown), Rossagh (Russagh, now a parish adjoining Street), and Portshannon (Portnashangan, a parish on the east of Lough Owel). This entry is far from contemporary, being dated 10th May, 1487, but it is under the hand of the Bishop of Ardagh, who was admitting, against his interest, that the churches of these places, so far as they were in his diocese, had been given by Hugh Tirrell to the Prior of Little Malvern. Similarly Hugh is said to have given the church of Castlelost to the same Prior, and this gift was confirmed to the abbot of St. Mary's, Dublin (to whom the Prior of Little Malvern was transferring the Irish property of the Priory), by Maurice Tirrell, then Lord of Castlelost, under date, 25th August, 1486. As the statement agrees with all we know of Castlelost, we may accept it as correct. It may, however, be doubted whether the donor was Hugh Tirrell, the contemporary of Hugh de Lacy the elder, or his grandson (?) Hugh Tirrell, who got seisin of his lands in 1223.² The latter Hugh Tirrell was granted a fair at his manor of Neweton in Fertelagh (Newtown, the parish adjoining Castlelost, and including part of the village of Tirrell's Pass) in 1232³—a grant which implies a settled manor. So at any rate we find the Tirrells firmly seated in this neighbourhood in the early years of the thirteenth century. Moreover, as it is pretty

¹ The Register is no longer known to be in existence. Ware's excerpts are printed in "Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin," vol. ii., p. 18.

² C.D.I., vol. i., No. 1103.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 1951.

clear that a Tirrell was the original grantee of Castlelost, we may with probability assign the mote to the elder Hugh Tirrell, and ascribe its erection to about the time when the elder Hugh de Lacy built his mote castle of Durrow, namely, 1186.

The earliest contemporary mention of this place that I have met with is in the Ecclesiastical Taxation of the Deanery of Mullingar (1302-6). Here the name occurs in two forms, as Castellossy and Castell osti.¹ In the Fiant of Elizabeth it occurs as Castelloste, Castellostie, Castelloysty, Castellost, Castellós, and Castleost, while in the Chartulary of St. Mary's Abbey it appears in the obviously corrupt form, Castlelofty. I have not found the name in any Irish text; but from the above Anglo-Irish forms, and from analogy to other place-names, it would seem to belong to that curious group derived from *losaid*, genitive *loiste*, "a kneading-trough." Thus Drumnalost in Co. Donegal is given in the Four Masters as *Druim na loiste*.² According to Dr. Joyce, the word *losaid* (anglicised "losset") is applied by farmers to fertile land which they see "covered with rich produce, like a kneading-trough filled with dough," and it is in this metaphorical sense it is used in place-names. *Caisleán na loiste* would thus mean "the Castle of the losset or rich land." Not far off in the parish of Rathconnell is Clonlost, with presumably a similar etymology.

Probably the place was known as "the losset" before the castle was built. There are about a dozen townlands in Ireland called simply "Losset." O'Donovan says, "In the county of Cavan the farmer calls his well laid out field his fine *losset*, or table spread with food."³

¹ C.D.I., vol. v., pp. 258, 267. (See Corrigenda.)

² Four Masters, 1597, p. 2038.

³ Supp. to O'Reilly's "Dictionary."

IRISH ORGAN-BUILDERS FROM THE EIGHTH TO THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD, MUS. D., MEMBER.

[Submitted JULY 5, 1910.]

THE history of organ-building in Ireland has yet to be written. No adequate account is at all accessible of the craftsmen who built the noble organs that gave forth harmonious sounds in the glorious cathedrals of our land from the eighth century to modern times. Some writers have stated deliberately that there were no organs in Ireland until the fifteenth century, forgetful of the fact that Irish craftsmen in wood, and bronze, and leather were of European fame long before the invasion of Henry II. Apart from other evidences it is incredible that the men who fashioned the Ardagh Chalice and the Cross of Cong and the Tara Brooch were unequal to the task of building an organ, especially when it is borne in mind that the Irish were among the greatest musicians in Europe in the Middle Ages.

In the year 665 Pope Vitalian (657-672), as we learn from John the Deacon, introduced organs into the service of the Church, and soon afterwards they were adopted by the Irish missionaries who taught the craft of organ-building to the Anglo-Saxons. The bagpipe is really the parent of the organ. Given the reeds, pipes, and wind-bag of the *Piob-mor*, we have all the potentialities of an organ. Originally the "blowers" were two men who actually blew with their mouths alternately to supply the wind, as is carved on a monument now in the Museum at Arles. There were hydraulic organs as well as pneumatic organs—the former blown by water, and the latter by wind-pressure. The Greeks called the reed mouthpieces of the *aulos* the "Syrinx," and the same word is used for the "Pan-pipe," also known as the "Mouth Organ." As far back as A.D. 100 Dio Chrysostom referred to a bagpiper, "an artist who played with his mouth on the bag placed under his armpit," but long before that the ancient Egyptians were acquainted with the bagpipe drone, and the use of bellows.

A pneumatic, or wind, organ is described by the Emperor Julian, about the year 360, and it is also referred to by Theoderet in 425. There is a representation of an organ of eight pipes on an obelisk in Constantinople erected by Theodosius in 390, and on it are seen the figures of two men mounted on the bellows, side by side, whose weight supplied the wind. St. Jerome mentions an organ at Jerusalem with twelve

brazen pipes; and the organ is also mentioned by Cassiodorus in 514. Though used in the churches of Spain in the fifth century, it was not until the year 665 that Pope Vitalian approved of them. The earliest known organs in England are referred to by St. Aldhelm in 690, in his poem *De Laude Virginitatis*, but it must be remembered that St. Aldhelm was taught by the Irish monks of Malmesbury under St. Maildubh, an Irish abbot, who apparently built an organ for his monastery about the year 670. It was not until the year 757 that Pepin, father of Charlemagne, introduced organs into France, in the church of St. Cornelius at Compiègne; and in 811 Charlemagne got an organ built after the model of that at Compiègne for Aix-la-Chapelle. Thirty years later, we read of an organ at Liège, an Irish foundation, of which Sedulius (O'Shiel) was abbot in 868.

Furthermore, the Irish monks of Glastonbury had an organ, and we read that St. Dunstan in the tenth century was taught the art of organ-building "by Irish masters in Glastonbury,"¹ and, in 980, presented an organ—made and adorned by himself—to Malmesbury Abbey.

Theophilus, a monk and priest, wrote a treatise on organ-building about the middle of the eleventh century, and from it we gather that the method of "voicing" the pipes—the pipes being of the finest copper—is the self-same as practised to-day, viz., by the testing process of blowing into the pipe and then regulating the sound by making the mouth of the pipe wider or narrower. In the *Visio Tundali*, written by Marc, an Irish monk of Ratisbon, in 1149, mention is made of the *Organs*. In 1158 the Irish monks of the Vienna monastery (who made the foundation from Ratisbon, at the request of Henry, first Duke of Austria), built an organ for the abbey church, of which an Irishman, Santan, was first Abbot. At this date the organ key-board—which was first introduced into the organ of the cathedral at Magdeburg in 1098—was getting into general use. Nor must it be forgotten that the Irish monks of Bobbio had organs in their abbey church in the ninth century, and Pope Sylvester, who had been Abbot of Bobbio, carried on the Irish tradition of organ-building. This great Pope died in 1003.

In connexion with the art of organ-building in general, it may not be amiss to state that pedals were invented about the year 1305, and the inventor seems to have been Ludwig von Vaelbeke of Brabant, who died in 1362. It may also be well to mention that the famous organ of the Cathedral of Halberstadt, having a compass of two octaves and three-quarters, with three rows of keys and a pedal clavier, was finished on February 23, 1361, by Nicholas Faber, a priest. It had twenty-two keys, fourteen diatonic and eight chromatic, and was furnished with twenty bellows blown by ten men. In 1418 the organ of St. Salvator

¹ Osbern, *Vita S. Dunst.* See also Hook, *Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. i., p. 382 et seq.

at Venice had a pedal-board of twelve keys, beginning on B natural, with an independent pedal. Yet, so conservative were the English and Irish organ-builders that we find no pedal-organs in Great Britain until the year 1772, when Snetzler erected one in the German Lutheran Chapel in the Savoy, London.

Organ-building seems to have become an established craft in Dublin in the first half of the fifteenth century. In 1450 we find organs in the two Dublin Cathedrals, and also in Limerick. In 1483 the salary of the Limerick Cathedral organist was 6s. 8d. per annum; but it must be observed that in those days there was no such position as a lay organist, and the vicars acted in turn as "pulsator organorum." Here it may be well to explain that *organa* or "a pair of organs" was the usual term to denote the king of instruments, *organa* being usually given in contradistinction to *organum*, which meant discant or counterpoint, while "a pair of organs" meant simply an organ, just as we still use the term "a pair of trousers." The organist was invariably styled *pulsator organorum*, as the keys of the instrument were six inches broad and required to be struck with the clenched hand, the semitones being placed on a separate keyboard, as in the Halberstadt organ.¹

In the will of Michael Tregury, Archbishop of Dublin, dated December 10th, 1471, his "payre of organs" was bequeathed to St. Patrick's Cathedral, to be used in St. Mary's Chapel. Five years later we find a famous Irish organ-builder, John Lawless, settling in Kilkenny; and on December 29th, 1476, he was given many privileges by the Kilkenny Corporation. Five years later Thomas Bermingham, Baron of Athenry, gave the Dominican Friars of Athenry, county Galway, three silver marks towards the building of the abbey church organ. St. Thomas's Abbey, Dublin, had a fine organ in 1485; as also had Kilmainham Priory.

On August 28th, 1493, Daniel Winchester, Prior of Christchurch Cathedral, Dublin, founded a music school, with a monk named Frend as music master, who was bound to teach four choristers and four probationers. In 1506 we find William Herbit as "pulsator organorum," or organist, of St. Patrick's Cathedral, at a stipend of £3 6s. 8d. a year. From the mss. of the Earl of Kildare we learn that in 1515 the Earl presented a hackney to his "organ-maker." This Irish organ-builder was none other than James Dempsey, whose reputation was so great that he was invited to England in 1528, and built a fine organ for Ripon Cathedral in 1531, for which he received the sum of £4 8s. 4d. Dempsey built several other organs in England, and finally settled in Doncaster in 1560. The organ which he built at Doncaster in 1561 is an evidence of his powers. He died there six years later; his burial entry being dated July 27th, 1567.

¹ It was not until 1499 that Heinrich Crantz built an organ in which the semitones were included between the naturals, and painted black.

Lord Grey, writing on December 30th, 1537, to Cromwell, tells that he had carried off a "pair of organs" from the Augustinian Priory of Killeigh, King's County, and had presented the instrument to the collegiate church of Maynooth. On March 16th, 1546, Robert Hayward was appointed organist of Christchurch Cathedral, Dublin, and James White was organist of St. Patrick's Cathedral from 1540 to 1547—while Patrick Clinch was organist of St. Thomas's Abbey. When St. Patrick's Cathedral was restored in 1555, William Browne was appointed organist, and in that year he was paid £10 11s. for salary and arrears. He fled to the Low Countries in 1559, after the accession of Queen Elizabeth. We meet with the name of Henry Nugent as organ-maker in Dublin in 1595.

In 1622 Bishop Barnard Adams put up a new organ in Limerick Cathedral. On November 4th, 1633, the Dean and Chapter of Cork Cathedral ordered a new organ, and about the same time a new "pair of organs" was got for Armagh Cathedral, with Richard Galway as first organist. In 1639 the organ of St. Audoen's Church, Dublin, was set up in a more convenient position, and the old rood-loft taken down.

On May 9th, 1644, organs were ordered to be removed from all churches and colleges in Great Britain and Ireland, and the mandate was carried out with ruthless barbarity. In 1647 the beautiful organ of Cashel Cathedral was broken to pieces, and in 1652 Lieutenant-Col. Purple took away the "payre of organs" from New Ross parish church. In 1650 the great organ of Waterford Cathedral was taken down, and the pipes sold to Town-Major Richards.

In 1662 John Hawkshaw built an organ for St. Patrick's Cathedral, and was organist from 1661 to 1685. In 1676 we find that Hawkshaw sold an old organ to St. Werburgh's Church, Dublin, for £50. Five years later a Mr. Pease was paid £110 for building a new organ for St. Audoen's Church, and £40 was paid to a Dublin gilder, Mr. Wiseman, for "gilding and beautifying the organs." The great organ-case of St. Patrick's Cathedral was put up in 1685.

In 1695 Thomas Hollister, the son of Robert Hollister, a Dublin organ-builder, was appointed assistant organist of Cork Cathedral, and he also undertook to tune and clean the instrument at an agreed stipend. Renatus Harris, of London, built organs for St. Patrick's Cathedral and Christchurch in 1697-98; and in 1702 the Duke of Ormonde presented an organ to Trinity College Chapel, made in Holland, and captured at the siege of Vigo.

In 1719 Thomas Hollister built an organ for St. Werburgh's Church, of which Samuel Bettridge was organist until 1720, when he was appointed to Armagh. Hollister was appointed organist of St. Werburgh's in 1720, but was soon superseded by John Woffington, who was the son of a rival Dublin organ-builder. Woffington pronounced Hollister's

instrument unsatisfactory, and the committee of experts—the brothers Roseingrave and Robert Woffington, Vicars Choral, and John Baptist de Cavillie—concurred, whereupon the Select Vestry declined to pay Hollister more than £250 out of the total sum of £300.

John Baptist de Cavillie, of Fleet Street, Dublin, built an organ for the parish church of St. Michan's, in 1725, with twenty-four stops. In 1747 the case was carved exquisitely by William Wilson. John Woffington was organist of St. Michan's from 1725 to 1752, when he succeeded Bettridge in Armagh Cathedral.

In 1759 John Smith, of Dublin, built an organ for Mrs. Delany, the wife of Dean Delany, for Glasnevin Church. He was organist of St. Werburgh's for some years; and on March 7th, 1761, was appointed organist of Trinity College Chapel.

Ferdinand Weber, the well-known harpsichord maker, built a very neat organ for Christ Church, Cork, in 1761, a recital being given on it by Mr. Bird, organist of St. Ann's, in Dublin, on June 23rd, 1761, in the Dutch Church, near Lazar's Hill. According to *Faulkner's Journal*, "the virtuosi agree that it is the most compleat instrument of the kind that has ever been made in this Kingdom."

An accidental fire destroyed the organ of St. Werburgh's, Dublin, on November 9th, 1754, and it was not until 1766 that a new organ was provided. This organ was built by Henry Millar, of College Green, and was pronounced an excellent instrument. It was opened by Thomas Carter, the composer of "O Nancy, wilt thou go with me?" on June 6th, 1767. Including two extra stops, which were added in 1769 by Millar, the cost of St. Werburgh's organ was £470. Weber built an organ for St. Thomas's Church, Marlborough Street, in 1767. Another Dublin organ-builder of this period was William Cornwall, who erected an organ in Navan parish church in 1764.

In 1766 William Castles Hollister, organ-builder, son of Thomas Hollister, opened Ranelagh Gardens as a place of amusement. Ranelagh House was previously the residence of Bishop Barnard, of Derry. Hollister erected a fine organ in it, and laid out the grounds tastefully, but the venture was not very successful. Various causes tended to the failure of the entertainments at Ranelagh Gardens, but they lingered for about eight years, and the place was acquired by the Discalced Carmelite Nuns in 1788.

In 1771 there were five organ-builders in Dublin, viz., Hollister, Rother, Weber, Cornwall, and Gibson. Nor must it be forgotten that in 1740 Owen Nicholas Egan, an Irish organ-builder, out of eight Continental competitors, succeeded in winning the post of Royal organ-builder to the Court of Portugal, and was commissioned to erect an organ in Lisbon Cathedral. Another Irish organ-builder named John Kelly settled in London in 1785, and had an important position in Exeter Change. Kelly took a partner, Benjamin Flight, in 1790, and the firm

of Kelly and Flight executed many important commissions. This firm subsequently became famous as Flight and Robson.

In 1785 Hollister and Woffington did most of the organ trade in Dublin. Ten years later Hollister disappears and was replaced by William Hull. It only comes within the scope of the present paper to add that in 1801 Robert Woffington was commissioned to build the organ for St. Andrew's Church, Dublin, and it was formally opened on March 8th, 1807—a really noble instrument, which was burned subsequently in the great fire of January 9th, 1860. And it would be ungracious not to mention that Messrs. Telford, of Dublin, since the year 1830 have carried on the best traditions of Irish organ-building.

A SEPULCHRAL SLAB LATELY FOUND AT CLONMACNOIS.

BY HENRY S. CRAWFORD, B.A.I., M.R.I.A., MEMBER.

[Submitted JULY 5, 1910.]

PART of a slab not hitherto known has recently been dug up at Clonmacnois; the portion recovered is the upper half, and shows the top, one arm, and the greater part of the central pattern of the cross.



FIG. 1.—SLAB RECENTLY FOUND AT CLONMACNOIS.

The broken condition of this slab is greatly to be regretted, as it is a very typical specimen of the most characteristic form of Clonmacnois monument; and it does not appear to have suffered at all from the weather, the lines being quite sharp and well cut, as may be seen in fig. 1. The inscription, too, which was probably a short one, is gone with the missing part, except the letters $\overline{\text{OR}}$, which are cut on the existing piece: but though the lettering is lost, enough of the decorated cross survives to make its restoration a matter of reasonable certainty. There is some doubt as to the exact length of the lower member, and

whether it was of the same shape as the top; but the former is not of much consequence, and the latter practically certain, as all the looped crosses found complete have their terminals similar in shape.

The design, then, is a seven-line cross with circular and semicircular expansions, and looped terminals. Three of the lines are grouped together in the centre of each member; the others, also close together, are placed at a little distance, and enclose between them a band which is looped at each corner. The loops are not overlapped symmetrically, as is the case in most of the examples already known, but the band passes over and under alternately after the manner of an interlaced pattern. The dimensions of the cross are $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches over the arms, and 12 inches from the centre to the top; in the restoration (fig. 2) I have made the total height 28 inches.

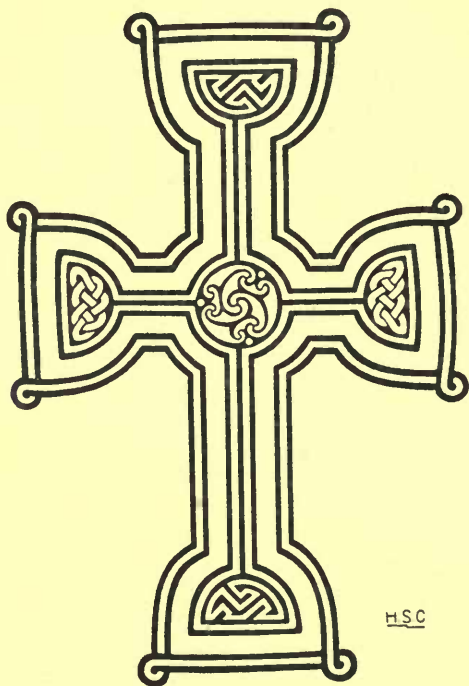


FIG. 2.—THE DESIGN RESTORED ($\frac{1}{2}$).

The semicircular expansion at the top contains a simple form of key-pattern, somewhat twisted out of shape in order to fit; and that at the side a knot made up of one band with nine crossings. A spiral design of seven centres fills the circular panel at the intersection. This stone thus presents examples of the three chief classes of linear ornament—an unusual feature on monuments of the kind. Spiral designs are not very

frequently used, and when they are, are generally, as in this case, placed in the circular panel, the semicircular ends being reserved for frets or knots; there are, however, semicircular spiral designs at Durrow and Clonfert.

This particular spiral pattern is, I believe, more frequently used than any other; it is to be seen on three or four other slabs at Clonmacnois, on one at Iniscaltra, and on several high crosses; for example, Tynan, Dromiskin, Duleek, Kells, Kinnitty, and Tihilly. On the slabs and first-mentioned crosses the six outer centres are placed in pairs near together; but at Duleek, where the centres are raised as bosses, they are equally spaced. The same is the case at Kells and Kinnitty, but there the design is somewhat modified, the outer spirals being S-curves. The Tihilly panel is so much injured that its details cannot be made out with any certainty, but it evidently consisted of seven spiral bosses.

At Old Eglish another modification is introduced, eight spiral bosses being placed round the circle instead of six; and on the North Cross at Monasterboice is a design having sixteen centres, twelve of which are ranged round the circumference.

The whole design on this stone bears a striking resemblance to some of the finest crosses already known at Clonmacnois; those of Suibne and Cairbre Crom, and more especially to that of Tadgun, which Professor Macalister numbers 157, and places about the year 900. The present monument, however, though much smaller, presents the additional feature of interlacing, as exemplified in the knotted pattern and terminal loops.

THE HEWETSONS OF BALLYSHANNON, DONEGAL.

BY JOHN HEWETSON, MEMBER.

[Submitted JULY 5, 1910.]

MICHAEL HEWETSON, Esq., of Coolbeg, Ballyshannon (where he settled from Swords, County Dublin, about the year 1645), was the third and youngest son of the Rev. Christopher Hewetson, Vicar of Swords, and Treasurer of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, who died in 1633, and his second wife, Rebecca Okes, as mentioned on pp. 371-2, part 4, vol. xxxix., December, 1909.

He was born *circa* 1622. In 1640, he was in Trinity College, Dublin, and the "Particular Book" contains the following entry—December 21, Michael Hewetson exiit. Jan. 28, Michael Hewetson rediit. He married Laurentine (who was buried 22nd October, 1696), daughter of Edward Hill, Esq., of Rathbane, County Mayo, by whom he had a son and heir. He became agent for Thomas Lord Folliott in 1649, and continued so until 1667. He was named in the Hearth Money Rolls of 1663 and 1665. On the 28th June, 1682, he, together with his wife, filed an Equity Exchequer Bill against James Wilson, Elinor, his wife (widow of Edward Hill, father of Laurentine Hill), and John Bingham, the executors of Edward Hill's will, dated the 14th May, 1671, in order to ascertain whether the bond entered into by the father of Laurentine Hill to the Right Honourable Lord Folliott, Baron of Ballyshannon, in the sum of two hundred pounds in trust for Laurentine in contemplation of her marriage with Michael Hewetson, had been paid off or not by Edward Hill in his lifetime, a joint answer of the defendants being filed 1 Feb., 1682 (old style).

Michael Hewetson afterwards entered his then Majesty's army in Ireland, and was, as appears from the mss. of the Marquis of Ormonde in Kilkenny Castle, Ensign in a Regiment of Foot, whose Captain was Lord Folliott, and Lieutenant Anthony Folliott. The regiment was quartered at Youghal on 1st June, 1664, and at Londonderry on the 26th November following. In 1684, he was tenant to Trinity College, Dublin, for the lands of Coolremen. He was attainted (being then in England) by the so-called Parliament of King James of 7th May, 1689, as were also his son, John, his relations the widow Cassandra Palmer, Dublin, and the widow of Dr. Mossom, "the minister" of Dublin. He was afterwards reinstated under Act 10 Will. III. He had, besides a son and heir, a daughter,

Anne Hewetson, named in the will of Sir Henry Caldwell, of Castle Caldwell, Baronet, dated 27th June, 1721, who left her a leasehold interest in Ballyshannon, his plate, chinaware, household goods, and furniture.

John Hewetson, Esq., his heir, of Coolbeg, born *circa* 1648. In 1689, he was in England, and by King James' Parliament of 7th May of that year he was attainted, but afterwards was reinstated in his possessions under Act 10 Will. III. He married Catherine, daughter of — Carr, by whom he had, besides Michael his heir—

- (1) Mary Hewetson, married to William Reynolds of Donegal. On the 3rd October, 1717, she, in conjunction with her son, William, entered into a bond on obtaining a grant of administration of her husband's estate; by him she had (1) Colonel Francis Reynolds, living in 1753, a legatee under the will of his uncle Michael Hewetson, of Coolbeg, dated 27th September, 1753; and (2) John Reynolds, of Coolbeg, having succeeded to this and other estates upon the decease of his uncle, Michael Hewetson in 1753. He was born in 1704, and died at Coolbeg the 15th April, 1788, and his will proved the following year.
- (2) (. . . . dau.) married to Captain Brook Chambers, and had a daughter, Mary Chambers.
- (3) (. . . . dau.) married to Dundas, and had Elinor Dundas, to whom her uncle, Michael Hewetson, by his will of 27th Sept., 1753, bequeathed the sum of ten guineas.
- (4) (. . . . dau.) married to Reynolds, by whom she had Rebecca Reynolds, of Letterkenny, who devised by will, dated 13th April, 1760, all her estate, and her legacy of fifty pounds under her uncle Michael's will, to her sister, Mary Chambers (then a widow); Rebecca was also a legatee for fifty pounds under her uncle's will.
- (5) (. . . . dau.) married to Dyson, by whom they had Frances Dyson, who had four children, legatees for one hundred pounds under the will of their uncle Michael.
- (6) (. . . . dau.) married to Reynolds, by whom were (1) Lory Reynolds and (2) a sister, both also legatees for fifty pounds between them.

The son and heir of John Hewetson was—

Michael Hewetson, Esq., who succeeded at Coolbeg, besides which he was possessed of the freehold of Farsetmore, the three leases of Kilcar, Kilrean, and Straleele, with salmon-fishing, and the customs of the fairs and markets of the town of Raphoe. Coolbeg was held by him on lease from Trinity College, Dublin, by the name of Coolremen and Keeren, together with his dwelling-house thereon.

He was born in the year 1667; was a Commissioner named in the statutes of 10 Will. III., cap. 3, for assessing the land and poll-taxes for the County of Donegal in 1695 and 1697-8; whilst in the vestry proceedings of Kilbarron and Ballyshannon his signature (by proxy) appears.

for the first time at the Easter Vestry of 1692, ceasing proxy upon his signing the minutes of 6th April, 1724, but continuing his autograph signature from 11th April, 1726, until 2nd May, 1742, when the church-wardens' accounts were presented and allowed; though he lived until 1753.

He was one of the five executors of the will of Sir Henry Caldwell, of Castle Caldwell, Baronet, dated 27th June, 1721, who bequeathed to his sister, Anne Hewetson, a leasehold interest in Ballyshannon, and the greater part of his personal estate, plate, china ware, household goods, and furniture.

He died on 2nd November, 1753, having made his will on the 29th September previous, which was proved on the 10th December following. He was buried in the south-eastern part of St. Ann's churchyard, Ballyshannon, and the spot indicated by a recumbent limestone slab, showing in very bold relief—"an Eagle displayed Or" upon a shield surmounted by an Esquire's helmet, and the following incised inscription:—

" Here lieth the body of Mich^l
Hewetson, Esq^r., who departed
this life Nov^r y^e 2nd 1753
aged 86 years."

His *gite* is surrounded by those of his relatives, Jean Bannerman, *alias* Forbes, 1681; Edward Forbes, M.A., 1711; Ann Reynolds, 1836; Coyne Reynolds, 1839; and Francis Foster, a relative of Robert Foster, Curate of Drumholm in 1739, together with many others.

He, by his will, gave to his nephew Colonel Francis Reynolds, and his brother, John Reynolds, his freehold called Farsetmore, as also his farm of Coolbeg, which he held by lease from Trinity College, Dublin, by the name of Coolremen and Keeren, with his dwelling-house, &c., on the same; their heirs failing, then to Lieutenant William Reynolds, and his heir, and Ensign Thomas Faulkner. To Captain Brook Chambers he gave ten guineas; to his niece, Mary Chambers, if it pleased God she be left a widow, fifty pounds; to his niece, Elinor Dundasse, ten guineas; to his niece, Rebecca Reynolds, two hundred pounds; to his niece, Frances Dyson, and her four children, one hundred pounds, to be divided between them; to his niece, Lory Reynolds and her sister, fifty pounds; to Ensign Thomas Faulkner, fifty pounds; to William Reynolds, merchant in Londonderry, fifty pounds; to Michael Clark, Esq., son of Darby Clark, ten guineas; to Mrs. Jane Forbes, ten pounds; to Colonel John Folliott, ten guineas; to Captain John Folliott, ten guineas, and to Doctor Edward Hanlon, five guineas. If the labourers living on his farm at Coolbeg were diligent, and came constant and early to their work, his executors were to allow them ten pounds if they deserved it. To the poor of the

parish of Kilbarron he left five pounds. To his executors he left the three leases he held from the See of Raphoe, viz., Kilcar, Killrean, and Straleele, with salmon-fishing, as also the customs of the fairs and markets of the town of Raphoe.

Michael Hewetson was very prominent in the public affairs of Kilbarron and Ballyshannon, whose coadjutors were Thomas Atkinson, Thomas Lipset, James Forbes, the minister (in 1718), Henry Irwine, James Scott, William Forbes, John Jennings, Henry Scott, Jonathan Fitzgerald, Henry Davis, Thomas Carr, Captain John Folliott, and Colonel John Folliott.

The Vestry proceedings of both parishes are recorded in the same book, and are replete with quaint entries. The first Easter Vestry was held in 1692 (the records of earlier years having disappeared, as also the parish register of marriages from 1718 to 1764), and it was "applotted that fifteen pounds be raised for the restoration of the Church of Kilbarron and other pious uses." It is a curious fact, and interesting to note, that the members present signed the minutes by "proxy," viz., by the person who entered the proceedings, all the writing being by the same hand, reproducing each individual autograph. That of "Mich: Hewetson" appears. This curious procedure continued up to the year 1726, when and thenceforth each vestryman signed himself.

At the Vestry of 1693 it was ordered that "three pounds should be assessed to helpe to pay the churchwardens arrears before ye warrs." Mr. Hewetson signed by proxy as *Vestryman* and also as *Parishioner*.

At the following year's Vestry it was ordered that he and his coadjutor, Thomas Atkinson, should "meete on the 15th of Aprill, and applot the sume of tenn pounds be layd for reparation of the church and other pious uses."

In 1697 occurs a curious entry in connexion with the churchwardens' accounts, viz., "for carryin a letter to Mr. Hewetson 00·00·02."

In the year 1698 the sum of fourteen pounds seven shillings was subscribed to provide a new church bell, and among the payments are :—

paid Capt. Ffolliot, he p ^d for the bell,	£06 - 02 - 07
for bringing it from Belturbet,	00 - 01 - 00
drawing it from Balleeke,	00 - 00 - 04
11 horses for drawing stones and men from ye	
Abbey,	00 - 09 - 02
carriage of ye bell from Dublin,	00 - 08 - 00

At various vestries from 1693 to 1724 he was appointed Overseer of the highways of Ballyshannon and Kilbarron; in this last year in conjunction with John Folliott. In 1707 he was, I believe, elected churchwarden for the first time. Subsequent minutes stated "that, upon Mr. Michael Hewetson's excuse of being necessitated of going to

Dublin, be appointed Thomas Lipset that was his sidesman to serve as churchwarden in case Mr. Hewetson sho^d happen to be absent."

In the year 1712 it was ordered that the pulpit be removed from where it then stood, and placed in its former position.

On the 11th May, 1718, appears as follows :—"Whereas the Reverend Mr. Archdeacon Michael Hewetson, out of his good will to the parish, and town of Ballyshannon particularly, is willing and desirous to erect a schoolhouse for the instruction of poor children, and desires it may be somewhere in the yard belonging to this church for its better security, and to be always in the eye of the parish. We, therefore, the minister, churchwardens, and parishioners, thankfully accepting of this kind offer, doe unanimously agree, that so much of the churchyard along the south side, and the east end (where no corpses are buried) shall be and hereby is granted and given (as far as in us lies) to the said good and charitable worke; as witness our hands this 11th of May, 1718. (Signed by) Ja. Forbes, Min. Hen. Irwine, Ja. Scott, C, War^d. Tho. Atkinson, Wm. Forbes, Tho. Dickson, John Jennings, Hen. Coddon, Jo^a FitzGerald, Henry Davis, Thos. Carr.

The schoolhouse was accordingly erected, and was, like the church, roofed with shingles. In 1821 it was still standing, but in so decayed a condition, that the Vestry of 3rd December of that year resolved to build a new schoolhouse upon the same site, and that the old materials should be publicly sold to the highest bidder. In its turn, this building was replaced by a very good stone one outside the churchyard wall, opposite the sexton's house, in perfect condition in 1910.

The Easter Monday Vestry of 11th April, 1726, appointed Mr. Hewetson Overseer for the "Roade to Belalt." To the minutes was appended his autograph, for the first time, by which it will be remarked that two periods superposed follow the contracted Christian name, and elaborate geometrical flourishes continue the final letter of the surname, as follows :—

Mich: Hewetson

Respecting the rebuilding of Kilbarron Church, the Vestry there assembled on 12th May, 1735, enacted "that it be rebuilt with all convenient speed, &c., &c., and of the seven gentlemen appointed to select the new site were Major John Folliott and Mr. Michael Hewetson." Three years later it was, by Vestry of 27th April, 1738, enacted that not more than one hundred and fifty pounds sterling be borrowed with all convenient speed upon the credit of the parish aforesaid for the immediate carrying on the building of the new church, and it was appointed that Colonel John Folliott, Mr. Michael Hewetson, and ten

others, or any seven of them, should pass bonds on behalf of the parish for the sum or sums to be borrowed.

With regard to the seating in the new church the following enactment was made by the Vestry of 29th June, 1743 :—"That the proportion of ground on the south-east angle of the said church, No. 27 in the plan, is granted to the Right Hon^{ble} William Conolly, Esq., for building his seat thereon; also the proportion of ground on the south-west angle No. 23, and the half of No. 24, to Mr. Michael Hewetson; and so on with other parishioners. Seats were to be built on spaces granted, within twelve months from the date hereof, or the spaces would be forfeited, and in accord with a patron (*sic*) seat appointed by the Vestry. Captain John Ffolliott had No. 25 and the other half of No. 24 granted to him.

The signature of Michael Hewetson appears in the Vestry-book for the last time on the 2nd May, 1742, when the churchwardens' accounts were presented. His co-signatory was "Geo. Knox—Clk."

I now come to the last entry worthy of remark, of 8th November, 1744, viz. :—"It likewise appeared that Capt. John Ffolliott and Mr. Michael Hewetson had exchanged their seats in the church; Wherefore it was enacted, that the seat No. 25 should thenceforward belong to Mr. Hewetson, and half of No. 24, and that No. 23 and the half of No. 24 should thenceforth belong to Capt. Ffolliott, and further the said Capt. Ffolliott granted said seat, which was formerly Mr. Hewetson's, to the parish for the use of erecting a staircase to a gallery in the north aisle (Isle, *sic*), provided the said parish will then allow him or his heirs a front seat in said gallery in lieu thereof. Mem^m, that Captⁿ Ffolliott's seat in the gallery shall be in y^e east end thereof."

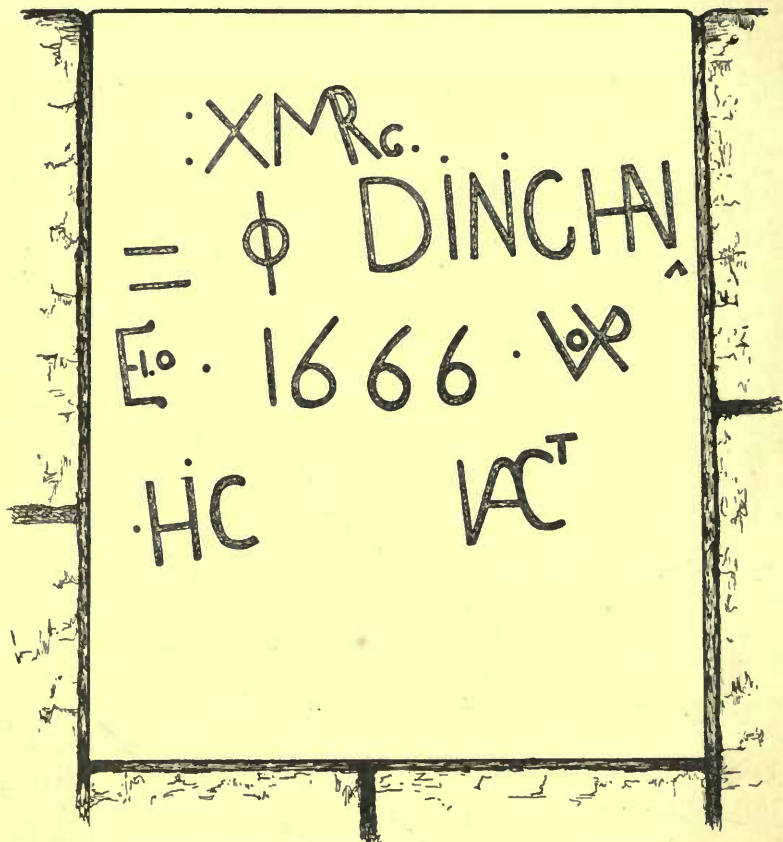
On the first parchment leaf of the Drimholm (*sic*), (Drumholm), parish register appears the following :—"A Divine Service was performed and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered for the first time in the new church of the parish of Drumholm (*sic*), in the lands of Ballintra, on Advent Sunday, 1st December, 1793."

"The church was consecrated on Sunday, 7th September, 1794."

After recording the marriage in 1707, of "William Hewitson, of Killybeg parish, and Jane Ingram of this parish," comes an *N.B.*, "The Register of Marriages is missing or lost for above forty years (1718-1764)."

Miscellanea.

Notes on an Inscription in Rattoo Churchyard, County Kerry.—In the *Journal* of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, vol. ii, p. 129, Mr. Richard Hitchcock, amongst other inscriptions copied in country church-yards, notes the following:—"No. 3 occurs on a stone built into the wall inside the doorway of the old church of Rattoo (county Kerry),



INSCRIPTION IN RATTOW CHURCHYARD, CO. KERRY.

in the parish of the same name, the upper part of the inscription being turned towards the doorway:—

× MRC. . Φ DINIGHAN E' . 1666, vxOR . HIC . IAC^T

An antiquarian friend of mine in Killarney to whom I showed my copy of this inscription thinks it may be read as follows:—

'× MARGARET O'DINIGHEN, EJUS, 1666, vxOR. HIC. JACET'

He also thinks that the cross or \times before the name 'MARGARET' may have been intended to connect it with another inscription, perhaps that of her husband; or the cross may have served as a mark to draw attention to this one, when separated from some other."

Further on in the same paper, the author gives the late Archdeacon Rowan's comment on it as follows: "The contracted language is the chief curiosity of it"; he then gives the following as Archdeacon Rowan's reading—

"IO(HANNES) DINIGHAN, 1666, \times MARG^R EJUS VXOR, HIC. JACET."

I have made a drawing of the inscription from a rubbing, here reproduced, by which it will be seen that it is more curious than Mr. Hitchcock's notes would lead one to suppose, and may suggest a different reading.

The stone, which measures 16 by 12 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches, had been erected in some other place, and was clearly utilized as a jamb stone for this entrance when the old church was converted into a mortuary—probably in the eighteenth century.

For the convenience of the reader the block is set into the text with the inscription horizontal. As built into the masonry of doorway, the inscription appears in vertical lines; the upper line of the block represents the side of the doorway.

I am informed there is one old man named "Dinighin" living in this parish, and that there are "Deenihans" living in Lixnaw parish.—P. J. LYNCH, *Fellow*.

The Irish Squirrel.—Despite the dictum of some that the squirrel was unknown in ancient Ireland, and leaving out the identity of Maeve's unhappy pet, slain by Cuchullin's sling-stone at Methé Togmail, there seems evidence to the contrary in not a few documents. Mr. Standish Hayes O'Grady renders a line in the *Agallamh* "squirrels from Berramain."¹ When however, we turn to Anglo-Norman records, they yield no dubious result. The taxations in various reports mention the squirrel-skin as a common article of commerce being exported from Ireland. For instance, the citizens of Waterford were allowed certain taxes to aid the walling of the city in April, 1244, among them one on the skins of squirrels; this was again allowed them June 28th, 1291. In 1278, a similar tax for murage was imposed for the benefit of Drogheda, in 1284, for the men of Cork and in 1292 at Fethard.² In April 28, 1286, Thomas fitz Maurice was granted a tax of a halfpenny on every hundred

¹ "Silva Gadelica," vol. ii., p. 119.

² Sweetman's "Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland," vol. i., No. 2613; vol. iii., Nos. 917, 1015, 1517, and p. 520.

skins of squirrels for walling Traylli and Moyal (Tralee and Mallow).¹ In the following century Froissart notes the trimmings of squirrel-skins on the robes of the Irish chiefs, but this of course proves little.² In the fifteenth century, however, we find that Nicholas Arthur dealt in "skins of otters, martens, squirrels, and other soft-furred animals," before June 22nd, 1428, shipping them from Limerick to Bristol³; while in Hakluyt's *Voyages* we find, in 1430, "skins of the otter, squirrel, and Irish hare" exported from Ireland to Chester.⁴ The latest mention of the squirrel known to me is in the list of the fauna of "Iar Connaught" by Roderick O'Flaherty in 1684. The cumulative evidence seems convincing, and those who think that the marten and squirrel were confused will note that both were recognized and named before 1428.⁵—

T. J. WESTROPP.

Taney and its Patron.—Having lately had occasion to refer to the papers on Tobernea and Taney which appeared in the *Journal* (vol. xxxii., pp. 178–186, 377–384), I regret to find that when writing on Taney I very negligently used phraseology which distinctly implied that I accepted the "Rathnahi" of an inspeximus of A.D. 1496 (Christ Church Deed, No. 364), as proof that that name was actually applied to Taney in the confirmation granted by St. Laurence O'Toole *circa* 1178; and, by so doing, inadvertently contradicted my statement of the conclusions I had arrived at—and endeavoured, not too successfully, I fear, to state—*viz.* that this entry in the inspeximus of 1496 was the only instance in which the name Rathnahi was applied to Taney; that *Tig-Nai* was the name applied to Taney in the twelfth century, and *Teach-Nathi* was applied to it in the thirteenth and succeeding centuries; and that *Rath-Noe*-, *Nai*-, or *Nathi* was the name of Newtown (Blackrock), *alias* "Newetown," *alias* "Reniuelan." Unfortunately, I overlooked the fact that the original of the inspeximus of 1496 was not the original grant made by St. Laurence, but an enrolment made in 1464 which was but thirty-two years older than the inspeximus itself. This fact makes the evidence of this inspeximus, or its original, valueless against the absolutely contemporary evidence of the "Tignai" of the confirmation issued by Pope Alexander in 1179, of the grant made by St. Laurence in 1178; inasmuch as the former was not only contemporaneous with the latter, but was almost certainly drafted from a duplicate of the letter sent to Rome by the Archbishop for Papal confirmation. The presence of the word

¹ Paper by Dr. H. F. Berry (*Journal*, vol. xxiv., p. 16).

² Fully treated in Duffy's *Hibernian Magazine*, vol. i. (1861), p. 180.

³ Arthur MSS.: see Lenihan's *Limerick: its History and Antiquities*, p. 367.

⁴ See Fitz Gerald and Mac Gregor's "History of Limerick" (1827), vol. i., p. 191.

⁵ I have been unable to verify the alleged carving of a squirrel in Monasteranenagh Abbey, county Limerick; but, in any case, it would prove nothing as to the creature's habitat.

rath in the inspeximus, and the continuous application of more or less corrupt renderings of the Irish *teach* to Taney from A.D. 1202, appear to me to indicate that the original from which the enrolment of 1464 was made was probably a thirteenth- or post-thirteenth-century version of the Archbishop's grant; and that in this late transcript *Teach-Nathi* was tendered "Tanahi"—a form which might easily have been transformed to "Rathnahi" in transcription if the initial *T* had been misread as *R*: for when the broad sound is given to the *a* of *ra*, the latter exactly reproduces the sound of the Irish *rath*, of which it is a common anglicization. This contingency may explain the unique substitution in Christ Church Deed No. 364 of the prefix *rath* for the customary *tigh* or *teach* in what the sequence of the place-names in Christ Church Deeds Nos. 6, 44, and 364—to which my attention has been directed by Mr. G. E. Hamilton—shows to have been intended as a name for Taney.—P. J. O'REILLY.

Lambay.—The following has been sent to me by a member of this Society, Mr. David MacRitchie, F.S.A. (Scot.), in reference to my observations on the name of Lambay:—

"Your remarks upon Lambay have recalled to me a small islet in the Frith of Forth, off the East Lothian coast, which I have known from childhood as "The Lamb." It is not *like* a lamb, and it would be quite unsuitable for grazing lambs on. The islands on either side of it are Fidra and Craigleith—the latter certainly Gaelic, and the former apparently Scandinavian. I have no solution to offer, but think you will want to have this item added to your stock of information."

The islands named by Mr. MacRitchie are described in *The North Sea Pilot* (1895 edition, part ii., p. 283)—Craigleith as a rocky, barren islet abreast of North Berwick; Lamb Isle as a small rocky islet one mile distant from Craigleith; and Fidra, which is one and a quarter mile from Lamb Isle, as a rocky islet on which the ruin of a "hermitage," or some ecclesiastical structure, remains. In his *Scottish Land Names* (p. 71), Sir Herbert Maxwell states that Fidra, *alias* Fetheray, is probably a Norse name meaning the Island of Boitter; Fetheray being probably the same as Boitter, the initial *b* of the latter taking the aspirate and the Norse *ey*. I cannot reconcile a Norse derivation with the subsequent statement that in the Chartulary of Dryburgh Abbey this island is called "*insula de Elboitel*," and, in Pont's map, "Old Battle," which means "Old-House, Anglo-Saxon *eld Boil*." In view of the fact that remains of some ecclesiastical building exist on Fidra *alias* Fetheray *alias* Elboitel Island, it seems to me that Elboitel—which, if Sir Herbert Maxwell's derivation is correct, is analogous to the *Senbotha* of the Irish

martyrologies—may have been a name applied to some early predecessor of the ruined structure now upon the island; that Fetheray may be a corruption of a Saxon-Norse *Boll-ay*; and Fidra a corruption of Fetheray. If a church or cell existed on Lamb Island, the name might be explained as a corruption of *lann*, which enters in corrupted forms into Scottish place-names: one curious instance being that a field in which was a *Lann Medainn* (St. Medana's or Moduena's Church) is now known as "Long Maidens" (*ibid.*, p. 176). Other examples are probably Lamba Island in Yell Sound; Lamba Ness in Unst Island, in the Shetlands; and Lamb Head on Stronsay Island in the Orkneys. The corruption of *lann* to *lam* also occurs in Wales, where we have Lampeters in Cardiganshire and Pembrokeshire, a Lampha in Glamorgan, and a Lamphey in Pembroke; which probably derive their names from churches. Perhaps some of our Scottish members might ascertain whether or not a church, cell, or house existed on Lamb Island.—P. J. O'REILLY.

Bronze Knife from Ardevan, Co. Clare.—The illustration here given is copied from a beautifully executed coloured drawing, kindly forwarded by Mrs. R. F. Hibbert, of Woodpark, Scariff, county Clare, the owner of the object figured. It is a knife of an orange-yellow coloured bronze, with leaf-shaped blade, having a ridge running through the middle of the sides, bifurcating to encircle the neck at the base of the



BRONZE KNIFE FROM LOUGH DERG.

blade. The handle is a long pointed tang, bent into a hook at the end, apparently with intention—either for suspension, or, possibly, to catch the end of a now decayed wooden haft, and prevent it from slipping off. The extreme length is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches; width, $1\frac{1}{2}$ -inch; thickness, $\frac{1}{8}$ -inch. It weighs between $\frac{3}{4}$ and 1 ounce. This interesting object was dug up by Michael Nash, August, 1896, in a peat bog at Ardevan, county Clare, on the west side of Lough Derg.

The Coins of the Danish Kings of Ireland.—From the *Athenæum* of the 4th of June, 1910, we learn that at the meeting of the British Numismatic Society, on the 25th of May last, Mr. Bernard Roth read an important paper on the Coins of the Danish Kings of Ireland. He illustrated and described 242 varieties, dating from the close of the tenth century to the beginning of the twelfth. For the purposes of his

study he had searched the museums and private collections not only of Great Britain and Ireland, but also of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Denmark, with the result that, for the first time, a thoroughly representative and almost comprehensive series had been classified, and to a great extent chronologically arranged. New types and varieties were thus added to our knowledge, and Mr. Roth was enabled to correct many errors of previous writers on the Hiberno-Danish coinage. An interesting feature was that the designs on these coins were for the most part imitated from contemporary issues in England; and by careful comparison the lecturer was enabled to assign them to approximate dates.

Records of Archæological Discoveries in Ireland.—Fellows and members will do a valuable service if they send to the office of the Society cuttings of any notices they may find, in local papers, of archæological discoveries accidentally made in tillage, turf-cutting, &c.; or any details bearing on local antiquities, customs, folk-lore, &c. Facts buried in the files of a newspaper are virtually inaccessible, and it is important to record them where a student can easily find them. Cuttings for which no room can be found in the *Journal* are preserved in the office of the Society. We extract the two following from recent issues of the *Irish Times*:—

A Find in County Fermanagh.—A few weeks ago a friend of mine, while cutting turf in his bog, came upon a large wooden vessel, particulars of which are as follows:—The vessel (or canoe, as we believe it to be), is about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, flat bottom, sides slightly rounded after style of a boat; the ends are almost square, and both alike; about 9 inches from the bottom of the boat on the outside are handles. I might add that there are holes about 1 inch in diameter, directly in line with the handles, a hole to each handle, round the top edge of the boat. The boat, including handles, is cut from a solid block of oak, chipped out and rounded.—EDWARD BEACOM, Scallan, Irvinestown, county Fermanagh.—*Irish Times*, 8th July, 1910.

Gold Ornament found in County Cavan.—A few days ago while Mr. Patrick McAvinue and his son were quarrying stones on the tract of land known as Lisanover, near Bawnboy, county Cavan, they came upon a gold-coloured piece of metal in a fissure about 8 or 9 feet below the surface. A local chemist, Mr. McNaughten, Ballyconnell, tested it with the prescribed acids, and pronounced it to be pure gold. The article is the shape of a horse-shoe, rich in colour, and was evidently meant to be worn as a collar or neck ornament, a semicircular band being attached as if to fasten at the back of the neck.—*Irish Times*, 12th September, 1910.

The Ogham graffito in the Bodleian "Annals of Inisfallen."—

I have recently made a transcript of the whole of this important ms. I reserve for the present anything I have to say about its contents: but I may here note that the famous graffito in Ogham characters on the verso of folio 40 has been strangely misread, and the error has been copied from one book to another. The true reading is

NUMUS (*sic*) . HONORATUR . SINE

NUMO . NULLUS . AMATUR.

It is correctly given in facsimile in Brash, plate xli: but in the accompanying letterpress (p. 323), he reads the first word *Nemo*, and the fourth *nummo*, following in each case the inaccurate reading of O'Connor's edition of the Annals. Ferguson (Rhind Lectures, p. 52) reads the first line "Nemun (for nemo)." Both these versions spoil the sense of the passage ("Money is honoured, without money none is loved"), and spoil also its form as a leonine hexameter.—R. A. S. MACALISTER.

Proceedings.

SUMMER MEETING, DOUGLAS, ISLE OF MAN.

A QUARTERLY GENERAL MEETING of the Society was held in DOUGLAS, ISLE OF MAN, on Tuesday, July 5th, 1910, at 2.30 o'clock, p.m., in the Town Hall (by permission of the Mayor and Corporation).

ROBERT COCHRANE, LL.D., I.S.O., F.S.A., *President*, in the Chair.

The following Fellows, Members, and Associates attended. Those marked with an asterisk (*) are Associates:—

M. J. M'Enery, M.R.I.A., *Hon. General Secretary*.

Mrs. M. Allen; *Miss Barnes; Mrs. H. M. Bennet; *Miss Bergell; *Samuel Bewley; Mrs. S. Bewley; E. M. F. G. Boyle; Michael Buggy; George O. Carolin; Miss Ida Carolin; *Miss Carolan; J. Carter; *Henry Chappell; Miss J. Clark; H. Courtenay, I.S.O.; Miss M. E. Cunningham; Miss S. Cunningham; Joseph T. Dolan; *S. O. Dolan; W. H. Duignan; Edwin Fayle; *Mrs. Fayle; Arthur Fitzmaurice, J.P.; *Miss Graham; William Gray, M.R.I.A.; P. J. Griffith; *Mrs. P. J. Griffith; Mrs. E. L. Gould; Francis Guilbride, J.P.; *Robert H. Hatton; Rev. Canon A. Hogg, M.A.; *Rev. Canon Kennedy; *Rev. R. G. S. King, M.A.; *H. O. Langley; *Miss Larmour; Mrs. E. Maunsell; *Miss Constance Maunsell; Very Rev. Dean F. G. M'Clintock; Miss G. M'Clintock; Mrs. E. J. M'Crum; J. P. M'Knight; *Mrs. M'Knight; *Miss M'Knight; Miss M'Ternan; John T. Max; Seaton F. Milligan, J.P.; *Miss Montgomery; William Colles Moore; Joseph H. Moore, C.E.; *Mrs. Colles Moore; *Rev. Canon Morris; S. G. Murray; *Mrs. S. G. Murray; James Nichols; *Miss Florence Nichols; *Miss Muriel Nichols; M. J. Nolan, L.R.C.S.I.; *Mrs. M. J. Nolan; *Neil Green Nolan; *Miss S. H. O'Grady; *Miss Oldham; Miss Parkinson; W. H. Patterson; Thomas Plunkett; Miss U. T. E. Powell; A. Roycroft; D. Carolan Rushe; R. B. Sayers; Mrs. E. F. Simpson; *Miss Simpson; John F. Small; *Miss Mary J. Small; Rev. Canon J. A. Stewart; *Mrs. Thompson; Miss Edyth Warren; William Webster; William Grove White, LL.B.

The Mayor of Douglas, on behalf of the Corporation and himself, gave a warm official welcome to the Society, with which Deemster Callow, President of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society, cordially associated his Society and himself: the President replied in suitable terms.

The Minutes of last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Fellows and Members were elected:—

FELLOWS.

Delany, Very Rev. William, S.J., LL.D., 35, Lower Leeson-street, Dublin: proposed by John Ribton Garstin, D.L., *Past-President*.

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Frost, Frederic Cornish, Surveyor, 6, Regent-street, Teignmouth, Devon: proposed by P. W. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A., *Fellow*.

Green, William A., 4, Salisbury Villas, Chichester Park, Belfast: proposed by Robert J. Welch, M.R.I.A., *Member*.

MEMBERS.

Barry, H. Standish, J.P., Leamlara, Carrigtwohill, Co. Cork: proposed by Goddard H. Orpen, B.A., *Member*.

Belas, Philip E., B.A., University College, Cork: proposed by Professor Wm. Bergin, M.A., *Member*.

Bird, William Hobart, Engineer, Grey Friar's Green, Coventry: proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, F.S.A., *Hon. General Secretary*.

Buckley, Nicholas D., 6, Ely-place, Dublin: proposed by J. B. Skeffington, M.A., LL.D., *Member*.

Callaghan, Frederick William, 58, Lansdowne-road, Dublin: proposed by Richard J. Kelly, B.A., *Member*.

Carolin, Miss Ida, Iveragh, Shelbourne-road, Dublin: proposed by George O. Carolin, J.P., *Member*.

Day, Rev. T. G. F., M.A., Kilkenny: proposed by the Right Rev. the Bishop of Clogher, *Fellow*.

Dunlop, William Henry, A.S.A.A., F.C.R.A., 14, Merrion-square, Dublin: proposed by S. A. O. Fitz Patrick, *Fellow*.

French, Edward John, M.A., Sunningdale, Eglinton-road, Dublin: proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, F.S.A., *Hon. General Secretary*.

Greene, Dr. T. A., J.P., Resident Medical Superintendent, District Asylum, Carlow: proposed by M. J. Nolan, L.R.C.S.I., *Fellow*.

Hemphill, Miss Mary B. T., Oakville, Clonmel: proposed by William Clarke, *Member*.

Hill, William Henry, jun., Civil Engineer and Architect, Monteville, Montenotte, Cork: proposed by W. H. Hill, B.E., F.R.I.B.A., *Member*.

Lamont, Rev. Donald, M.A., The Manse, Blair Athol, Perthshire: proposed by Samuel Beatty, M.A., *Fellow*.

Leask, Harold Graham, Office of Public Works, Dublin: proposed by P. J. Lynch, Mem. Roy. Inst. Archts. Ireland, *Vice-President*.

Librarian, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.: proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, F.S.A., *Hon. General Secretary*.

Maunsell, Mrs. E., The Island, Clare Castle, Co. Clare: proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, F.S.A., *Hon. General Secretary*.

May, Mrs. Florence E., Abbeylands, Milltown, Co. Kerry: proposed by Cecil Digby, M.D., *Member*.

Miller, Rev. Robert, M.A., 48, Kildare-street, Dublin: proposed by John Cooke, M.A., *Fellow*.

Murray, Bruce, Portland, Limerick: proposed by P. J. Lynch, M.R.I.A.I., *Vice-President*.

Powell, Thomas Valentine, 3, Bushy Park-road, Rathgar, Co. Dublin: proposed by Samuel A. O. Fitz Patrick, *Fellow*.

Stanley, John Francis, Designer, 3124, Hull-avenue, New York City: proposed by H. S. Crawford, B.E., *Member*.

White, Samuel Robert Llewellyn, Major, 1st Leinster Regt., Scotch Rath, Dalkey: proposed by E. C. R. Armstrong, F.S.A., *Hon. General Secretary*.

Woollcombe, Miss Annie, 14, Waterloo-road, Dublin: proposed by Laurence A. Waldron, M.R.I.A., *Member*.

It was proposed by Mr. Gray, M.R.I.A., seconded by Mr. McEnery, and passed unanimously, that the paper No. 1 be postponed to the Kilkenny Meeting; and that papers Nos. 2 to 6 be taken as read, and referred to the Council for Publication:—

1. "On some Kitchen Middens in the North of Ireland." By Bertram C. A. Windle, D.Sc., F.R.S., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., President and Professor of Archæology, University College, Cork, *Fellow*.
2. "A Sepulchral Slab lately found at Clonmacnois." By H. S. Crawford, B.E., *Member*.
3. "Irish Organ-Builders from the Eighth to the close of the Eighteenth Century." By W. H. Grattan Flood, M.S.D., *Member*.
4. "Notes on the Medieval Life of St. Mochulla of Fotharta Fea and Tulla, Co. Clare, illustrated by local tradition, and the remains of the Earthworks of his Monastery." By Thomas J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.
5. "Brief Notices of the Motes of Lisardowling, Street, and Castlelost." By Goddard H. Orpen, B.A., *Member*.
6. "The Hewetsons of Ballyshannon, Donegal." By John Hewetson, *Member*.

It was further proposed by Mr. Gray, seconded by Mr. Courtney, I.S.O., and passed unanimously:—"That the President's Address be published, and that copies be sent to the British Association, the Society of Antiquaries, London, and the Congress of Archæological Societies."

The Accounts for the year 1909 were passed (see page 254).

The Meeting adjourned to Tuesday, 27th September, 1910.

On Tuesday, July 5th, to Saturday, July 9th, the various receptions, &c., specified in the programme, were held; and the excursions, as arranged, were very successfully carried out. An outline account of the excursions is given below.

N.B.—The address of the President, in replying to the cordial welcome extended by the Mayor of Douglas and the Hon. Deemster Callow, will be printed in the next issue of the *Journal*, with a detailed account of the places visited by the Society from 5th to 9th July.

EXCURSIONS.

TUESDAY, July 5th.

Train from Douglas, at 10.30 a.m., to St. John's, Tynwald, where the Laws are proclaimed in Manx and English. Special accommodation was provided by His Excellency the Lieut.-Governor at the preliminary Service in the Church for a limited number of ticket-holders; all the members were accommodated with seats at the Hill of Laws.

The Quarterly Meeting was held in the Town Hall at 2.30 p.m. to transact the business of the Society, when an Official Welcome from the Mayor and Corporation was received.

At 4 p.m., Reception by H. E. the Lieutenant-Governor and Lady Raglan at Government House.

At 8 p.m., Reception by A. H. Marsden, Esq., Mayor, Mrs. Marsden, and the Corporation of Douglas, at the Town Hall. Loan Exhibition of Local Antiquities.

WEDNESDAY, July 6th.

Left by train from Douglas at 9.30 a.m., for Castletown. Drove to Castle Rushen, where the party were received by H. E. the Lieutenant-Governor and Lady Raglan, and shown over the buildings. The notable collection of Manx Antiquities and the fine specimen of *Cervus Megaceros* were seen, as well as casts of ancient sculptured and inscribed stones found in the Isle of Man.

The party walked across from the Castle to visit the old Grammar School, formerly a church; of which some arches and the roof have been brought from the dismantled church of Rushen Abbey.

Drove to Ballakeighen, after lunch at the George Hotel, Castletown, and walked across the meadow to view the earthworks, and afterwards drove, *via* Ballanorris, to Billown.

Members visited the old Parish Church, thought to be dedicated to St. Cairbre, but in 1505 called St. Columbus', and saw a pre-Reformation font, and remains of a Gothic wood-screen. Of the Friary of Bemakan, founded in 1373, scarcely anything now remains. Two Ogam-stones found here are now in Castle Rushen.

At Billown, inspected the circle (where excavations had been made), and had afternoon tea, on the invitation of T. Moore, Esq., C.P.

Drove across to Kirk Malew, an example of an old Parish Church, where are two very early cross-slabs, as well as a Scandinavian one (eleventh century), illustrating Sigurd slaying the dragon Fafnir. Also some pre-Reformation plate of great interest.

Drove to Ballasalla, and saw the scant remains of Rushen Abbey. Coffin-lid of thirteenth century. "Crossag," or Monk's Bridge, and, at 6 p.m., took train for Douglas.

THURSDAY, July 7th.

Started by train, leaving Douglas at 9.30 a.m., for Kirk Braddan, and viewed twelfth-century work in old church, cross-slabs (nine, of which four are inscribed with Runes), prehistoric alignments, cup-marks, &c., in plantation. Took train from Braddan to Peel, and saw Peel Castle, Cathedral, Chapels, Round Tower, and other ruins.

Examined the prehistoric earthworks, and saw the collection of local antiquities, six cross-slabs (one with Runic inscription).

After lunch at Creg Malin Hotel, walked back to the station for 2.25 p.m. train to St. John's and Kirk Michael. In crossing Glen Wyllen Bridge, just before reaching Michael, a view was had of Cronk Urleigh, the site of former Tynwalds, as in 1422.

Walked to Kirk Michael church, and inspected the cross-slabs (ten in number), of which seven are inscribed in Runes—one of them bears late Ogams also.

Visited Bishopscourt, and had afternoon tea, on the invitation of the Lord Bishop and Mrs. Drury. Left Bishopscourt by train at 5.30 p.m., for Douglas.

FRIDAY, *July 8th.*

Started by special tram leaving Derby Castle Station at 9 a.m., for Ramsey, and drove to Cronk Sumark, Sulby, to view the ancient earthworks. After lunch, drove to Ballacurry, and thence to Ramsey.

At 3 p.m. afternoon tea at the Ramsey Bay Hotel, on the invitation of Deemster Callow, President of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society, and Mrs. Callow.

Drove to Kirk Maughold and viewed the twelfth- and thirteenth-century remains in the church, ancient embankments, stone coffin, cross-house, with the largest collection of ancient crosses in the Island (thirty-eight in all), of which six are inscribed, dating from the sixth to the thirteenth century; also inspected the fourteenth-century standing cross at the church gates. Drove to Ballajora, for the 6 p.m. special tram to Douglas.

SATURDAY, *July 9th.*

Started by train leaving Douglas at 10.30 a.m. for Port St. Mary, walked across to Mull Circle, and thence to Port Erin. Visited the Fish-Hatchery, Aquarium, and Laboratory, where members were received by Professor and Mrs. Herdman.

The other places of special interest visited by members extending the official programme were—St. Trinian's Church; Camp on St. Barrule; the Braaid Circle and Ballingan Keeill, Marown; "King Orry's Grave," Cloven Stones, and Ballygawne Fort, Laxey; The Boirranes, Dalby, and Lag-ny-Killagh at foot of Cronk-ny-Irey-Lhaa; Keel Vreeshey, near Crosby; Cabbal Druiaight, Marown; St. Patrick's Chair, and Marown Old Church; crosses at Kirk Andreas, Kirk Bride, and Jurby.

Many of the members of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society joined our members on these Excursions each day, and kindly pointed out the various objects of interest. His

Excellency Lord Raglan, Lieut.-Governor of the Isle of Man, Honorary President, and the Hon. Deemster Callow, President of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society, placed our members under great obligations for the assistance rendered in making the Meeting and Excursions so very pleasant and successful. In acknowledgment, cordial votes of thanks were passed to Lord and Lady Raglan, Deemster and Mrs. Callow, and to the Mayor of Douglas and Mrs. Marsden, the Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man and Mrs. Drury, Mr. P. M. C. Kermodé, Mr. Armitage Rigby, F.R.I.B.A., Rev. Canon Quine, and Mr. T. Moore.

MEETING AT KILKENNY.

TUESDAY, *September 27th*, 1910.

A GENERAL MEETING of the Society was held in KILKENNY on Tuesday, September 27th, at 8.30 o'clock, p.m., in the Club House Hotel :

ROBERT COCHRANE, LL.D., I.S.O., F.S.A., *President*, in the Chair.

The Minutes of last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Fellows, Members, and Associates attended. Those marked with an asterisk (*) are Associates :—

E. C. R. Armstrong (*Hon. Gen. Sec.*) ; M. M. Murphy (*Hon. Local Sec.*) ; *P. E. Belas ; J. Coleman : Major J. H. Connellan ; P. C. Creaghe ; S. A. O. Fitz Patrick ; Miss R. F. Grubb ; F. Guilbride ; Rev. Canon Hogg ; R. Langrishe ; M. Law ; Miss Law ; Dr. P. G. Lee ; R. A. S. Macalister ; W. R. Molloy ; F. Mullen ; M. L. Murphy ; M. Nugent ; G. H. Orpen ; Miss Pim ; Count Plunkett ; Countess Plunkett ; Alderman M. L. Potter (*Mayor of Kilkenny*) ; Baroness Prochazka ; A. Roycroft ; D. C. Rushe ; R. B. Sayers ; Hon. Mrs. Shore ; C. M. Tenison ; J. Vaughan ; J. N. White ; Mrs. J. N. White ; R. Blair White ; *Mrs. R. B. White.

The following Hon. Fellow, Fellow, and Members were elected :—

AS HONORARY FELLOW.

Raglan, His Excellency the Right Hon. Lord, Lieut.-Governor of the Isle of Man, Honorary President of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society, Government House, Douglas, Isle of Man : proposed by the President and Council.

AS FELLOW.

Power, James Talbot, D.L., Leopardstown Park, Co. Dublin : proposed by Robert Cochrane, LL.D., *President*.

AS MEMBERS.

Burns, J. Roseman, Architect, 17, Serpentine-avenue, Ball's Bridge, Dublin : proposed by the Rev. Dr. Carrigan, *Member*.

Cochrane, Robert Hawken, B.A., T.C.D., 17, Highfield-road, Dublin : proposed by H. F. Berry, Litt.D., I.S.O., *Vice-President*.

- Deglatigny, M. Louis, 11, Rue Blaise Pascal, Rouen : proposed by T. J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.
- Frost, John G., Newmarket-on-Fergus, Co. Clare : proposed by T. J. Westropp, *Fellow*.
- Healy, Nicholas, Solicitor, High-street, Kilkenny : proposed by M. M. Murphy, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.
- Hollwey, Peter Good, M.I.N.A., Naval Architect, Crumlin House, Co. Dublin : proposed by Wm. Askin Shea, D.L., *Fellow*.
- Irvine, James Potts, Architect (Board of Works), Mountain View, Castlebar ; and Aileach, Jordanstown, Belfast : proposed by Robert Cochrane, LL.D., *President*.
- Keane, E. T., Parliament-street, Kilkenny, Proprietor and Editor of the *Kilkenny People* : proposed by M. M. Murphy, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.
- McNeill, Prof. John, 19, Herbert Park, Donnybrook : proposed by R. A. Stewart Macalister, F.S.A., *Fellow*.
- Marstrander, Dr. Carl, School of Irish Learning, 122A, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin : proposed by R. A. S. Macalister, F.S.A., *Fellow*.
- Mockler, Alfred J., Castle Annagh, Wexford : proposed by J. S. Fleming, *Member*.
- Morris, Rev. Canon, D.D., St. Gabriel's Vicarage, 4, Warwick-square, London, S.W., Hon. Sec., Cambrian Archæological Association : proposed by Robert Cochrane, LL.D., *President*.
- Nugent, M., Knocktopher, Co. Kilkenny : proposed by Richard Langrishe, J.P., *Vice-President*.
- Potter, Alderman M. L., the Mayor of Kilkenny, Parliament-street, Kilkenny : proposed by Robert Cochrane, LL.D., *President*.

In accordance with the resolution passed at the previous Meeting, the following paper was read, and referred to the Council for Publication :—

“On some Kitchen Middens in the North of Ireland.” By Bertram C. A. Windle, D.Sc., F.R.S., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *President*, and Professor of Archæology, University College, Cork, *Fellow*.

Of the following papers listed for presentation to the Meeting, the first was read, the remainder taken as read, and all were referred to the Council for Publication :—

- “St. Mary's Church, Gowran, Co. Kilkenny, and its Monuments.” By the Rev. Canon A. V. Hogg, M.A., *Life Fellow*.
- “The Chapter Books of Cashel Cathedral.” By the Rev. St. John Seymour, B.D., *Member*.
- “Historical Notes on Ferns, Co. Wexford.” By the Rev. Canon French, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.
- “Historical Notes on the Parish of Seapatrik, Co. Down.” By Capt. Richard Linn, *Life Fellow*.
- “The Croghans and some Connaught Rathes and Motes.” By H. T. Knox, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.
- “Castle Annagh, Co. Kilkenny.” By J. S. Fleming, F.S.A. (Scot.), *Member*.
- “Monumental Slabs in the neighbourhood of Athlone.” By Prof. R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A., *Fellow*.
- “Roll of the Corps of Royal Engineers of Ireland and their Predecessors, 1251–1801.” By Lieut. W. P. Pakenham-Walsh, R.E., *Member*.

The sword and maces of the Corporation of Kilkenny were exhibited to the members, by permission of the Mayor.

Mr. Langrishe gave notice of the following motion, to be considered at a future meeting of the Society :—"That the General Rules be revised by the Council, in view of procuring a Charter for the Society : the amended Rules to be brought before the Annual General Meeting of the Society for approval in January next, in accordance with Rule No. 28."

After votes of thanks to the Right Rev. Dr. D'Arey and Mrs. D'Arey, the Worshipful the Mayor of Kilkenny, and to Messrs. Langrishe and Murphy, for making local arrangements (proposed by Count Plunkett, and responded to by the Mayor and Mr. Murphy), the Meeting adjourned till Tuesday, November 29th, 1910.

EXCURSIONS.

September 27th and 28th, 1910.

THE following programme of Excursions was prepared by the Honorary Local Secretary for Kilkenny, M. M. Murphy, Esq., M.B.I.A., and carried out successfully :—

September 27th.—Members, at 2 p.m., met on the Parade and visited the Picture Gallery, Kilkenny Castle (by kind permission of the Marquis of Ormonde, K.P.); Shee's Alms House, Rose Inn-street; St. Mary's Church, in which the Kytler and other monuments are situate; the Black Abbey; and St. Canice's Cathedral, where the seventeenth-century Communion Plate was shown by the Very Rev. Dean Winder.

The Right Rev. Dr. D'Arey and Mrs. D'Arey courteously entertained the members to afternoon tea at the Palace at 4.30 p.m.

The party dined at 6.30 p.m. at the Club House Hotel; and, after dinner, the meeting of the Society was held.

September 28th.—The party met at the Club House Hotel, Patrick-street, at 8.45, where wagonettes were provided, and proceeded to Kells, about seven miles from Kilkenny. Mr. Orpen gave a short descriptive address to the members assembled on the summit of the *mote*, the substance of which will be found in his paper already published in the *Journal* (see vol. xxxix., p. 325). The party then proceeded to the *priory*, which was thoroughly examined under the guidance of Dr. Cochrane and Mr. Langrishe.

The next point visited was Kilree Church, Round Tower, and Cross, where Mr. Langrishe read the following notes :—

"The ancient local tradition that Kilree means *the Church of the King*, is referred to in O'Donovan's Ordnance Survey Letter of 16th

September, 1839, a king of Ossory having been killed at a ford on a stream on the road from Kells to Knocktopher, about half a mile to the east, now called Killossory Bridge. Another account relates that Niall Caille, King of Ireland, was drowned in the river Callan (since called the King's River) in trying to save one of his followers who was being swept away, and the ancient cross is supposed to mark the site of his grave. An altar-tomb in the north-west corner of the old church bears the name of Thomas Howling, lord of Kilree, who died 11th May, 1534. Father Carrigan quotes the pardons of his successor, James Howling, from the Fiants of Elizabeth, and mentions the forfeiture of Nicholas Howling in 1653. Another tomb was erected over Richard Comerford, lord of Danganmore, who died 5th October, 1624; and Joanna St. Leger, his wife, who died 4th October, 1522. The St. Leger family were long seated at Tullaghanbrogue, now part of the estate of the Cuffes, Earls of Desart. The chief seat of the Comerfords was Ballybur Castle, still standing near Cuffe's Grange."

The fine tomb-slab, with an elaborate carving of the instruments of the Passion, attracted the special attention of the members.

At Aghaviller, where the fragmentary round tower and the curious domestic ruin in the graveyard were examined, Mr. Langrishe read the following notes:—

"Aghaviller, *the Field of the Water-cresses*, appears, from Father Carrigan's researches, to have been a Celtic monastic foundation. In the sixteenth century it formed part of the manor of Knocktopher, and was granted by Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, to Oliver Grace, by deed dated 2nd June, 1563, with other lands; Aghaviller (then in possession of John Grace), containing 2 acres, and held of the said Earl of the manor of Knocktopher. This John Grace, second son of the said Oliver, also held the Abbey of St. John's in Ormonde (Nenagh), of which his father Oliver had a re-grant from the Crown, 13th July, 1568, which continued in his family for several generations."

The party then proceeded to Knocktopher Abbey, where, at 1.30 p.m., the abbey was inspected (by kind permission of Sir Hercules and Lady Langrishe). The following account of the place was read by Mr. Langrishe:—

"Knocktopher (Cnoc an tóchair, *the hill of the causeway*) so called from the great Norman mote¹ lying to the east of the old churchyard, possibly an ancient *dún*; and the causeway built across the stream adjacent to the modern national school, formed of great slabs of Devonian rock, which could have been obtained within the distance of a mile. This causeway was quite perfect in my childhood; I often walked over

¹ See Mr. Orpen's observations below.

it, but the slabs were removed long since and are to be seen now forming part of the fences of the ancient roadway running parallel with the modern road, made in 1847. The ancient church was dedicated to St. David, the patron saint of the Welshmen who came over with Raymond fitz William, afterwards nicknamed Le Gros, whose nephew Mathew, son of his brother Griffin, was lord of Knocktopher in the early part of the thirteenth century, and appropriated the church of Knocktopher to the priory of Kells, along with others adjacent. Father Carrigan has traced the ownership of Knocktopher till it passed on 12th October, 1312, from Matthew fitz Philip Maunsell to Edmund le Botiller, father of James, first earl of Ormond, the original deed being preserved among the Ormond muniments. It was witnessed by several of the neighbouring magnates of that period, most of whose lincal descendants were in possession of their lands till they were ejected by the Cromwellians.

"James, 2nd earl of Ormond, founded the Carmelite Priory in 1356. He died in the castle on the mote of Knocktopher in 1382, and I have no doubt was buried near the high altar in the conventual church, which stood about 50 or 60 feet to the north of the present house. One very dry summer, about fifty years since, the foundations of the western tower of the church could be clearly traced by the withered grass. The present Marquis of Ormonde has lately placed fine brass tablets in St. Canice's Cathedral, recording the burial-places of his ancestors, that of the 2nd earl being in Knocktopher Abbey. The Ormonde family had not acquired any property in the town of Kilkenny¹ at that period; Gowran was their chief place of residence and burial-place.

"The western wing of the present building is in great part original, terminating in a doubly vaulted keep. The uppermost story of this was accessible only through a well-hole placed on the top landing of the stone stairs by means of a ladder, which could thus be drawn up, and a heavy flag placed over the well-hole, thus securing fugitives from immediate molestation."

By an inquisition taken on Tuesday next after the feast of St. Anne, mother of the B.V.M., 34 Henry VIII., it was found that William, the last warden, was seised of the said friary, containing a church and belfry, a chapel adjacent thereto, a chamber with two cellars, two castles, a hall,

¹ James, 3rd earl of Ormond, purchased the castle and lordship of Kilkenny from the heirs of Sir Hugh le Despencer on 12th September, 1391. Hugh le Despencer, junior, had married Lady Eleanor de Clare, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Gilbert, 7th earl of Hertford, and 3rd earl of Gloucester, by his wife, Princess Joan, daughter of Edward I: Gilbert, 5th earl of Hertford, and father of the said Gilbert, 7th earl, having married Isabel, one of the five sisters and co-heiresses of Anselm Marshall, 6th earl of Pembroke, who had Kilkenny for her share of the great estates of her grandmother, Eva, wife of Richard, earl of Pembroke, commonly known as Strongbow.

called the fraytor, a dormitory with a castle and two cellars, a kitchen and bakehouse, and two orchards within the precincts, also three messuages, seven gardens, &c., &c., enumerating all the denominations of the friary lands, which contained about 804 acres. The friary, with its appurtenances, and all the lands and messuages, &c., thereunto belonging, were granted 24th October, 34 Henry VIII., to Patrick Barnewall *in capite* at the annual rent of 4*s.* Irish money, but he does not appear to have held it long, for a pardon was granted on 8th January, 1558-9, to Thomas Botiller, Earl of Ormond and Ossory, and Nicholas White, of Portrane, for alienating possessions of the late house of friars Carmelites, of Knocktopher, in consideration of a fine of 2*l* 10*s.* 2*d.* The friary lands continued in the possession of the White family down to the Cromwellian confiscations, when they were granted to Joseph Deane. At the restoration he was reprised elsewhere, and the lands were restored to Sir Nicholas White, who sold them to Colonel Thomas Sandford, of Malahide, and Cantwell's Court, near Kilkenny, by deeds of lease and release dated 2nd and 3rd August, 1677. Colonel Sandford by his will, proved 13th January, 1679, left them to his widow Alicia, daughter of Lord Blaney, for life, and after her death to his son Blaney Sandford. John Langrishe, who was related to the Sandford family through his mother, Anne Reading, married the widow of Colonel Sandford; she died about 1693, and about a year after her death he married Mary, the elder daughter and eventual heir of Colonel Robert Grace, Baron Palatine of Courtstown, who died in 1691. In 1700 John Langrishe took a lease of the friary lands from his stepson, Blaney Sandford, for three lives renewable for ever on a fine, and in 1757 his only son, Robert Langrishe, purchased the fee-simple of the lands from Blaney Winslow, the son and heir of Blaney Sandford's only daughter Dorothy.

The tower of the old parish church is a work of the latter part of the twelfth century; but the nave, transepts, and chancel, the foundations of which have recently been traced by the painstaking enterprise of Mr. M. Nugent, of Knocktopher, must have taken their present outline in the latter part of the fourteenth century.

The tomb-slab, now placed at the north-east angle of the north wing of Knocktopher Abbey, was unearthed there a few years ago. The inscription, published by Lord Walter FitzGerald (Society for Preserving the Memorials of the Dead in Ireland), reads:—*Hic jacet Davit ffolinge dnus de Hoelystown q' obiit XXV die mis m̄cii A.D. m°cccc° X° cuius aie p'piciet. Ds Amen.* The greater part of the slab is covered with a foliated cross of seven points. The surname, cut as *ffolinge*, is a manifest error, probably taken from a badly scrawled ms., as the family name is Howling (i.e. Irish *Howl-in* = "Little Howell"). Howell was one of the patriarchs of the Walsh family of Castle Howell, otherwise Castle-hoel, or Castlehoyle; the Howlings held Howellstown = Ballyhowell, Ballyhoyle, now Ballyhale. (See Sweetman's Calendar, 20th September,

1639). According to the Down Survey of 1657, Edmund Howling was proprietor of Ballyhoyle. The chief lord was Nicholas White, and it was held of the manor of Knocktopher. The extent of that manor from Ballyhale to Aghaviller was three statute miles.

On Knocktopher mote, Mr. Orpen described the site to the party (see *Journal*, vol. xxxix, p. 325). He expressed a doubt whether the name of the townland was derived from the mote (as suggested by Mr. Langrishe), or *viceversa*—being inclined to prefer the latter alternative. The site of the destroyed causeway was then inspected by the members, who afterwards made their way to Jerpoint Abbey, of which Mr. Langrishe read an account. The following is an abstract of his remarks:—"There being no record known of the date of the foundation of this abbey, we can only arrive at it approximately, from the architectural style of the oldest portions. There are manifestly the chancel and the transepts, which may date about A.D. 1125. The original foundation appears to have been a rather plain Hiberno-Romanesque church, having probably a short nave, without arcades and lateral aisles. The Cistercians arrived in 1158; they were a colony from Baltinglass, who came perhaps at the invitation of Donnchadh, lord of South Ossory, to replace the Benedictines who had probably been the previous tenants. The new occupants proceeded to add four Eastern chapels with pointed entrance archways. A great accession of wealth having come with King John's charter, A.D. 1180, the community enlarged their church, replacing the small early nave by the noble arcaded one in the transitional style, of which we now see the remains. Later, the side-lights of the eastern triplet were closed, and a fine tracery window of the decorated period inserted." The attention of the members was also called to the interesting medieval tombs and the very remarkable late Gothic cloisters.

At about 5.30 p.m. the party reached Thomastown, and there dispersed.

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PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART IV, VOL. XL.

Papers

PROMONTORY FORTS AND SIMILAR STRUCTURES IN THE
COUNTY KERRY.

PART IV.—CORCAGUINY (THE SOUTHERN SHORE).

BY THOMAS JOHNSON WESTROPP, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

[Submitted JULY 12, 1909.]

(Continued from page 213, *supra*.)

THE great headland of Dunmore overlooks the Blasket Sound¹ at the south-west corner of Corcaguiny. Crossing the fields and ascending the hill we reach the mossy pillar of Duben and Erc already noted. It was called "*Gallan an t-Sagairt*" (the priest's pillar), as Windele and Lady Chatterton tell us,² in 1839, because the parish priest, Father Casey, set it up. A short time before this, John Windele, Abraham Abell, and Rev. Matthew Horgan found it prostrate and deciphered one line of its inscription as "*Erc maqi maqi Ercius*." The stone was 7 feet 8 inches long. Now that it has been re-erected, the other legend, "*(A)nme Dovinia*," can be read on the opposite arris.

¹ "Blaskerris Sound and Smirrick," in "A Rutter for Ireland," by Grandger, 1623.

² "*Iur Mumhan*" (MSS. R. I. Acad. 12 c. 11) p. 482. "*Rambles in the South of Ireland*," vol. i., p. 183.

The epitaph has since received full attention from Col. Lane Fox, George V. Du Noyer, Richard Rolt Brash, Sir Samuel Ferguson, Sir John Rhys, and Professor Macalister. Col. Lane Fox first noted that the headland was entrenched. The site is very noble, with its beautiful outlook along the great brown and purple flanks of Mount Eagle and Marhin, and across the fierce currents of the Sound, and southward from the Blaskets to the peaks of Skellig, "like a great sea-mark, standing every flaw."

A legend of the Head tells¹ how Mor, wife of Lear, landed at Dunmore Head, her husband going to the North. She had three sons, and grew wealthy, and lived at "Tivorye" (*Teach Mhoire*) hut or dolmen. In the tale she is undoubtedly a rain-cloud heroine. One version says that her husband died at Dunmore, and was buried on the Head. Smith² says that the promontory was called "Mary Geerane's house," or "*Ty vor ney Geeran*." He probably heard the name, *Tigh Mhoire ni Greine* (Mor, daughter of the Sun). Her husband Lear is of course Lir, the sea-god.

One point slightly mentioned before deserves fuller notice. It seems almost to have grown into a postulate among writers, impressed by the almost treeless peninsula westward from Dingle, that timber played no great part in the construction of the forts in Corcaguiny. There seem strong reasons to hold the contrary—the low mounds, the absence of stone huts in many of the forts, and the gateway of Dunbeg, seem to imply the need of fairly large timber work, palisades, and houses. Forests are mentioned as in Corca Dhuibhne in early times. Valentia is the old *Dairbre*, "oak forest." The "Book of Rights" names "the gloomy oak forests," in Western Kerry, the "*Cath Finntrága*," the wood of Fidleis, beside Ventry Harbour; and the "Plea Rolls," at the close of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, mention more than once the "bosci" near Dingle and Dunurlin, while allusions to the woods near Smerwick occur down to 1580 in Elizabethan documents. In 1841 the cutting of the trees in the well-wooded Dingle district was remembered.³ Excavations may yet reveal traces of palisading in these forts.⁴ The question whether the enclosure at Dunmore was a sanctuary of the tribal heroine, Duben, is better reserved for an appendix.

¹ Jeremiah Curtin's "Hero Tales of Ireland" (1894), p. 1, Elin Gow and the cow Glas Gainach, and p. 35, for Mor's Sons. See also introduction, xii., for story here noted.

² "Kerry," p. 182. See J. Windele, "Iar Mumhan" (R.I.A., 12. c. 11), p. 144.

³ "Iar Mumhan," p. 445.

⁴ "Palisade trenches" have been noted in Kempy Gask Fort in Scotland, by Dr. David Christison (Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot., xxxiv., p. 119), with traces of charred and decayed wood. I have only seen one apparent instance in Clare, and the age of the post is doubtful. There are built sockets, evidently for posts, in Pen y Corddyn, Wales.

DUNQUIN PARISH.

DUNMORE FORT (*Dún mór*) (Ordnance Survey Map 52, Kerry). We now turn to the earthworks at the foot of the hill, guarding about 80 acres of land and 1570 feet long. They form a somewhat irregular line, intended to be straight, and running north and south. The outer mound rarely remains and is seldom 3 feet high; the shallow fosse is often only a couple of feet deep, and 11 to 15 feet wide (as so usual); the inner bank is 5 to 6 feet high, and 15 to 18 feet thick. The mounds are largely made of small flat stones, splinters, and gravel thrown up on the old field surface, sodded over, and where cut through, notably by the road descending to the southern shore, show no trace of having been appreciably filled by weathering. Parts have been destroyed to make easy passes for cattle to reach the sweet, short grass of the slopes. Souterrains have been found inside the enclosure.

We drive round the narrow road cut in the face of Sleá Head, overhung by great, and apparently tottering, rocks of fantastic outline. When we reach again the gentler but steep slopes of the southern coast, we find ourselves in a region rich in antiquities. Close to the road we pass numerous stone huts, sometimes a conjoined group in a ringwall at Cahermurphy, not far up the hill, sometimes single, but of several chambers, like the fine *Cathair an dhá dhóruis* close to the road, sometimes single huts. We see such structures of very recent date at Kilmalkedar, the village of Coomenoole, and another site near Dunmore, but the more massive beehive huts are possibly of considerable age. We drive through the little stream of Glenfahan (coming in endless little waterfalls down a deep gully, through slate rocks tufted with ferns, heather, and London-pride), we pass below the ring walls and huts of Caherdonnell and Caherconor, the last named by an error of Du Noyer, too widespread and too picturesque to correct, the "Fort of the Wolves,"¹ and at last see below us, on a short headland, a massive rampart, with a series of mounds and wide fosses in front, and reach Dunbeg.

BALLINVOHER (PART).

DUNBEG, FAHAN, *Dún beag* (52). This is the most complex and remarkable of the Irish promontory forts. It consists of four fosses and five mounds, with a gangway and slab-faced entrance. Inside of this ample defence is a strong, dry-stone wall, with a most complicated gateway, guard-rooms, bar-slides, loop-holes, and a souterrain running under it, in the gangway at the innermost fosse. Windele, Du Noyer,

¹ Caherconor, as it is called at present, was named "Cloghan an Martinig," and "Caher Martin" in 1848. It seems very probable that the older name (after the Martin family) was read from badly written notes, "Cahermactirech" (for Cahermartinech), the wrong form being supposed to mean "Fort of the Wolves." The name of Cathair na Mairtineach seems transferred to the adjoining fort, Caherdonnell. The ephemeral names of Kerry forts, contrasted with the unchanged names elsewhere in Munster, is a constant difficulty in identification.

Dunraven, Mr. P. J. Lynch, and Professor Macalister, have all thrown much light on its structure, and I wrote of it elsewhere,¹ so that it might seem well to pass it by. However, in a paper endeavouring to treat of all the promontory forts of a district, it were strange to leave out the most interesting; and certain points need still to be described.



FIG. 1.—THE GATEWAY, DUNBEG, FAHAN, CO. KERRY.
(From the outside.)

Still more, it may be now well to examine the vexed question as to how far Dunbeg was affected in the restoration by the Board of Public Works, which we now discuss as fully as space allows us.

¹ The following previous descriptions may be noted: "Iar Mumhan," John Windels, MSS. (1848), R. I. Acad. 573, pp. 472-477, and Supplement, vol. ii. (1859), pp. 20, 328; "Ancient Stone-built Fortresses, &c.," G. V. Du Noyer, 1856; *Archæological Journal*, vol. xv., p. 8; "Dunbeg," "Notes on Irish Architecture," Lord Dunraven, vol. i., p. 19, plate x.; "Report on Ancient Monuments," Sir T. Deane, Proc. R. I. Acad., vol. iii., ser. 3 (1893), p. 100; "Fahan," T. J. Westropp, *Journal*, xxvii. (1897), p. 300; also Handbook No. III and Handbook No. VI; *Journal*, xxvii., p. 300; "Dunbeg Fort," P. J. Lynch, *Journal*, xxviii. (1898), p. 325; "An Ancient Settlement . . . Corcaquiny," R. A. S. Macalister (1898), Trans. R. I. Acad., xxxi., pp. 209-344; "Ancient Forts of Ireland," T. J. Westropp (1902), sections 50, 65, 125, fig. 113. "Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture," A. Champneys (1910), pp. 5-10, pl. iii.

In 1893, the late Curator of Ancient (and National) Monuments published some notes with plans in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.¹ The plan of Dunbeg was really a foreman's sketch of the ru'lost description, very divergent in some particulars from the remains, still more divergent from Du Noyer's plan. At that time Windele's notes were virtually unknown, and Du Noyer (who had not been revised by Lord Dunraven) held unquestioned authority in all relating to the fort. At once something like a panic spread among Irish antiquaries, and the belief was most strongly expressed that the fort had been almost rebuilt, and most of its features altered. No one at first noticed that Du Noyer's plans, in the "Archæological Journal" of 1858, were untrustworthy for the unrestored forts as well as for Dunbeg; all were conventionalized with true circles and straight lines. Studying his plan of Dunbeg (the original of which is among his sketches in the collection of this Society),² we at once see that he had used the scale for the details in laying down the lengths, east and west, and the proper (lesser) scale for the plan, for those north and south. The distortion was considerable, and only his great haste to get his paper and its illustrations ready for a meeting can have prevented his observing what the first attempt to check his plan by his statements reveals. Lord Dunraven (as usual with the fort plans³ in his otherwise most authoritative work) accepted the plan without revision, and so gave it a prominent place in all future Irish descriptions.

John Windele's notes came to me (as to many since then) as a revelation of an extensive and usually reliable record of painstaking research, and a rich mine of information. Till Professor Macalister⁴ published my notes from the account of Fahan, written by Windele, the latter antiquary had been deprived of his just credit as the virtual discoverer of the settlement, and no part of his notes on it were in print. Du Noyer's paper was a "sensation" in its day, and he was ignorant of his neglected predecessor by no fault of his own. Windele's notes are worthy of being fully published, and we lay them (so far as they relate to Dunbeg) before the Society in these pages.

In his notes called "Iar Mumhan" (suggested by Roderick O'Flaherty's "Iar Connaught") Windele thus describes the fortress as it stood in 1848:⁵—"Doonbeg.—This is a massive primeval fortress, constructed above an inaccessible precipice, frowning over the sea beneath, and itself lying at the foot of Faune. It consists of a front wall of considerable length, which shuts in on one side a small piece of ground, overlooking at every side cliffs of enormous depth. The wall is formed of cyclopean masonry, uncemented, and extends in a straight line. It is 8 feet thick—query this the clochaun wall—at present, owing to a variety of causes, little more than 6 feet in height. It has a

¹ Vol. iii. ser. 3, pp. 100, 107.

² Sketches, vol. i., p. 25.

³ Notably those of the Aran Forts, which are most inaccurate.

⁴ *Trans. R. I. A.*, vol. xxxi., p. 228.

⁵ P. 474.

double, broad, deep fosse in front, with earthen vallum between,¹ and in the centre a doorway accessible by a flagged passage across the fosse. This portal is about 4 feet in height and 5 in breadth; it is covered with vast flagstones, and extends inwards—a covered passage 24 feet; at its west side are two creeps.”

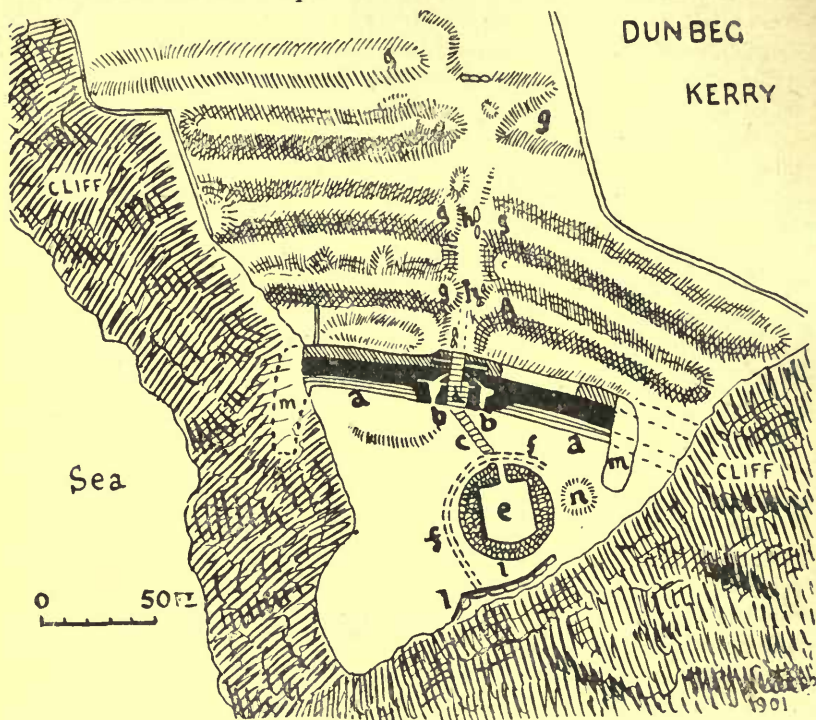


FIG. 2.—DUNBEG FORT, CO. KERRY—PLAN.

(This plan is used from the Society's "Handbook," No. VI.)

- | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| a. Rampart. | f. Drain. | m. Modern additions to |
| b. Guard-houses. | g. Earthworks. | rampart, the western |
| c. Paved way. | h. Gateways. | having fallen with the |
| d. Covered entrance. | i. Souterrains. | cliff. |
| e. Clochan. | l. Remains of seaward wall. | n. Heap of stones. |

"In the centre [of the enclosed area] is a circular clochaun, once dome-roofed, but now very ruinous. It contains several chambers, some of oblong form, and was built of vast stone blocks; the wall, which was 8 feet thick, is uncemented. In this respect this door resembles the Cahirgall at, or near, Cahirciveen, which had also a central dome-roofed habitation, and also a Lios at Caher Ballyknockan, near Brandon." . . .

¹ His section only extended over two fosses, which evidently misled him when he wrote out his notes at a much later date—a warning against the latter too common practice.

"Dunbeg¹ is only one of an immense variety of almost similar structures, which cover the heathy sides of the mountain at whose craggy foot it stands. In the fosse, as we emerged from the interior, I saw the sought-for hole stone. It is a coarse flag of sandstone of irregular form, 4 feet 4 inches long, 2 feet 5 inches broad; the perforation is towards the upper or broader extremity, and is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. I very much incline to think that it may have been used for the door to turn on, and not for any religious purpose." He then² gives a sketch of the interior of the wall, with the note—"The western side of the doorway gallery, two crypts" (creeps), and the fosse, and two mounds outside, and the rampart and clochaun inside, the two latter being then equal in height; the hut had a door to the west. He revisited the place in 1862, four years after the publication of Du Noyer's paper, but his notes (probably on that very account) are brief and of less value.

Bringing together all sources, and examining the fort, as restored, with such information as I could cautiously get from those who knew the ruin before its repair, I venture to give the following examination as to the amount of error introduced by the workmen, discounting the mistakes in Du Noyer's plans, and allowing for added errors of the engravers and re-drawers, a danger not ended, even in these days of photographic reproduction.³ The wall, slightly irregular, as at present, with portions of the outer section fallen, was shown on the plan as straight with a curious projecting porch. The outer and inner opes of the entrance having been laid down on his plan, Du Noyer joined them by straight lines, not showing the pier in the passage. He had fixed the position of the side opes (Windele's "creeps") and extended them as long passages. The ope into the west guard-room, being just visible over the falling stones, he fancied was its doorway; the actual entrance was almost hidden by masses of fallen stones, as shown in Dunraven's photograph. The ledges along the foot of the wall were also buried in *débris*, as were the step-like ledges inside the porch to the east. In consequence of using the two scales, he made the neck 250 feet across, instead of 175 feet then, virtually, as now. When we go over the remains and remember that (as Professor Macalister ascertained) the eastern part of the rampart was demolished not long before 1898 by the chief destroyers of our ruins (next to the rabbit-catcher), the road contractors, we see that the restorers only erred in unnecessarily rebuilding the wall over the porch lintels, and in making the equally unnecessary curved ends, the weight of the western of which brought

¹ Page 475.

² Page 476.

³ May I note here the inaccurate re-drawing of several of my sketches in these pages? Ennis, vol. xix, at pp. 44, 46, and especially 48; Ballykinvarga, xxvii, p. 125, and Cahercashlaun, xxix, p. 377. It seems hard for an artistic draughtsman to reproduce technical details.

down the drift bank and the west end of the ancient work into the sea. They did not falsify the gateway. While acquitting them on the count as to the fort, we fear we cannot do so as regards the cloghaun. This

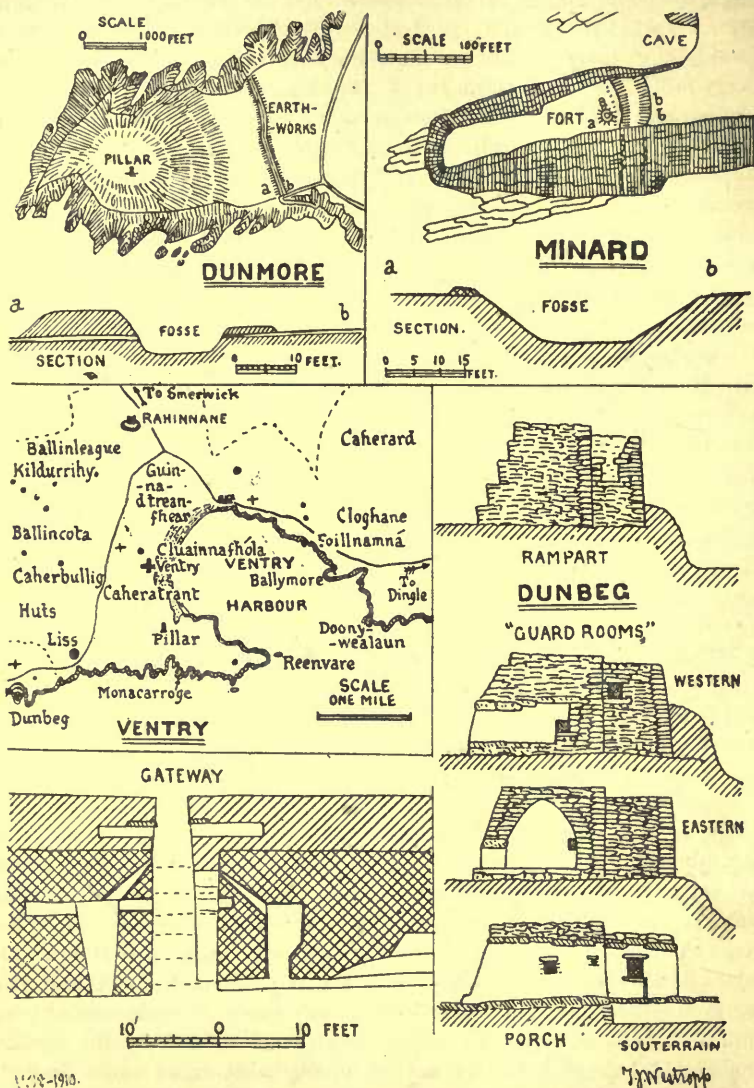


FIG. 3.—PROMONTORY FORTS, CORCAQUINY, CO. KERRY.

hut, as rebuilt, tallies neither with Windele's nor Du Noyer's notes, which show it as having several chambers, being of irregular outline, and having a door to the west. It is now circular outside, with one

chamber, virtually square, inside, and the door faces the north. In 1848 it was as high as the fort rampart; in 1858 it was evidently a shapeless mass of stones with traces of cells, from which the older observers could recover no definite design; whether the restorers on clearing away the *débris* got warrant for the present building, we have no means of knowing, but at least all the upper part of the wall and door is modern, and the plan not above suspicion.

The plans given here best explain the arrangements of the fort and of its porch. Apart from the latter feature we have a structure very like Doon Eask, which we describe later. It was probably in the first instance only fenced by one or more fosses and mounds, which, by additions, grew to four fosses and five mounds. Then (as at Doonaunroe in Co. Clare, the Dun of Ooghmagappul, on Clare Island, Mayo, Doon Point at Ferriter's Castle, and others) a dry-stone wall, 16 feet 2 inches thick, was built inside. So far there was nothing that necessarily implied late work, but evidently most extensive modifications ensued. The rampart was reconstructed with ledges inside; a porch, entirely roofed with great slabs (unlike the open passages in the more primitive stone forts),¹ was flanked by two guard-rooms, each with a "squint" commanding the entrance, and one with the means of sliding a great beam² across the porch. Then, the opening being found dangerously spacious, an entire face 7 feet 4 inches thick was built in front along the edge of the mound, of which settlements have thrown down reaches of the face despite evident remains of old dry-stone facing of the mounds below.

The entrance was now far narrower, and its eastern pier reached to and nearly closed the "squint" of the eastern cell. In the new wall a long slide was made for another beam, and slabs set in edgeways (as in the Scottish brochs), with a few possibly late stone forts in Ireland,³ and in not a few souterrains) served as ledges, probably for a wooden door. Under the porch a gangway was made, a covered passage to enable the defenders to sally and attack from the rear those engaged in breaking in the door.⁴ It commenced in line with the later section of the wall. Only slight trace of slab fencing remains along the S.E. edge of the headland. The inner face of the rampart is interesting, the nearest approximation being that of the great liss of Caherdorgan, and in a

¹ For "door keepers of the fortress (*dun*)," see Voyage of Bran (ed. Kuno Meyer), p. 81. Other guardrooms occur in the Mayo Cliff forts, never, so far as I know, in Galway or Clare. Good examples in forts occupied in Roman times occur at Ardifuar, in Argyleshire (Proc. Soc. Antt. Scotland, xxix., p. 260; paper by Mr. T. Ross), and Drum an duin in the same district (pp. 286, 291).

² Bar slides also occur in Scotland (see papers by Dr. David Christison (Proc. Soc. Antt. Scot. xxxviii., p. 240), at Druiim an Duin, which has also the stone "checks" in the passage. I have only noted one post recess in a souterrain in the great Rath above Ruan, Co. Clare.

³ Caheridoula, Cragballyconal, and Moheraroon, Co. Clare.

⁴ Cæsar (De Bello Gallico) says that the Belgæ used to drive the defenders off the wall with stones, and then undermine the gate. Was the souterrain of Dunbeg designed against such a practice?

lesser degree the ledge inside Cahereuttine, near Noughaval, in Co. Clare.¹ To the west of the gateway we find a plinth, or step, along the base, a large slab in which, 4 feet 6 inches long by 2 feet 6 inches wide, forms the sill of the guard-room passage. Not quite as high as the lintel of that ope is another ledge; higher still is a third, with a somewhat angular gap, probably a sort of double flight on a small scale. Near the top of the rampart is a string course, suggestive of that in the inner face of Ballyheabought liss, near Dingle. To the east of the entrance to the eastern guard-room we find, besides the plinth, two other steps, but no upper ledges. The holed stone now lies in the porch; the only other object, and that apparently unique, is an ancient drain round the north and west sides of the hut; its lintels have been torn up in many places by rabbit-hunters. The cliff at the fort is about 100 feet high. The nearest water-supply is a streamlet down the end of Coosadoona creek to the east. Beyond this is another broad headland, ending in Illaunapartaun, or "Crab Island"; large blocks and vague lines of mounds remain on it, but whether it, too, was fortified, and was the "Dunmore" with which Dunbeg was contrasted, we have no means of knowing.

VENTRY GROUP.

A group of three, if not four, fenced headlands surrounds the beautiful Bay of Ventry, Finntragh, the White Strand. Though in different parishes, those divisions (as may be seen by our general map) are in some cases confused and confusing, so we may group the forts together.

The harbour is famous in our mythical literature for the great battle in which for over a year the men of Erin opposed Daire Donn, the High King of the whole world, and all his subordinate monarchs, and "put to flight the armies of the aliens." We need not examine the wonderful mythic details of this least probable of legends, but we may study some points in the local allusions and existing topography which seem, even in this extreme case, to show that the wildest fiction may contain grains, and even nuggets, of the gold of truth. So stupendous is the magnificent mendacity of the Saga that O'Curry and others, whose robust faith stood unflinching before the severe trials inflicted by other legends, had to give way. The bard attempted no compromise with probability and possibility, yet evidently some kernel of truth underlay it all.

Local tradition is "soaked in the belief" in some great battle having been fought at the White Strand, and is reinforced by the far more convincing test of names and remains. The peasantry still remember the names of the protagonists, Finn Mac Cumhail and Daire Donn, and they show a heap of stones in a half levelled ring wall as the grave of

¹ *Journal*, xxvii., p. 118. Such narrow ledges are not confined to Ireland, for one is found in a stone fort in Morbihan, France.

the Over-king of the World and the fort "of one of Finn's women." Crowds of small cairns and burial mounds lay at Cantraw; banks of human bones have been found to the west of the bay. At that side we find Cloonahola, *Cluain an fhola* "the field of blood" (a local Acel dama, near the ruins of Ventry Church), and *Guin na dtrean-shear*, "the slaughter of mighty men," was in a boggy field to the north of the bay, in 1841.¹ All such names support the "airy nothings" of the legend. Monaree, "the king's moor" and Labbanirweeny (*Leaba an fhir Mhuinnigh*), "Munster man's grave," both to the north side, may do so, but are less vivid. The strand is full of human bones; but, perhaps, these have come from wrecks, or from Ventry graveyard, from which we are told the high tides in rough weather wash bones and skulls, nay, even float away coffins!

The local touches and the localities named in the "Cuth Finntraga"² are of considerable importance compared with other parts of the legend. The armies of Spaniards, Frenchmen, Indians, Catheads, Dogheads, and Men-of-the-Marshes have not even mythic value; but that Daire should be called "King of Norway" in one version is of no slight significance. It is very probable that the tale represents an attempt to colonize Ventry, as the Norse probably named (and perhaps settled at) Smerwick, and actually colonized the districts at the bays and rivers of Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, and Limerick. This may have led to a series of conflicts, and the eventual destruction of the foreigners at Ventry. In what undated past this war occurred, we cannot ascertain; it may even precede the Norse raids of the ninth century. The enemy's ships and boats rapidly sail up the coast, leaving long foaming wakes "among the big, great crested, slow, blue-green waves," and shelter from a gale "at the goodly island of the worlds, the green rock, now called Sceilig Mhichil."³ The navy now lies within the horizon of Ventry, whence the beautiful spires of the Skelligs are clearly visible. Daire wants "shores of white sand," and the traitor Glas tells him of Finn Tragh; then the Over-king's great barque leads the way into the harbour, giving to the west headland the name Rinn na bairci, "barque point," still Reenvare on the map, or, phonetically, Reenavarr. The King of Spain caters for the host by plundering and burning three forts to the west of the bay—Dun Cais, Dun Aedha, and Dun Cerbain, evidently the three chief ring walls of the Fahan group—with their human occupants, dogs, horses, and furniture. The Irish had set scouts to watch every harbour, but he who watched Ventry from the round hill (*corrchnoc*) of Cruachan Adrann⁴ (probably Croagh Marhin, the fine peak to the

¹ Ord. Survey Letters (14 D 11), pp. 72-75.

² The edition of Professor Kuno Meyer is used.

³ "Cuth Finntraga," p. 5.

⁴ "Cuth Finntraga," p. 6. O'Donovan gives this name as Cruach Marthain. Ord. Survey Letters. MSS. R.I. Acad., 14 D. 11, p. 340.

north-west) was only awakened by the cries of the men and animals from the burning forts. The country is accordingly overrun without opposition, and plundered from Traig Moduirn, "now called Murbach" (probably Murreagh,¹ on Smerwick Harbour), to the north to Ventry on the south.² The alarm spreads inland, and an interesting host (though as mythical as the "Catheads"), the Tuatha De Danann³ and others, come up from Ciarraighe Luachra, "past red-maned Sliabh Mis," and *Cathair na claeinrath* (Sloping Rath's fort), now "Cahereconree," on the Irish behalf, and the battle commences and rages for a year and a day. The similes from mountain torrents and roaring rivers going over "low-stoned, crooked dykes" and the numbers like "the grains of sand, or the grass on the strand below," though usual, are locally appropriate; so are the *geille glinni*, or "idiots of the glen," when we recall the pass of Glennagalt. At the close of the war, we get in closer touch with the place-names; the hero, Cael, is drowned and washed up on the southern shore, where the reef of Leac Caeil, or "Leckeel," still remains. His wife Creidhe (or Gelges) sings his dirge and her own death-song, one of the lovely "sorrows" of Irish literature. All nature, "groaning in pain," is attuned to her loss—the stag on Drom Ruiglenn above the harbour, whose hind lies dead; the crane, whose young are taken by the fox, "the dog of two colours," in the bog of Drum dá thrén; the wood of Fidleis, at the end of the haven; Drum Silenn, Drum Chain, the black-bird-haunted Leiter Laig, and Tullachleish, against whose shore the "heavy surge beats," all echo her woe, joined by the "roar" from "the rushing race of Rinn da bhare." Her dirge sung, the heroine falls dead, and is laid with her lover-husband at the southern shore, and a great stone raised by Caeilte and the Fianna at her grave, at Fert Chaeil, near Traghchaeil.⁴ Nearly all of these names seem to have died out; those of Ventry, Leckeel, Reenvare, and Rahinnane Fort and Castle (the Rath-fhinnain, or Rath na bhfian, of the versions) alone remain. The bog of Drum da thren, on the haven, was evidently near Cloonahola. The various "drom" names cannot now be identified with the ridges round the bay; Leiter Laig was evidently one of these "wet slopes"; Tullachleish was probably near Ballymore, and (am I wrong in my supposition?) the great pillar-stone⁵ near "the southern strand," where

¹ "Moreath" is mentioned after "Kylmackeder" (with Kylmacaryk, or Kylmacreek, and Kylcoul) in 1290. Plea Roll, No. 13, ed. I., m. 4, which Emelia, widow of Maurice FitzMaurice, claimed as a gift of Christiana de Mariscis, who enfeoffed her and Maurice. They were subject to dower of Juliana, wife of late Tho. de Clare.

² Loc. cit., p. 7.

³ Loc. cit., p. 13 to p. 15. This list deserves special study, from its bearing on the "Fairy" kings and palaces, such as Dun Sesnain Sengabhra, in Uí Chonaill; Sidh ban finn; Aine; Licedarga, Findabar and Brugh. One of the fairy princes dwells in Bernan Eile, the "Devil's Bit." In another we recognize Donn of Dumbach, still reigning near Liscannor, Co. Clare, in the sandhills near the golf links.

⁴ "Agallamh," Silva Gadelica, S. H. O'Grady, vol. ii., pp. 119-122. See also "Cath Finntraga" (ed. Kuno Meyer).

⁵ It is 8 feet 3 inches high, 18 inches thick, and 5 feet wide at the base, narrowing

the road to the coastguard station in Cahertrant and the lane from Monacarroge Fort meet, must be what the poet regarded as the tomb of Cael and Creidhe. The name "Coon" still recalls the "cuan" of the dirge, and its mournful waves. Professor Macalister sought in vain for the names of the three duns. I questioned in vain to find what names



FIG. 4.—GALLAN AT CAHERTRANT, CO. KERRY, SOUTH OF VENTRY HARBOUR.

attached to the ridges; it lies with local workers (and they should be careful to name no name from the poem) to try if they can succeed where we failed in recovering those if still surviving as unrecorded place-names.

upward. Can nothing be done to preserve it from the fate of so many other gallans near Dingle?

Apart from the Saga (which may belong to the fourteenth or fifteenth century in its present form, but it probably dates, at least in matter, some centuries earlier), Ventry has no history.¹ Occasional mention of its harbour from the reign of Elizabeth and the "Book of Distribution" in 1655² tell us the little that we know. The latter names the lands of Caherbullig (held by Dominick Trant); Cloghan Vicarr (Countess of Mountrath); Ballintley (Sir Theo. Jones); Rahinagh; Fane (Fahan), an unprofitable moiety of the same, boggy mountain and glebe (Thomas Trant and his son Garrett), while Rahinnane, Cahirnard and others belonged to the Knight of Kerry, a Protestant, and were sold to John Fitzgerald.

MONACARROGE (52). In Cahertrant, south of the hamlet of that name, we follow the bohoreen past the pillar-stone to a series of bold headlands and deep bays between the reefs of Leckeel and Reenvare. To the east of the first of these bays is the fortified headland at the field of Monacarroge. An entrenchment crosses the neck and consists of an outer ring, 12 feet thick, with a very slight hollow 2 feet deep to the landward, and a deep, bold fosse, partly cut into the shaly rock at the other side, all being convex to the land. The fosse is 7 to 9 feet deep, and 12 feet wide at the bottom, over which the inner mound rises 10 to 12 feet high: the latter is greatly defaced, and consists mainly of stone, being 12 feet thick at the field level, and nearly 24 feet at the base; it rises only from 3 feet to 4 feet 6 inches over the garth. The level interior is about 56 feet across (east and west), and 68 feet to 74 feet long; it is fenced along the cliffs by an earthen wall about 4 feet thick, and has at the end an abrupt terrace and below a green platform, about 5 feet to 7 feet lower than the garth. The main enclosure had a row of houses to either side. Those to the east seem very late; four rooms, or houses, adjoin; the northern is 12 feet by 10 feet 6 inches, the others 11 feet, 13 feet, and 12 feet long and 9 feet wide. To the western side are the foundations of three earlier huts with rounded "corners." The northern is 21 feet by 12 feet, the next (3 feet away) is 18 feet, and the southern 9 feet, each being 6 feet wide, with walls 4 feet thick. A path leads down the cliff to the end of the western creek.

FOILNAMNA (*Faill na mná*) (52). In Ballymore West, not far to the east of the Protestant Church of Ventry, overhung by a steep slope, is the strange, but strong, little cliff fort. The cliff-name is locally derived from "a woman of Finn mac Cumhail." The hero's name predominates round Ventry; but the prominence of Cael's hapless spouse, and the fact of the legend making her tend the wounded in the Irish camp, and feed them with the milk of her herds, inclines one to regard her as "the

¹ I do not find it in my extracts from the Plea Rolls; it may be the "Iveragh" or "Fynnaght" (? Fyntragh) of the Papal Taxation of Ossuruss.

² Kerry, pp. 112, 113.

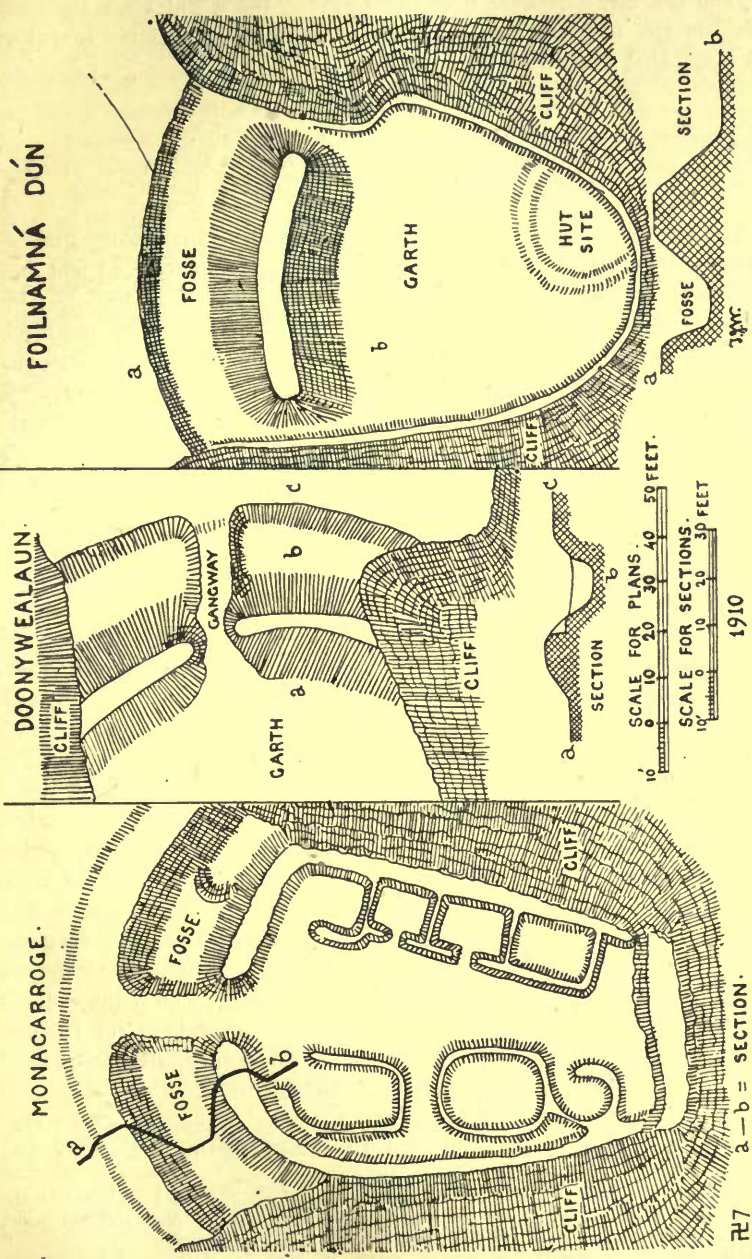


FIG. 5.—PROMONTORY FORTS, VENTRY, CO. KERRY.

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a-b = SECTION.

woman.”¹ For the Irish were stated to have camped to the north of the bay, and the dirge of Cael does not forget “the woful boom the wave makes on the northern beach.” All students of our native literature will recall that fine dirge² beginning—

“The Haven roars, and, oh, the Haven roars
Around the rushing race of Rinn da bhaire.
The drowning of the warrior of Loch da Chonn,
That is what the wave laments against the shore.”

A steep old road, sheeted with clover, vetches, and plummy grasses, leads down to the fort. There is no outer ring, but a fosse 84 feet long and 8 to 12 feet deep, slopes westward in a nearly straight line. Within this is a mound, partly the end of the natural slope cut off by the ditch, partly artificial, the garth being lower than the bottom of the trench. The rampart rises 8 feet over the eastern entrance, 14 feet over the fosse, and 16 feet over the garth to the west; it is 27 feet thick at the base, and 8 feet on the top, being very steep; it, like the hillside above, largely consists of stones. The garth is about 70 feet across, and has modern fences; the curved low mound of a house-site is traceable to the south-east.

BALLYMORE POINT (52). The new map shows a straight earthwork, lying nearly north and south, leading to a deep little creek at the narrowest part of the head. The mound, however, is very slight, 6 feet thick and hardly 3 feet high; it is 93 feet long, but so unlike the other bold fortifications of the south coast of Corcaguiny, and even those at Dunmore Head, that (coupled with the lack of a “dun”-name which usually turns the scale) we hesitate to regard it as ancient. The point was certainly suitable for fortification.

DOONYWEALAUN (*Dun na bhfaileán*) (53). The eastern headland of Ventry Harbour lies in the townland of Paddock; here we find another little cliff fort called Doonywealaun, or “seagulls’ fort.” Windele probably alludes to it in an oracular entry in his notes on this locality—“I’m very lonesome inside of me, *Fiagh Maira*, seagulls, *wheelanes*, an assemblage on strand under *doon*.”³ We have often seen these headland forts white with close-packed gulls. The point is about 130 feet long on top, but the sea-cut foundations extend far beyond, and to the sides with the outlying mass of Breagury, all possibly cut off since the place was entrenched. To the east is the creek of Coosavoughala (*Cús an Bhuaichalla*), “boy’s cove.” The works consist of a fosse 63 feet long, 5 feet deep, and 9 feet wide at the bottom. It and

¹ Creidhe, daughter of Cairbre Whiteskin, King of Ciarrhaighe Luachra. In the “Agallamh” her dun is described as whitened with lime, her house, 100 feet wide, with green doorposts, &c. (*Silva Gadelica*, vol. ii., p. 120).

² Given both in the “Agallamh” (*Silva Gad.* ii., p. 122), and the “Cath Finntraga.”

³ “Iar Mumhan,” p. 499.

the inner mound are convex to the land, with no trace of an outer mound. The inner rampart is 24 feet thick at the base, and only 3 feet wide on top; it rises about 4 feet over the garth, but is much defaced, and its front (being of soft earth) has been dug into ridges by cattle horning in the hot weather. There are no hut sites inside, and much of the garth is undermined and ready to fall.

Foillacashlaun (*Faill an Chaisleáin*), "Castle Cliff," at Paddock Point, has no remains of either a fort or a castle.

DINGLE PARISH.

DOON EASK (53). On a spur of Eask Hill, on the bounds of Ballymacadoyle, is perhaps the most impressive of Kerry forts, "Doon," or, as we may call it to distinguish it from its numerous namesakes, Doon Eask. The hill rises to 542 feet steeply from the sea at the fort, and to 630 feet over low water at the Beacon on the summit. That the Dun should be so little known is not wonderful: it takes a long row across (or drive round) the creek and a long rough climb, through deep heather and furze, to reach the brow; the other views are from the sea; it should be seen from both sides to appreciate the tremendous nature of its site.

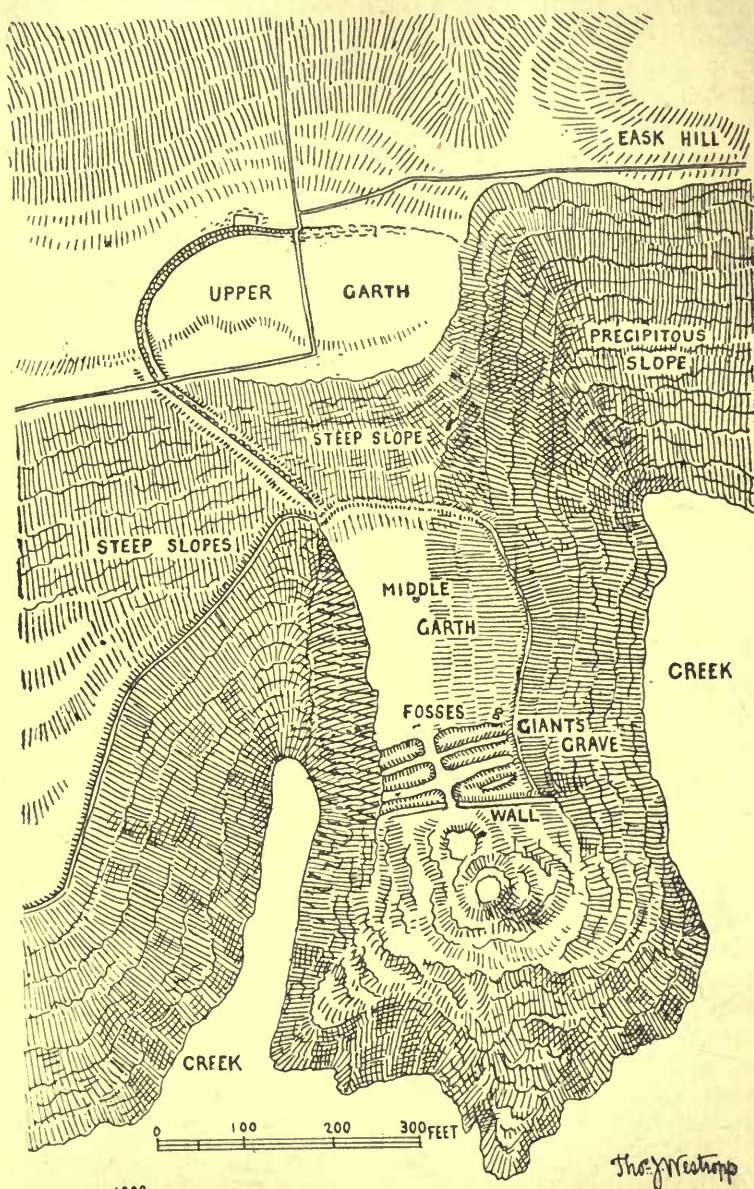
A narrow neck of purple and greenish strata, standing almost on end, rises in platforms and bastions to a pyramid capped by a huge natural tower of rock, throne-shaped, as seen from the west, with a hollow back and a seat of green sward about 100 feet across. The map does not mark the entire fortification; I found that a strong wall ran in a loop over the knoll at the top of the ridge above it. From this point a most magnificent outlook is obtained to the Killarney mountains and the great peaks of Iveragh, up Dingle Bay and out to Valentia,¹ the Skelligs and the Blaskets, over the havens of Dingle and Ventry,² at our feet and along the noble masses of Mount Eagle, Marhin, Brandon, Beenoskea, and eastward towards Caherconree.

The upper fort is virtually a crescent wall round an angle of rough but mainly level ground. The rampart is 10 or 12 feet thick, with two faces of large blocks 4 to 6 feet long, and 3 to 4 feet high; the space between is packed with earth and stones. The north-west side is best preserved, but, for 124 feet to the east of the modern cross-wall, foundations and *débris* occur. From the cross-wall westward runs for

¹ Valentia, the early Inis Dairbre, or Innish Darrery, is named in the Plea Roll, No. 14 of xviii Ed. I. (1299), as *Insula de Darfry*. The modern name is really that of the sound, Beal innse; both appear in a map of 1600 (Carew MSS., published in "Old Kerry Records," No. 1) "Dary lry, with the haven of Beal Inch in Ivragh."

² "The Expedition to the Dingell," 1580 (Old Kerry Records, Series I., p. 144, Miss Hickson), says "Ventry is called Coon Fyntra," "white sand haven." Dingle Haven is "Coon e daff derryck," "Red ox haven," from one being drowned there at the first coming of the English from Cornwall. The legend is at present attached to a hollow "coom," called Pouladaff, at the end of the peninsula.

45 feet a very slightly re-entrant curve. Hence a more perfect reach 12 feet thick extends, the wall rising to 6 or 7 feet high in parts, and



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FIG. 6.—PLAN OF DOON EASK CLIFF FORT, CO. KERRY.

evidently, from the *débris*, once nearly double that height. After 36 feet more is a gap 3 feet wide, perhaps a ruined gateway. Then

curving for 81 feet westward it bends abruptly southward, and runs for 134 feet to the edge. About 630 feet of the upper rampart exists. It next runs down the slope very steeply, having a slight fosse outside, and being virtually an earthwork, though with occasional very large facing blocks, usually boulders. It meets the neck at the corner of the western gully and cliff. There are no definite signs of its continuation from the summit to the east; a very slight and dangerous path along that face leads to the actual neck. This has a slight ditch and mound, worn down and evidently part of the old work, along the edge of the steeper slope to the east. To the west, as we noted, it ends in an abrupt cliff. Just below the steepest part of the slope the inner works begin. The neck is about 300 feet long, and from 150 to 200 feet wide. That the approach should be left so difficult and dangerous was part of the maker's design, and is found elsewhere, in Ireland and Scotland, as at Lud Castle in Forfarshire, where access is only possible by the narrow and broken edge of a cliff, with a steep slope to the outer side. This was probably the case at Illaunadoon in Clare, Islandikane in Waterford, and Dunbeg (Dunsheane) hereafter described, before rock falls made even the precarious path impassable.

In a space of about 70 feet long are three straight fosses and a slighter one to the east, having along the ridge of the neck a gangway running north and south. The intervening mounds at present do not rise above the latter, and being, like those on Kerry Head, greatly worn down, give an impression of vast age. They are about 100 feet long down the eastern slope, and little over half that length to the west abutting on the cliff. The inside fosse was cut into, or beside, a natural ridge or fault traceable beyond the works, and is nearly 30 feet wide and 6 to 8 feet deep, getting deeper down the slope. The natural rock was crowned by a dry-stone wall; only a few feet remain of it in places, and much is entirely removed. The whole arrangement is very suggestive of the back bone and ribs of a giant skeleton. No undoubted hut sites appear, but large slabs, from which huts could have been built, lie about inside. Two lie just outside the eastern end of the outer fosse, but whether these or the slight ditch next the inner fosse to the same side be the "Giant's grave" of the map, seems now uncertain. In some respects the nearest equivalent to this fort may have been the French fort, "Castel Coz" at Cap Sizun near Quimper in Brittany. The works defended a large hollow neck rising into a craggy natural castle at the seaward end. Four earthworks (and a sort of abattis, or perhaps a remnant of a pillar wall) crossed the neck, two being grouped to either end of the hollow; inside the inner fosse was a strong stone wall.¹ The fort was an early Celtic settlement, afterwards occupied by

¹ *Archæologia Cambrensis*, Series iv., vol. ii. (1870), p. 287. Plan and view reproduced in "Ancient Forts of Ireland," figs. 3 & 4.

the Romans. It is very regrettable that (as I learn from Dr. Guébhard) this noble promontory fort has been entirely destroyed.

Doon Eask fort differs from the other great forts along the western coast. The whole fortress is so strongly fenced to landward that we feel it was evidently intended for a last resort of a people in violent hostility with the more inland tribes. The harbour below was very suitable for ships, the peninsula a well-fenced site for such a colony. After being driven back from the Miltown river to the neck between

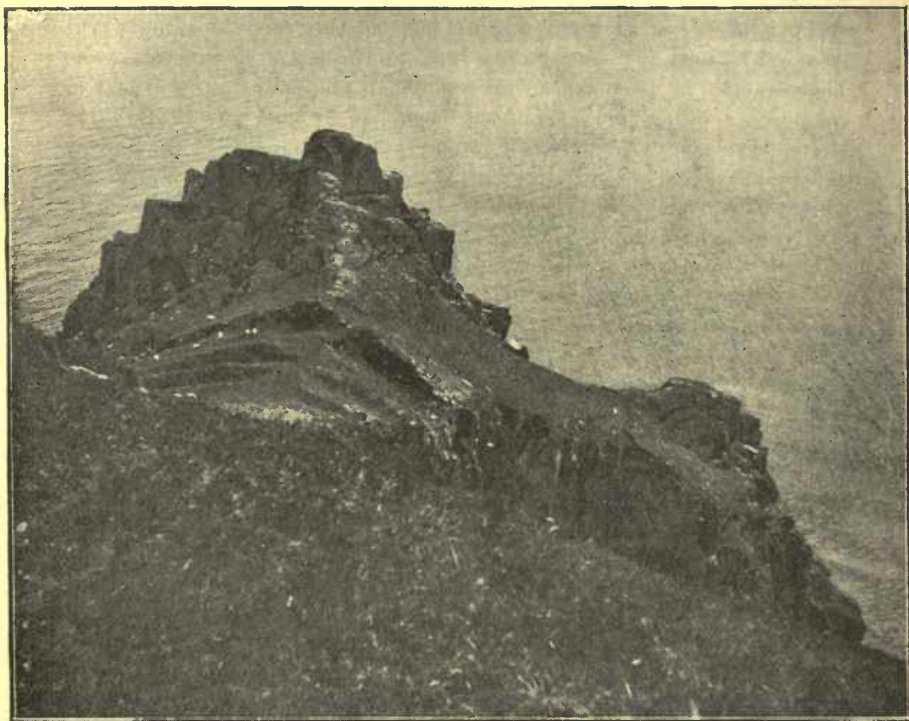


FIG. 7.—DOON EASK FORT, CO. KERRY.
(From the North.)

the harbours, and from that past Burnham up the slope, the warriors could join their families and cattle inside the strong citadel on the hill-top. Were that carried, there was still a possibility of escape over a path, dangerous to strangers, down the neck. A fight was possible at each fosse and mound; at the last was another strong wall; it may be that when all was lost, escape could be effected in swarms of skin-currachs carried down the steep paths to the creeks below. Such a work as this fortress can hardly belong to the late period of the

Norse wars, and, as we noted, the earth-works are worn to a degree exceeding that visible in the other forts, save at Kerry Head. Excavations might lead to a more definite conclusion; but the great age of the fortress may be assumed till then.

HUTS. There is a group of stone huts on the eastern slope of Eask Hill, in Carhoo West. Three circular huts, nearly levelled, lie together down the slope at the northern end of a levelled stone wall. Southward we find on higher ground another and more complex one, with five cells. It is 34 feet long and 21 feet across at the western end. The cells are small; two measure 6 feet by 5 feet, and 6 feet by 6 feet; one is only

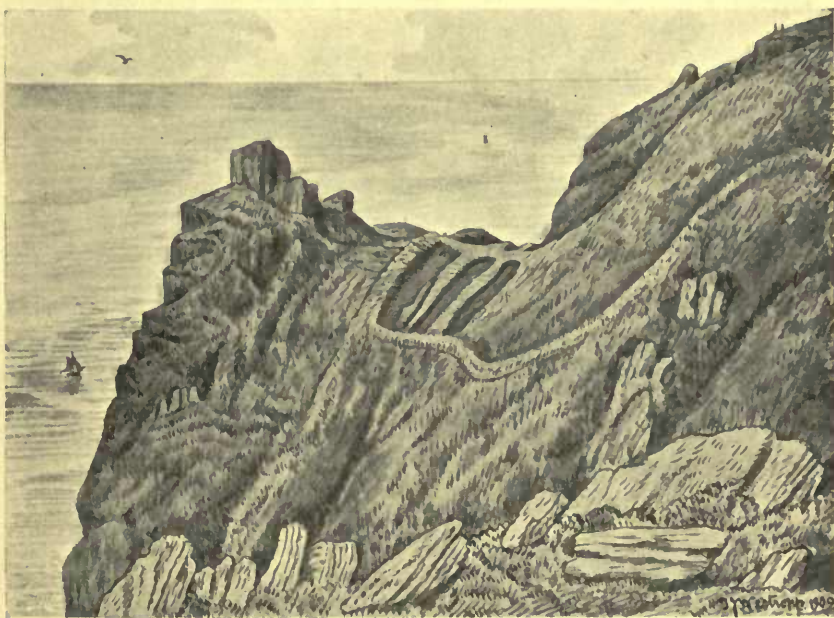


FIG. 8.—DOON EASK FORT, CO. KERRY.
(From the East.)

3 feet wide perhaps a "kennel"; the others are 12 feet and 8 feet long; all are levelled to 3 or 4 feet high. The earthen forts down the slopes towards Burnham are only defaced ones; one is very small and possibly sepulchral; one near Doonywealaun has a souterrain. The place is devoid of history or tradition. The townland of Ballymacadoyle in 1583 was called Bally mac Eidell (or Edyll), alias Harperstown;¹ the family from whom it is named was of some standing at Dingle, and got

¹ Desmond Roll, 1583: *Journal* xxiii., p. 264. Down Survey, 1655, and the map of 1683, and Smith's "Kerry." Inquisition in Chancery, P. R. O. I., No. 28 (1634).

pardons from the Government, and held lands to 1623. In 1651, Patrick, son of Thomas Rice, held the townland, and Dr. Smith found a member of that ancient family living on it in 1754.¹ The Down Survey Map, laid down 1652–1655, shows a “Caherverin” at the spot; this may be the older name for Doon Fort or its landward citadel, the only caher on the peninsula.

DUNSHEANE (53). At the eastern end of the pretty range of cliffs between Dingle Harbour and the Trabeg, beside the entrance of the latter creek, and about two miles and a half from Doon Eask, is another strongly fortified headland. It is a steeply upheaved mass of strata, green, brown, and pink, with obelisks of outstanding rocks, the platform covered with rich sward. It commands a fine coast view back, past

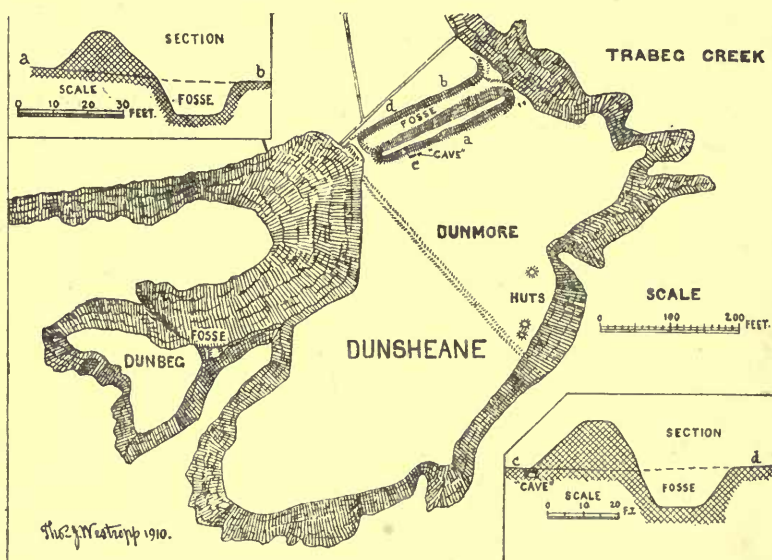


FIG. 9.—DUNSHEANE FORT, NEAR DINGLE, CO. KERRY.

Doon Eask to the Blaskets, and eastward to the weird head of Kinnard (called “Candaue”), like a primeval reptile creeping into the sea, with an outlying turret, exactly like the Kippen rock, standing in the waves before it; far away we see the Iveragh ranges and Skellig, barely clear of the end of Valentia Island. We first reach a late fence, but it embodies portions of a wall of such large slabs as seem to mark it as ancient, at least in part. A causeway 10 feet wide crosses the deep

¹ Thomas Rice of Ballymacadoyle, son of Dominick, son of Thomas Rice (who died 1702), brother of Stephen, and second son of Edward Rice. The last was son of Dominick Rice (and his wife Alice Hussey), son of Stephen (and his wife Ellen Trant), son of Robert Rice, and his wife Julian White. Registered Pedigrees, Ulster's Office, vol. ii. Arms, per pale indented, argent and gules.

fosse at 25 feet from the western cliff; thence the fosse slopes steeply eastward for 212 feet with very steep sides. The great inner mound curves back at its lower end, leaving a way along the cliff 12 to 15 feet wide in which are the remains of an old-looking gateway, whatever be its age. It had corner-stones, the western 34 feet high by 18 inches by 12 inches; the other is broken. The fosse is usually 12 feet wide below, and 27 feet at the level of the field; it is 11 to 12 feet deep. The mound is nearly straight, 21 feet to 24 feet high over the fosse, and 8 feet to 10 feet over the field. It is 30 feet wide at the base, and 12 feet wide along the top. At 30 feet east from the gangway we find the remains of a souterrain, barely 3 feet wide and covered with lintels; it ran just inside the foot of the mound north and south. It closely resembles that in the rath of Rinbaun, between Quilty and Caherrush, County Clare, where a dry-walled flag-roofed passage (about 2 feet wide and 3 feet high) runs for about 23 feet round the inner face of the ring mound. A little peninsula projects from the western side of the headland, the creek of Coosgorm, "blue cove," lying to its northern side. It is inaccessible owing to an extensive fall of the cliff; probably (from its bare rock) this took place at no distant period. Just above the saw-like remnant of the neck one sees a fosse across the grassy slope which, with the name "Dunbeg," marks it as a side fort like those at Baginbun, Dun Kilmore, Dunnabratton,¹ and the Bailey fort at Howth. The main garth is known as "Dunmore"; in it, near the eastern edge, we find the nearly defaced rings of three circular huts. The first lies about 170 feet up the slope from the gangway, and is 21 feet wide; the second, near the eastern brow, and in line with Dunbeg, is 66 feet south of the last; the third 25 feet farther south. They measure 21 feet, 27 feet, and 18 feet across; the mounds are about 3 feet wide; they were probably of timber and clay. The creeks of Portadoon and Coosnacurroga lie to the east.² There is a possible allusion to this place in the Plea Rolls, in 1290.³ Among various lands and grants in Kerry appears "Andreas Anevel, concessio de Dunseane," it is given after Trayly, or Tralee, and is followed by Ardaynan, but is not so definitely fixed as to be certainly (though it is probably) Dunsheane. "Dunsheny" or "Dunshean" belonged to Maurice FitzGerald of Castle Lisin in County Limerick; in 1641, after the war, it was confiscated and given to Jane, Countess of Mountrath, and Oliver Ormsby; part of it was confirmed to the latter by the Act of

¹ For Dunabratton see *supra*, vol. xxxvi., p. 252. I hope soon to describe the remarkable Dunkilmore, with a ring fort, killeen, altars, hut-sites, and two fortified headlands inside its outwork (see *Proc. R.I.A.*, xxix. (c), p. 29).

² Another creek with the noteworthy name Coosheengall, "foreigners' little creek," lies up the Trabeg not far to the north. Coosnacurroga recalls the cliff fort of Dunsnacurroge, on Achillbeg, Co. Mayo, which I hope to describe.

³ No. 13 of xviii Ed. I., m. 19.

Settlement in 1666 and 1678; the rest was confirmed to the Countess and Robert Reading, along with the lands of Ferriter's Quarter.¹

MINARD PARISH.

MINARD WEST (54). Beyond the Trabeg is a rough mountain tract in Kinard and the Doonties, with many remains of huts and several defaced ring walls. Three miles farther eastward, past Minard Head, we find the last of the fortified headlands in Corcaguiny. It is a long narrow cape, rapidly crumbling away; the edges are too dangerous to approach, as they fall probably almost daily. It is barely 50 feet across; the fosse is convex to the land, not straight, as on the map; the name is lost. The ditch is 18 feet wide at the bottom and about 50 feet at the field-level, being 9 feet deep. The inner ring is 6 feet thick. Inside to the east, and 3 feet from the ring, is a hut site, oblong and 12 feet across. The mound was once capped by a dry-stone wall, now nearly removed, and so barely rises over the garth. As so usual, the fosse occurs over a well-marked fault in the cliffs.²

The coast beyond Minard is unsuited for such forts, like the opposite (northern) shore of Corcaguiny, so that, so far as I explored it (and I was able to visit all the salient points), there do not seem to be any more cliff forts remaining on the coast.³

There is, however, a fine inland example, which, for completeness, we must not pass by in utter silence. It lies on the edge of the great platform, girt with precipices, at the western end of Slieve Mish.

CAHERCONREE. It was first noted by Dr. Smith in 1756 as "a circle of rude, massy stones on a sort of peninsula 2100 feet above the sea."⁴ O'Flanagan, early in the last century, describes it as a wall, forming with the verges of the hill an irregular triangle. It had two gates, each 11 feet wide, and certain pits. The Ordnance Survey Maps only indicated it very slightly. O'Donovan (among whose fine qualities was certainly not that of respect for the workers who preceded him) in 1841 sneered bitterly at Smith, and denied the existence of the fort; but he did not ascend the mountain or examine anyone who had been up it. Following him, it became the custom to deny that any such fort existed. For this view there was no excuse after 1860, for John Windele had then elaborately described it in the "Ulster Journal of Archæology"⁵; but

¹ Book of Distribution, p. 98, Act of Sett. (Calendar, p. 6), xvii Car. II., f. 7, No. 33, of xxix Car. II., p. 1, *facie*.

² See plan, p. 272, *supra*.

³ Photographs of the following are in the Society's collection:—Doonroe, Fort del Oro, Ferriter's Castle, Doonbinnia, Dunmore, Dunbeg, Monacarroge, Foilnamna, Doonywealaun, Doon Eask, Dunbeg in Dunsheane, and Minard. I hope some day to supplement this paper (as I did that on the Clare Cliff forts) by one on the chief ring forts, whether of earth or stone, in Western Corcaguiny.

⁴ He renders the name "Fortress of King Con." "Ancient and Present State of the Co. Kerry," p. 156.

⁵ Original Series, vol. viii. (1860), pp. 116, 117.

Windele and his school had fallen under the ban of Petrie and O'Donovan, and when the dicta of any antiquary, however eminent, can blight the work of others, progress is at an end.¹ The only error proved against Windele is his description of the wall as straight, instead of slightly curved.² So matters stood until Mr. P. J. Lynch, with Dr. Fogerty and others, ascended the hill and made elaborate sections, plan, and photographs of the reputed stronghold of Curoi mac Daire in 1897.

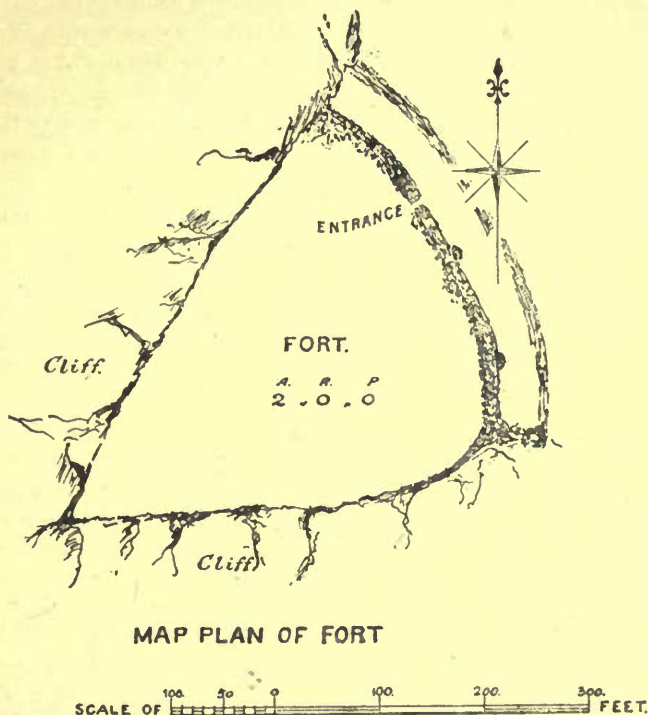


FIG. 10.—CAHERCONREE.

Briefly abstracting their results, we note that the wall is convex to the land, fortifying a rather triangular bastion, or spur, fenced with precipices about 200 feet high, and rising 2050 feet above the sea. It commands an almost limitless view from county Clare on the north to Valentia on the south. The rampart is of blocks of red sandstone; it is 350 feet long, 14 to 14 feet 6 inches thick, with a terrace or probably two. Where best preserved it is in three sections, the inner 3 feet 3 inches

¹ We must follow the good rule of the craftsman in the sixteenth century—"He shall not his fellows' work deprave, but it amend."

² Similar errors occur in the Ordnance Survey Map, e.g. Lissadooneen, and "Letters," e.g. Dunnamoe.

thick, the middle 3 feet, and the outer 4 feet 6 inches. They rise respectively 4 feet 3 inches, 1 foot 9 inches, and 4 feet 6 inches over each other, or 10 feet 6 inches in all. The facing stones are laid as headers, and there is a shallow fosse outside,¹ as at Dunnamo in Mayo, Staigue, Cahernanackree near Minard, and other forts in Kerry. The gates are defaced; one had a lintel 5 feet long; the passage was 7 feet 6 inches wide. Traces of huts remain in the garth.²

As has often been noted, "Cathair Chonrui" is named in the "Triads" as one of "the three forts of Erin," possibly the oldest forts.³ Fulman is said to have built it,⁴ and "Cingdorn, the Cashel-builder of Curoi mac Daire," is also named. The "Cath Fintraga" calls the fort "cathair na claen rath, now Cathair Conroi," the name being appropriate to the site with its "sloping" garth. Windele found that the local name was "Boen-caherach," the cowpen of the fort.⁵

The early legend, perhaps not originally attached to the Kerry fort, tells how Curoi defeated and degraded Cuchullin by a gross insult, carrying off the lady Blathnad. The latter was in love with the defeated hero, and aided him to revenge her on her husband Curoi. She poured milk down the stream (thence named *Find glas*, "white brook"), on seeing which Cuchullin and his men, who were in ambush, stormed the fort and slew Curoi.⁶

It has been asserted, however, that there is another Cahercourree on another Slieve Mish, over another Glenaish, and another Finglas, near Curraun, further south.⁷ This has never been verified; but it is possible that Diarmait and Curoi, like Cuchullin, had their own original habitat in Ulster rather than in western Munster.⁸ We hear how the Ulster men fought seven battles round Cahereconree.⁹

¹ In "Fled Brierend" (ed. G. Henderson), p. 105. The fosse outside the Cathair is mentioned as at Cahereconree.

² See John Windele in "Ulster Journal of Archaeology" (old series), vol. viii., p. 116. R. S. A. I. Journal, vol. xxix., p. 5, by Mr. P. J. Lynch; "Cahir Conri," by Rev. M. Horgan, Cork, 1860, p. xxv; Leabhar na hUidhre, p. 73, for legend of the monstrous piast ravaging the fort; "Battle of Ventry" and "Battle of Magh Rath," ed. O'Donovan; "Ancient Forts of Ireland," p. 129. Piasts are not uncommon in Kerry, and one curious specimen, "the Caraboonkle," dwells in a lake at the foot of Mount Brandon, and makes precious stones by churning the water.

³ Triads of Ireland, ed. Meyer, Todd Lecture Series, p. 5. Its companions Dun Sobairche and Dun Cearnmna are attributed to circa B.C. 960.

⁴ "This is Sliabh Mis in Mumhan, ridge on which is Cathair Conraoi. The erection of Cathair Nair of great fortification at Sliabh Mis, was performed by Fulman." Poem of Flann, 1056.

⁵ So also "The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne." (Soc. Pres. Irish Language), Part 2, p. 52 and p. 93. Dermot O'Duine claims his father's cantred of O'Duibhine (Corcaguiny) in Kerry, but Dermot was really of Leinster, as in the older legends, and Duben in the tribal legends of the Corcaguiny was not his father.

⁶ Dind Senchas, section 53 (*Revue Celtique*, xv., p. 448). See also "Fled Brierend," pp. 101-115, 192.

⁷ "Cahir Conri," 1860, p. xxv.

⁸ "Battle of Magh Rsth," A.D. 637. A poem of Urard mac Coisi and another by Flan of "Bute," 1056, mention the fort.

⁹ My thanks are mainly due to Mr. M. J. M'Enery for help with the records, and

Below the fort lies the Camp ogham stone. The ogmic legend reads "Conuneatt moqi Conuri," the Roman "Feet Cununi." All that it can be held to prove is that a Curi, not a Curoi, was connected with the Kerry fort, and perhaps attracted to himself legends of this greater hero whose name was so like his own.

In closing this long survey I have to apologize for the "design," if such it can be called. It had been easy to have described each cliff fort, omitting all further description or history, and not discussing any point outside the bare remains. This, however, is rather undesirable; little definite work has been done along the Irish coast, and its history has never been widely studied. North Kerry, save a few isolated spots, had been neglected, and the evidence for or against the ravage of the sea was equally ungathered. I therefore believe that not one but several classes of students may here find material helpful for more finished papers, and that local workers may be interested and encouraged by these less specialized notes. In the present "beginnings" of scientific Irish archæology there is special need of harvesting, to secure the accounts of ruins and the folk-lore, and tradition now dying out on the finest and most interesting reach of the western coast of Ireland.

APPENDIX.—WAS DUNMORE A SANCTUARY?

We find at Dunmore an unusually large enclosure, very slight and non-defensive in its entrenchment, within it a pillar inscribed to "the name of Duben," a tribal ancestress and heroine of the Corcaaguiny. The place selected is the "inmost" and most striking point of the lands called after the Corca Dhuibhne, her reputed descendants. The fort is a striking contrast in its size and feebleness to nearly every other cliff fort known to me, and notably so to the strong cliff forts near it. What, then, was the character of the enclosure? The probability is considerable that it was the temenos, or termon, of a sanctuary of Duben.

Though we have no such manual as the Edda to tell us of the character of the early gods of Erin, and our written records in their existing form date too long after paganism to tell us much of its temples and worship, we can still collect some helpful facts. The Christian writers removed all "heathenism" from the laws and customs; the Christian bards euhemerized the gods into heroes, overlaying the older myths. The identity of several names of the Gaulish deities with those of the Tuatha De Danann seems well established, but we have yet to learn

to Dr. G. U. MacNamara for help and suggestions in the field work; to Professor Macalister for kindly editing the Irish in the Corcaaguiny sections; and to Professor MacNeill, who identified the Osurrys tribe for me. The late Dr. W. Frazer also gave me some helpful notes and views; and the block is from Mr. Lynch's paper in the *Journal*, vol. xxix., p. 13.

whether their heroic legends correctly represent the older orthodox tales of the gods. Rarely, save in the cases of Ana, Crom Cruach, and Manannan,¹ do the Irish writers avowedly recall the beliefs of their fathers, in this being very unlike even zealous Christians among the Norse.

Irish paganism was vital enough to leave to future generations a great legacy of beliefs, many of which still survive. The rapid establishment of Christianity is an idea derived from the mythical later Lives of St. Patrick. His "sweeping success" is not borne out by the despondency of his Confession "before he died" (i.e., at the close of his mission), nor by the evident traces of opposition to Christianity even in the sixth and seventh centuries, as the quarrel of King Dermot and St. Ruadhan (that led to the desolation of Tara) and also at the battle of Magh Rath (A.D. 637). The question naturally arises as to what were the temples before Christianity came among the Irish, for the stone circles are comparatively rare, and still rarer those of large size.

In primitive society we usually find that a god's house differed little from houses of the early period, and religious conservatism perpetuated the type down to the latest ages. Even Israel, Greece, and Rome, in the advance of their civilization, seem never to have lost all trace of the curtained tent, the wooden temple, or the thatched hut, that was once their "holy house;" so, *prima facie*, it is probable that the early Irish did the same.

Like the earthen rings and fosses that surround the pillar circles at Avebury and Stonehenge, we have the earthworks round the pillars of Lough Gur;² and those round Leacht an Iorrais, which were the monoliths removed, are only like ordinary ring-forts. Pillars, doubtless, were set in many forts; we hear of such at Duntrileague and Skeirk, while pillars remain in the ring-fort of Edentinnny, and others were removed from, but lie beside, a ring and fosse at Carnelly. The great "fort" on Turlough Hill, with its numerous gateways, is in so strange a position, and of so exceptional a type, that if there were anything in its ambit save bare crag we might be tempted to regard it, too, as a possible sanctuary.³ Messrs. Wilkinson and P. J. Lynch⁴ illustrated a crescent wall with a row of pillars at Templenakilla, county Kerry.⁵ That the Irish worshipped the gods under the form of pillars at Mag Slecht and

¹ The Paps of Kerry are still "Da chích Danainne," from the goddess "Danann." For Crom, see the Dindsenchas of Magh Slecht (*Revue Celtique*, xvi., p. 35); for Manannan, see Cormac's Glossary. They also recalled the idol Etherun, whose temple was apparently a *mur*.—Petrie, "Tara Hill," p. 135.

² The sanctity of Lough Gur was evidently so remote that it leaves no shadow on our early legends.

³ *Journal*, xxxv., p. 225. It has the remains of 10 gates, besides several gaps.

⁴ "Practical Geology, &c., of Ireland," Plate V., and p. 48; *Journal*, xxxii., p. 330; for Edentinnny, Co. Leitrim, see Canon O'Hanlon, "Lives of the Saints," vol. iii., p. 581.

⁵ I took this at first to be merely "sepulchral," though that does not preclude the idea of worship.

Clogher seems certain,¹ and the curious earthwork at the latter place may be a sanctuary.

In our native legends the connexion of the divine race with forts is very well established. The Daghdha not only made the great mote-like earthworks of the Brugh,² but he built the dry-stone ring-wall of the Grianan of Aileach, and the earthen ring-fort of Rath brese.³ To him was attributed one of the great "long earthworks," like the "Dane's Cast."⁴ His son, Aenghus (in a late legend), gave a fort and stronghold (*dun* and *dingna*), with a high palisade (*sonnach*), and roomy houses, as a wedding gift to the bridegroom of a daughter of another god, Midir.⁵ Manannan Mac Lir, the sea god (from whom the Isle of Man is named), dwelt in a cathair or stone ring-fort; and the god Nuada "of the silver hand" made another *dún* and *sonnach* at Almha in county Kildare, where his son Tadhg dwelt.⁶

When we turn to the demigods and heroes, there can be no doubt that they were revered in forts. Tara, Tailtinn, Carman, and Magh Adhair "rath" were centres of games and fairs, and the first three evidently were scenes of religious or semi-religious rites. Even if these originated in the funeral sports of deified ancestors, it does not affect the result.

It is a noteworthy fact how many of the raths of Tara were connected with great mythic personages. There near the "Deisiol," where the religious observance of the sunward turn was performed by those who approached Tara by the great Slige Midluachra road, lay a group of such forts. The Rath Chonchulainn and the enclosure of "the head and neck of Cuchullin" recalled that greatest of heroes, and there his relics

¹ "Tripartite Life" (ed. Whitley Stokes, pp. 90-91. Clogher was an Oenach (*Agallamh*). See also Ordnance Survey Letters, Tyrone (MSS. R.I.A., &c.). *Journal*, vol. xxxiv., p. 320 for plan, vol. ii., p. 118).

² The term *brugh* was of course frequently applied to residences (see Todd Lecture Series, R. I. Acad., I., Int., p. v.). The "palace" of the early Dalcassian kings at Bruree (*Brugh righ*) is attributed to the possibly semi-historic Oilliol Olum, King of Munster, in the second century. We have in the same county the fort of Bruff (*Brugh na Deise*) of the Decies, and in Kerry the promontory fort of Brumore. The last is very pertinent to these suggestions.

³ Dindsenchas, sects. 4, 91. Ordnance Survey memoir on Templemore, Londonderry, vol. i., p. 226. *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* (E. O'Curry), vol. ii., p. 9.

⁴ Slicht Loirge an Daghdæ, "Battle of Moytura" (*Revue Celtique*, xii., p. 87).

⁵ "Agallamh na senorach" (ed. Standish Hayes O'Grady, "Silva Gadelica," translated), vol. ii., pp. 111, 199, 132. The house of Aengus Og of the Brugh was one of the mounds in that great cemetery. See G. Coffey, *Trans. R. I. A.*, xxxi., p. 74.

⁶ "Agallamh," pp. 132, 225. Nuada has of course sunk from a god to an "ill-conditioned fellow, a wizard." The Tuatha De Danann are equated with the Siabhra or fairies in the Tract on "the cemeteries" (MS. H. 317, T.C.D.). Is it possible that their defeat at Moytura is a legendary account of a change of religion in Ireland?

⁷ Dindsenchas, *Revue Celtique*, xv., p. 277, and Petrie, "Tara Hill," pp. 221, 223, and 142. The Deisiol was also performed at a "*Brugh*," in Connacht. See *Annals* in "Silva Gadelica," vol. ii., p. 434, "round about the *brugh* let him walk right-handed." For the other sites, see "Tara Hill," pp. 144, 226.

were venerated. Close to these the great High King, Conor, and his mother, Nessa, were commemorated, at Rath Chonchubhair mic Nesi and Treduma Nesi, the last a three-ringed fort. They lay among leachts (burial-places) and dumas (tumuli). It is significant that all these are obliterated.¹ Borlase gives reasons for regarding the Teach Cormaic as a temple of Cormac mac Airt;² with it was conjoined the "Forradh," and the tomb of the famous mythic princess, Tephi. Near it lay two "dumas," one named from the Glas, the marvellous cow of "the smith-god," Lon, whose dry-stone forts stand on the Glasgeivnagh Hill in Clare. Lug's foster-mother, Tailltin, made the Dun na ngiall.³

The fort of Almha was supposed to have been named from a divine heroine, a daughter of Bracan, one of the Tuatha De Danann. It is instructive to learn from our old writers how little any one object or character attached to this fort. It was a look-out mound, a tulach or burial mound, a fort and a stronghold, and is called forradh, rath, cathair, grianan, and righ dun.⁴ It has been attempted to confine the term "forradh" to non-residential mounds, but this was evidently not the case; the term only applied to "seats," as vaguely in the Irish as in the English word. Indeed the "reserved seat" of a king at the sports of Carman is called expressly a "forud." It is probably as closely akin in origin as in sound or meaning to "forradh."⁵ Ring-forts and cathairs, or stone ring-walls, one of considerable size, remain or are recorded among the tumuli of the Brugh of the Boyne.⁶ One earthwork bore the striking name Acadh Alldai, "All god's field."⁷

The Creevagh ring-wall in Burren, county Clare, with its rock-cut avenue, pillars and dolmen, is very suggestive of a temple-tomb, and the similar avenue from a dolmen to a ring-wall at Caheraneden, not many miles distant from the last, may be akin.⁸

The "Bileda," or sacred trees, of four tribes, grew in, or at, certain forts. Tullaghoge, A.D. 1111; Magh Adhair, A.D. 982 and A.D. 1051;

¹ Perhaps the "temples" were destroyed save those which had residential and ceremonial usage apart from religion.

² Dolmens of Ireland, vol. iii., 1088. Cormac's "Glossary" calls a god "Art" (*fuath arta*): compare the Gaulish deity, Artaius.

³ Dindsenchas, sect. 99.

⁴ Agallamh, p. 131. Also (MSS. R. I. A., 14 D. 15), Kildare, vol. ii., p. 46, and the account of Carman Fair in Book of Ballymote, published in *Revue Celtique*. For the Forradh at Tara, see "Tara Hill," pp. 132, 138.

⁵ Farragh, Forragh, and Forra, in place-names. One recalls from the "Tripartite Life of St. Patrick," the assembly-place of Tirawley, Forrach Mac nAmhalgaidh.

⁶ For the evidence of the survival of that name down to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and its representative the present "Bro," see *Journal*, xxxv., page 82. Its occurrence at Bro Park and Bro Mill was first noted by Rev. James O'Laverty (*Journal*, vol. ii., series v., p. 430). See also Mr. George Coffey (*Trans. R.I.A.*, xxxi., p. 94).

⁷ Possibly New Grange. See *Annals of Ulster* under date 862. It is named in the previous year in the *Annals of the Four Masters*.

⁸ *Journal*, xxviii., pp. 357-9; xxxv., p. 217 (with plan), and xxvii., p. 119. This is not to be confused with either of the Creevagh Cathairs, near Quin, in the same county.

and Roevehagh in A.D. 1143 ; the last tree was surrounded by a ring-wall. So, also, the¹ Maguire chiefs were inaugurated at the thorn tree in Lisnaskea fort in Fermanagh ; and the venerated salmon of the Dalgaics were kept in a well at the fort of Kincora in 1062.¹ Combining all these hints it seems very probable that the early Irish temple was a ring-fort, differing little, if at all, from the residential ones. If so, it is interesting to find the early Christian monastery and circular wooden church equally similar to the chief's fort and "palace."

We cannot omit all allusion to analogies from Central Europe. Virchow and other antiquaries have regarded the large mote-like earthworks, so similar to those near Lismore and elsewhere, as temples and "as sacrificial mounds, and the dwelling of a chief."² The residential and religious mounds in the United States along the valleys of the Mississippi and Ohio were only distinguished by excavation. They, too, are externally like the German and Austrian ones. The excavations recently made in certain motes in France seem to have revealed no certain marks of worship, though many of residence. The Edda mentions the *ring-burghs* of the gods in Asgard ; they seem to have been palisaded. In Britain and Gaul we find "*dun*" names such as Lugdunum and Camulodunum connected with the gods Lug and Camulos. The latter deity was also named Segomo "*Dunates*"³ of the *Dun* or *Dunadh*, while the Gaulish Mercury's epithet "*Dumiat*"⁴ may be from an artificial mound, but is probably Puy de Dôme, a natural "*dumha*."⁴

One case is so exactly to the point that we must repeat it here. A famous temple has left remains identical with those of an ordinary promontory fort. The fortified headland of Arcona on the island of Rügen is now called Wittou. Here stood, till its destruction in 1167, a wealthy temple of the Light-God, Suantowit. The headland is 175 feet high, was fenced to the north and north-west by an earthen mound. Within this "*arx alta*," on the higher ground, stood a wooden temple, girt by three rings, like the Trioda na righ and the Treduma Nesi. The inner *ambitus* had a canopy rudely, but richly, decorated.⁵ This seems to suggest analogies with Dunnamo or with Dun Kilmore, on Achilbeg,

¹ Annals of the Four Masters under the years. For the Bileda, see also Dindsenchas, sections 34, 50, and 60 ; "Irish Names of Places" (Dr. Joyce), i., pp. 499 and 519 ; and "Ancient Forts of Ireland," pp. 67, 68. Of course I do not overlook other trees of like character, Lisnabilla, the fort of the venerated tree in Antrim, Rathvilly in Carlow, &c., nor the inauguration forts in Ireland and Scotland, where trees are not recorded. See also *Journal*, xxxiv., p. 336.

² "Dolmens of Ireland" (W. C. Borlase), vol. iii., pp. 1087, 1091. "Ancient Forts of Ireland," figs. 2 and 3. Société préhistorique de France, Bulletin, 1909, pp. 352-3, and "Primitive Man" (Dr. M. Hoernes), pp. 39, 40.

³ One recalls the pillars of the descendants of Nia Segaman, at Island fort, and at Seskinan (probably from a burial fort) in Waterford (*Journal*, vol. xxvi., p. 251).

⁴ Sir J. Rhys, "The Gaulish Pantheon" (Hibbert Lectures, 1886, pp. 13, 33).

⁵ "Dolmens of Ireland," vol. iii., pp. 1087-1092. An old map (seventeenth century) shows an oval enclosure within the rampart. The description is from Saxo Grammaticus' History of Denmark, Book xiv.

where a ring-fort stands on the headland within the defences on the neck of the promontory.¹

Borlase compares "Arcona" with names like "Ard Macha" and "Ard Nemidh" among the ancient Irish, and with "Tor Chonain" on Torry Island, where we find "Balor's Prison," a headland with four entrenchments. He seems to regard Balor as having taken the place of Conan; each was a semi-divine being; Balor was slain by the light-god, Lugh.² From the latter several forts in ancient Europe were called Lugdunum. In Irish legend, too, Lug dwelt in a rath.³

It is premature to make assertions; but, with all diffidence, I may lay these facts before antiquaries, and suggest that they may justify the view that Dunmore was a sanctuary of the Corea Dhuibhne, and dedicated to the "name" of their great ancestress, Duben.

¹ The Eyrbiggia Saga gives an interesting case of burial in a stone-walled promontory fort.

² For Balor, see "Ulster Journal of Archæology" (old series), vol. i. (1853). See Borlase, *loc. cit.*, 1087.

³ O'Curry, "Manuscript Materials," pp. 618-22; Harleian ms. 5280.

ERRATA.

Page 189, line 28, "days," *recte* "lays."

Page 269, line 1, *for* "Curator," *read* "Inspector."

ADDENDA.

Page 125. The recent excavations at Pen y Corrdyn, in Wales, have disclosed a double wall identical with that in Cahercarbery, county Kerry.

Page 126. The Rev. C. A. Fry, Rector of Ballybunnion, informs me that traces of the Cladh Ruadh recently existed at the bank of the Cashen.

Page 187. Professor J. Mac Neill identifies the Osurrys tribe as the "Aes irrais descirt . . . in Corco Duibne."—"Book of Leinster," 324.

FERN, COUNTY WEXFORD.

BY THE LATE HERBERT HORE, ESQ.

WITH PREFACE BY THE REV. CANON FFRENCH, M.R.I.A.,

Vice-President, 1897-1900.

[Submitted SEPTEMBER 27, 1910.]

THE following paper came into the hands of the Rev. Canon ffrench many years ago, having been given to him by a well-known antiquary in the North of Ireland, who purchased it from the executors of the late Herbert Hore, Esq., when they were disposing of some surplus mss. after his death. Canon ffrench showed it to a leading Dublin antiquary, who suggested that it would be well to send it to the Council of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, as he considered it would be interesting to the readers of the *Journal*. One page of the ms. is missing, No. 36; Canon ffrench does not remember what page 36 related to. With regard to the very fine old tomb of a bishop, known as St. Maedog's Tomb, which is now placed at the west end of the cathedral, we should remember that this tomb has been from time to time moved about from one part of the cathedral to another; and no one can tell where it originally stood. Before it was placed in its present position it was in a roughly built niche at the east end of the church; and as it was almost immediately over the arching of the crypt, there was no room for any interment beneath it. The crozier has been injured; and this gives it the appearance of the crozier of an abbot. If this monument was intended at any time to represent St. Maedog, it must have been designed by some one who had not the slightest idea of what a Celtic Bishop was like. The design shows that it was carved well within Norman times. Borrowing a tomb was not at all an unknown event. Many believe this to be the case with the tomb known to us as the tomb of Strongbow in Christchurch Cathedral, which bears, not the arms of De Clare, but the arms of Fitz Osbert. Consequently it is held that, when Strongbow's monument was destroyed by the fall of the wall of the cathedral under which it was placed, a Fitz Osbert tomb was substituted in its place. Strongbow's first wife was a Fitz Osbert, the head of which family was created Earl of Hereford by William the Conqueror; and Fitz Osbert of Hereford is listed among the knights who first landed in Ireland. The tomb of a Norman Bishop may thus have been removed from its own resting-place and placed over the grave of the founding bishop of the diocese.

The tomb itself is a very fine one; and Mr. Herbert Hore believed it to have been the tomb of Adam de Northampton, Bishop of Ferns, who had been Secretary to a high official under the Crown in England, and was interred in this cathedral A.D. 1393. The position that the Diocese of Ferns occupied among the other dioceses in Ireland is thus described by Colgan: "A large city called Ferns grew up there in honour of Maedog. Afterwards, at a great Synod convened in Leinster, King Brandub and both the clergy and laity decreed that the Archbishop of all Leinster should for ever continue in the chair and See of Maedog; and then St. Maedog was consecrated by many Catholicke." Lanigan, vol. ii., 338, says the archiepiscopal dignity of Leinster was removed from Sletty to Ferns in the time of St. Maedog or Aedan.

Mr. Hore is hardly quite correct in the interpretation he gives of the name of Ferns; the interpretation now received is 'the Place of the Alders.' The paper does not profess to treat Ferns from an architectural point of view; otherwise he probably would have taken more notice of the beautiful little circular chapel in one of the towers, which is in excellent preservation, and almost unique, there being only one other such chapel (as far as the writer knows), which is in the Castle of Carrickfergus. The late Sir Thomas Drew told him that the roof is one of the most beautiful specimens of groined work to be found in Ireland.

FERNs, COUNTY WEXFORD.

BY HERBERT F. HORE.

SEVERAL causes have prevented topographic archæology, as relates to Ireland, from attaining anything like the degree of perfection it has been brought to in the sister kingdoms. While the published results of county researches in Great Britain are in many cases interesting and admirable additions to the history of the empire, hardly a single Irish shire can boast that writers, publishers, and patrons have combined to emulate the English example. In truth, our wealthy rural classes do not, with some exceptions, take much interest in the movements and history of their country's past. Although, in a picturesque point of view, there is gain in the fact that Cromwell battered our finest castles into ruins, the descendants of his officers have, in general, felt no sympathy in old stories about the native defenders. Again, while the history of Scotland, a lesser and poorer kingdom, teems with the interest attaching to the fortunes of her dynasty, our country wants the charm and romance belonging to memories of a royal house. Erin boasts no Bruce, no Wallace, no Mary Queen of the Irish. Our literature cannot, nor ever can, show a work of ancient poetry and research that

may be compared to the *Border Minstrelsy*, nor sketches of the history of our old fortresses that may rival Scott's brief accounts, in his *Provincial Antiquities*, of some celebrated lowland castles. Any pleasure we may derive from perusing a little history of an ancient locality arises (of course, generally speaking) from the remarkable actions and characters of the personages whose former presence and acts in the scene give it celebrity. Very few localities in Ireland command interest from the general reader on this first of all grounds; and the particular interest that descendants of ancient Irish lords and chieftains who either still live in story, or an account of whose deeds may be exhumed from our old chronicles, would feel in such elucidations is, for the most part, utterly wanting. Again, our chronicles and annals, whether perused by Gael or Teuton, are exceedingly meagre and lifeless; and, when collated with our archives, do not always agree with these contemporary authorities as to dates and facts, so that an inquirer is sometimes left in a state of sceptical confusion. Our annals, nevertheless, when taken in conjunction with researches from surer sources, are valuable materials for local history; for the details they afford respecting particular localities, thus used in combination, group and cluster in sufficient clearness of form round the various points of interest.

Archæology, as relates to our country, is a new science, especially in its minor branch, topography; yet anyone who desires to obtain and give some account of a notable place will not be discouraged if his industry does not produce a rich and clarified result, provided he keeps in mind the advice of one of the most erudite of modern historians, Sir Francis Palgrave, viz. :—"If a knot cannot be opened, let us not cut it, nor fret our tempers, nor wound our fingers in trying to undo it, but be quite content to leave it untied. We can do no more than we are enabled. The wanting cannot be supplied, nor the crooked made straight."

Few castellated ruins in Ireland would command higher historic and architectural interest than Ferns Castle, if it were true, as is popularly believed, that these remains of a once noble fortress formed at one time the palace of the famous Diarmait na nGall, King of Leinster, and that hither he brought the supposed *fons malorum Hibernicorum*, Dearbh-forgaill, a lady compared, by the contemporary bishop of St. Davids, to the fair provocative of the siege of Troy, the beauteous Helen. A very slight knowledge, however, of architecture will assure the inspector of these remains that they were no work of so remote an age as the twelfth century; and we are, moreover, about to show that the original structure was frequently replaced by new buildings. The "Annals of the Four Masters" state that, in the year 1166, when O'Conchobair of Connaught was inaugurated chief king of Ireland, "Ferna was burned by Mac Murchadha, for fear that the Connacht men would burn his castle and his house"; and that, towards the close of the same

year, on the occasion of this turbulent chieftain being banished over sea, "his castle at Ferns was demolished." Subsequently this prince, in atonement for his crimes against humanity, founded an abbey here, and endowed it with certain lands, comprising part of "Ferneghenal," and with it certain fisheries, also a *scaith*, or flagon, out of every brewing of ale in the town of Ferns, &c.

The primary settlement here was doubtless of an ecclesiastical nature. St. Maedog, otherwise St. Eda, appears to have constructed a small house of worship here in the seventh century ; and we read, in the above-named Annals, that, in 1002, a man was slain "in the oratory

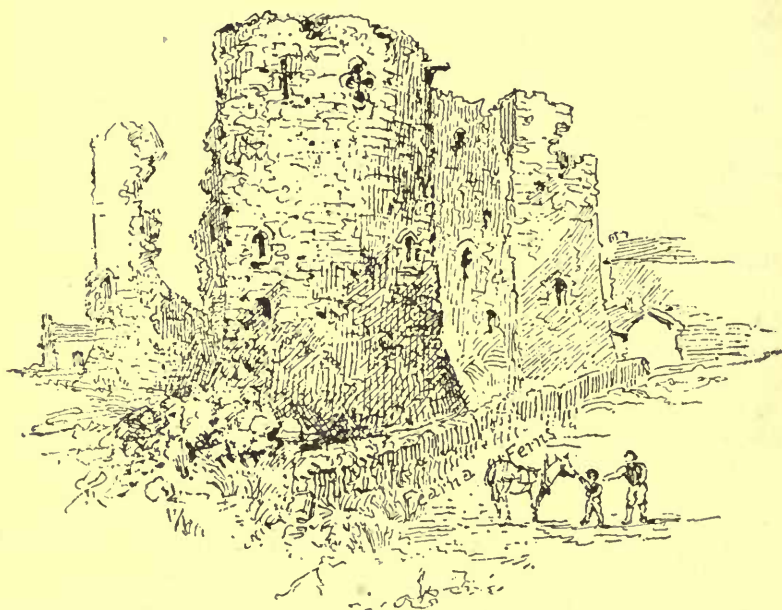


FIG. 1.—THE CASTLE, FERNS.

(From a Sketch by Mr. J. S. Fleming.)

of Ferna-mor-Maedhog" by the King of the Lagenians, surnamed *Mael-na-mbo*, i.e. the chief of the cows, and grand father of Murchad, from whom successive "Mic Murchada" took their hereditary title as kingly patriarchs of the Leinster tribes. A beautiful sepulchral monument, bearing the recumbent effigy of a bishop, with some other elaborate carving, in black marble, still shown in the cathedral, is popularly believed to be the tomb of "St. Mogue" (i.e. Maedog), but, from the elegant workmanship and style, can by no means be ascribed to so early a period, and may be conjectured to have been raised over Bishop Adam de Northampton, who was interred in this cathedral, A.D. 1393. As faithful archæologists who feel it a

duty to discriminate between the genuine and the spurious, we may also try to dispel the vulgar notion that the elopement of Dearbh-forgaill with the King of the Lagenians, was the immediate cause of the invasion of Ireland by the English. In the first place, her outburst of frailty occurred so far back as 1152, when, as the native annalists record, "Dermott MacMurrough, King of Lynster, took the Lady Derrogill, wife of Tyernon O'Royrek, with her cattle and furniture, and kept her for a long space." The chroniclers add that she left her husband and in consequence of his ill-treatment of her, and by the advice of

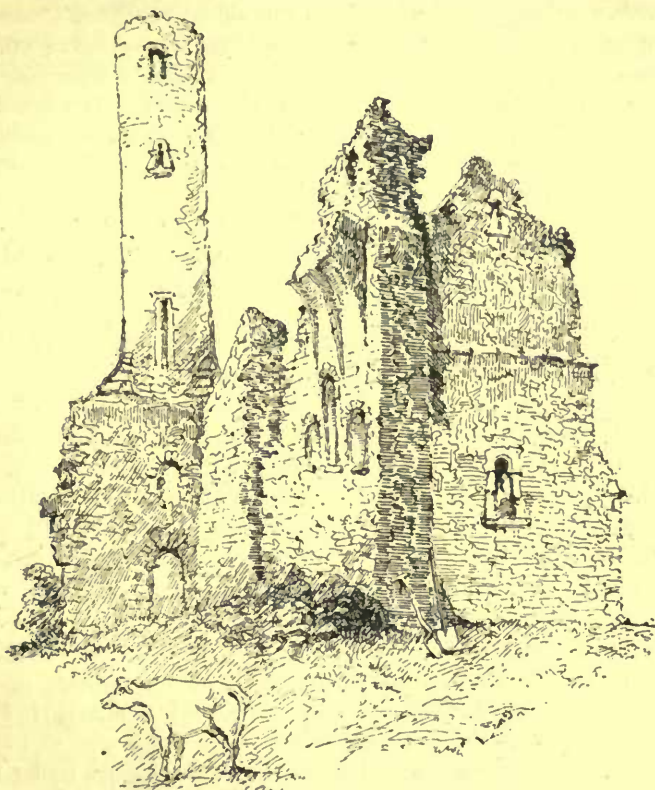


FIG. 2.—THE MONASTERY, FERN.

her brother. Again, the mature age of forty-four was then reached by this "young false one" (as the author of the *Irish Melodies* poetically styles her); and her royal ravisher had passed the sober climacteric of sixty-one.¹ Without attempting to defend the lady's conduct, we must recollect that marriage was at the period in question, and in later ages, so insecure a bond that many similar instances occurred. King Diarmait

¹ Notes to O'Donovan's "Four Masters."

was indeed expelled from his kingdom eight years after this event; but it may be believed that his behaviour as an elderly Paris was not the most aggravating cause of his expulsion. Referring to the interesting Norman-French poem on the conquest of Ireland, written on the narration of the interpreter to the exiled king, it appears that when he carried off the fair and lovely wife (so she is described) of the King of Leitrim, he conveyed her "with victory and content into Ferns." Perhaps his "castle" here was destroyed because it had been the scene of his guilty felicities; and his interpreter distinctly states that the ravisher subsequently "lodged in the abbey of Ferns." Another contemporary, the Bishop of St. Davids, informs us that the ex-king, on his return from seeking martial aid in Wales, landed at Glascarrig, and proceeded to Ferns, where he was, in the words of the translator, "verie honorable received of the cleargie, who after their ability did refresh and succour him; but he, for a time dissembling his princelie state, continued as a private man all that winter following among them."¹

The lady died a penitent in Mellifont Abbey; and the old chief seems to have passed the last year of his eventful life in the monastery he founded, since it is chronicled that in 1171 "Diarmaid, King of Leinster, by whom all Ireland was made like a trembling sod, died, of an unknown and terrible disease, at Fearnamór."²

Let us now give the etymology of the name of this place, and notice some of the acts and deeds of the English and Irish warriors who were crowded within the little town. *Fearnamór* signifies 'a great plain or field,' i.e., felled or cleared land, as distinguished from woodland and mountain. This city—for so it may be termed, as the seat of a bishop, with his cathedral—became the headquarters of Strongbow, after his marriage with Eva, the native princess of Leinster, of which Gaelic kingdom it was the capital. Here also the conqueror-earl gave one of his daughters in marriage to Robert de Quency, and bestowed on him the country called the Duffry, with the constablership or military and civil government of Leinster. The constable's heiress was married to Philip, Lord Prendergast, grandson of the chivalrous Sir Maurice of Prendergast, near Haverfordwest, who had landed as the second leader in the first invasion, at the head of ten knights, and had been rewarded by the earl, according to promise, with a broad fief, containing ten knights' fees. The district so granted to this adventurous leader is distinctly named Fernegenel, and lay between this town and the county one. Lord Prendergast held lands around this town, since, in 1225, he surrendered to the bishop of this see "many lands in many places as of right belonging to the church at Ferns, and, on compulsion by the apostolic see, quitted claim unto the said bishop, for peace sake, twenty-eight

¹ Harris's Hib.

² "Kilkenny Annuary," pp. 41 and 53.

plough lands, at Clone, in the neighbourhood, and elsewhere.¹ His estate descended by marriage to John, Lord Cogan, whose vast property passed, by deed, to the Fitz Gerald, Earls of Kildare.² The manor of Ferns became, however, a demesne of the Lords Palatine of Wexford, as will be presently seen.

One of the earliest grants on our records is *hospitium liberum* in this town, bestowed by Strongbow on one of his followers. Two other recorded grants made by him are more archæologically noticeable. According to the interpreter to King Dermot, one of the brothers of Eva, Countess of Pembroke, named Donnell Kavanagh (from whom the celebrated clan of this name derive it), was rewarded by the Earl for the active part he took with the invaders by a grant of "la regne de Leinster." An early translator renders this "the plains of Leinster"; but we prefer to translate it—the *reign*, or *rule*, of the Lagenian Irish. This native prince had fought valiantly to recover his father's dominion; and his brother-in-law and ally might well have confirmed his authority over his clan. However restricted the territory left to them, the country of the O'Kinsellaghs was at the same period confirmed to Marierbesle O'Kinsellagh:—"Of which countries," adds the translator, "they were by the Irish presently called kings"; and he continues to say that Donnell subsequently conspired with Marierbesle mac Donchad and other native leaders, and rose in arms against the Earl. This was in 1174, when "King Donnell, being moved against the Celts' men, made a great slaughter of English."³ Marierbesle also made war against them at the head of the clan Kinsellagh.

Whatever may have been the conduct of the chieftains of the Kavanaghs and Kinsellaghs, they were evidently dispossessed of the ancient territories granted to them by Strongbow, and the treatment they received in this respect is reprehended by Giraldus. The first-named clan retired into the forests of Idrone, and seemed to have held this district as a fief from the Earl Marshals of England, Lords of Leinster. And it may be that the singular antique relic their "Charter Horn," preserved in the Museum of Trinity College, and traditionally believed to have been their instrument of tenure of their estate, was given them by one of these earls. The last-named clan continued to inhabit the district still known as "the Kinsellaghs' Country"; yet we may be sure that during the first ages of the English settlement, when the conquerors were in strong force, the lands of the natives were frequently encroached on. Thus Edward I granted the town of Courtown to his brother, though he had previously let it at pleasure to Makmurghy.⁴ Giraldus, in relating the cause why the English could not make a full and final conquest of Ireland, sets down as one of them the breach of faith shown to those of the natives who had espoused the

¹ MS. Egerton, 75, p. 370.

² "Kildare Chartulary." Sir W. Betham.

³ "Life of Art MacMurrough," p. 15.

⁴ Titdd. b. s., 4790.

side of the invaders. "When," says he, "Fitzstephen came first over, and also the earl, there were certain Irishmen which took part with them, and faithfully served under them; and these were rewarded and had given unto them for recompense certain lands which they quietly held and enjoyed, until the time of the coming over of the King's son;

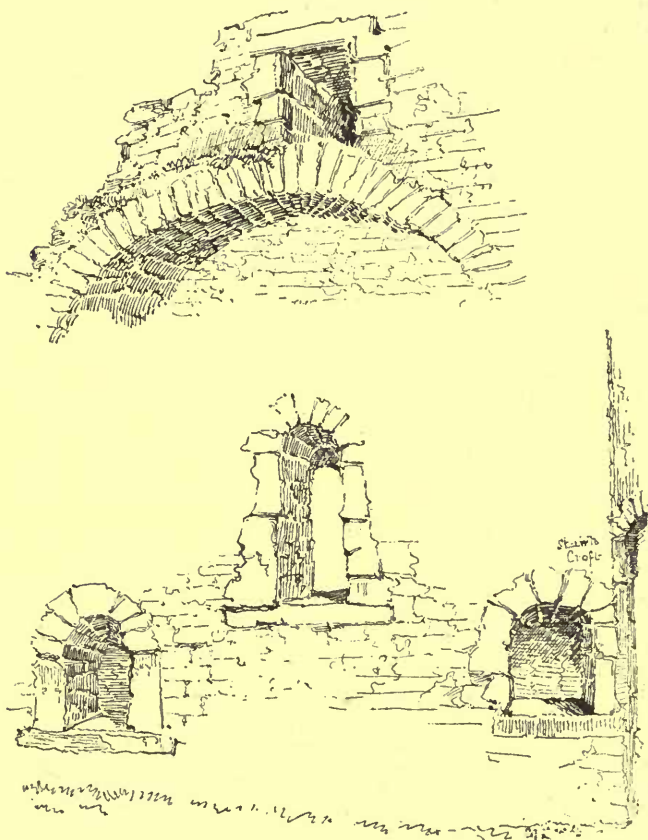


FIG. 3.—EAST GABLE OF CHAPEL, THE MONASTERY, FERNS.

for now the same were taken from them and given to such as were new come over, contrarie to the promise and grant to them before made. Whereupon they forsook us, and fled to our enemies, and became not onely spies upon us, but were also guiders and conductors of them against us, they being so much the more able to hurt and annoy us, because

they were before our familiars, and knew all our orders and secrets." Hooker observes, in a note:—"Who these Irishmen were, there are divers opinions. Some think they were such as did inhabit about Wexford; some think that they were of Kensela, for they faithfullie served the Englishmen under their captains, named Morogh, at Limerick, when Reymond recovered the same."

The first authentic notice of a castle here occurs in the statement of Giraldus that the sons of Maurice FitzGerald received, in exchange for Guendoke Castle, the locality of Ferns—"in Luich," saith an old translation, "albeit it were in the midst of their enemies, yet, like lustie and courageous gentlemen, they builded a strong castell, which they kept and inhabited maugre all their enemies."¹

It seems that the sons of Maurice FitzGerald rebuilt the castle here, and that the Royal favourite William De Burgh craftily obtained it from them, and found a pretence to have it demolished.

Ferns no longer continued to be the capital of Leinster, which territory, indeed, small in extent in comparison with the present province, was, under the first feudal rule, but the lordship, or territorial fief, attached to the *caput baroni de Wexford*.² The word 'Leinster' seems then to imply little more than the territory around Sliabhlein, now "Mount Leinster." We may also notice that Henry II assigned "the service of O'Morethi" to the lordship of Wexford.³ This chieftain, the Mac Murrough, was thus bound to render suit and service to the Lords of Leinster for his fief.

Baron Finglas, who wrote about the year 1529, observes that the *Earl Marshall* enjoyed the lordship of Leinster in peace during sixty years subsequent to the conquest, all the inhabitants obeying the King's laws, "excepting certain of the blood and name of Mc'Murroughes, which by sufferance of the said Earl, for allyance of their wives" (daughters doubtless of neighbouring feudal vassals to the Earl) "were dwelling under tribute in the County of Katherlough, as it were a barony, in a place called Idrone." This writer proceeds to say how subsequently "one of these native chiefs being retained by the English lords' heirs, Carlow and Wexford, as Captain of war for their defence," "mutinied, assuming independence, kept a great portion of both Counties, wherein he was captain, as his own, and called himself McMorogh."

This rise and resumption on the part of the descendants of the ancient Kings of Leinster is referred to the reign of Edward II; and we see, by the ensuing extract of a record in the Tower of London, that, although a fortress had been re-erected at Ferns, the manor had sunk one-third in letting value. The document, an inquisition on the lands of Joan De Valence, Countess of Pembroke, and Lady Palatine of Wexford, taken in 1307, states that "there is in the Manor of Fernes

¹ Holinshed's Chron., vol. v., p. 147. ² Arch. Miscell., 1, 28. ³ Rymer, 1175.

one Castle with one carucate of lands and three acres of moor, worth 29s. 8d. a year.

	£	s.	d.
Rents of burgages,	8	0	4
„ „ free tenants,	5	10	6
(which used to be worth)	18	0	3)
Fifty-four carucates of land and five bovates of land worth	18	14	0
(which used to be worth)	59	9	2)
One water mill,	2	16	8
Four acres of Meadow,	0	8	0
Exit of,	0	8	4
Perquisites of Court and Hundred,	1	4	0
Total,	£38	16	6” ¹

In 1324 it was found by inquisition as to the property of Aymer De Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and Lord of Wexford, celebrated in the historic romance of “Castle Dangerous,” that “there is at Fernes one stone Castle, which is unprofitable because nothing can be obtained therefrom, being in the Irish marshes and greatly wanting repairs and support. That there are in the town 160 burgages, appertaining to the Castle, which used to pay a yearly rent of £8. 4. 0., but now nothing, being waste by reason of the war of the Irish. And 8 “carucates of land, each containing six score acres, but paying nothing, being wasted by the Irish felons.” During the prelaacy of Bishop Charnells, in the year 1331, the Castle was taken by the clan O’Toole; but the bishop, assembling his tenants and followers, bravely routed the garrison, and recovered the place. As a notable instance of the ungoverned state and turbulent spirit of the times, it may be noticed that John Esmonde (of the ancient family now represented by Sir Thomas Esmonde, Bart.), who was consecrated Bishop of Ferns in 1349, but soon after deprived of his episcopal dignity by order from Rome, continued, however, to maintain himself by force of arms in this fortress. The sheriff of the shire being sent to dispossess him, reported to government that he was unable to execute the king’s writ by reason of the resistance opposed to him by the bishop and twenty-seven other persons, ten of whom were Esmondes. The refractory prelate was afterwards arrested, not without difficulty, and bound by articles to keep the peace. The period of the taking of the two inquests above quoted was manifestly the epoch of the resurgence of the south-eastern Gael. Clyn, a contemporary, fixes the successful insurrection of the O’Mores at the year 1346; ten years subsequently occurred the great defeat near Ferns, when two hundred of the *Contá reagh* were slain; immediately after

¹ The writer is indebted to Mr. Hardy, the excellent and obliging keeper of the Records in the Tower, for copies of these curious documents.

which event, William, bishop of the diocese, and custodier of this fortress, was directed to surrender the custody to friar Richard Northampton.¹ By an account of the profits of the temporalities of the see during the interval prior to the election of Bishop Richard Northampton, the manor of Ferns paid a lordship rent of 12*s.* 6*d.* to the bishop, besides such various rents accrued from farmers, cottagers, free tenants, burgages, millers, there and at Clone, duties on ale, and perquisites of the hundred court.² In 1359, the attorney of the Countess of Athol, by whom this castle was then held in dowry, was required to pay its custodiers out of the profits of the lady's other dower property in the manor of Castleida. The king had committed the custody of the fortress to William Charnells, bishop of the diocese, and Thomas Astley, with the accustomed yearly fee of £20; and "because of the ancient ordinance that they who possess castles or fortresses in Warlike Marches must cause them to be warded by means of the profits of the land they hold in peaceful parts," the said manor was charged with the expense of warding this fortress.³ In the following year the king upon petition from David de Hathbolgy, Earl of Athol, showing that the said castle had, while it so continued in custody, been, for want of proper keeping, *thrown down* by the Irish enemy, released the earl's manor from the said cost.⁴

In 1376, by patent⁵ dated 18th October, 49 Edw. III, the king, on a petition of Thomas Denne, bishop of Ferns, exhibited to the Governor and Council of Ireland, setting forth that he and his men and tenants, as well at Fernes as elsewhere in the County of Wexford, lived in a state of grievous unquiet; because their goods and cattle were often taken away—therefore takes them into his royal special protection.

Turning to the history of the *clan* Kavanagh, descendants of that Donnell to whom the first feudal lord of Leinster confirmed the reign and government of the Lagenian Gael, we find that, on the opportunity of Edward Bruce's invasion, "Donnell, son of Art Mac Morrow, a slip of the royal family" (so Campion writes) "displayed his banner within two miles of Dublin, calling himself king of Leinster." In 1335, so largely had the power of the clan increased that Edward III took the humiliating but politic step of paying a stipend of eighty marks a year to their chieftain. This black rent from the royal exchequer continued to be paid until Ferns Castle was recovered under Henry VIII. The date at which this important fortress fell into the hands of the Irish is uncertain. The patriotic writer of "A Memoir of Art Mac Morrogh" ascribes its capture to that undoubted hero, who flourished at the close of the fourteenth century. Our authority for its first dispossession states that Donnell *reagh* Kavanagh (who died in 1476, and was son of Gerald, Lord of Leinster, son of the renowned Art), "gave the Mart land

¹ Pat. Roll, 29 Ed. III.

² Addit. ms. Brit. Museum.

³ Claus. 32 Edw. III, 3rd May.

⁴ Claus. 3 Edw. III, 16th October.

⁵ Printed Rot. Pat., p. 95.

on which Ferns stands to his son Gerald." His other son Art *buidhe* became Mac Murrough; he inherited Enniscorthy Castle, and died in 1518. From him descended the sept of Garryhill, of whom was the celebrated Donnell *Spainiach*; but the descendants of Gerald of Ferns were mostly exterminated.

At the commencement of the sixteenth century the Irish had proved themselves fierce and irresistible neighbours to the Englishry. It was about this period that the rampant state of the king of the south-eastern native clans, and the forlorn and subjected condition of the Englishry of Wexford, are thus described¹:—

"Mac Murghowe Prince of Leinster. He and his kinsmen will be 200 horse well harneyed; a baboyle of galloglas; and 800 kerne."

To oppose this force the remnant of the colonists could only raise 60 horse and 200 kerne, and are described as "so environed with Irishmen that they cannot answer the King's Deputie, neyther have power to keepe ourselves save only by paying yearly tribute to Irishmen."

The Gaelic chieftain was, however, thoroughly subordinate to the great ruling family of Geraldines, as appears by the fact that the Earl of Kildare had dispossessed the rightful chief at this time, and supported Caher MacInnycross Kavanagh, who was his *aulbier*, or fosterer, as Mac Murrough.² The Earl also received, among his numerous "duties from Irishmen" throughout the province, a considerable rent from some of the clan Kavanagh, charged on their herds of cows.³ The dangerous revolt of "Silken Thomas," the Earl's eldest son, breaking out, the attention of the Crown was forcibly drawn once more to the need of bringing the Irish of Leinster into subjection; and in 1536, among the means for the recovery of dominion in the province, it was recommended "to take the strong Castell of Fernys, and to wall that town, and enhabit likewise." In another State paper, dated the year following, it is advised to send colonists to Fernes, "where there is a great castell of the Kings, the Cathedral church, an abbey, and a town." Soon after, Lord Leonard Grey, brother-in-law of the late Kildare, landing as Viceroy, sent down a strong force to ravage MacMurrough's country, which was "over-riden and a great many preys taken." In consequence, Caher *Mc Innycross* Kavanagh, "otherwise Mac Murehoo, chief captain of his nation," entered, 12th May, 1536, into a treaty of peace⁴ with the lord deputy, who proceeded vigorously in reducing the country to obedience, and, Ferns Castle remaining in the hands of insurgents, determined to take this important citadel. The short and successful siege of that fortress is graphically told in a subsequent despatch.⁵ A letter dated 12th July, 1536, observes that "the lord deputie is about

¹ Add. MS., 6917.

² Kildare Rental Book.

³ R. Cowby, S. P., April, 1538, MS.

⁴ Printed Calendar of Patent Rolls.

⁵ Printed S. P., Alen to Cromwell.

the Castell of Ferns, in McMorow's countre, which is a veray strong castell, and necessary to be had for the king." Lord Leonard sent on before him a large force of foot, together with those irresistible foes to stone walls, a few pieces of ordnance. Leaving Leighlin late in the evening, he rode all night, and reached Ferns early in the morning. "On demanding of the garrison whether they would surrender," continues the narrative, "they made plain answer they would not leave the same, using very spiteful language. And so passing the daie in preparing gunnes, instrumentes, and other necessities for the obteyneng thereof; bringing them nighe to the Castell, to thintent they mought see my Lord wold not leave the same, as he promised them, till he had atteyned it; bestoweng his men in the diches and fastnes of that ground, to watch the gate, les they shold evade; and caused parte of them to goo to the castell, and brake thutter gate, entering to the draw bridge. I" (Alen, the writer) "perambuleng about the same espied one of the ward often to resort to one place, desired a servante of my brother's, a gunner, to resort privily to a secreet place by the castell, and to bestowe himself, which he accomplished, and so killed him, and as it fortunèd, the same person was he which was governor and gunner of the castell. Wherefore shortly after they desired to speak with my Lorde, who shewed them that percase they wold not deliver the castell unto him before his lordship had bestowed his ordnance, which was coming within a mile, that afterward if they wold have delivered the same, it should not be accepted of them; but man, woman, and childe should suffer for the same. Which all together, with the death of their capitaine, discomfected them; surrendered and picted the same to my Lorde who, for that night, put a capitaine and me in the same, and the next day put a warde of Mac Morghos in the same. And Mac Morgho himself came in hostage with my Lorde Deputie to Dublin, to agree with his Lordship and Mr. Thesaurer for the taking of the same, which was let very late for five merkis Irish, or thereabouts. Albeit, the same Mac Morgho hath delivered good hostages to surrender the same castell at the King's pleasure, or his Deputies, and to pay yearly 80 merkis Irish. For he that had the possession thereof before was such a malefactor that he robbed and wasted 20tie myles in affecte about the same. And there all the natives and principals of the Kavanaghes confuited themselves to receive suche order and lawes as the Deputy and Counseille shall prescribe unto them and none other.

"Assuring your right honourable good mastership that the said castell is one of the ancient and strongest castells within this lande, and of the Erle of Shrewsbury's or the Duke of Norfolk's olde inheritaunce, being worth sometime 300 merkis by the year; situated nobly within ten myles to Wexforde and 12 miles to Arcloo. So is there dwelling a good capitagne, maie quiete, order, and rule all those parties. And from thense we departed by sea side to Dublin, taking order in the countrie

as he went, camping in the fields nightlie; which waie no English Deputie came these 100 years, nor none like enterprise attempted nor atchieved these 100 years in so little time and with so little charges."

On the 14th July, Mac Murrough agreed by indenture that he should be warden and constable of "this castelle lately recovered by the Lord Deputy from the posession of certain rebels," with a fee of 80 marks for the first year; and Gerald Sutton Kavanagh was nominated governor of the Castle under Mac Murghoo."¹

Piers, Earl of Ormond, however, having risen on the fall of the Leinster Geraldines, procured the constablenesship for his son, Sir Richard Butler, as appears by an extract of a letter from the Earl, without date, but which may be referred to the year 1538.²

"Assuredly there is nothing so needfull now to be attempted as the enterprise of how to diminish the Mac Morrowes and Kavanaghs; for they have lately so surely bound together as that they have been many years in mortall hate together taketh now one part; yet and with one assent concluded to stick in one quarrel against the Englishry of this land, and for as much as my sonne Richard is now the King's constable in Fernes, which standeth so in the midst of them, and being so long a time in their possession as it occasioneth, together with theyr challenges for tributes of the Kings County of Wexford, them to make these combinations. And this I will affirme, that were it not that I am full glad my said sonne does so stand in place express for to execute high service to the Kings highness though it be dangerous, I would not for a great profit to him, suffer him as yet to enterprize, to inhabit there; for so long as the Kavanaghs are of any power, it shall be right necessary to my said son to be well manned and appointed, and howbeit I have sudenle provided other possessions for him nigh that part, to the intent he shall be the better able to doe good service in Fernes, and therefore in any regard, it is the highest enterprize to be attempted in this land to destroy the Kavanaghs; and likest to take effect, my Lord Deputy setting well to it with the Englishry; Mr. Senttoe with the County of Wexford, and I with my power on the other parte, not doubting so to work in it as they shall be of little power, God willing.

"And considering the Kings highnesse hath so great army here, to inhabit, yet much to invade; therefore there cannot be a more liker thing to enterprize for us all than the same. And I trust beside my service in that, I shall stay all Munster that meane season. Wherein also we shall have right great advantage, for these Kavanaghs are invironed with Englishry, otherwise then."

The end of the letter is unfortunately torn off. The earl was probably about to allude to the fact of the only Irish bordering on the Kavanaghs being the Byrnes and Tooless of Wicklow. The power of their chieftain seems to have been little diminished; for the earl's son

¹ Printed Patents.

² Add. MS. 4819.

writes :—"Mac Murrough calleth for his black rent in the counties of Kilkenny and Wexford."¹ Fortunately for the clan, the new king they set over them at this period, Caher Mac Art, was inclined to be a loyal feudal subject. By a curious account given by Walter Cowley (ancestor of the Duke of Wellington) of an interview with this chief in March, 1540-41, he had become anxious to be a vassal of the Crown; he boasted that his ancestors were the first to bring Englishmen into Ireland, promised to reform himself and people according to feudal rule and habits, entreated that his territory and the counties inhabited by MacWadick, MacDavidmore, O'Morrow, and other Kavanagh septs should be made shire ground by the name of the county of Ferns, of which he proffered himself to be sheriff the first year, and of which he perhaps had the ambition to be created earl. He was subsequently created a baron, and was known by the title of Lord St. Molyns. A "county of Ferns" was also shired off, but never legally formed into a county.

In 1543, it was stipulated, in a curious agreement entered into by the government with this great native clan, that, "as the castle and manors of Ferns and Enniscorthy are proper and peculiar manors of the King," they should have ample territories assigned to them by commissioners, some of whom were elders and seniors of the tribe. This fortress, with a large subordinate territory, was therefore placed under the governorship of John Travers, Master of the Ordnance, who nevertheless was unable on the 26th March, 1550, to prevent Caher Mac Art from obtaining possession of the fortress "by tradymment," that is to say by treachery. In the following year (4 Edw. VI) their castle, together with three other centres of large territories, was ordered to be exempt, for the future, from the sway of the clan Kavanagh, being "taken for the King."² From this time forth, constables were regularly appointed by the Crown by letters patent. As one of these documents specifies the several curious services and duties rendered to the castellan of this garrison in the reign of Elizabeth, some extracts are worth our antiquarian notice. The Irish countries named as tributary are Mac Damores, the Kinshellaghs (including Gorey and Clonattin), which rendered 120 fat beeves, 12 ploughs for four days, 60 labourers for one day to cut wood, 60 garrons to carry the wood to the castle and the service of 20 kerne and 10 boys daily; and MacDavoch's which rendered a third of such duties; while the manor and tenants of the fortress yielding certain agricultural services, including a beef at All Saints from every mart land, with "foundage hogs, summer sheep. and halgay hens."³

St. Eda's Cathedral now deserves some notice, since the present church of this name retains considerable vestiges of ancient architecture, which may be ascribed to the fourteenth century. The original edifice was rebuilt during the reign of Elizabeth by those fierce mountain

¹ Printed S. P. 1538.

² Red Council Book.

³ Cal. Pat. 9 Jac. I.

neighbours, the O'Byrnes, as appears by an order in the Council Book, dated 1577, "against Teagh MacHue and Hue MacShane, his father, for restoring goods taken from Ferns, and for building the cathedral Church, burnt by them."¹ 1578-79, March 6th, Lord Deputy Sir William Drury writes that, having been well entertained by Hugh Mac Shane, Chief of the O'Byrnes, he "came southward and viewed the old and ruinous castle of Fernes." Three years subsequently Sir Thomas Masterson, a Cheshire gentleman, Seneschal of the Wexford Palatinate, was appointed constable, with ten warders. Viceroy Sydney praises this old follower of his as "a valiant and good borderer." Hooker, whose translation of Giraldus was published in 1587, gives the ensuing account of this place:—

"Fernes is the see and Cathedrall Church of the bishop, and was sometime a church well adorned and maintained, but now in great ruine and decaie, the bishop and chapiter not remaining there at all. There is also a strong fort of the prince's, whercin sometimes was kept a garrison at the prince's charges, but now onlie a constable is placed therein, and he hath the sole charge thereof."

A legendary tradition respecting these black ruins, which is credited by the neighbouring peasantry, is well entitled to notice here, since we can identify the mythic actress in the story, thus gravely repeated by the author of "A Tour in Ireland," published in 1748. "It is told," says that writer, "that this castle once belonged to *Catherine de Clare*, who, for many years, committed most horrid murders here, under the countenance of hospitality. She would invite several of the rich inhabitants in order to entertain them, and when they were in their mirth and jollity, sink them through a trap-door and cut their throats! It is certain we saw a convenience of this kind, that opened into a large cavern, which might give rise to such a tale."

On this legend, Brewer has the comment that "a narrow channel, like that seen by our tourist, is found in most Anglo-Norman castles, but its use was obviously not that of secret murder, though a privy one." "It may be remarked," he continues, "that throughout Munster the common people uniformly term these funnel-like channels 'murdering holes,' and almost every old castle has a creature of fancy resembling Catherine de Clare." Catherine Clere, nevertheless, was no imaginary being, but wife of Sir Thomas Masterson, constable of this castle. She was daughter of a Mr. Clere, of Kilkenny, and, it would seem, was of the old faith, since her posterity embraced it, although they were by the spear side Elizabethan colonists of an opposite tendency. Her eldest son, Sir Richard Masterson, of Ferns, Knt., succeeded his father as seneschal of the county, and, leaving four co-heiresses, this manor devolved to Edward Masterson, Esq., of Arkamont (an estate acquired by marriage with the heiress of Roche, Lord of Rochesland), who was

¹ Add. M.S. Brit. Mus. 4790.

High Sheriff of the county in 1646, but, being attainted, his family lost their fine property. In 1595, the Lord Deputy, Sir William Russell, during his campaign against Teagh Mae Hugh, left the camp at Money, as we read in the journal of his Viceroyalty, and "rode to Mr. Masterson's Castle at Ferns, where his Lordship rested all night."¹ This castellan was subsequently knighted, and as Sir Richard Masterson, constable of this garrison, is stated to have done good service against the O'Byrnes in 1597, bringing to the Lord Deputy one day twelve of their heads, besides several prisoners. But in the same year, during the general insurrection of the Irish, lengthy examinations were taken respecting his conduct as seneschal of the county, being accused of favouring the neighbouring rebels. He was said to have entered into a league of amity with Fiach O'Byrne, by which they agreed not to hurt each other's people. Besides this treasonable agreement, he was declared to have purposely drawn the Queen's troops into danger. Fiach had, on one occasion, in a skirmish, taken the old seneschal, Sir Richard's father, prisoner, but had released him on ransom; and subsequently, having taken the present officer, set him free upon oath that he would ever be a firm friend to him, and had gone so far as to hang a follower for stealing cattle near Ferns. Masterson is also declared to have supplied him with gunpowder; and the house of his foster-mother, Ellen Purcell, close to the castle walls, in which there were "revelling and playing at tables," was stated to be the rendezvous where this traitor castellan met and conspired with his Gaelic friends. Besides this interior picture of life in Ireland during the disturbed reign of Elizabeth, the depositions referred to contain many other curious details.²

During the great rebellion of 1641, Mastersons appear to have held this castle at the service of the Confederate Catholics.

"On Saturday night, the 29th September, 1649, a party from Cromwell's army, then advancing to Wexford, was sent to Ferns, which was surrendered upon terms that they should march away, only leaving all their arms, ammunition, and provisions behind them."³

After the Restoration, this castle and an adjacent estate were granted to a gentleman who sold them to Thomas Kiernan, of New Row, Dublin, by whom they were bequeathed, in 1694, to Messrs. Morbogh and Rickard Donovan, of Clonmore, county Wexford, in whose family they remain.

The old decayed ruins of this once strong fortress are of considerable interest in an architectural point of view. They are so massive and extensive as to be grand; and indeed this building excels many a noble

¹ Carew MS.

² S. P. O., vol. lxx.

³ Cromwell's Proceedings; a contemporary pamphlet.

castle, such as Canterbury, which was anciently the stronghold of an English city. It stands on an eminent situation, and still has the air of commanding the surrounding country. The following is a description of the building as it appeared in 1780, when it was in tolerable repair:— It consisted of a square, flanked by four round towers, of which one is entire, and the half of another remaining, with fragments of walls. The perfect tower is built in this manner: one-third of its height from the ground is of small stones, one-third of larger, and the highest third regular hewn stone. This tower contains a beautiful chapel, the groinings of which spring from consoles. Many years since, a large iron cresset used to stand conspicuously on its summit, for the purpose of lighting a bonfire on the anniversary of the landing of the Prince of Orange; but this beacon of animosity has since been removed.

During the temporary occupation of Ferns by the rebel Gael, the prelates of this see dwelt in the safer quarters at Fethard. The temporalities of the bishopric are declared to have been unduly expropriated after the Reformation, and, in consequence, this see became one of the poorest in the kingdom.

Lord Deputy Wentworth writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 19th March, 1634:—"The Bishoprick of Fernes is already so saddle-girt and spur-galled as if the Devil himself were the Rider, he could not make well worse of it than it is already; it hath been made much of; but as Stockely told Queen Elizabeth, being blamed for not using his wife well, that he had already turned her into her Petticoat, and if any man could make more of her, they might take her for him. However, I shall not fail assist all I possibly can in the recovery; and that done, preserve it with strong antidotes against any Prejudice this reverend Prelate might set upon the Succession. His Lordship elect gave us a farewell Sermon this Lent, that had fasted sure, for a lean one it was; only he commended the Times and said, 'How long, how long have we heretofore expected Preferment, and missed of it? But now, God be praised, we have it.' By my troth they were his very words, and I had much ado to forbear laughing outright, that understood how much he mistook even these Times in this Point, which did not intend this Bishoprick unto him for a preferment, but rather as a discipline. Yet he is a good child and kisseth the rod: so you see it was not a correction ill bestowed upon him."

Bishop Ram, who came over as chaplain to Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, had acted in a different and better manner with regard to the property of the Church. He rebuilt the episcopal "palace" at much cost, and, finding, ere it was finished, that he should not long enjoy it, placed over the entrance door the following witty distich:—

"This house *Ram* built, for his succeeding brothers;
So sheep bear wool, not for themselves, but others."

A large marble stone, covered with an inscription written by this prelate, and formerly incorporated in his residence, is still to be seen on the gate-house of Ramsfort Park, the seat of his descendant, Stephen Ram, Esq., an accomplished gentleman.

The late palace, near Ferns, was built, in 1786, by Bishop Cope, at an expense of £6,000.

HISTORICAL NOTES, PARISH OF SEAPATRICK, CO. DOWN.

BY CAPTAIN RICHARD LINN, *Fellow.*

[Submitted SEPTEMBER 27, 1910.]

IN recounting the history of the parish of Seapatrick and town of Banbridge, we have no Roman or even Norman period to refer to, such as the local historian in England rejoices in investigating. The parish has few prehistoric remains; no stone pillar or cromlech is to be found within its boundaries, or any other kind of rude stone monument. Two artificial caves, known as souterrains, exist, one of which is to be found near Banbridge.¹

Earthworks of the class known as "Danes' Forts" occur in every townland. The Danes of course had nothing to do with the building of these forts; they were the sites of dwellings, folds for cattle, and domestic animals generally, and also as places of security in times of danger; but there is no evidence that they formed part of a system of military defence.

Seapatrick cannot boast of a ruined castle or abbey, ancient church, or the site of a great battle.

The earliest mention we have of the town of Banbridge in this parish is in 1691, in which year an Outlawry Court was held, to which were summoned over two hundred persons accused of adherence to James II, during the conflict between that monarch and William III.

The origin of the name is easy of explanation; a bridge spanned the river Bann from an early date, hence the name Banbridge. But in the year 1690, when William III and his army were on their way to the Boyne, it was so insignificant and insecure that he crossed the river at the village of Ballykeel—the main part of his army at any rate.² William had bivouacked the previous night at Hillsborough, where a memorial being presented to him by some Presbyterian ministers, complaining that their church had been deprived of all share in Ecclesiastical Revenues of Ireland during the reigns of Charles II and

¹ In the Ordnance Survey correspondence relating to Seapatrick, Lieut. Bennett R.E., writing on October 10th, 1834, says: "A cave was discovered in the townland of Tullyear, about forty years ago. . . It is near the eastern boundary of the townland, in a field belonging to a man named Hillis, a short distance from Banbridge. At present the entrance to it is almost closed up. Several persons who have visited this cave state that its length is about thirty yards, that for the greater part its height is from five to seven feet."

² It is not at all likely that William's army, consisting of 36,000 men, with vast quantities of provisions and ammunition, artillery, &c., passed over the Bann at one spot only. There is reason to believe that the army crossed at several points between Ballykeel and Ballydown.

James II, he granted the Church £1,200 a year, which was afterwards augmented, and put on the Consolidated Fund, and continued to be distributed until the Disendowment Act of 1869.

At this time the town of Banbridge consisted of only a few houses straggling along the river banks.¹ Loughbrickland and Dromore on either side of it, especially Dromore, absorbed the trade and commerce of the entire district. Both had market squares, an evidence of their antiquity. To Wills, Earl of Hillsborough, Banbridge owes its present form and subsequent expansion and prosperity. Its wide and spacious streets were laid out by him; and in these operations he exhibited a large and far-seeing mind. Lord Hillsborough, in order to encourage the people to build, granted two sections at nominal rents in perpetuity, to which were added "town parks," being small farms in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, to be used for agricultural and grazing purposes, by the owners of town sections.

We may here remark that this nobleman, after holding other high offices, was appointed Secretary for the Colonies in 1768. He resigned in 1772, but was reappointed in 1779, and was one of the most prominent actors in the British Administration during the period of the War of Independence in America. In 1767, his Lordship procured a patent for holding fairs and markets.² Under this patent power was given to hold five fairs annually, also a weekly market on Monday, and a Court of Pie Poudre for the settlement of disputes arising in fairs or markets.³ With the power to hold markets and fairs, came the necessity for the creation of a suitable market-place, and the erection of a market-house by the owner of the patent, in order that he might derive the profits accruing from the tolls. A market-house was erected on the summit of the hill where the four principal streets intersect, and where a bridge was afterwards erected, when the gradient of the hill was lowered by excavation.⁴ The hotel occupied the site of the present town-hall and market-house. The hostelry was known as the "Bunch of Grapes."⁵

¹ In the map of Ballyvally, 1728, it will be seen that quite a village existed then.

² Fairs and markets were held at Banbridge before the granting of this patent. Harris, in his "Ancient and Present State of County Down" (1744), states that "the greatest fairs for linen cloth are held here five times a year." These markets were held probably on the authority of a patent granted to Sir Marmaduke Whitechurch in 1618, for holding fairs and markets at the village of Ballykeel, close to the present town of Banbridge.

³ This tribunal is one of the most ancient known to the Common Law of England, as well as the most summary and expeditious. Its significance arises from the dusty feet of suitors; and because, as an eminent legal authority states, "justice is done as speedily as dust can fall from the foot." The Steward of the Patentee is the proper judge of this Court. His powers were unlimited as to money amount, the only restriction being that matters in dispute must be determined during the existence of the particular fair or markets in which they arise.

⁴ This bridge was commonly known as the "Jingles Bridge," so named from an old woman who kept an apple stall on it, and who had a constant habit of jingling money in her pocket. She was known as "the Lurgan Jangler."

⁵ The "Bunch of Grapes" which now hangs over the entrance of the Downshire Arms Hotel is the same as appeared on the old hotel.

The "Bunch of Grapes" was a famous house for good cheer. The traveller was

A Brown Linen market was erected in 1817. A market-place for the sale of meal, grain, and agricultural produce generally was built in 1815, at the cost of the lord of the soil, previous to the erection of which, linen and grain were sold in the open space around the market-house. With the discontinuance of open sales of linen, decay has fallen on the linen hall.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the adjoining town of Loughbrickland fell asleep, but Banbridge awoke to the activities of a new commercial and manufacturing life. Weaving and bleaching linen, for which the river Bann afforded great facilities, aroused her out of her slumbers; the few stone houses one and-a-half stories high were superseded by houses larger and more commodious; the town burst its limits in every direction; the population augmented threefold; rural people flocked into the markets and fairs; those especially for horses became famous far and wide, and to this day retain a high reputation.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century there seem to have arisen new aspirations in the people, as with the Scotch revolt of 1745 passed away the danger of another confiscation and shuffling of lands in Ireland. After the landowners, great and small, merchants and manufacturers began to build and improve their properties, increase their manufactures, and extend their commerce. This feeling pervaded all classes, asserting itself at times in a desire and attempt to reform abuses.

In the year 1819, the new broad road between Dublin and Belfast, passing through Banbridge, was constructed, and the old road, which had been the route of mail and other coaches over hill and dale for very many years, was virtually forsaken. Such facilities did not fail to augment the trade of the town. Along with a new road, a new bridge became a necessity; hence the erection of the commodious bridge which now spans the river. At this time the Post Office authorities threatened to despatch their coaches entirely outside the town, to avoid the steep hill over which the main road led through the town. The inhabitants, fearing this would be hurtful to their prosperity, obtained a grant of £500 from the Marquis of Downshire, and opened the unsightly "cut" at a

sure to get a bountiful table at all meals. The dining or public room extended the full depth of the building, furnished with a long table in the centre; benches and settles ran round the apartment; and of course chairs were not wanting. One of the old-fashioned wide open fire-places occupied one end of the room; sheltered from the draughts of the door, stood an oak screen, with a bench on the warm side of it, and here on winter nights guests and neighbours would sit and chat over the blazing peat fire, discussing pots of ale, and the more ardent stimulants, and smoking Quin's Banbridge Spun tobacco. High up in the spacious fireplace hung a goodly supply of hams, bacon, and dried beef; also at hand was a huge meal chest standing in a corner; from its contents oatcake and stirabout (porridge) were made. It was a two-story building; the top story contained several bedrooms and the sitting-room. This apartment was used by the local Masonic Lodge for its meetings; afterwards it met in an upper room in the old Market-House. "Accommodation for Man and Beast" was the legend printed on the eastern gable of the building.

cost of £1,900, which mars the appearance of the principal street. The old market-house must make way for the "cut," but the same lord of the soil erected a much more commodious one on the spot where the "Bunch of Grapes" had accommodated weary travellers for nearly a century; he also erected a superior hotel at the southern end of the town, which was named the Downshire Arms.

After a lapse of thirty years mail coaches were superseded by railway accommodation; yet the town did not suffer appreciably by the diversion of traffic. From the year 1830 to 1836, the linen trade was at the zenith of prosperity. During this period the sound of the weaver's shuttle was heard in every peasant's cottage, and linen webs whitened the hills and meadows on all sides of the river. In 1840 the large concern known as the "Brewery" was erected, but after brewing for a few months the proprietor died, and the enterprise was abandoned. After years of idleness, the Malcomsons of Waterford turned it into a bleaching concern in 1853.¹

During the heyday of the linen trade, three churches were erected in the town: Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic. A Methodist Church had existed from the beginning of the century at the foot of Rathfriland Street. In 1798 the Presbyterian Church of Ballydown was built. In the year 1843 a Unitarian Church was erected, and afterwards a new Methodist Church alongside of it. Some years later another Unitarian Church was built, but it has recently been converted into a Masonic Institute. During the "boom" in the linen business, between 1831 and 1836, two banks, the Provincial Bank of Ireland and the Ulster Bank, were opened. Afterwards the Northern Bank shared the business of the district with them. In 1837 the staple trade languished, and building generally came to an end. In 1859 the first railway was opened to Scarva, to join what is now the main line, Dublin to Belfast; afterwards one to Lisburn, and a third line to Ballyronney was built, which has recently been extended to Newcastle.

It appears, so far as education is concerned, that Banbridge and the parish generally had to depend on private schools. Towards the close of the eighteenth century a superior school was established by Mr. James Withers. The Rev. James Davis, M.A., conducted a Classical Academy, covering nearly the whole period of his pastorate of the Banbridge Presbyterian Church (1814 to 1847). The Lancasterian system of education was introduced on October 5th, 1815. This school

¹ The earliest bleaching works were established at Ballydown in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Previous to 1803 the business was owned by John Birch, who in that year sold to William Hudson. Crawford and Lindsay took over the concern in 1822. In 1834 the Hayes family carried on an extensive establishment for weaving Union Cloths at Seapatrick village, which was subsequently turned into a thread factory, for the manufacture of which the firm has become well known all over the world.

was held in the upper story of the old market-house previous to the opening of the new school building in Church Street in the year 1826. Mr. Andrew Mullen took charge of the school, over which Mr. Withers presided, in the year 1833, and most successfully conducted it up to his death in 1876.

In after years the Church Education Society, the successor of the Kildare Place Society, opened a school, which was followed by the introduction of National Schools in 1831-2. Up to the establishment of the National Schools the State hardly recognized the education of the people as a duty or function. Educational establishments such as the Lancasterian were in no way connected with the State. At the present time a number of excellent private schools exist; indeed, there is no lack of well-conducted primary and "high" schools in the town and district.

Reading Societies became in the last quarter of the eighteenth century popular institutions—most towns in Ulster had one; in Banbridge the leading men of the town and parish met and established a society in 1795. This institution partook of the character of a literary and social club, and though its collection of books and pamphlets was never very large, we learn from its catalogue, published in 1836, that it contained 1586 books, and a large collection of pamphlets. The great bulk of the books were of a high standard in history and general literature.¹ There was a marked absence of fiction, and in this respect the collection differed materially from the modern Public Library, which is largely composed of works of that class.

Banbridge during the troubled period of 1798 was not prominent in the political commotion which disturbed other parts of the county. We have, however, grounds for stating that at the convivial meeting of the Reading Society, public affairs were discussed with a good deal of frankness, and much interest was taken by the members in the progress of the "Rebellion," and it is safe to say that most of the members were "United" men; but local conditions were not favourable to an active participation in the conflict which was raging in many parts of north-east Ulster. Such of the territorial or landlord class as existed took but small part in political affairs. The Downshire family were the principal owners of the soil, but the Whyte family of Loughbrickland, who were resident landlords, had property in the neighbourhood to a considerable extent. The petty local squire was unknown, and the "agent" was only in evidence on rent days. A local poet,² in his "Verses on

¹ This Society ceased to exist in 1846, and the library was dispersed by auction sale. In 1837 the membership numbered 88. In the earlier years of its existence the membership totalled 120. The annual subscription was twelve shillings.

² Thomas Stott, of Dromore; he is referred to in Byron's "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers." "Verses on Banbridge" appeared in the *Hibernian Magazine* for April, 1777.

Banbridge," written in 1777, correctly gives expression to the sentiment then prevailing in the locality—

" 'Tis not the lordly residence can boast
The bliss of social happiness the most.
Then rest content, nor e'er repine that fate
Hath not decreed thee for some great man's seat."

The Hills (Downshire family) and the Whytes were considerate landowners, so that landlord oppression was almost unknown, and general contentment prevailed.¹

The extinction of small industries is one of the regrettable results of modern progress in manufactures. Towards the end of the eighteenth century Banbridge and the parish of Seapatrick had many manufacturing industries, which have ceased to exist. Before the advent of extensive linen concerns a large number of the better class of farmers were engaged in the production of linen, in addition to husbandry. Therein lay much of their prosperity; they grew the flax on their own lands or purchased it from less prosperous neighbours. A primitive method of bleaching was employed by the local manufacturers, but for the greater part the cloth was sold in the brown state in the open linen market.² The manufacture of tobacco and snuff was carried on to a considerable extent from 1730 to 1820. The leaf was imported from Virginia and the Continent and (must we say it?) largely contraband. These were the days of smuggling; the neighbouring seaboard offered facilities for the comparatively safe landing of goods *free of duty*, and the Banbridge manufacturer was not above evading the impost leviable on the article.³ Two small tanneries existed in 1770. Felt or beaver hats were manufactured for local use so late as 1845. Dyeing of cotton stuffs, and the production of quilts and other bed requirements, gave employment to some scores of people. Spades and the coarser agricultural implements were also made here. The manufacture of periwigs employed a number of hands in their production. In 1870 the making of soap and candles

¹ As an evidence of the social order and peaceful character of the inhabitants of Seapatrick, it may be stated that the parish has never been "Proclaimed." No record of such is to be found in the List of Proclamations from 1618 to 1875. (See 24th and 25th Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records of Ireland.)

² In wills and the public press of this time reference is often made to the farmer "Linen Draper," of Ulster. These pioneers of a great industry were an independent and sturdy class whose sons and grandsons founded the linen trade of Ulster.

³ "When England," says Mr. Froude, "in defence of her monopolies, thought proper to lay restrictions on the Irish woollen trade, it was foretold that the inevitable result would be an enormous development of smuggling. The entire nation, high and low, was enlisted in an organized confederacy against law. Distinctions of creed were obliterated, and resistance to law became a bond of union between Catholic and Protestant, Irish Celt and English Colonist." Another writer says: "Smuggling became a trade—a regular business occupation; and no wonder that illicit commerce flourished, owing to the repressive enactments for the destruction of Ireland's trade and commerce. Irish industries were confined to local demands, so that development became impossible."

became extinct, after an existence of 120 years. Clockmaking¹ was carried on by a family named Nelson. James Nelson was preceded by his father, and probably his grandfather, as clock-makers and watch-repairers, and their descendants are employed as watchmakers in Ireland up to the present time. Two watchmakers of the Nelson family—one named Robert, and his brother Joseph, sons of the above-named James Nelson, emigrated to America in 1850, and soon after established a large whole-sale watch and clock business at Dunkirk, New York. James Nelson, a half-brother of the American Nelsons, was the last of the name who was a watchmaker in Banbridge; he emigrated to New Zealand in 1880, and died there a few years ago.²

There was a time, not very long ago, when people—at all events those in the country districts—prepared nearly everything on their own premises. But bit by bit home industries have almost died out, and the present-day farmer and cottager buy articles of common use made by the big manufacturer.

Local Government, during the early part of the eighteenth century, till the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, was administered by the Parish Vestry. These bodies performed the work now in the hands of County, Urban, and Rural Councils, Boards of Guardians, and Town Commissioners. They had a simple plan of poor relief, which consisted of licensing by the act of providing badges known as “beggars’ badges” to indigents, which gave the possessors authority to seek alms; in this way the poor of each parish were confined in their operations to the parish in which they resided; the “tramp” was almost, if not entirely, unknown under this plan of poor relief. The Vestry had the duty of keeping in repair the roads passing through the parish, unless this work was otherwise imposed; applot the cess, raise recruits for the Militia, enrol constables for the protection of life and property—usually in the proportion of one constable to each townland. It is not known that these peace officers were uniformed; probably they were provided with a badge of authority. The parish constable’s duties were serving of writs, summonses, collecting cess, conveying foundlings to Dublin, and other duties. All these various functions were directed by the Vestry, in addition to looking after the ecclesiastical and educational affairs of the district; also Sabbath observance, unlawful sports, etc.³ The parish Vestry is the foundation upon which the whole

¹ William Kennedy, the famous blind piper, made clocks at his home in Banbridge, having been taught the trade by James Nelson.

² Robert Nelson died in 1904 at the age of 84 years. Joseph Nelson died in 1909, aged 77.

³ By an Act of the 2nd Geo. I. (1715) the Minister and Churchwardens of any parish may bind out any child begging, or any poor child in the parish, with the consent of the parent, to a Protestant housekeeper or tradesman, as a menial servant till 21 years of age, apprentices to a tradesman till 24. This Act is much in the spirit of the French law in existence in 1659, which provided that a Protestant youth could not be apprenticed unless fourteen Catholics were taken on at the same time; other regulations of a like character existed in France at and long after the date above named.

fabrie of present-day local government is built. The Vestry of one hundred and more years ago worked on well-defined lines, regulated by Acts of Parliament and commonsense.

In the early part of the eighteenth century only such roads as led from one considerable town to another existed; country roads were hardly known. A writer in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology* (vol. ix, p. 145 : O.S.) describes the social conditions of the "comfortable" farming class of the district between Banbridge and Rathfriland 150 years ago.

Dubourdieu, in his Statistical Survey of Down, 1802, thus refers to fairs and markets: "Fairs are established in every town in this county; the general object of these fairs is the sale of cattle, horses, and sheep, and some hogs. In several towns linen is sold on fair days, and a considerable quantity of yarn. . . . The principal fairs for horses are held at Banbridge, to which buyers resort from considerable distances. . . . In the weekly markets . . . pedlars attend, who dispose of a variety of articles of apparel and hardware, in tents erected for the day."

Up to 1834, Banbridge remained without any municipal government, but during the year 1828 a public meeting of the inhabitants of the town was held "to carry the Act of Parliament entitled, 'An Act to make provision for lighting, cleansing, and watching of Cities, Towns Corporate, and Market Towns, in Ireland, in certain cases.'" This Act, it would appear, was not adopted until six years afterwards; and it remained in force till 1865, when the Towns' Improvement (Ireland) Act, 1854, was adopted, at a public meeting of rated occupiers of premises, held in the Town Hall, on the 17th of May, in that year.

ROLL OF THE CORPS OF ROYAL ENGINEERS OF IRELAND,
1251-1801.COMPILED BY LIEUT. W. P. PAKENHAM-WALSH, R.E., *Member*.

[Submitted SEPTEMBER 27, 1910.]

PREVIOUS to the Parliamentary Union of Great Britain and Ireland in 1801, the latter country possessed its own corps of Royal Engineers, which, with the Royal Regiment of Artillery of Ireland, was under the orders of an Irish Master-General of the Ordnance.

The history of this Corps has been greatly neglected, only a few passing references being made in General Whitworth Porter's "History of the Corps of Royal Engineers," while the roll, as given in Edward's "List of Officers of the Corps of Royal Engineers, 1660-1698," is not complete.

The present writer, in the course of family genealogical researches some years ago, came across some interesting facts in connexion with the Corps, which have suggested to him the idea of collecting materials for a history; and he was surprised at the early date to which the Corps could trace its ancestry.

The present compilation does not profess to be by any means complete, but is put forward in the hope that it may be of interest to members of the Society, and that some of them may be able to assist with further information as to the Corps in general, or individual members of it, for which the writer will be most grateful. To avoid unnecessary trouble, the following list of works already consulted is appended:—

- Calendars of State Papers, Ireland.
- "Dictionary of National Biography."
- "Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniae."
- Porter's "History of the Corps of R.E."
- Edward's "List of Officers of the Corps of R.E."
- Stafford's "Pacata Hibernia."
- Crawley's "Cæmentaria Hibernia."
- Gilbert's "History of Dublin."
- Gilbert's "Parliament House, Dublin."
- Irish Army Lists and Dublin Directories, 1730-1801

ROLL OF OFFICERS.

1251. *June 22nd.* The King directs the justiciary of Ireland to "cause the King's castles, houses, and fortresses to receive the repair they require by view of good and lawful men who shall answer therefor at the Exchequer."—*Clarendon, Patent 35 H. III. m. 7.*

"Keeper of the King's Works of the Castle of Dublin."

1279-85. Thomas Burel.

(No titles mentioned.)

1298. { John de Stratton.
 { John de Iddeshal, Clk.

1296-7. { John de Ideshale.
 { Richard de Ponteyse.

1297-9. { John de Ideshale.
 { John Boet.

1299. { John Boet.
 { John de Colewells.

1300. John Boet.

"Supervisor of the Works of the Houses of the Castle of Dublin and the Exchequer."

1304. John Matheu.

"Superintendent of the King's Works."

1325-6. Robert Ingmainacon.

"Keeper of the King's Works of the Castle of Dublin."

1326. { Luke de Hynkeley.
 { Thomas Dyere.

1334. John de Mauncestre

"Keeper (Garnefour) of the Castle of Dublin and also of the King's Works of the said Castle and Houses of the Exchequer."

1342. John de Wiltoun.

1344. John de Carleton.

1358. John Scrop.

1371. William Spaldynge.

1372-81. John More

"Clerk of the King's Works" (with jurisdiction all over Ireland).

1388. Walter Eure.

"Keeper of the King's Palace within the Castle of Dublin and Clerk of the Works of the said castle."

1415-1441. John Coryngham.

"Carpenter of the Castle of Athlone."

1270-72. Nicholas de Gloucester.

1280. In this year "250 Cementarii, Carpentarii, Operarii, and Fossatores" were sent into Ireland for the King's Works.

"The King's Carpenter."

1293. Adam de Claverle.

He was also Keeper of the Ordnance.

"Chief Carpinter of the Castles, Manors, and other the King's Works."

1343-57. Adam de Carleton.

He had jurisdiction throughout Leinster.

1441-1508. No records found so far.

<p>"<i>Clerks General of the Works and Buildings, viz. of all the King's Honours, Castles, Manors, and all other his works.</i>" (By Patent.)</p> <p>t. Hen. VIII Nicholas Wilson, Gent.</p> <p>(Appointments held conjointly.)</p> <p>t. Hen. VIII (regranted 1546)-1553. Edward Walleis, Gent.</p> <p>1553-64. Peter Ford, Gent.</p> <p>1564 (28th July). George Tresham, Gent.</p> <p>1564 (8th Sept.). Stephen Erbery, of London, Merchant Taylor.</p> <p>1565-83. Nevill Sands, Gent.</p> <p>1583-93. Michael Kettlewell, Gent.</p> <p>1593. Francis Capstoke, Gent.</p> <p>1594-99. Stephen Jennyns, Gent.</p> <p>1599. Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Knt.</p> <p>1600-12. Samuel Molineux, Gent.</p> <p>1612 (Mch. 16)— { Samuel Molineux, Gent. { Tristram Gawen, Gent.</p> <p>Office combined with that of Superintendent of Castles in 1612 and renamed, "Directors General and Overseers of the Fortifications and buildings." (By Patent.)</p> <p>1612-1617. Capt. Sir Josias Bodley, Knt.</p> <p>1617-34— { Sir Thos. Rotheram, Knt. { Captain Nicholas Pynnar.</p> <p>1634-44. Capt. Nicholas Pynnar.</p> <p>1644-61. Colonel John Payne (appointed temporarily by the Marquis of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland).</p> <p>"Directors-General and Overseers of the Fortifications and Buildings and Surveyors-General." (By Patent.)</p> <p>1661-70— { "Capt." John Paine. { Capt. John Hullam.</p>	<p>"Clerk, Comptroller, and Surveyor-General of the Ordnance." (By Patent.)</p> <p>1548. Walter Cowley.</p> <p>1551. Robert Record. The above two served in both England and Ireland.</p> <p>1552-73. Michael Fitzwilliams.</p> <p>1573-90. Lancelot Alford.</p> <p>1590. "Office passed to meet man" (? Sir G. Fenton).</p> <p>(?)-1602. Sir Geoffrey Fenton, Knt.</p> <p>1602-43. Sir William Parsons, Knt.</p> <p>1606. Fras. Annesley, Gent.</p> <p>"Comptroller of the King's Works." (By Patent.)</p> <p>1662. Capt. Hugh Magill.</p>	<p>"Surveyor-General of the Lands, Plantations, and Mines." (By Patent.)</p> <p>1576. Owen Langford, Gent.</p> <p>1601-2. Siege of Kinsale. Trenchmaster. Captain Josias Bodley. "Ingeneere." Paul Ive.</p> <p>"Superintendent of Castles." (On the Establishment of the Army.)</p> <p>1607-12. Captain Sir Josias Bodley, Knt.</p> <p>Office incorporated with Director-General of Fortifications, 1612.</p> <p>1643. Office combined with that of Director-General of Fortifications and held by Pynnar.</p> <p>"Master Carpenter." (By Patent.)</p> <p>1618-(?). John Bannister.</p> <p>"Our Engineer." 1625. Capt. Noon.</p> <p>"Master Carpenter." (By Patent.) 1661. John Mills.</p>	<p>Other appointments.</p> <p>"Employed for the furtherance of the Fortifications." 1551-79. Mr. F. Rogers.</p>
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In 1669 the Engineer Establishment was definitely fixed at 3 officers.

<i>Chief Engineer of Ireland; also styled, Director, Surveyor, and Overseer-General of the Fortifications, Buildings, Roads, Mines, Plantations, &c.</i>	<i>Second Engineer of the Fortifications.</i>	<i>Third Engineer of the Fortifications (for service with the train.)</i>	
1670-84. Sir William Robinson, Knt.	1669-1698. <i>No names traced so far.</i>		<i>Engineers on the Irish Establishment, 1689-91.</i>
1684-88— Sir Wm. Robinson, Knt. William Molineux.			Rudolph Corneille. Thomas Burgh. Wolfgang W. Romer. (<i>Transferred to English Establishment.</i>)
1688-1700. Sir Wm. Robinson, Knt.	1698-1705. Rudolph Corneille.	1698-1700. Thomas Burgh.	
1700-30. Thos. Burgh, M.P. (<i>Lieut.-Col. 1706.</i>)	1705-1710. John O'Bryan. (<i>Transferred to the English Establishment 1710.</i>)	1703-19. James Wybault (<i>Major 1719, transferred to Irish Artillery 1719.</i>)	<i>Engineers of the English Establishment who served in the Wars in Ireland 1689-91.</i>
	1714. John Corneille.	1719-33. John Corneille, Jr.	Col. Fras. Philipanneau de la Motte.
1730-33. Captain Sir Edwd. Lovet Pearce, Knt. (<i>From Nevill's Dragoons.</i>)	1733-62. John Corneille, Jr.	1733-63. Lewis Marcell.	(<i>Acting Chief Engineer of the English Establishment in Ireland.</i>)
1734-44. Arthur Dobbs, M.P.			Col. du Cambon. Martin Beckman. Jacob Richards. Holcroft Blood. John Bodt. ... Browne.
1744-52. Arthur Jones Nevill.			<i>Additional Engineer.</i>
1752-66. Thos. Eyre. (<i>Lieut.-Col. 1763.</i>)			1761. Chas. Vallancey
<i>The Office of Surveyor-General was abolished 1762.</i>			

SUBORDINATE OFFICES, 1739-63.

Engineer Office, Lower Castle Yard, Dublin.

<i>Deputy to the Chief Engineer.</i>	<i>Clerk of the Works.</i>	<i>Clerk of the Accompts.</i>	<i>Storekeepers.</i>
1753. Joseph Garratt.	1747-52. Geo. Ensor.	1744-51. John Wilkinson, Gent.	1739-48. John Favier. 1748-63. Thos. Coote.

The Establishment was reorganized on a military basis on the 30th June, 1760, as the "Corps of Engineers of Ireland," and received the title of "Royal" in 1789-90. The Corps was abolished in accordance with the Act of Union on 1st April, 1801, the officers being given the option of retiring on full pay or joining the English Establishment. Only one, Lieut. George Armit, accepted the latter alternative.

ROLL OF OFFICERS OF THE CORPS OF ROYAL ENGINEERS OF IRELAND, 1760-1801.

Dates of Corps' rank given in ordinary type, and of Army rank in italics.

Name.	Previous Service.	Ensign.	Lieutenant.	Captain-Lieutenant.	Captain.	Major	Lieut.-Colonel.	Colonel.	Major-General.	Lieut.-General.	General.	Chief Engineer.	Remarks.
Henry M. Mason,	from 26th Foot,	...	...	...	...	13.2.1796	13.3.1766	...	...	...	...	13.3.1766	Ret. 25.4.1776.
Thomas Piggott,	from 4th Horse.	...	...	...	...	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 31.12.1771 \\ 26.4.1776 \end{array} \right\}$	7.5.1782	20.11.1782	12.10.1793	...	...	26.4.1776	Ret. 14.11.1793.
Charles Vallancey,	from Capt. ... Foot,	(addl. Engr.) 1761.	30.6.1766	...	26.11.1762	25.4.1776	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 25.4.1776 \\ 1.10.1789 \end{array} \right\}$	20.11.1782 14.11.1793	12.10.1793	1.1.1798	25.9.1803	14.11.1793	Ret. 1.4.1801.
Charles Tarrant,	from English Establishment, Pract Engr. 29.12.1755.	(English Estab.) 17.3.1759 (24th Foot) 5.9.1756	...	...	(Irish Estab.) 27.11.1762	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 29.8.1777 \\ 1.10.1789 \end{array} \right\}$	19.3.1783 14.11.1793	1.3.1794 1.4.1799	3.5.1796	25.9.1803	...	...	Ret. 1.4.1801.
Thomas Jarratt,	from Irish Artillery.	30.6.1762	27.1.1762	...	22.3.1766	10.11.1780	...	...	...	...	...	...	Ret. 1.4.1801.
Arthur Forth,	...	26.11.1762	3.5.1765	...	3.12.1785	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Joseph Shewbridge,	...	27.1.1762	22.5.1766	...	...	1.3.1794	...	...	...	...	...	...	Transferred to Irish Artillery 1.4.1778.
George Preston Vallancey,	...	3.5.1765	...	...	.....1778	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Transferred to 62nd Foot 1.9.1771.
Matthew Nash,	...	22.5.1766	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Transferred to Irish Artillery 21.4.1778.
James Ferrier.	from English Establishment, Ensign, 23.6.1762.	1.9.1771	...	...	1.10.1789	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 14.8.1779 \\ 14.11.1793 \end{array} \right\}$	18.11.1790 1.4.1796	21.8.1795	18.6.1798	30.10.1805	...	...	Ret. 1.4.1801.
John Browne,	from 27th Foot,	...	...	1.10.1789	14.11.1793	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 19.5.1795 \\ 1.4.1796 \end{array} \right\}$	1.1.1800	25.7.1810	4.6.1813	...	...	...	Ret. 1.4.1801.
Alexander Taylor,	...	...	1.10.1789	14.11.1793	1.4.1796	29.4.1802	...	...	...	...	...	...	Ret. 1.4.1801.
Henry Eustace,	...	...	8. 5.1799	1. 4.1796	...	23.10.1798	25.9.1803	1.1.1812	4.6.1814	22.7.1820	...	...	Ret. 1.4.1801.
George Armit,	...	...	24.11.1793	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Transferred to English Estab. 1.4.1801.
Daniel Cornille,	from 39th Foot,	...	1. 4.1796	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Ret. 1.4.1801.

THE CHAPTER-BOOKS OF CASHEL CATHEDRAL.

BY THE REV. ST. JOHN D. SEYMOUR, B.D., *Member.*

[Submitted SEPTEMBER 27, 1910.]

THE Chapter-books of Cashel consist of three volumes. The first of these, running from March 19th, 1660/1, to June 9th, 1758, is now in the Public Record Office among the registers of Cashel and Emly, where it is classed 2 N. 132. 145A. The entire volume, however, is not taken up with minutes of chapter meetings; it contains one visitation, numerous copies of leases and probates, and, what is of great interest, a register of civil marriages solemnized by the Cromwellian Government within the "Liberties of Cashel" between the years 1654 and 1657. This latter has been published as part of their fourth number by the Parish Register Society of Dublin. The second and third volumes of the Chapter-books are at Cashel, where by the kind permission of the Dean the writer was enabled to examine them, and to make extracts from them. They run from July 16th, 1759, to March 16th, 1886, and from July 8th of the same year to the present. These latter do not exhibit as many points of interest as the first volume, the more so as the art of making unconsciously quaint entries had become a thing of the past. Yet all three contain an abundance of unpublished matter which is not only very interesting, but of the greatest value for the history of the diocese, out of which we have endeavoured to gather a few extracts, though, through lack of time, and for other reasons, we have been forced to leave much untouched. For instance, there is a large mass of material to be found in them relative to the Vicars Choral of Cashel which is indispensable to anyone desirous of investigating the history of that body.

Though the Chapter of Cashel had existed for at least 460 years, yet, as all earlier minutes have disappeared, the first meeting of which there is any complete record took place after the Restoration on March 19th, 1660/1. The members met in the chapter-house in the presence of Hugh Gore, D.D., Vicar-General. There were present:—Essex Digby, Dean; Gavin Barclay, Precentor; Hugh Gore, Chancellor; Anthony Ward, Treasurer; William Egerton, Prebendary of Killardry; and Edward Bainbrigge, Prebendary of Kilbragh. At this meeting, which was fuller than one might expect, Mr. Ward was appointed œconomist. The financial affairs of the Chapter must have become somewhat involved during the troubled period of 1640–1650; for at a meeting in December, 1661, Ward reported the Œconomy Fund to be only £18 10s. How-

ever, matters rapidly improved; for in 1663, two years' accumulation of the said fund amounted to £60 12s. 10d.

Many of the earlier entries sound very curious in our modern ears. In 1668 Samuel Ladyman and Ulysses Burgh did not appear at the chapter meeting, nor did they take the trouble to give any account of their absence, so the Dean pronounced them contumacious, and fined them forty shillings each, the money to go towards the repairs of the cathedral. Burgh afterwards appeared and "purged his contumacy," while nearly a year later Ladyman's fine was reduced to one shilling, said sum to be given to the poor; and it was then promptly paid. On March 18th, 1668/9, the Archbishop made a Visitation of the chapter, or, as it is in the original, "*Archiepiscopus personaliter visitavit Domum Capitularem et Capitulum congregatum et post nonnullum discursum cum Dignitariis et Prebendariis recessit.*" It is worthy of note that for several years after this the custom still prevailed of writing some portion of the minutes in Latin. Peter Smith, the verger, enjoyed the not very large salary of ten shillings per annum, which in 1671 was raised to £1, while in 1682 it was further increased to £2, he to have as well the benefit of the churchyard—i.e. the right of grazing—provided he kept it free from profanation. This perquisite the Dean and Chapter seem to have considered of peculiar value; for in 1676 they resolved to summon Rowland Lindsay, a Vicar-Choral, before them, to know "upon what pretence he grazeth his cattle upon the churchyard of S. Patrick's Rock." In 1699 the Chapter made a shrewd bargain with reference to the same right of grazing; for they granted it to a man named Pulvertop on condition that he kept the windows of the choir and chapter-house in good repair. Acts of profanation appear to have occurred which the Dean and Chapter were desirous of preventing; for in 1673 they made the apparently foolish choice of a widow named Margaret Purling "to discover what person or persons shall resort in the night or at any other time to the churchyard to digg there, and for any such discovery she is to have ten shillings paid her."

In the minutes frequent mention is made of the chapter-house where the Capitular Body habitually met to transact their business. It was evidently in good condition in 1661, and may very possibly have been the only portion of the buildings on the Rock in repair at that date. In 1668 the œconomist was directed to provide a table, chairs, and cushions before the next meeting; while in 1682 he was ordered to procure a strong chest with three locks, presumably to hold the records, as well as twelve "wainscott chayrs." Nor did the Chapter neglect the care of the "inner man"; for in 1728 a sum of £4 7s. 1d. was paid for two chapter dinners. In February, 1686/7, the doors of the chapter-house were forced open, and the windows "broke in peeeces"; consequently in June of the same year a necessary sum of eight-and-fourpence was expended in putting in new panes of glass; while glazing was again done in 1695. In 1698

directions were given that the passage leading from the choir to the chapter-house was to be roofed with good timber and slate. Although this building appears to have continued in use for a considerable period, perhaps until the middle of the eighteenth century, for in 1755 the chapter met in St. John's Church in the town, yet it is a curious fact that its site is not accurately known. Naturally enough the writers of the original minutes did not deem it necessary to describe the exact position of a building which was so well known to them, and which they probably thought would be equally well known to future generations. Two chance clues are given in the minutes of 1698 and 1699, where mention is made of the "Quire and the Chapter-house *thereunto adjoining*," while it is further stated that these two buildings were connected by a covered passage. It could hardly have lain at the south side of the choir, as an examination of the place will make fairly clear. But in the north wall of the same there is a built-up doorway close beside Archbishop Malcolm Hamilton's tomb, which, according to the 76th Report of the Board of Works, must have led into a chantry chapel. Such a building as the latter certainly existed in pre-Reformation times; and it is quite within the bounds of possibility that after the Reformation, when it became useless for its original purpose, it was devoted to the use of the Capitular Body. It is sometimes stated that Cormac's Chapel and the chapter-house are identical. This was probably true in pre-Reformation times; but it will become perfectly clear to anyone taking the trouble to read over the original minutes from 1661 that during the seventeenth century these two buildings are held to be quite distinct and separate.

The troubles and disturbances which marked the closing years of the reign of James II may be traced in some degree in the chapter minutes. Archbishop Thomas Price died on August 4th, 1685; and although the Chapter met on that day and drew up a letter to the Lords Justices acquainting them with this fact, the See was left vacant, and indeed was not filled until February, 1691. During this interregnum the Capitular Body acted as custodians of the vacant See; being in this position, they claimed to have the power of making a visitation of the Suffragan Bishops of the Province; but, on their taking the opinion of counsel, Dr. Dudley Loftus gave it as his decision that they had no legal right to do so. In 1687 the chapter, considering it necessary "that the utmost diligence be used to preserve and support the jurisdiction of this See, which we find at present opposed by several persons, and that caution be used in the administration thereof," refused to allow their Chancellor, Major Thomas Robinson, who was evidently a partisan of James, to grant any licences or administrations without first consulting the guardian of the spiritualities. In 1688 they were threatened with a great danger which was fortunately averted. On June 12th of that year they received a summons from the Attorney-General, Sir Richard Nagle, to show by what

right or title they enjoyed the lands and tithes belonging to them. They met in consternation, and appointed Dean Glandie and Richard Leake, Prebendary of Newchapel, to act in the defence and for the preservation of their revenues; and on the 16th of the following July the latter returned from Dublin, bearing the welcome news that he had been discharged by Nagle from any further attendance on the business of the œconomy. An unpleasant incident occurred in February, 1686/7, as the minutes record that "the doors of the Cathedrall have been forced and broken open, and the body of the sd. Cathedrall profaned by severall unrulie and disorderly persons there met together the 27th (being Sunday) to play at ffives, w^{ch} was observed and resented by severall persons"; at the same time the chapter-house was also damaged, as noted above. The chapter assembled on Monday, the 28th, and ordered that the crimes aforesaid be strictly examined, and that the said offenders be duly prosecuted. Certain persons were apprehended in connexion with the outrage; but no mention is made of the punishment meted out to them. The Dean and Chapter put a political interpretation on what apparently was only an act of wanton mischief on the part of irresponsible individuals; for in March of the same year they ordered, by way of a sop to Cerberus, that the arms of King James be procured and set up in the chapter-house. Being evidently in a state of nervousness lest worse should befall them, they passed a resolution in June to the effect that "as soon as the Dean and Chapter do hear that any Archbishop or Bishop with their clergy do address themselves to His Majesty to return their thankful acknowledgements of what His Majesty was pleased to declare in favour of the Church of England, that then the Dean and Chapter do also immediately address themselves," &c. But the venerable cathedral suffered from a further act of profanation in the same year; for on October 27th the Chapter resolved that "the Subdean and Chapter doe wait upon Captaine Purcell to acquaint him with the injuries done by the Souldiers to the Cathedrall, Gates, Churchyard, and to those that are imployd to looke after them, and to keepe them from harm." According to J. D. White, in his "Guide to the Rock of Cashel," the above was done by a party of the "Yellow Horse," a regiment raised by Baron Purcell of Loughmoe for the service of James II; and it is supposed that it was at this period that the inscription on Archbishop Malcolm Hamilton's tomb was deliberately erased. Cotton, in his "Fasti," states that the See was left vacant all this time by James II, "who distributed its revenues among the Romish priests according to his own will and pleasure." We should like to know the original authorities for this latter statement; at any rate the Protestant clergy seem occasionally to have fared ill, for Richard Leake, the œconomist, complains in 1692 of all that he had suffered since 1688; and it is stated that Dean Glandie was knocked down and wounded in the street.¹ Certain dignitaries are

¹ King's "State of the Protestants in Ireland."

expressly mentioned in the famous Act of Attainder,¹ viz.: John Dassy, archdeacon; John Lehunte, chancellor; Richard Leake (incorrectly called *John*), prebendary of Newchapel; John Dogherty, precentor; and Anthony Irby, treasurer; while it is a significant fact that from Nov. 13th, 1688, to July 28th, 1692, no meetings of the chapter were held.

But perhaps the most interesting items that can be extracted from these minutes are those which afford us the means of tracing with more or less fulness the re-edification of the old cathedral on the Rock, its later dismantling in the time of Archbishop Arthur Price, and the subsequent rise of the ancient parish church of St. John Baptist to both cathedral and parochial status. The details must occasionally be supplemented by evidence external to the chapter-books. The old cathedral is described in 1607 as being in a state of decay, but must almost immediately have undergone some restoration, as according to the Regal Visitation of 1615 it was in repair; but the troublous days between 1640 and 1660, especially the storming of the Rock by Inchiquin's soldiers, must have severely damaged the ancient fabric. The first mention in the Chapter minutes of the commencement of the work of restoration occurs on June 12th, 1667, when the Chapter ordered that Mr. Prince, the œconomist, should procure timber to rebuild the "chancel or quire" of the cathedral. The plan of work which the Chapter had in their minds, and which was certainly the most sensible one, was to restore for Divine worship, *not* the entire fabric of the cathedral, but the choir and chancel only. In March, 1668/9, it was voted that the articles agreed upon for the repairs between the Archbishop and Mr. Hollington (the treasurer) on the one part, and James Blake the carpenter on the other, be allowed and confirmed. Furthermore the œconomist was directed to borrow as much money as he could from the Chapter of Emly, all the members of the Cashel Chapter binding themselves to save him harmless from his undertaking. The Emly Chapter appear to have been unable to lend more than £10 at the time; but as their earlier minutes are lost, there is no record of this transaction between the two bodies. In 1674 the œconomist's accounts showed that £20 was expended in roofing the steeple; and in April, 1676/7, the following items appear:—

	£	s.	d.
"To Ben. Coleman for cleaning ye rubbish out of ye Church, pulling down wall, &c., .	2	0	0
To severall labourers for cleaning the Battle- ments of ye Church, .	0	2	0
More to Ben. Coleman for making a gate to ye Church and door and masonry work, .	3	1	6
For making up a dry wall, two labourers two days, .	0	1	0
On March 19th, 1684/5, there was paid as follows:— ffor a great Doore to the Rock .			15 shillings."

¹ King, *op. cit.*

But the outrage in February, 1686/7, must have done serious damage to the newly finished work, for in March Mr. Leake was empowered to lay out as much of the Economy Fund as necessary for repairs in the cathedral which might preserve it from spoil; and Henry Smith (the verger!) was to be paid 5s. in hand, and 5s. at the end of every three months, on condition that he did his utmost to protect the building from further damage. In June, 1688, owing to the disturbances of that period, it was deemed advisable that nothing further should be done except to order that "a good wall of lime and stone be raised to ye upper Cornish of ye sd Quire, and a handsome folding-doore and doore-case be made and placed therein," the idea evidently being to block up the most easterly of the arches supporting the central tower with a temporary wall, in which was to be set the entrance-door. This plan appears to have been the one actually carried out, though it is very likely that nothing was really done at the time; for when we take up the broken thread again, we find it recorded in 1694 that the repairs formerly intended were to be continued and proceeded on. In March, 1695, the following items appear, which afford a curious contrast between the rate of wages and prices then and now:—

	£	s.	d.
For shingling the Cathedral Quire and Steeple	50	0	0
To three labourers for removing shingles, and			
carrying mortar to the masons		0	1 6

The work seems to have dragged along very slowly for some time, especially when we remember that it was commenced so far back as 1667; but, as we have seen, many causes conspired to delay it, amongst which lack of sufficient funds probably played no small part. However, in 1698 a determined effort was made to complete the restoration, which was ultimately crowned with success. In April of that year a list of private subscriptions towards the work appears. The Archbishop gave £50, with a promise of more; Dean Price gave £5; Archdeacon Hinton, £2; and the remainder of the Chapter £1 each. In the following May an agreement was made with Pickerin Airy, of Kilkenny, and James Coleman, of Cashel, for the arching of the choir of the cathedral, and for the setting up of a "cornish" and bed-moulding under the foot of the arch, which they were to perform and finish for the sum of £80. This was to be paid as follows:—£20 in hand, £20 more in six weeks after the work was commenced, and the balance at its completion. At the same time a contract was entered into with J. Pulvertop to glaze and paint the windows of the choir at sixpence-halfpenny a square foot; his payment for keeping them in *permanent* repair has already been noted. In June, 1720, the following resolution was passed, concerning the meaning of which we confess ourselves in ignorance; it was that "the Arch leading to the Quire be pulled down, and the polished or wrought stones thereof be layd in the cellar under the old castle."

The cathedral was now in a fit condition for the celebration of Divine Service; so on April 6th, 1721, the Chapter resolved that "taking into consideration the expediency of having it performed in the cathedral every Lord's Day during ye summer season, it is to begin on the first Sunday in June, being Trinity Sunday; ye Rev. Dean preaching ye first turn, and ye Dignitaries and Prebendaries in order set down in a Table to be affixed in the Chapter-house. Anyone missing his turn and not sending a substitute to pay twenty shillings." There are some entries extant relative to the furnishing of the interior. In 1723 two silk curtains were provided for the stalls of the Dean and Precentor. In 1724 the sum of £4 8s. was paid for a large Bible as well as two Common Prayer Books for the Communion Table; while in the following year the pulpit was moved at a cost of 4s. 4d. In 1730 we have an account in the minutes of an interesting ceremony taking place, namely, the enthronement of Archbishop Bolton. On June 5th "the Most Reverend Father in God Theophilus Lord Archbishop immediately after ye second lesson at Morning Prayer in ye Cathedral was inthron'd by ye Rev. the Dean of Cashell." There is in the possession of the present Dean (Very Rev. M. W. Day) a curious mitre of metal which is said to have surmounted the archiepiscopal throne in the old cathedral. This prelate appears to have taken the greatest interest in the work that had been already accomplished, and seems to have been desirous of carrying it on still further. In a letter to his friend Dean Swift, dated April 7th, 1735, he says:—"I am now wholly employed in digging up rocks and making the way easier to the church, which if I can succeed in I design to repair a very venerable old fabric that was built here in the time of our ignorant (as we are pleased to call them) ancestors. I really intend to lay out a thousand pounds to preserve this old church; and I am sure you would be of service to posterity if you assisted me in the doing of it." Notwithstanding all that had been done to the cathedral, there must still have been ample room for improvement; but it is not clear if Archbishop Bolton succeeded in carrying out his projected plan.

But it was ordained that very soon Divine Service should for ever cease to be celebrated within the historic walls of the Cathedral of St. Patrick's Rock. In 1744 Arthur Price became Archbishop of Cashel; and he, evidently finding the ascent by which he went up to the House of the Lord too steep a climb, determined to bring about a radical change. On September 9th, 1748, the Chapter met and adjourned to the Palace to consider the advisability of removing the cathedral site from the Rock to the parish church of St. John Baptist in the town. At this meeting a memorial was drawn up to be presented to the Lords Justices and the Privy Council, of which the following were briefly the principal points:—

- (1) The cathedral on the Rock was so incommodiously situated that resort to it for Service was always difficult, and in tempestuous

weather scarcely practicable, "*by reason whereof it for some years past hath had no Divine Service in it, and therefore hath been suffered to go to ruin and decay.*"

- (2) There was no likelihood of it ever being repaired, owing to the inconvenience of the site, and also because there was no fund belonging to it sufficient thereto.
- (3) The Parish Church of St. John Baptist, which was near the Rock, might be conveniently used both as cathedral and parochial church.

Accordingly the petitioners desired that permission be granted to raise St. John's to cathedral status, it as well continuing to be the parish church; while the Dean and Chapter, in their sealed consent to this, besought that that edifice should from henceforth be known by the title of "the Cathedral and Parochial Church of St. Patrick's Rock and St. John the Baptist." The Act of the Privy Council authorizing the change is dated July 3rd, 1749, but in it no mention whatsoever is made of the title which the Dean and Chapter proposed; consequently, though custom and long use may sanction the new name, this has never been done so officially. The work of dismantling was immediately commenced; for in September, 1750, the Chapter ordered that the timber of the roof and the other necessities belonging to the old cathedral be taken down and deposited in some safe place, until the same could conveniently be employed for the enlargement and use of the new one only. According to J. D. White the wood was driven down as piles under the foundations of the new cathedral. Perhaps the last occasion on which a religious service was held in the old building was on October 12th, 1752, when it is noted that "John [Whitcombe or Kirwan], Lord Archbishop of Cashel, was this day enthroned as well in the ancient Cathedral on the Rock as in the present Cathedral and Parochial Church." His successor, Michael Cox, was enthroned by proxy in the "Cathedral Church of Cashel," i.e. St. John's, in 1754.

We may now pass on to the history of the newly promoted building. As far back as 1291 St. John's Church in Cashel is mentioned; and indeed it would seem certain that it had acted continually as the parish church of the city all through the pre-Reformation period. In 1607 it is stated to have been well slated; in 1670 it was one of the eight churches in the Diocese of Cashel which were reported to be in fit condition for Divine Service; in 1698 a Synod was held in it, so that, at the time that the honours of St. Patrick's Rock were transferred to it, it must have been in a good state of repair, and no doubt had its interior adorned with many handsome tombs. Yet it would seem to have been inconveniently small, as it was determined that it should be rebuilt; for, in May, 1755, the Chapter ordered that £150 be paid from the Economy Fund towards building the cathedral. However much we may regret,

on antiquarian or sentimental grounds, the demolition of a fabric which probably dated in whole or in part from the pre-Reformation period, yet there were other and far more important reasons to be taken into consideration which made it imperative that a larger church should be erected in Cashel. For the number of parishioners in and around the town at this period was very considerable; in 1766¹ the parishes of St. Patrick's and St. John's contained 124 Protestant families; and allowing an average of four to each family, this would give a population of nearly 500 souls. Thus we see the need for a church commensurate with such a possible congregation; but the mistake was that the rebuilding was done so slowly. The Chapter met in what we may for convenience' sake term *old* St. John's in 1758; and it was probably immediately after this the work of demolition was commenced. The first stone of the *new* (and present) cathedral was laid on June 23rd, 1763.² In June, 1764, the thanks of the Dean and Chapter were returned to Sir William Osborne, Bart., "for his kind zeal and attention in endeavouring to procure aid from Parliament towards rebuilding our cathedral." The first principal of the roof was not laid till October, 1781;³ and it was opened for the celebration of Divine Service on Christmas Day, 1783.⁴

Concerning the internal fittings and other improvements of the new building we can glean a few notices from the chapter-books. In 1806 the Chapter granted one hundred guineas to Archbishop Broderick to be expended by him in decorations for the cathedral; in the following year £300 was to be applied towards building a steeple, while in 1810 new hangings of crimson velvet and stuffs were to be provided. In 1842 £3 was granted towards purchasing a font. An organist and choir were established in 1788, which were to be supported out of the Economy Fund; numerous entries are to be found relative to the master of the choir-boys, the house allotted to him, and the six boys under his care. In 1795 it was ordered "that an account of the establishment of choir service in the cathedral be entered herein as a perpetual record of the means of supporting the same in future," but a pencilled note in the margin states that this was not done.

In 1833 it was decided that a sum of £300 be allotted towards building a house in St. John's churchyard where the Chapter could meet. The upper portion of this is now used as the library. Towards its erection the Chapter of Emly gave a further sum of £150, as it was intended to be for the convenience of both Chapters; and the Emly capitular body did make use of it several times between 1837 and 1859. In 1833 the economist was directed to provide an iron chest (now in use) for the safe keeping of chapter-books and papers; and in 1837 he

¹ See "Returns on Popery" for this year (P.R.O.I.).

² See a note in Cotton's "Fasti," vol. v.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Archbishop's Visitation (P.R.O.I.)

provided a table, chairs, press, and baize door, together with a fender and fire-irons.

Here and there through the minutes there occur some notices of that wonderful specimen of Hiberno-Romanesque work, Cormac's Chapel. In 1695 it was ordered that "ye doore going to King Cormoek's Castle (!) wh. is made up with lime and stone, be opened, and one of boards made"; and three years later it was again ordered that the workmen engaged on the cathedral were to put up the doors from the body of the church to Cormac's Chapel. This was evidently in the west end of the latter building. In 1864 Mr. Close applied for permission to use Cormac's Chapel for the purpose of giving an Oratorio, but the Dean and Chapter declined to sanction this, as they considered it unsuitable, and were unwilling to establish a precedent. In 1868 the œconomist was authorized to expend the fee paid by Mr. Scully for the erection of his monument in pointing the roof of Cormac's Chapel and otherwise protecting it from damp; while a further sum of £15 was to be expended if it appeared feasible to use this building for the celebration of Divine Service while the cathedral was closed.

The cathedral on the Rock comes before us again. In 1803 a sum of money not exceeding £10 was to be paid to the Archbishop (Broderick) to be expended by him in repairing some breaches in the building, and in preserving it from dilapidation. In 1843, Lord Downes, commander of the district, asked permission to use that part of the Rock of Cashel, commonly called *the old Deanery House*, as a military post, and also to fortify such other parts of the churchyard as might be deemed necessary. The fortified turret in the south-west corner of the enclosure may possibly date from this period; but what part is referred to as the "old Deanery House" we cannot say. In 1867, on the eve of Disestablishment, a last attempt was made by the then Dean of Cashel (John Cotter MacDonnell) to restore the ancient cathedral at an estimated cost of £7500. Of this, £3200 was to be expended in roofing and restoring the choir, as well as rebuilding the east end; and the balance of £4300 was to be spent on the nave and transepts. The plans for this are in the chapter-chest. He proposed roofing-in the entire building, but as before only the choir and chancel were to be used for Divine Service. The Chapter, however, refused to sanction this, deeming it inexpedient at the time, and also taking into account the insufficiency of the Economy Fund. Possibly no one will regret that the Rock, with its crown of historic ruins, has now become a national monument under the care of the Board of Works.

In conclusion two objects intimately connected with the Chapter deserve some notice. The verge, now in use in the present cathedral, measures 3 feet 6 inches in length, and has round the orb the following inscription:—"This Verge belongs to ye Cathedrall of St. Patrick's Rock Cashell." So far back as 1668 the œconomist was directed to

provide a verge; but the matter was let drop, and was not brought up again till 1723, when the œconomist was ordered to procure one, as well as a suitable gown for the verger. In the following year this official was granted an increase of ten shillings a year on his former salary of forty shillings, owing to his trouble in carrying it. In August, 1725, we find the following accounts:—

	£	s.	d.
Pd. ye messenger for Verge to Kilkenny,	.	0	3 6
Pd. Mrs. Dorothy McJoy for Verge weighing			
25 oz. 18 dwt. 12 grs. at 5/10 p. oz.,	.	9	17 6

The chapter-seal, now in the custody of the Dean, is figured by Caulfield in his *Sigilla* on Plate I., fig. 7. The letters E. D. on either side are supposed to indicate that it was made while Essex Digby was Dean (1660/1–1671); yet it is curious that in the chapter-books it is recorded that on November 9th, 1727, a sum of £1 13s. 5d. was paid to Robert Eaton, Esq., for a chapter-seal. Possibly the old one became damaged or worn, and the Chapter then got a facsimile made of it. On the same plate, fig. 3, Caulfield reproduces an older pre-Reformation chapter-seal, and on p. 13 mentions a still older one. That of the vicars choral (Caulfield, same plate, fig. 8) is also at Cashel.

THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ST. MARY, GOWRAN,
COUNTY KILKENNY, AND ITS MONUMENTS.

BY REV. CANON A. V. HOGG, M.A., *Fellow*
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[Submitted SEPTEMBER 27, 1910.]

GOWRAN, or *Bealach Gabhran* (the pass of Gowran), in ancient Irish records, and Bally-Gauran in Anglo-Irish, was in very early times the residence of the Mac Gillpatrick, Kings of Ossory.

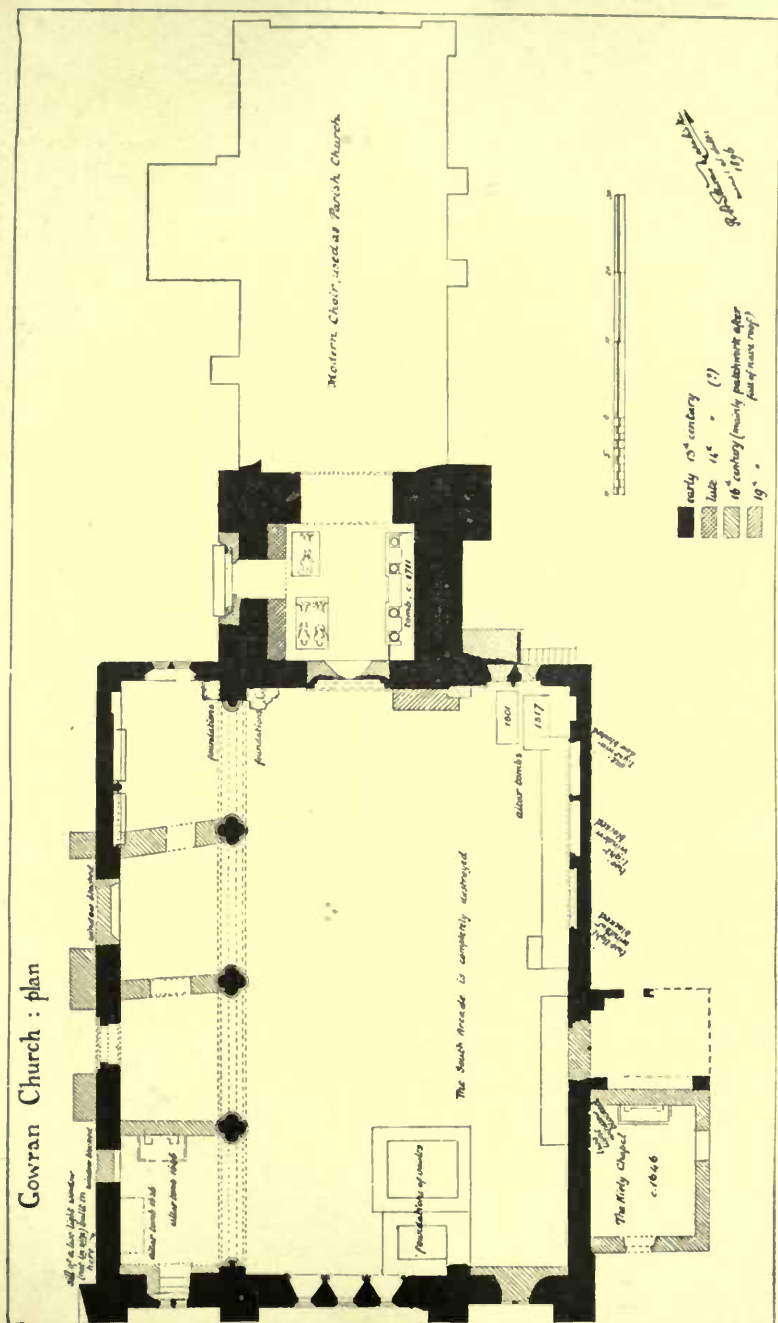
The Mac Murrough Kavanaghs defeated the Mac Gillpatrick, and drove them into North Ossory, where they are represented to-day by the Fitzpatrick of the Queen's County. A member of the Fitzpatrick family was in the eighteenth century created Baron Gowran. He was Richard Fitzpatrick, a naval commander, who distinguished himself against the French, 1687 to 1702, was created Baron Gowran of Gowran, county Kilkenny, and died 1727. The following reference to Gowran occurs in the well-known metrical Itinerary of Ireland, written by Cormacan in 945:—

“ A night we passed at Bealach Mugna,
We did not wet our fine hair.
The snow was on the ground before us,
In the stormy pass of Gowran.”

In the latter half of the twelfth century there met at this place Dermot Mac Murrough, King of Leinster, St. Lorcán ua Tuathail, Archbishop of Dublin, Donald, Bishop of Leighlin, Felix, Abbot of Ossory, Donal Kavanagh, with other men of note; and the King of Leinster confirmed under his seal, before witnesses, the grant of lands which had been made by O’Ryan, chief of Idrone, to the Abbey of Duiske, now called Graigue.

At the place chosen for such a meeting of Celtic princes and prelates, there was probably a Celtic church. An unusually interesting ogham marks the site as of great antiquity, and within the tower there is a doorway with inclined jambs.

In the division of Ossory among the followers of Strongbow, Gowran became the prize of Theobald Fitzwalter, first Butler of Ireland, and ancestor of the Ormonde family. The manor of Gowran continued in their possession until 1700. Three of the heads of the family are interred at Gowran. Edmund Le Bottiler, first Earl of Carrick, died in London on the 13th of September, 1321, after a visit to the shrine of



St. James of Compostella, and was buried at Gowran on St. Martin's Eve. His son James, first Earl of Ormonde, was buried at Gowran in 1387. James, third Earl of Ormonde, who built Gowran Castle, 1385, died there in 1405, and was laid to rest in Gowran church. The tombs of the first Earl of Ormonde and his wife are probably still preserved intact in early English sepulchral niches in the north aisle of the thirteenth-century church. The church exhibits architecture of various dates, from the Anglo-Norman arrival at the end of the twelfth century down to the nineteenth. The twelfth-century Anglo-Norman church was for the most part taken down to make way for enlargements, but portions still appear hidden away in the later work. In the north wall of the tower are two windows; the upper one is ogee-headed and cusped, and its limestone jambs are scarcely at all weatherworn; its date would be about the fifteenth century. The lower window has a semicircular head, cut out of a single piece of sandstone, and its jambs are badly weatherworn. Its date is about the twelfth century. This window is the only one of its kind left in the building. There was a general rebuilding of the windows of the tower with the ogee and cusp, and the priest's doorway still visible in the south wall, by which he entered the church to celebrate the service, is also ogee-headed and cusped. A variation of the masonry is still visible in the north wall of the tower; that of the second story, with its twelfth-century window, is older than that of the story above and below. The lower story was, at a later date, buttressed with an exterior coat of masonry. The upper story, above the interior vaulting arch, is of later work throughout. The castellation of the tower dates probably from the beginning of the last century, and is quite unlike that of the nave. Instead of the graceful variety of angle, elevation, and slope in the thirteenth-century work of the parapet of the nave, the crenellation of the tower is rectangular. Examining the tower from the interior, we notice the wide splay of the twelfth-century window to admit the maximum of light with minimum exposure to an enemy. High up in the east wall of the tower is a doorway with inclined jambs, giving entrance to a stone staircase in the thickness of the wall, leading to the roof above. The marks of the wickerwork centering for the ceiling are still visible in the roof of this chamber.

The twelfth-century nave was much smaller and plainer than the beautiful specimen of thirteenth-century work which stands on its site. The quoin-stones of its north-east angle remain unmoved, and show that it was no wider than the tower, and had no side aisles. The mark of the water-table of its roof remains in the west wall of the tower, about 6 feet lower than the water-table of the latter roof. The arches, with their piers and capitals, which pierced the west and east walls of the tower, giving entrance from the twelfth-century nave to the twelfth-century choir, still remain, and are so obviously out of proportion to the existing nave that they plainly belonged to a smaller and older building.

The original twelfth-century arch on the east wall of the tower is covered over with masonry added in 1876. One of the capitals was uncovered by a mason, when preparing a place in the wall for the monument of Charles Agar, who died 1696. The western arch is distinctly seen from the nave, and is flatly or bluntly pointed, like the original arch in the chapter-room of St. Canice's Cathedral. It may have been altered from the round, and is a very early specimen of the pointed style. Above it is a built-up doorway, connected with an old spiral stone staircase, by which the tower was ascended. The wall, being not thick enough to allow of this spiral staircase, it was contained in a projection from the south-west corner of the tower, now built up into a buttress. Its old sandstone newel is still to be seen, projecting about 3 feet, and may be counted among the oldest pieces of work in the church. The early English church, of which the nave remains in ruins, measured about 180 feet in maximum length. It had side aisles, each having a side altar, piscina and aumbry at its east end. Access was given to the church by doors in the north and south aisles, that on the south side having a porch with a chamber over it, called a parvise (*paravitus*), though the name originally applied to porch and chamber together with their precincts. The chamber or parvise was reached by a flight of stone steps, of which the corbels still remain. Its south wall has a square-headed window, and doubtless there were windows in the other sides, to enable the porter who occupied the chamber to see visitors, coming at unusual hours, before he admitted them. Beside the rain-gutter of the aisles' roof there is an aperture in the wall of the chamber for letting out the water used in the porter's private ablutions. The porch below had a stone seat running along either side. Its outer doorway is now in the built-up archway between the nave and the tower.

INSCRIPTIONS ON TOMBS IN ST. MARY'S CHURCH, GOWRAN.

OGHAM.

Discovered in earlier portion of nineteenth century. Has a cross of ancient pattern incised in two double lines; freestone, 5 feet by 14 inches by 12 inches.

DALO MAQA MUROI MAQUI-ERACIAS MAQI LI.

Translation :—Dalach, grandson of Mac-Eirche, who was son of Lia (Rev. E. Barry).¹

EFFIGY OF LADY OF RANK.

1500.—Table of altar-tomb, in high relief.

¹ This reading cannot be substantiated; the inscription is much injured, and nothing can be made out of it with any certainty but *Maqi-Eracias maqi* [. . .] *di maqa mucoi* [. . .].—Ed.

[To face page 342.]



GOWRAN CHURCH—SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF NAVE.

RADOULFUS.

Limestone slab. Incised Lombardic, commencing at right shoulder, running round the slab of the top of the left shoulder:—

✠ DVM : VIXIT : SANVS : RADOVLVS : ERAT : IVLIANVS : DVM : VIXIT :
SOSPES : RVPTIS : FVERAT : PIVS : HOSPES : ANNO : DNI : M : CC : LIII : XIII :
X : X : APRIL.

Translation:—"While he lived genial Ralph was a 'julianus' to the last. He was the helper of all in need, and the soul of hospitality. A.D. March 19, 1253." Leonine verse in vogue at the time. Was rector of Gowran before 1218. No rank mentioned, as was usual at the time. He was Canon of St. Canice, and of great influence, and commissary at one time during a vacancy in the See of Ossory.

A DEACON.

Book of Gospels on breast for priest to read—small size.

AGAR.

Floor-slab: eight-pointed cross (raised) dated 1686.

CHARLES AGAR, BURGESS, DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 14TH DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1696.

The inscription is evidently a later addition.

KNIGHT IN ARMOUR.

Large altar-tomb—on sides twelve Apostles. Tudor foliage. Shields and coat-of-arms of Butlers.—Uninscribed, *circ.* 1500.

Two warriors armed cap-à-pie. Insignia of Crucifixion. Shield indented in chief. Ring mail and steel plate.—Uninscribed, *circ.* 1500.

PURCELL.

Eight-pointed floreated cross, at the sides of which the Ormonde shield and another combining achievements of Purcell and Rothe. Inscription in Gothic letters running round the margin of the stone and up the stem of the cross:—

Hic jacet Patrici, Purcell quōda' cōstabulari' de Gowran q' obiit A.D. M^oCCCC^o XLV^o et Johāna Roth uxor eius q' obiit A.D. M^oCCCC^o XL^o.

ROTH.

Crest of Roths: stag statant under a tree, upon an esquire's helmet, with mantling and a wreath.

Scroll bears motto:—Sola Salus Servire Deo.

JAMES AGAR.

A large mural monument in classic style with Doric pillars—

James Agar, Esq. | son of Charles Agar of the city of York | by Ellis his wife, of the ancient family of Blanchville | died the 30 day of

Dec. 1733 | in the 63 yr of his age. | By his first wife Susanna, daughter of James Alexander, Esq. | He had three sons, who died young. | He afterwards married Mary, daughter Sir Henry Wemys of Danesfort | by whom he had 7 children, 3 of whom are here interred. | He acquired a plentiful fortune, with a fair reputation. | His disposition beneficent and humane, | gained him the desirable character | of a tender husband, and indulgent parent, | an affectionate relation, | a kind master, | a good neighbour. | His private charities were not few, | and the new building for the seat of his family, | together with the poorhouse in Gowran, | are instances of his public liberality. | The former he began and completed. | The latter, by him founded and endowed | is since finished by his mournful relict, | who, out of a sincere respect to the worthy deceased, | hath caused this to be erected, | as a monument of his merit | and of her affections. |

KELLY.

John and Joseph Kelly, 1678 (nuper defuncti); determines date of ehalice and paten at present in use.

JAMES FIRST EARL OF ORMONDE AND HIS WIFE, 1337.

Two uninscribed effigial monuments in low relief, attired in the costume of the fourteenth century, occupy early English niches in the north side aisle. Male figure occupies western niche, and both face towards the east.

EDMUND BRENAGH AND ISABELLA WALE.

Floor slab in second division of north side aisle with eight-pointed cross. Inscription in raised old English. *Hic jacet Edmdu' brenagh et Isabella Wale uxor ei q' obiit A.D. M^oCCCC^o LV^o.*

MAURICE CAS.—lies in third division of north aisle.

Floor slab, broken across, beautifully interlaced eight-pointed cross. Incised Lombardic inscription:—*Hic jacet Maurici, Cas.*

MARGARET BUTLER—also in third division of north aisle.

A floor slab in Roman capitals.

Here lieth Body of Magre(t), wife to William Butler, Gent., and daughter to John Bradstreet, who died ye th(ird) Day of May, 1685.

JACOBUS KEALLY.

An altar-tomb in most westerly division of north aisle, side by side with a fine Renaissance monument, indicates the transition from the altar-tomb to the mural monument of the seventeenth century. The faint carving represents a skeleton divesting itself of its shroud, symbolical of resurrection.

Inscribed in raised Roman capitals is:—*Hic jacet Jacobus Keally vir honoratissimi generis burgensis Gaveranensis municipalis qui obiit die () Anno Domini 1626, et uxor ejus Ellena Naish, quae etiam obiit () Anno Salutis humanæ. () Quorum animabus Deus propitiatur.*

JAMES KEALLY.

Probably son of the former—a Renaissance monument. It has two shields, one, bearing two lions rampant supporting a castle triple-towered for Keally, impaling three doves with olive branches in their beaks, for Nash. The other shield has the same arms for Keally, impaling a chevron between two roses for White.

Inscription, in Roman capitals :—Here lieth the bodies of Mr. James Keally, sometime of the town of Gowran, gentleman, who died Ano. Dni. 16(), and of Mrs. Ellen Nash, his first wife, who died the 30 day of the month of July ano. Dni. 1640, and of Mrs. Mary White, his second wife, who died the () day of the month of (), Ano. Dni. 16(). He erected this monument for himselfe, his wives and children, in the month of Dec. Ano. Dni. 1646.

Both wives at once alive he could not have,
Both to enjoy at once he made this grave.

NASE AND SHORTALL.

In the nave is to be found a very large floor slab with an eight-pointed cross, and the inscription in Gothic letters, in relief, down one of the sides. Its date is about 1600.

Inscription :—Hic jacet Richard Nase et Ellana Shortall uxor ei, q obiit () Die mensis ().

PILLAR-STONE.

A pillar-stone with an incised cross of rare and ancient design stands in the nave near the west window. It is 5½ feet by 1 foot by 1 foot.

PIERS KEALLY.

In a small mortuary chapel built at the south-west external angle of the nave is a Renaissance monument similar to that already described. At the top of a shield bearing, wavy, on a chevron, three cantons for Keally; impaling three hakes for Hackett; crest an antlered stag issuing from a helmet. There are also two other separate shields, one with the same arms for Keally, the other with the same arms for Hackett.

Roman Capital Inscription :—Here lieth the body of M. Piers Keally, sometime of the towne of Gowran, borges, died the I. day of the month of January, Anno Domini 1648, and Alson his wife, daughter to Nicholas Hackett, gentleman, who died the () day of the month of () Anno Domini 16().

(The troublous times in which they lived might account for omission of the dates).

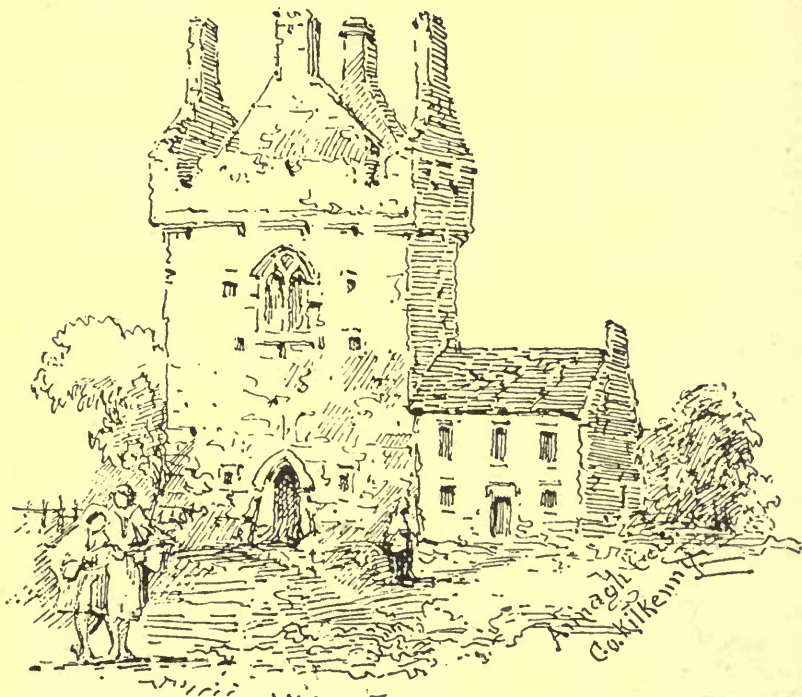
Rest together, the wish of man and wife,
To rest intombed resembling their past life.
Though death subscribed to their lives divorce
Their remnants walled are from division's force.

ANNAGHS CASTLE.

BY J. S. FLEMING, F.S.A. (Scot.), MEMBER.

[Submitted SEPTEMBER 26, 1910.]

ANNAGHS CASTLE is a solitary, roofless, square structure of the keep type. It stands on the brink of the river Nore, a navigable tributary of the larger Suir and in the demesne of Annaghs, belonging to Mr. A. J. Mockler, and is distant about two miles south of New Ross. It measures externally east to west 48 feet, and north to south 27 feet,



ANNAGHS CASTLE.

and seems about 60 feet high to its battlements, and had four gables forming a cross roof. Internally it is divided into two lofty, vaulted floors, with centre soles between each, giving each of the four apartments 8 to 9 feet of a ceiling, and is entered by the usual pointed doorway in the east wall, through a small vestibule to the staircase on the left-hand side, and having on its right hand, as you enter, a recess, the door-keeper's room, 4 feet by 4 feet, with a loop.

As in general with these keeps, the principal apartment is on the upper vaulted floor, here 19 feet square, having a fireplace 8 feet wide, with simple sculptured jambs, the centre stone wanting, and several wall recesses, and is entered off the stair by a square-headed doorway $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, and on the opposite wall of this apartment another, but circular-headed, doorway leads by a narrow passage to a *garde-robe*, and off it another passage along the east wall leads to its two angles, in each of which are inserted three loops pointing triangularly to the outside. A similar passage provides the same triangular loops to the two angles of the west gable wall, its only active defences in lieu of bastions or turret projections, of which the keep is destitute; and to widen the range of the surrounding districts these four angles project slightly beyond the walls.

The novelty is in the *garde-robe* chamber, which, in addition to its seat, has immediately over that a small stone cistern, and a narrow ventilating shaft, reaching through the ceiling, evidently to the outside, otherwise its architectural features and internal arrangements are of the conventional form. On the south or river side of the external wall may be noticed a series of corbels; these are projecting, evidently to carry a beam across that wall, as if it had supported either a platform or a "lean-to" roof of a building of some kind. These corbels seem to be as old as the original construction, and to have supported the covering of part of it, although the tower seems complete in itself. In fact, these corbels are rather perplexing. The walls are in good repair, and the upper vaulting keeps the under apartments dry, and were, Mr. Mockler, junior, told me, used by the salmon fishermen in their midnight watchings for netting the river at the ebb-tide.

Mr. Mockler having purchased the estate (some 600 acres) had little knowledge of its history, or that of its original owners, but from its condition its erection may be attributed to the last decade of the sixteenth century; but the character of the architecture of these towers gives no assistance in ascertaining the period of their construction, which is, therefore, little more than guess-work.

NOTE.—From a note by the Rev. Canon French of his family reminiscences, it appears that the tower was occupied by its owner, an old bachelor, in his grandfather's time (his name is not given). The latter having been invited by the bachelor to dine with him at the castle, on his arrival punctually for his engagement, he found that his host, who had forgotten the invitation, was unprovided for the additional plate at his table, and suggested to the disappointed guest that the deficiency in solids should be made good by extra liquids, to his guest's indignation!

The south wall of the tower (the farthest from the river) bears distinct evidence of a former more recent building having been attached to it. An old drawing, of which a pen-sketch is here given, shows a

plain, two-story dwelling-house built against this wall of the tower: this, however, is now completely erased. This house was probably the scene of the above incident between the bachelor host and his guest, as the tower was then roofless. The Rev. Canon considers that the history of the castle and of its former owner was uneventful. From the extensive surrounding ruined walls of what had been the buildings of a large homestead, orchard, and courts, all adjacent, the family must have been one of some influence in the county in its earlier days.

Miscellanea.

A newly discovered Ogham and some other Antiquities in County Carlow.—My friend and colleague, Prof. John MacNeill, called my attention to a letter in the *Irish Independent* of 26th November, 1910, relating to an Ogham inscription newly found on the townland of Crosslow, near Tullow, county Carlow. The writer, Mr. Peter MacDonnell, M.L.A.S., the discoverer of the inscription, describes the inscribed stone as being one of two, situated in a field locally called "Two Stone Field." The stones, he says, are about 3 feet 6 inches high; the inscription is given as *Dunaidonas (ma?) qai Raminas*; and the account ends with a vague local legend of a battle, and the story of a man who "dug up a bar of pure gold" about forty years ago between the stones, which he "sold for thousands of pounds in London." The letter is illustrated by photographs, unusually clearly reproduced for newspaper half-tones, and showing the scores well.

On 12th December, 1910, Prof. MacNeill and I went to visit the monument. Taking the road from Tullow to Clonegal, we found the site without difficulty. It is not exactly on Crosslow, but on the neighbouring townland of *Rathglass*, and is marked "Gallauns" in the 6-inch map (Carlow, sheet 13, upper right-hand corner, on the west side of the road mentioned). The two stones stand, east and west, 11 feet 2 inches apart, in the central line of a low grave-mound, 38 feet long and 14 feet wide. The inscribed stone, which is the eastern one, is 4 feet high, 2 feet 8 inches by 1 foot 6 inches at the base, tapering to a point; the other is 4 feet 7 inches high, 2 feet 6 inches by 1 foot at the base, tapering to the top, but not to a point. The broad faces of the stones are directed across the grave-mound, and the inscription is on the face turned toward the uninscribed stone. Every letter of the inscription is absolutely clear, and there can be no doubt whatever of the reading given below. It will be seen that Mr. MacDonnell's transcript is right in the main, but he has read the right-hand inscription in the wrong direction, and has made one or two other slips on that side of the legend. *Both* angles read upward, which is unusual. The inscription is—

Left angle, DUNAIDONAS.

Right angle, MAQI MARIANI.

The first of these names, though new to Ogham, is compounded of well-known elements; the other occurs, *totidem literis*, on a stone at Kinard East, county Kerry. The stones are both of the coarse-grained granite of the neighbourhood.

After examining the monument we proceeded further to George's Cross Roads, taking then the road through Knocknatubbrid to Aghade. In the middle of the former townland the road makes a curious double bend,

which not improbably is a relic of an old highway crossing it at right angles. At any rate we noticed close to this point an ancient *tochar* or causeway, fenced by great granite blocks, crossing the marshy land on the right hand (north-western) side of the road, and apparently running in the direction of an enormous ring-fort, very conspicuous from the road, but which we had not time to visit. One of the granite blocks, a great triangular upright slab, has a striking appearance; this we examined, but found no markings on it.

Approaching the river Slaney our attention was arrested by a conspicuous standing stone in a field on the right-hand side of the road. It stands on the top of a rise, and is visible for a long distance. There can be little doubt that it was meant for a landmark of some kind. It seems to stand almost exactly in line and midway between two "cromlechs" marked on the map in the same townland (Ballynoe). These also we were unable to examine. The stone is about 5 feet 10 inches high; it bears no marks of any kind. Though so conspicuous, it is not marked on the Ordnance map.

Proceeding through the graveyard of Aghade, and passing the school, we entered the field in the townland of Castlegrace, which contains a monument marked "Ogham stone" on the map. This is a very singular monument, and it is not easy to know what to make of it. It is a massive pillar of granite, 10 feet in length, now prostrate. On the (present) upper surface, at what seems to have been the original top end, there are carved four plain crosses, and a double cross (i.e. a cross with two transverse bars). The plain crosses are about 4 inches square, the double cross about the size of two plain crosses. A considerable part of the remainder of the surface is covered with a *semée* of little pits, which have evidently been made intentionally, though they are smaller than cup-marks usually are. One of these pits, at the extreme top end of the stone, seems to have faint traces of a ring surrounding it. The name "Ogham stone" has evidently been given it on account of certain scores on the upper angle of the side of the stone toward the road. We could not decide what to make of these scores. They have a very Ogham-like appearance; but they are much coarser than Ogham stones usually are. This can be explained, however, by the extremely coarse texture of the granite, which is quite unsuitable for fine work, or even for the moderate delicacy of the average Ogham scores; and the same cause can easily account for the disappearance of most of the inscription—especially when the neighbourhood of a school is taken into account. There are very clear traces of the boots of schoolboys, who have been practising feats of balancing on the friable edge of the stone. At the butt of the stone we thought we could make out a "G," then after a blank space a doubtful "L," followed by another and more certain "L"—the second score of which is the only conspicuous score in the whole inscription—after which is room for an "E" or an "I," followed by what seems to be "N." We could detect nothing further. It is an

interesting illustration of the scientific value of the Ordnance maps that the beautifully clear and perfectly preserved Rathglass inscription is not noticed, while this dubious Castlegrace stone is marked with a light-hearted definiteness to which no one with any experience in Irish archæology could possibly subscribe.

A few fields to the north is a stone called *Cloch an phuill*, a name turned, stupidly and needlessly, into "Cloghaphile" on the map. This is one of the finest holed-stones I have ever seen. It is a great slab of granite, 8 feet 6 inches above ground, 5 feet 5 inches across, and 1 foot 4 inches thick. A cylindrical hole, exactly 1 foot in diameter, is pierced through the medial axis of the two broad faces, 1 foot 9 inches down from the top. There is no other mark of any kind on the stone. The monument was probably originally upright, but is now fallen over into an almost recumbent position.—R. A. S. MACALISTER.

Carved Beam in Limerick.—Mr. M. Collins informs us that he found, in rebuilding the premises, 20 Broad-street, Limerick, an oak beam. It has three panels, the first of inverted shield (or house-end) shape, "P," overhead, "R. L." below; the central panel oblong with "Anno Domini, 1634" (so in sketch), and the right-hand panel small and oblong with letters "C. S."

The house stands at the junction of Broad-street with Mungret-street. Its site was an old establishment, going back to 1774. The lease describes it as bounded by the properties of a Count O'Riordan (who "went to France during the siege of Limerick," ? 1691), and (to the rear) by White Wine-lane and the old Free School, founded in 1777, as still appears on a tablet.

The owner is anxious to obtain information about the beam. In the list of Mayors and other city magistrates a Robert Lawless appears as Mayor of Limerick in 1638. But he was not "Prepositus" in 1634. The "S." in the wife's initials might stand for Stritch or Sexten. There is no coat-of-arms to help us.—T. J. W.

Historic Ruins in Westmeath.—It is to be regretted that the Irish County Councils are proceeding so slowly in availing themselves of the powers conferred on them by section 19 of the Local Government Act of 1898 to protect historic monuments.

Many of our ancient remains which are not vested in the Board of Works could be preserved from total destruction by a comparatively small expenditure, if taken in time; but when neglected beyond a certain stage of their decay, they become completely obliterated, and in course of time even their very sites forgotten.

Although it may be inadvisable that County Councils should undertake elaborate restorations involving large outlay, work of that character being left to the Board of Works, minor repairs, sufficient to prevent the ruin falling to pieces, might very appropriately be done by them;

such work to be skilfully carried out so as not to interfere with the ancient appearance of the structure.

I am glad to be able to record that the Westmeath County Council has lately manifested a praiseworthy anxiety to protect the ancient monuments of the county, memorials which are so closely connected not only with local, but national history. Arising out of a letter of mine to the County Surveyor, Mr. A. E. Joyce, c.e., with reference to the old castle of Rathconnell near Mullingar, which Mr. Joyce read to the Council, a resolution was unanimously adopted asking me to furnish the Council with a list of historical monuments which I considered should be taken over under the "Ancient Monuments Protection Acts." Needless to say, I gladly accepted the task, and at the next meeting of the Council I submitted a list of six ancient ruins which are on the verge of annihilation, but which, even now, at the eleventh hour, a small outlay will preserve for many years to come. I avoided suggesting work that would involve considerable expense. All I asked was that those ruins in immediate danger, namely, those given in my report, should be dealt with without delay, otherwise they would be completely wiped out within a very short space of time.

The Council having thanked me for my report, an order was made that the County Surveyor should visit the ruins referred to and prepare an estimate of the necessary work, steps to be taken in the meantime to have the buildings vested in the Council. As three of the old structures are in graveyards, the transfer from the District Council to the County Council will be easily accomplished, and I do not apprehend that any difficulty will arise with the owners of the remaining three.

I append a copy of my report to the County Council. There is urgent necessity for a complete classified list of monuments, specifying what are suitable for protection by the State, and what should be preserved by the County Council as "county" monuments. There is a danger that between the divided responsibility of the two authorities many will be neglected. The only ruins in the county vested in the Board of Works are Fore Abbey, and the ruins in Inisbofin, in Lough Ree, both vested this year. The monuments at Usnagh Hill are scheduled in the Act but not vested.

"Ancient ruins in Westmeath suggested for preservation by the County Council under the Ancient Monuments Protection Acts, 1882 and 1892, and the Local Government Act, 1898.

"LECAN,

otherwise called Lacan, near Multyfarnham. St. Patrick, while on his missionary journey through Westmeath, built a church here which he left in charge of St. Cruimmin. The following is from Tirechan's Annotations on the Life of St. Patrick in the 'Book of Armagh': 'And he (Patrick) built another church in the country of Roide, at Caput Art

(Lecan), in which he erected a stone altar' (see O'Donovan's note under Lecan, page 67, vol. iii., *Annals of the Four Masters*). The various histories and annals teem with references to Lecan. In the Rev. Dr. Hogan's great work, '*Onomasticon Goedelicum*,' a Dictionary of Irish Place-Names issued within the last few weeks by the Royal Irish Academy—by far the most comprehensive and valuable work of the kind relating to Ireland ever published—there are no fewer than thirty-four references to ancient manuscripts, annals, &c., in which information about Lecan can be found.

"One of the side walls of the church, containing a door and window, is in fairly good preservation. The remainder of the building has almost disappeared.

" CLONFAD,

in the barony of Farbil, known in history as Cluain Fota Boetain, famous as the place where St. Colum Cille was ordained by Bishop Etchen, A.D. 577. The '*Feilire of Oengus the Culdee*,' edited by Whitley Stokes, contains an interesting account of the circumstances of the ordination. Tradition points to an old cross in the churchyard as marking the grave of Bishop Etchen. There is an old archway also in the graveyard which is said to be part of the original monastery. Besides the Four Masters and the Martyrology of Donegal, there are seventeen references to Clonfad in '*Onomasticon Goedelicum*.'

" KILLARE,

near Ballymore, associated with the lives of St. Bridget and St. Hugh; founded in sixth century. The Martyrology of Donegal states that the Irish Prince, Enda, gave fifteen townlands around Killare to St. Patrick. From early Christian times, far into the Norman period, Killare occupies a prominent place in Irish civil and ecclesiastical history. There are fourteen references to Killare in '*Onomasticon Goedelicum*.' Of the three churches erected in Killare in the sixth century only a portion of one of them—St. Bridget's—now remains. It stands on the right-hand side of the road from Mullingar to Ballymore. The ruin in the churchyard is modern.

" PORTLOMAN,¹

on the western shore of Lough Owel, founded by St. Loman in the sixth century, was called 'Teampul Loman, or the Church of Loman. This

¹ Within a mile of Portloman, in a westerly direction, is the hill of Slanemore—the Slemain of the ancient tale, the "*Táin Bó Cúalnge*." Here it is said the Ultonians encamped when pursuing Queen Medb and her army after the celebrated raid into Ulster. There are three mounds on the hill, said to have been erected by Conor Mac Nessa's army.

One of the mounds, which is very much larger than either of the other two, is, perhaps, the one referred to in the "*Táin*."

The description given by Fergus Mac Roigh, Queen Medb's equerry, of the dress, &c., of the Ulster army, as they approached this hill from the north-east, is extremely vivid (O'Curry's M. & C.).

Other noted places on this shore of Lough Owel are Frewin (Fremhain), and Farra (Foradh), mentioned several times in our ancient tales and Annals.

place is mentioned several times in the Annals and State Papers, but is particularly remarkable as the monastery in which the Amra, or eulogy of Colum Cille, was written by Dallan Forgaill, chief poet of Ireland, in A.D. 597, the year of the death of Colum Cille. In the 'Forespeech' of the Amra it is stated that the eulogy was chanted from the Fort of Balustrades to the cross at Loman's house. The site of the former is now unknown, but that of the cross is still pointed out by the old people living in the district. It also states that it was chanted at Feni's Ford, which Dr. Hogan, in 'Onomasticon Goedelicum,' identifies as Ath Fene on the river Gaine, about three miles from Portloman. O'Donovan, in his Westmeath Ordnance Survey Letters, states that in his opinion the Slighe Asail (Via Regia), one of the five great roads from Tara, and from which the barony of Moyashel derives its name, ran in this direction.

"The old church of Portloman is in the graveyard. It measures, according to Canon O'Hanlon, author of the 'Lives of the Irish Saints,' 38 feet in length by 21 feet in width, with what might be described as a priest's dwelling attached; the latter measures 35 feet by 17 feet. There is a very interesting sculptured stone bearing Celtic interlacing and curious devices resembling Patrick's crosses, lying across a ditch adjoining the churchyard, which should be removed to a place of safety, as the traffic over the stone will eventually obliterate the carving. There are several references to Portloman in Dr. Hogan's work.

"CHURCH ISLAND, LOUGH OWEL.

"On this island, known in the Annals as Inis Mor, there are ruins of a very ancient church which, according to the Martyrology of Donegal, was built by St. Loman, whose monastery is situate on the mainland, about a mile distant. The Martyrology states that he lived on the island, and that his food consisted of herbs. The church measures 28 feet by 18 feet; the walls are 3 feet in thickness. When I last visited the island, about a year ago, the eastern gable, containing a circular-headed window, was still in a fairly good state of preservation, but the ruin would require immediate attention, as it is decaying very rapidly. This little church was originally stone-roofed.

"A cemetery formerly extended around the church. The last interment took place about ninety years ago, and was that of a young man who was drowned during the 'Patron' of Portloman while engaged in swimming horses, a very popular competition at the time, in the 'Horse Pool,' a well-known part of the lake. The 'Patron' has not been held since. The story of this sad accident is told in vol. iii. of the *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1833-4.

"BALLYMORE CASTLE.

"This castle was erected by Hugh De Lacy in the twelfth century. In A.D. 1315 Edward Bruce, during his campaign in Ireland, spent the Christmas of that year at Ballymore, or, as it was then called, Bally-

more-Lough Seady. Numerous references to Ballymore in the State Papers from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries. In 1601 the Friars of Multyfarnham were imprisoned in the castle. One of them, Father Mooney, the historian, escaped by means of a rope from one of the upper windows.

"In 1691 De Ginkel, the Williamite General, while marching to attack Athlone, was checked in his progress at the castle of Ballymore and the fort of Lough Seady. The incidents recorded as having taken place at the castle and fort, by John Cornelius O'Callaghan, and even by the Williamite historian, Storey, exhibit cruel barbarity on the part of De Ginkel. A considerable portion of the principal tower of the castle is still standing."

JAMES TUITE.

The Ouseley Family (further details).—My memoir of the Ouseley family in a recent issue of the *Journal* has elicited some further interesting details respecting that illustrious family. I give them as they reached me.

Major Ralph Gore Ouseley, commanding the 11th Battery of Royal Artillery at Jubbulpore in India, and who had seen distinguished service in South Africa, and was locked up in Ladysmith, writes:—"In this part of India is a sect of Brahmins who call themselves Wusley Brahmins, and their origin or that of their name is traceable to an Ouseley who married one of their number, and then invited all the relatives to the wedding feast, with the result that they were out-casted and so set up their own sect. This is often quoted in Indian works as an example of how a sect can originate." It is certainly a curious evidence of the strength of the caste system and a perfect illustration of a social boycott.

The Ouseley family in Limerick, once very well known there, have died out completely; and their only record is the following inscription on a tombstone in the old graveyard attached to St. Mary's Cathedral:—"Here lie the mortal remains of Ralph Ouseley Esq., his wife Elizabeth who departed this life . . . and also his wife Mary who departed this life Christmas Day 1838—some of his children are also buried here. This stone is inscribed to the memory of her revered parents by Jane Priscilla Ouseley daughter of the said Ralph Ouseley and his wife Mary March 23 1839." This is probably the grave of Ralph Ouseley mentioned in my memoir, the great friend of Joseph Cooper Walker, author of the "Irish Bards," and father of Sir Gore Ouseley, while the Miss Ouseley, his daughter, is probably the lady who with the Duke of Wellington stood as sponsor to the late Sir Frederick Arthur Gore Ouseley, the famous musician. The circumstance of his baptism is mentioned in his Life; and the author adds that after his two godfathers, the famous Duke and the Duke of York, he was called Frederick Arthur. This is the last record of the Limerick Ouseleys that I can find.—RICHARD J. KELLY.

Supposed Dolmen on Slievenaman, County Tipperary.—In my paper on the Dolmens of Tipperary (p. 49), I mentioned that I had not visited this, and doubted whether a dolmen would be found in such a position. Mr. H. T. Knox has since kindly sent me several clear photographs of the structure referred to; they were taken some years ago by Serjeant Lyons, R.I.C., and from them I judge that this pile of rocks, known as Finn's Table, is a natural formation similar to those existing on other mountains, and produced in all probability by the denudation of softer surrounding strata. The photographs reproduced will, however, enable everyone to form his own opinion.—HENRY S. CRAWFORD.

Note on the High Cross of Clonmacnois.—One of the most interesting panels on the "Cross of the Scriptures" is that which shows a cleric and a warrior setting up a staff or post. The top of this staff has been variously represented. O'Neill and Ledwich, in their illustrations of the cross, make it a kind of reed or bulrush with long leaves and a pointed head. Petrie, in "Christian Inscriptions," gives it as a branch or slender tree-trunk, dividing into three at the top; while Mr. Westropp, in the *Journal* (vol. xxxvii, p. 294), leaves it rather indefinite.



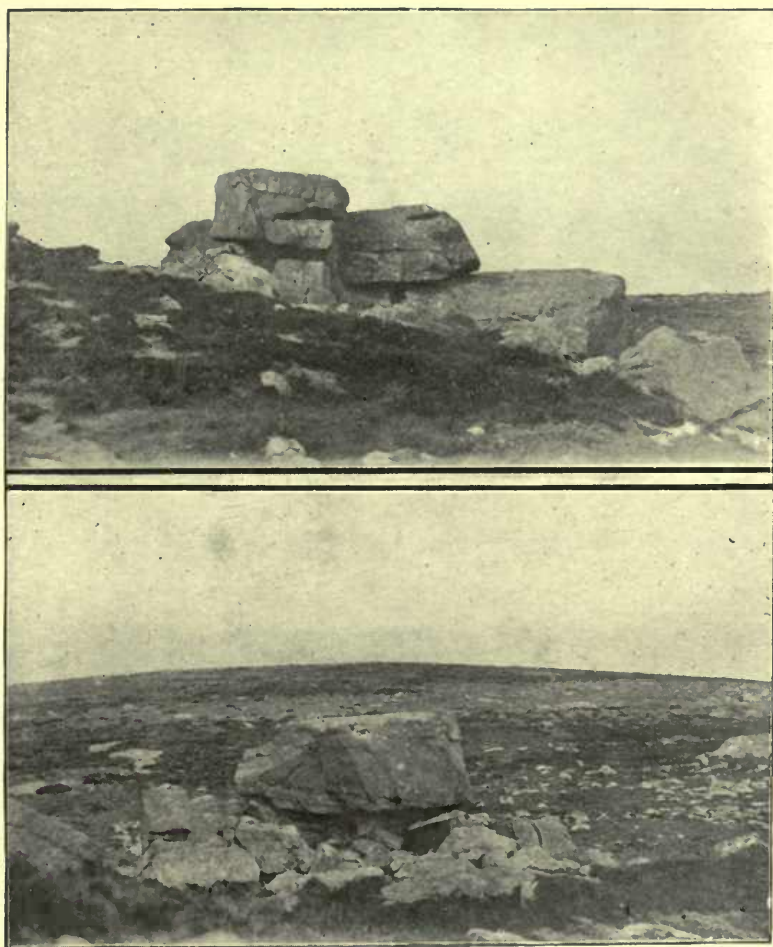
DETAIL OF THE PANEL OF THE HIGH
CROSS OF CLONMACNOIS.

With the view of determining its nature, I recently made a paper-mould of the carving, and the cast from this when placed in a suitable light showed at once that the object surmounting the staff was the head and bust of a man. This can be recognized in the illustration, which is a photograph of the cast, and shows the head and the hands of the large figures grasping the staff below.

The worn condition of the stone leaves it somewhat uncertain whether this head is carved on the staff, or represents a spectator in the background. What indications there are, however, seem to point to the latter alternative, and other instances of this kind of perspective are not wanting. The upper part of the staff appears to be chipped away, but it probably stood out in front of the figure and ended in a plain square top.—HENRY S. CRAWFORD.

Note on New Grange.—In my memoir on New Grange and Dowth, *Trans. R.I.A.*, vol. xxx, p. 61, I mention as exceptional a stone which is to be found on the east side of the mound. Only the upper surface of this stone, which is covered with a leaf-like figure, was visible at the

[To face page 356.]



SUPPOSED DOLMEN ON SLIVENAMAN.

time my memoir was written. When this stone was being cast for the Museum in July, 1901, the lower portion with incised crest-markings on it was brought to light. These markings, which are of much interest and importance, evidently represent three suns, two of which have their



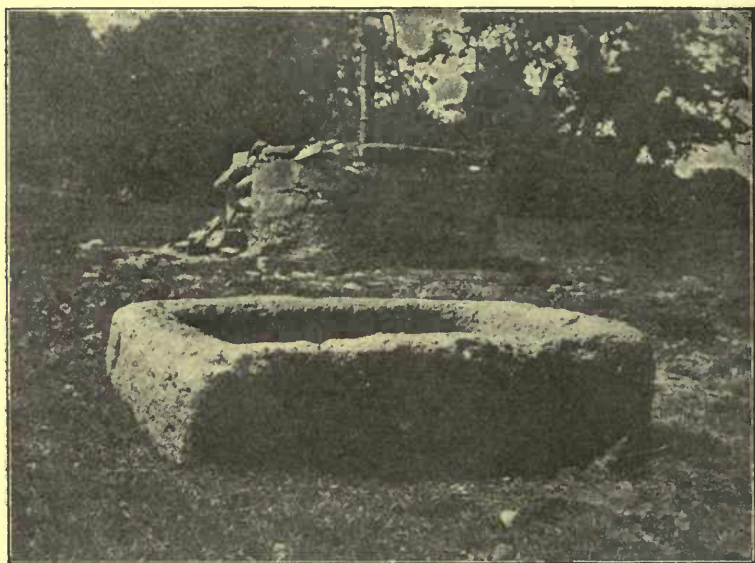
INSCRIBED STONE FROM NEW GRANGE.

outer rays enclosed in a circle. There is a fourth rougher figure above these, which also appears to be a sun. The markings shown in my cut, *op. cit.*, fig. 45, can be seen above the suns.—GEORGE COFFEY, *Hon. Fellow.*

A Relic of Caherconree.—A paper of mine on Caherconree, the fort of Curoi Mac Daire, situated on the spur of Sheve Mish range of mountains, in the county Kerry, was published in vol. ix, 5th series, p. 5, of our *Journal*. Some time afterwards I was informed that many years ago a dressed stone had been removed from the fort to some place in the valley of the Laune. The particulars I received were very meagre, and at the time I had not an opportunity of following the matter up; but recently I learned that the stone referred to was in the possession of Mr. T. Foley of Anglont House, which is about two miles east of Killorglin. Through the kindness of Mr. Foley I have been able to examine the stone, and take the photograph which accompanies these notes. It is a trough, cut out of a stone, which measures 4 feet 4 inches by 3 feet 3 inches on the outside, and 1 foot 1 inch in thickness. It has always been known as "Finn Mac Cumhail's saucer." Its history, as far as I could learn, is that it was at Caherconree—where it may be presumed it got its name—up to the year 1830, or about that time, when it was brought down from the mountain by some of the men of this district, and presented to

Mr. Michael Foley, of Anglont, who was the grandfather of the present owner.

In the first quarter of the last century Michael Foley was very popular and greatly respected in Kerry. These were the days of O'Connell's agitation, when party feeling ran high, and Mr. Foley was recognized as a leader in this part of Kerry. He was a man of fine build, remarkable for his valour, strength, and agility, and the hero in many a tough encounter with the opposite party. I was speaking to an old man, John J. O'Connor, whose father was one of the men who brought the stone down from Caherconree, but he could give me no information as to where it there lay, or what it was supposed to have been, beyond its being known as "Finn Mac Cumhail's saucer."



STONE TROUGH FROM CAHERCONREE.

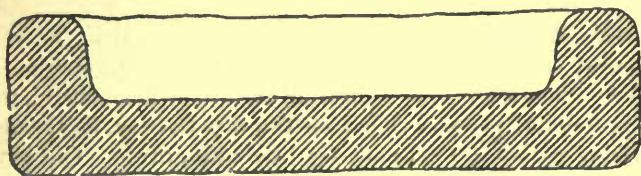
The trough is of the red sandstone of the mountain. The sinking is regularly cut to about 7 inches deep, forming a vessel of that depth, as shown by the sections, and 3 feet 3 inches long by 2 feet 2 inches wide, capable of holding about twenty-five gallons. In later years its earlier associations would appear to have been forgotten, and at one time it was utilized for farm purposes. At this time, Mr. Foley informed me, a hole was formed in one end near the bottom, and an overflow notch cut on the top; otherwise it has suffered little injury.

Vessels of this kind have not been found in our early forts, as far as I know, and Dr. Christison states¹ of the early forts of Scotland that

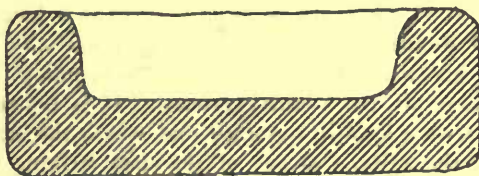
¹ "Early Fortifications in Scotland," p. 351.

"no stone article bearing traces of a man's handiwork was found except of well-known kinds that have a wide range of time, such as querns, whorls, &c." On the other hand, there is no reason for suggesting that this trough was formed on Caherconree in historic times when the fort of Curoi Mac Daire had passed into the regions of legend and romance.

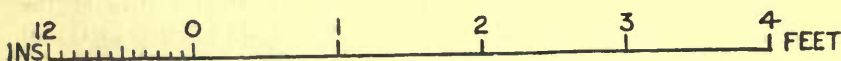
Basins sunk in rough stones have been found in connexion with ancient monuments, and also dished stones, as those in our ancient *tumuli*, but troughs wrought as this is may be said to be rare. The illustration of one in O'Hanlon's "Lives of Irish Saints," vol. viii., p. 67, known as St. Molua's trough, resembles this one. It is found near the site of the



SECTION ON LENGTH



CROSS SECTION



STONE TROUGH FROM CAHERCONREE.

ancient religious foundation of Clonfert Molua, now Kyle, in the Queen's County. However dry the season, the people say it is never known to be without water, which is used to effect cures. This stone is referred to in more detail by Mr. T. L. Cooke, in our *Journal*, vol. ii., p. 55, from which it would appear to be different. He considered it a Pagan chest for containing the remains of cremation (the Pagan school of Irish archaeologists was very much in evidence in those years). He describes it as "of sandstone, measuring on the interior 3 feet in length by 14 inches in width, and as many in depth. It is somewhat narrower at one end than at the other, and is wider at the bottom than at the top. A groove or cill runs

around its inside at the top, and seems to have served for the reception of a lid or cover." The editor's note to this is very rational; he remarks—"Might not this 'trough' have been the rude baptismal font of the early church of St. Molua? We have seen many such in churchyards where there are no indications of Pagan remains. The sunken groove for the cover is common in fonts."

However, in Caherconree there are no remains, Pagan or Christian, nor, indeed, any evidences of an ancient civilization, other than the fortification, with which this trough could be connected in any way.—P. J. LYNCH, *Vice-President*.

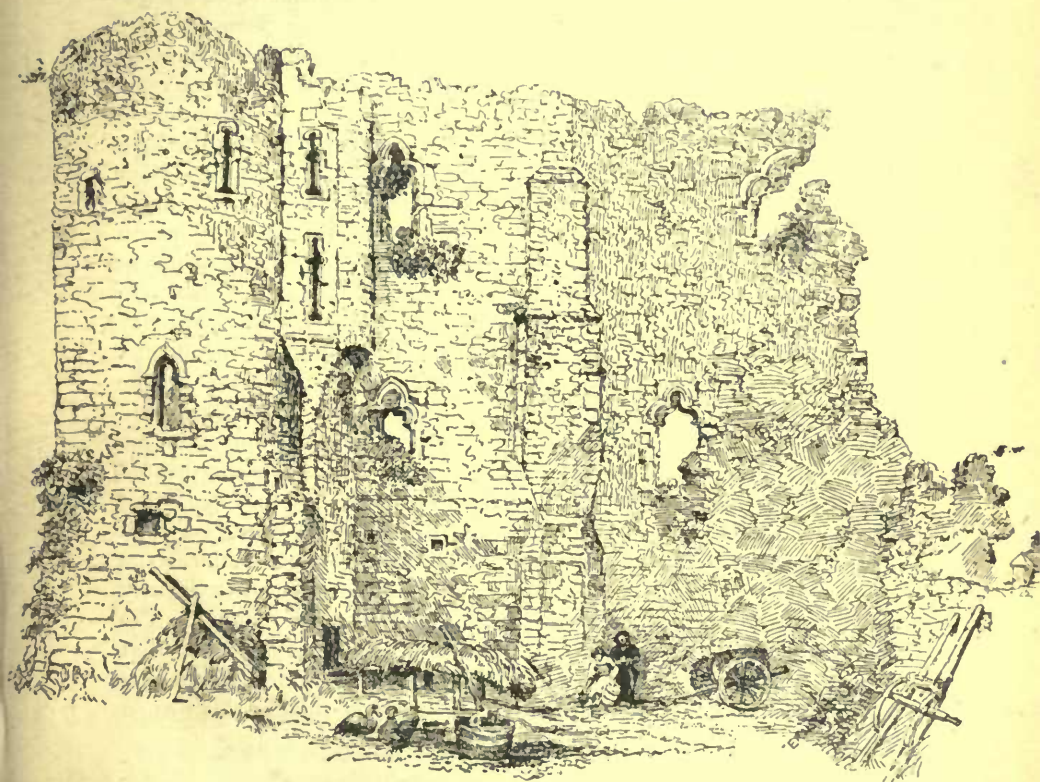
Proposed Museum for Galway.—It is reported that the Galway Archæological and Antiquarian Society are in negotiation with Mr. R. Blake, the owner (who is meeting them very generously), to take on lease the building known as The Lion Tower in Galway, for the purpose of establishing within it a museum for local antiquities. The building is said to be admirably suited for the purpose.

Ferns Castle.¹—This remarkably fine old Norman castle, which probably occupies the commanding site of what Florence MacCarthy in his letter to the Earl of Thomond calls MacMurchow's house at Fearná, destroyed by Ó Ruairc, Lord of Brefny, to avenge the abduction of Dearbhíforgaill, his wife, occupies a most commanding position, and can be seen from all the country around. It is remarkable for its circular chapel, with a beautiful groined roof, which the late Sir Thomas Drew stated to the writer was one of the most striking works of the kind in Ireland, and is still in excellent preservation. This fortress was erected in the centre of a territory strongly held by the old Irish clans, such as the Kavanaghs, MacMurrags (now Murphys), the Duffs, the O'Tooles, the Kinshellaghs, and the O'Neills of Leinster.

It is placed second on the list of the principal castles of the county Wexford, written *circa* 1570. In 1583 it was granted by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Thomas Masterson, knight, a Cheshire gentleman, who was sent over here as governor of this district of the county, to rule the above-mentioned Irish septs, who had complete possession of the north part of the shire. He was appointed seneschal and constable of this castle with a lease of the manor. His son, Sir Richard Masterson, also seneschal of the county, left in 1627 four co-heiresses, who married Devereux, of Ballymagir; Edward Butler, of Claughnakairagh, Baron of Kayer, who built *circa* 1599 the house at Kayer, now called Wilton Castle; another married Shee, of Upper Court, County Kilkenny; and another married Walter Sinnott, of Rosegarland, Esq. To this feudal

¹ See also *ante*, p. 297.

head was annexed the Barony of Duffrey, whose inhabitants up to Queen Elizabeth's time paid only the inconsiderable rent of £40 a year for this large tract of country. Queen Elizabeth gave it in 1580 to Thomas Earl of Ormond, who assigned it to the celebrated soldier, Sir Henry Davells, from whom it passed to Sir Thomas Colclough, knight, a branch of whose family resided until comparatively modern times at Duffry Hall. This is one of the very early Norman castles. In the county Wexford these were always large. The necessity of the case required them to be so when the county was first occupied.—REV. J. F. M. FRENCH (*Canon*).



FERN'S CASTLE.

Barnagrow Lake and Crannogs, County Cavan.—This is a large lake in the barony of Clankee, county Cavan, about midway between the towns of Cootehill and Shercock by the old road. It has been lately drained, thus making much more visible two islands, the smaller and lower of which never appeared except at times of very low water, and then only a few yards of it.

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From the description I lately got of them I conjectured they were crannogs, and I became very desirous to satisfy myself in the matter. With the assistance of a friend this was easily done; he provided a good boat, and three of us went out to visit them. On approaching the larger island its nature became perfectly clear from the number of stakes and timbers appearing. The water was well down, and we were able to land on fairly firm footing, although there was a large accumulation of slushy mud over the portion that had been always under water. It had never been much disturbed, except perhaps by curiosity-seekers in occasional visits; but we could not hear if anything valuable was ever obtained.

The island is almost perfectly circular, with a diameter of 66 feet from water to water; the centre is raised considerably. Here are three stunted alder trees and a lot of loose stones of all sizes scattered in every direction. My friend had got a very good specimen of the upper stone of a quern or hand-mill, and we brought away three other broken ones—but no two of them comrades, and all very much worn, showing the long use they had been put to. We could trace what might be the foundation of a little house, and what appeared a broad hearthstone, or what might have been so, but displaced; but we found no accumulation of hearth ashes. By digging a few spadefuls we found only the same mud among the timbers that were everywhere in evidence all round. These were mostly of black oak and lying in every possible direction. One peculiarity of both islands was the great number of pointed stakes that surrounded the portions of the islands that were always beneath the water. Some of these could be easily pulled up; others were firm. The lower end was sharply pointed, while the upper, or that portion subject to the continuous action of the water, was eaten away, until it also was pointed into the most fantastic shapes, owing to the knots in the wood that resisted the grinding action of the waves. These stakes were nearly all pointing outwards like a vast stockade; and in case of the smaller island this peculiarity was most observable. This arrangement was evidently as a defence to ward off boats from entering the shallow water. The smaller island could scarcely ever have been made use of, seeing that heretofore it had been almost completely beneath the water. To it also there was one landing-place, where there were no stakes; this was on the side towards the larger island.—THOMAS HALL.

Destruction of Antiquarian Remains in County Cork.—Dr. Philip G. Lee writes on this subject as follows:—The enclosed letter received from Captain Longfield discloses a most regrettable state of things. Quite recently I had a report from Canon Powell, of Blarney, that a fine square rath, which was close to his rectory, had been destroyed, and a labourer's cottage built in the centre of it. Lately we had a fine old castle on the Lee destroyed for the same object, and now, perhaps worse

than all, this report from Captain Longfield. In my opinion things are moving very fast in the destruction of our old landmarks, for when one like myself happens to hear of some cases, is it not suggestive of the probable number of important remains which may be ruined or destroyed daily by these vandals of which we have not heard? I think it right the Society should know what has occurred and is occurring in the county of Cork.

Captain Longfield's letter:—

"Last week I had occasion to cycle from Dunmanway to Leap, and visited on the way a stone circle which I saw marked on the Ordnance Map on the high ground south of Carraghlicky Lake. I regret to say that the circle has been recently destroyed, only one stone being left. I found the places where the others evidently had been, and could see chips of the stones on the ground, so that I felt sure that the destruction was recently done. This was borne out by an old man whom I questioned, and who said that there had been six or seven stones and one in the centre. It is a great pity that these remains should not be preserved.

"There is a very interesting circle near Carrigfadda Mountain, about two miles from the above, the remains of another close by, and, I think, a third which I have not seen; also one near Glandore. Capt. Somerville, R.N., made some interesting observations from this one (you may have seen an account of it).

"West of Dunmanway on each side of the Cousane Gap, there are small circles. It seems as if a chain of circles exist in this district. Could anything be done to preserve them from further destruction? I recently saw the circle at Castletown Bere, the largest in this county. Some of the stones are 7 or 8 feet high; eight, I think, are standing.—J. M. LONGFIELD."

Liathmhuine.—Cuanu Mac Cailcin, "King of Fermoy, and warrior of Liathmhuine," as he is usually designated, figures with some prominence in early Irish annals and tales. The site of Liathmhuine should therefore be of interest. Cuanu's death is recorded in the Chron. Scott. at the year 641, and in the Four Masters at 640. The topographical tract in the Book of Lismore, describing the ancient territory of Fermoy, places Liathmhuine in Tuath O Cuseraidh, which seems clearly to have included the present townland of Clochleafin. O'Donovan would therefore appear to be correct in identifying—as he has done in a number of places—Liathmhuine with Clochleafin. But what is the precise situation of the *dun* of Cuanu? In a recent visit to the district, I came upon two "forts" in the townland of Clochleafin. One of these is too insignificant to count; the other, however, is an exceptionally large one, and I suggest that it was the *dun* of Cuanu Mac Cailcin. This fort is not marked in the 1-inch Ordnance map

(Sheet 165, Mitchelstown). It is beside the road which leads from Kildorrery to Mitchelstown, about a quarter of a mile to the east of Glenahulla Cross Roads (Marshalstown). It lies about 150 yards to the north of the road to Mitchelstown, the River Funcheon being a little further north. If this is the *dun* of Cuanu, as I think it is, it should be preserved. It is in a fairly good state at present, though I have reason to believe that some of the soil has been removed from the top of the fort. There is a growing tendency on the part of farmers to level these mounds, though a few years back they would not have dreamed of laying violent hands on them. The spirit of vandalism is abroad in Ireland; and if something is not done, and done promptly, we shall be soon without any landmarks of our ancient history.—J. G. O'KEEFE.

Notices of Books.

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

- * *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Middle Ages, with some Notice of similar or related Work in England, Scotland, and elsewhere.* By Arthur C. Champneys, M.A. Imperial 8vo. 31s. 6d. net. (London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, & Co.)

THE author is to be commended for his courage in bringing out such an important and elaborate work on the ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland, and antiquaries may be congratulated on having such a comprehensive and well-illustrated volume placed before them, which contains the reproduction of upwards of 300 photographs taken by the author.

It professes, according to the title, to deal with the medieval period and contemporary work only; but out of the thirteen chapters comprised the first six deal with the earlier and more obscure but not less interesting period from the earliest Christian architecture in Ireland to the Irish Romanesque, including the primitive architecture of the country and early churches built without mortar. There is a special chapter dealing with Round Towers.

The remaining chapters are devoted to the "medieval period"—a period which in history is not well defined as to its starting-point or ending. It may, however, be taken for the present purpose as commencing with Romanesque and ending with the late Perpendicular, which in Ireland practically ends with the Reformation, where there are no remains of importance except a few restorations and additions after the latter period, though in England many beautiful post-Reformation churches were erected by the great land-owners; the founding of monasteries having ceased, the erection of large parochial churches enabled benefactors to find praiseworthy scope for their benevolence.

Following the title of the work, it is proposed to notice briefly the medieval period of ecclesiastical architecture as dealt with by the author. This period has been rather loosely defined as commencing about the middle of the ninth century, and one of its most important developments was the growth of the monastic institutions, and the widespread power of the feudal system, both of which were highly favourable to the encouragement of architecture.

The early Romanesque or debased Roman was in use from the fifth

to the eighth century, and the later Romanesque extended from the latter date to the twelfth century, and to this extent comes within the mediæval period. Mr. Champneys illustrates his chapters on Irish Romanesque with a series of photographs of the principal structures, including door and window openings, piers, capitals, and arches ; and he makes a very fair investigation of the features which tend to differentiate the Irish work from English and Continental. He devotes rather much space to the views expressed by Dr. Petrie on this subject originally, and modified later, especially as regards the very early date of some Romanesque work in Irish churches, which, as the author states, is still firmly held by many in Ireland, and constantly treated in guide-books as proved fact. In summing up, he gives good reasons for the conclusions he arrives at, that it " would be a great mistake to suppose that twelfth-century Irish architecture is in general a mere copy of that which is found in England and Normandy." At the same time it could hardly be possible for parallel developments not to have many points in common.

In treating of foreign influence reference is made to the facts met with in Irish architecture as explained by Irish history, when in the thirteenth century the supremacy of the English Crown was exercised more effectually in ecclesiastical than in secular matters. Mr. Champneys says, when mentioning the introduction of the Cistercian and other orders: " These, too, would bring with them foreign ideas as to the scale proper for a church, and the preference for one large church to a group of small ones. . . . The Englishmen, often appointed to Irish sees, had similar views, and the Irish princes and bishops were not inclined to be behind-hand either in reverence for the new orders, or in supporting what they would consider an advance in the dignity and beauty of churches."

The transitional period of architecture in Ireland covers a most interesting time, when a distinctly vernacular impress is left on most of the buildings ; and it is satisfactory to find that full justice is done to this consideration ; and the suggestion is broached as to the influence which nationality, connexions, or taste of the founder had upon the question whether a foreign master builder and workmen were employed. This would be an interesting subject to follow up, as in many instances it would be found that buildings erected in the Early English and Decorated styles had been founded by Englishmen who brought over bands or guilds of masons, by whom the principal edifices of that period were erected in England ; and these workmen preferred the more easily worked stone which was imported for their use, in which deeply cut mouldings and carving produced a finer effect than in the necessarily shallower work in the harder native stone.

In the interesting description of the towers of the Franciscan churches no special mention is made of those which have been inserted

long after the erection of the church itself. The planting of the tower inside of existing walls, and the limitations imposed in providing the arched openings between nave and choir, had a hampering influence on the character and dimensions of the structure. The insertions are of a slenderer form than those erected as part of the original design.

The wealth of illustrations in the form of beautiful photographs reproduced in the volume hardly compensates for the absence of plans or measurements. A plan, even a sketch-plan, is of great value in the description of the features of a building. A few drawings would have added immensely to the work ; a photograph gives a good general idea of the outward appearance, but it requires a drawing to scale to show the anatomy of the structure. The plan of the internal arrangements affords a key to the study of the difference in the architecture of the Cistercians and Franciscans.

The author has made a careful analysis of the distinguishing features of Irish architecture in the advance towards the development of a national style, which is probably more pronounced in late Gothic structures than in early Romanesque work. Investigation of our Irish ruins generally affords pleasing surprises, and there is always some unexpected feature to be found where the workman seems to have been untrammelled by tradition or convention ; and these irregularities and artistic licenses give a charming diversity to the details. These investigations make Mr. Champneys' volume very attractive, while his painstaking reasoning and the sound conclusions arrived at make his labours of many years a valuable addition to the literature of native Irish art and antiquities.

* *The Coligny Calendar, together with an Edition of the Reconstructed Calendar* (from the Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. iv.)
By Sir John Rhys, Fellow of the Academy.

THIS Calendar, as some of my readers may recollect, was found at Coligny, not far from Lyons, in the year 1897. Unfortunately, the bronze tablet, on which the inscription was cut, had been broken into 126 fragments, and the difficulty of piecing the fragments properly together was considerable. It was clearly a calendar, but the language represented only by a couple of sentences, and a large number of very much contracted formulæ, was unknown. Moreover, much of the inscription is either indecipherable or lost. Using Old Irish as the key to the language, Sir John Rhys, with great skill and indomitable perseverance, has forced the Calendar to yield up some of its secrets. His first paper on the subject, entitled "Celtæ and Galli," was read before the Academy in May, 1905, and was reviewed in this *Journal*, by the present writer,

in 1906 (vol. xxxvi, p. 207). Since then Sir John has visited and revisited the fragments of the Calendar, and now, in a paper of 112 pages, he once more attacks the problem of interpretation. In an appendix he prints a Reconstruction of the Calendar, arranged in tables of the months, each table showing the same month as often as it occurs in the five years covered by the Calendar. This arrangement, originally proposed by Commandant Espérandieu, and now revised up to date, is very convenient and helpful to the study of the document. Only a few unimportant fragments have not been placed, and in fact the text of the Calendar, or rather so much of it as has survived, is now practically settled.

Further reflection, an amended text, and, perhaps some helpful criticism, have enabled the author to make several improvements on his former speculations concerning the Calendar, while out of his wealth of knowledge of Celtic legend and folklore he has added many illuminating parallels to what he has dimly discerned in it. In the first place, the year is now recognized as commencing, for all ceremonial purposes at all events, with Samonios or June, though the Professor still finds traces in the Calendar of an older arrangement, believed to have been at one time universal in the Celtic world, by which the year commenced with November. A note to the intercalary month, with which this tablet commences, is now seen to refer to that month only. Indeed, the note, as rendered by Sir John Rhys, seems to me to be an explanation in the nature of an apology for inserting this initial intercalary month in the quinquennium at all. Properly speaking, the intercalation was made to supply the deficiency which had already accrued in a previous aggregate of lunar twelvemonths as compared with the solar revolutions, and the quinquennium would more logically have been made up by an intercalary month at the end. In my notice of the author's former paper I insisted on this view of an intercalary month, and endeavoured to point out a serious flaw in his argument that the year commenced with Cutios, or November, instead of with Samonios, or June. I also compared the Calendar with that of Athens, but, misled for the moment by the analogy, I stated incorrectly that the Sequanian year commenced approximately on first new moon *after* the solstice. I should have said *before* the solstice, and added that the analogy with the Athenian Calendar did not hold in this respect. I am now inclined to think further that the fragmentary quinquennium discovered, or rather the month of Samonios in it, *commenced a new cycle*. But, before attempting to make good the position, I must notice the theory of Dr. Fotheringham, who, unlike the present writer, is a good astronomer, and also an expert in the study of calendars, and whose views are given at the end of Sir John Rhys's paper.

Shortly put, Dr. Fotheringham's suggestion is that "the Coligny Calendar is, like our Easter Calendar, a (lunar) calendar accommodated to the Julian Calendar" in a nineteen-year cycle. He supposes that,

as in the Julian Calendar, there was a leap-year day in every fourth year, and he points to Equos as the month of variable length, partly for the reason that induced me to point to it as corruptly containing a day too many, viz., that it alone of all the 30-day months is regarded as unlucky. Moreover, Equos is to be approximately equated with February, the month in which the Julian Calendar inserts the additional day once in every four years. In the nineteen-year cycle there would be seven intercalary months, and Dr. Fotheringham has also to suppose that one of these had only 29 days instead of 30. With these assumptions, "each date of the lunar calendar would return to exactly the same place in the Julian Calendar after the lapse of nineteen years." Now, I think it can be shown that this particular method of reconciling the Calendar with the Metonic Cycle, and of accommodating it to the Julian Calendar, however ingenious, is not reconcilable with the data.

Dr. Fotheringham says that "Equos can only be proved to have the full length (of 30 days) in years 1 and 5." He came to the conclusion, no doubt, from the fragmentary state of the "table of Equos." But he has failed to observe the note to the second intercalary month. This note gives unmistakably the total number of days in the year to which it refers (i.e. the third year) as 385; and as the second intercalary month contained 30 days, the twelve ordinary months must be taken at their normal attested lengths to make up the remaining 355 days. Hence, we must infer that Equos had the same number of days, namely, 30 in the third year as in the first and fifth year: and, therefore, this 30th day did not recur only once in every four years, like the additional day in the Julian February. The Rix Tiocobrexios, when settling the calendar, had no such skilful adviser as Dr. Fotheringham.

In a community with seasonal sacrifices it was, however, important to keep the lunar months in as close fixity of relation with the seasons as possible. Whether the Coligny Calendar was only a blundering attempt to effect this fixity of relation, or whether a more skilful plan can be detected in the data, I am not astronomer enough to say. As I have intimated, I think there is reason to suppose that the calendar was by some mistake changed for the worse by making Equos consist of 30 days instead of 29. It may, however, be admitted that the nineteen-year cycle was probably known to the Celtic world before the date of the Coligny Calendar. From an interesting passage cited in full by Sir John Rhys (p. 81) from Diodorus Siculus, it would seem that this cycle had long been incorporated in the system of the Insular Celts. In this passage, in other respects also of great interest, Diodorus, apparently on the authority of Hecataeus of Abdera, states that Apollo (i.e. some native deity equated with Apollo) used to come down to the island of the Hyperboreans (meaning probably Britain) *every nineteenth year, at the time when the stars return to their positions*, for which reason this period of nineteen was called by the Greeks "the Great Cycle," and

that during his manifestation the god used to play the cithara (meaning perhaps prophesy?) and dance continuously, rejoicing in his own achievements, every night from the vernal equinox to the (heliacal) rising of the Pleiades—a period, according to Dr. Fotheringham, of sixty-eight days.

Now there are difficulties in the way of accepting this statement precisely as it stands. Apart from the inherent improbability of any priest surviving the visitation of the god for so long a period as sixty-eight days, the vernal equinox does not appear to have had any religious importance in the Celtic world. We shall probably be on surer ground if we infer generally that in the year when the stars (i.e. the sun, moon, and planets) returned to the same relative positions (i.e. marked the re-commencement of an observed cycle) the cult of the sun-god was celebrated in some special manner; and the sun-god himself was believed to be present at the rites. It is not improbable that in the statement concerning the Hyberboreans, the particular season when the cycle recommenced, and indeed possibly the length of the cycle itself, were taken from the calendar with which the writer was familiar and foisted into the story. However this may have been, the passage affords a striking parallel to what Sir John Rhys had already discerned in the Coligny Calendar. For he has satisfactorily established that the god Rivos, the only god mentioned in the calendar, is to be identified with the well-known Celtic god Lug, who in his turn represents the Roman Apollo.

Now in the fourth day of the month Rivos, year 1, we have the remarkable entry interpreted, "Rivos is with us," referring apparently to the actual presence of the god. The corresponding entries in the other years state that "the harvest is taken to the hill or eminence (*brig*) of Rivos," and in the fifth year "to the house" (*tio*), perhaps we should say "temple of Rivos." Then on the 13th is the entry *DEVVO RIVO RIVRI*, "the crops to the god Rivos." On the same day in other years the priest seems to take the place of the god. Finally, one month after the epiphany of the god we have the entry interpreted, "The crops are with us." All this points clearly to ceremonies and occurrences connected with the harvest month (August); and in particular the entry on the fourth day points to some religious rites in connexion with the first fruits which were celebrated, in the first year, in the very presence of the god. Similar rites we know were celebrated in Ireland at the Lughnassad on Great Aonach held in the first week in August in honour of the god Lug at Tailtiu in Meath, Cruachan in Connaught, and Carman in Leinster. A large portion of the paper before us is devoted to the examination of passages in our ancient literature concerning Lug, which seem to illustrate or to be illustrated by the brief and obscure notices of the god Rivos in the calendar; and even those who, like the present writer, are ill-equipped to appreciate all the Professor's

philological speculations, will find this portion very interesting reading indeed.

Reflecting on these analogies, and especially on the passage from Diodorus, I was led to conjecture that the month Samonios in the first year of the calendar commenced, not only a new year, but *a new cycle*; that in fact the cycle employed by the framers of the calendar, whatever may have been its duration, coincided with a complete set of lunations terminating with the first intercalary month. Hence in this year, "when the stars returned to their positions," we have the actual presence of the god at the harvest ceremonies. Next, I examined the calendar and compared it with the Roman calendar to find, if possible, precisely where the days known as Lugnassad, Samain, and Boltene would fall in the former. These days are equated with the Kalends of August, Kalends of November, and Kalends of May respectively in the Roman calendar. The relative positions of these days are fixed: Kal. November occurring on the 92nd day after Kal. August, and Kal. May on the 182nd day after Kal. November. I found that the hypothesis which gave the best results was to suppose that Samonios in the first year commenced at sunset (in Celtic fashion) on June 1. Hence, in equating occurrences of the daytime, we must reckon as if Samon. 1 = June 2. I may here pause to remark that this supposition, if correct, as well as the equations of the festivals with the Kalends, does point to an accommodation of the cycle in this first year with the Julian or perhaps the earlier Roman calendar. But the equations are true only of the first year. A glance over the Coligny Calendar will show that the principal occurrences entered in the first year are nearly always repeated on the same lunar dates in other years, though in some cases the seasons must have varied by nearly a whole lunation. This is a defect inherent in a lunar calendar. It is therefore, I think, vain to look for the summer solstice in the Coligny Calendar. The "trinouxton entry" on Samon. 17, pointed to by Sir John Rhys as coinciding with the solstice, probably was a summer festival; but it did not, I think, fall on the solstice even in the first year; and as it is repeated on the same lunar day in the following year, which would be ten to eleven days earlier, it cannot have coincided with the solstice in both years.

Now to apply the hypothesis that Samon. 1 = June 2 (daytime). The Kalends of August, on this supposition, would fall on Rivros 2. Here, probably throughout the quinquennium, the entry is *Prinni Lovd*. Unfortunately the precise meaning of this formula is hard to fix. In his first papers (pp. 24-5) Sir John Rhys suggested that *prinni* meant "sales" or "fairs," &c., and mentioned with approval the suggestion that *lovd* might represent a word like the Latin *ludi*, meaning "public games." He now (pp. 58-61), while connecting *prinni* with the same Old Irish verb as before, takes the whole formula to mean "payments or tributes fixed by proclamation." Even with this rendering, the

connexion with an aonach, at which such proclamations appear to have been usually made, is not hard to make out, and the entry fits in with the commencement of the Lammas-tide ceremonies, to which allusion has already been made. The *prinni lovd* formula appears again on Rivros 8 = Aug. 7 (at least in the second and third years), when the games, horse-racing, &c., according to the Tract on Carman, came to an end. On the same hypothesis the Kalends of November would fall on Cutios 5; but perhaps Samain, supposed by ancient etymologists to mean the end of summer (*sam-fhuain*), was specifically October 31, still called *oidhche Shamhna*, or All Hallows' Eve. Anyhow the latter date is the one still associated with the Celtic folk-lore of the season. Cutios 4 has the same *prinni lovd* entry which we have seen may be connected with an aonach. Cutios 5 has an entry which in its fullest form, as divined by Sir John Rhys, would be *Nots: inist Rogantitio*, meaning, according to the brilliant, if somewhat precarious, conjecture of the same authority, "Night: in it there is a bonfire." At any rate the reference is to the night, and therefore, according to our hypothesis, must be referred to the night of October 31. This formula, if rightly interpreted, is peculiarly appropriate here, as being the night when the fire was distributed to the hearths of Erin; but as the formula occurs pretty frequently, especially in the first half year, not much stress should be laid on the coincidence. Similarly the Kalends of May, or Beltene, would fall on Cantlos 8, the middle day of a triduum with the entry *D. Cantli*, which Sir John Rhys treats as meaning "a day of song, possibly of incantation," and associates with May-day. Moreover in the third year we have the *Prinni Lovd* formula on the first of the above days; and, it may be observed, this formula occurs on only three dates¹ which cannot be connected with one of the three great Celtic aonachs. Sir John Rhys does not appear to have made these calculations, but to have satisfied himself with quite rough approximations, yet the dates as above determined seem to fit into most of his conjectures very well, and indeed to show a much more precise coincidence in the dates of the great Celtic festivals and their supposed analogues in the calendar than he has claimed for them.

One of the numerous puzzles of the Calendar is that the entries opposite several days in each month contain the name of another month in the genitive case. The author at first treated these simply as weather forecasts, as though they were days borrowed from the month whose name is appended, and he gives some interesting examples of the belief in "borrowed days." He is now, however, inclined to accept Professor Thurneysen's hypothesis (which he deems compatible with his own) to the effect that the names are those of the tutelary divinity of the month indicated, and imply that the genius of that month requires to be propitiated (p. 69). But, except that the borrowed day is almost always

¹ Viz. Samon. 1, Duman. 1, and Ogron. 2.

taken from one of the neighbouring months—a rule which fits in with the forecast theory—Sir John Rhys appears to have discovered no rule governing the facts.

Now, here are some rules which I think an analysis will disclose:—In the first place, nearly all these borrowed days fall either singly, or in groups of two, or, more often, three, on or about the 1st, 8th, 16th, and 23rd days of the lunar month. In other words, as we must suppose each month to have commenced approximately with a new moon,¹ they *centre about, or immediately follow, the periods of the moon's changes*, which are still vulgarly regarded as heralding a change in the weather. These groups, too, are smaller and occur less frequently in the summer months, and tend to increase in size and frequency in the winter months, notably in those equated with January and February. These facts form a strong confirmation of the Professor's original theory, and I wonder that he has not commented on them. The rule does not apply to the intercalary months, the second of which, at any rate, appears to have borrowed all its days from other months in a sort of rotation. Here, perhaps, the "propitiatory theory" might apply. Secondly, all the lucky days (i.e., days marked \mathfrak{D} \mathfrak{M} or \mathfrak{M} \mathfrak{D}) in an unlucky month are borrowed, without exception, from a lucky month. Thirdly, in a lucky month all days borrowed from an unlucky month are marked \mathfrak{D} alone (not \mathfrak{M} \mathfrak{D} or \mathfrak{D} \mathfrak{M}). These last two rules suggest that the borrowed day brought with it the quality of good or bad luck which attached to the month from which it was borrowed. But, fourthly, no day to which the puzzling vocable \mathfrak{AMB} is affixed, even when in, or borrowed from, a lucky month, is marked lucky; and this vocable, as has been noted by Sir John Rhys, though occurring upwards of 200 times, is never affixed to an even-number day. This last rule does not seem to support Sir John Rhys's view that \mathfrak{AMB} represents *Ambaxti* (Lac. *ambacti*) in the sense of the servants or labourers of the chief ruler of the Temple (p. 6). It occurs to me, however, that the contraction might represent the word in the singular, and mean that the day had been lent to some other month, and was, as it were, attendant on it in the same way as, according to Sir John Rhys, the intercalary months were called *ambaxti*, as being attendant on the ordinary months, and making them square with the seasons. This would imply that a regular banking account of days borrowed and lent was kept. The Calendar is in too fragmentary a state to audit the account properly, and see if an exact balance was maintained, but the attested figures in each case are not very different. Moreover, certain exceptional cases seem to bear out the supposition. Thus, nights are very rarely borrowed, but Samonios 24, year 1, and Samonios 1, year 2,

¹ By new moon I understand the actual new moon as calculated (mean time), not the moon when first normally visible, as seems to be supposed by Sir John Rhys, p. 83. The division of each month after the 15th day, i.e., presumably into a waxing and a waning period, seems to me to point exactly to this.

each borrows a night from Dumannios. In Dumannios we find two nights (not the corresponding nights) marked AMB , as if to signify that for some purpose they were attendant elsewhere. Again, occasionally we have a formula interpreted to mean that a day of month A was borrowed from a day in month B already contained in month C . Three such cases occur in the second intercalary month (ll. 28, 29, and 32-3), and in each case when we turn to month C we find a day (in each case the 18) borrowed from month B and marked AMB , losing its character of luck thereby.¹ These coincidences, if they be merely such, are rather remarkable. But I cannot pursue this speculation. The Coligny Calendar still retains many secrets.

GODDARD H. ORPEN.

* *Pre-Reformation Archbishops of Cashel.* By St. John D. Seymour, B.D.
Dublin: Church of Ireland Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd., 61
Middle Abbey Street. 1910. One Shilling.

THIS work of Mr. Seymour, who is already favourably known to those interested in Irish ecclesiastical history by his "Succession of Clergy in Cashel and Emly," adds a good deal to our knowledge of the prelates who presided over the archiepiscopal See of Cashel prior to the period of the Reformation. Ware and Cotton did valuable work in the same branch, but considering the length of time which has elapsed since these writers were engaged in their historical labours, and compiled their works, and the amount of fresh and important information placed within recent years at the disposal of students, Mr. Seymour seems to have been fully justified in printing a new account of the archbishops. The Calendar of the Papal Regesta, of the English Patent and Close Rolls, and of Documents relating to Ireland; Annals of Ulster and Loch Cé, Fiantes of Henry VIII, Catalogue of Irish Pipe Rolls (Reports D. K. Records); Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, are among his authorities, and the appearance of these works alone would make a more up-to-date account necessary.

The author deals with his subject in a painstaking manner, and has been diligent in consulting every source that bore on it. His treatment of the life and character of David MacCarwell (1253-1289) may be taken as typical of his style, and the story of this prelate's high-handedness, cruelty, and avarice is told with freshness and vigour. His account of Archbishop William FitzJohn's visitation of the See of Cloyne is most interesting. This prelate's extortionate exactions of procurations and his excommunication of the Dean and Chapter form a record in the annals of ecclesiastical assumption of power. The lot of O'Hedian was cast in troublous times, and when appointed to the See he displayed great energy

¹ Reading EQVO instead of QVTO in line 33 of the second intercalary month, as has already been suggested for another reason, viz., because all the months in their order seem here to be laid under contribution.

in rebuilding castles, recovering church property, and restoring his cathedral.

The frontispiece of Mr. Seymour's booklet represents four archiepiscopal seals; and the appendix is a table showing the names of the clergy belonging to Cashel Diocese who attained to episcopal rank.

Ériu, the Journal of the School of Irish Learning; vol. v. Edited by Profs. Kuno Meyer and Carl Marstrander.

THE Journal of that spirited body, the School of Irish Learning, has been from its very first number in the foremost rank of periodicals devoted to scientific Celtic research; and the volume before us is in every way worthy of its predecessors.

The opening paper by Mr. Alfred Anscombe, "On the Great Ages assigned to Certain Irish Saints," is a contribution of the greatest importance to the difficult subject of Irish Chronology; and the conclusion at which he arrives, after most persuasive arguments, will probably be found to be of far-reaching importance. Prof. Kuno Meyer follows with an index of the first lines of 150 poems contained in the Bodleian ms., Laud 615. Mr. John Fraser, in "Some Cases of Ablaut in Old Irish," makes a short but interesting contribution to Old Irish Philology. The bulk of the volume contains texts and translations. Mr. J. G. O'Keeffe edits three hagiological tracts from the Yellow Book of Lecan. Mr. E. J. Gwynn contributes a collation of a R.I.A. text of the tract *De Arreis*, already edited by Prof. Kuno Meyer. A curious little fragment of tradition is the anecdote headed, "The Best and Worst Nail in the Ark," contributed by Prof. Osborn Bergin. Miss Knott edits the poem of Gofraidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh on the feast given by William O Ceallaigh to the poets of Ireland, A.D. 1351: it has several points of interest. Other texts are "The Life of St. Lásair," well edited by Mr. Lucius Gwynn; and the following, edited by Prof. Marstrander, to whose inspiring guidance so much of the activity and success of the School of Irish Learning are due—How Fiachna mac Baedáin obtained the kingdom of Scotland; a weird parable called "The Two Deaths": a collection of proverbs: a tale of "How Samson slew the 'Gesteda,'" a mythical and it appears otherwise unknown ancient race: a tale of the wandering of a Roman Empress belonging to the Charlemagne cycle: the story of the Death of Lugaid and Derbforgaill, with an important study in Celtic Loanwords in Germanic prefixed: the legend of the name of Snám Dá Én; and another version of the Battle of Magh Rath, together with some minor notes on miscellaneous philological points. *Ériu* is not a publication merely to be commended: it is absolutely indispensable to any serious student of Celtic. We would call our readers' special attention to the circular relating to it, which will be found in the present issue of this *Journal*.

Proceedings.

MEETING AT DUBLIN.

TUESDAY, 29th November, 1910.

AN Evening Meeting of the 62nd Yearly Session of the Society was held in the Society's Rooms, 6, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, on Tuesday, the 29th of November, 1910, at 8.30 o'clock:

ROBERT COCHRANE, LL.D., I.S.O., *President*, in the Chair.

The following papers were read and referred to the Committee of Publication:—

1. "Notes on Caherconree and neighbouring Forts." By Professor R. A. S. Macalister, F.S.A., Rev. Professor Browne, S.J., and E. C. R. Armstrong, F.S.A., *Hon. Gen. Secretary*. (Illustrated with lantern slides.)
2. "The Records of Feltmakers' Company of Dublin, 1667-1841: their loss and recovery." By H. F. Berry, I.S.O., LL.D., *Vice-President*.
3. "Patrick Brompton Church, Yorkshire." By H. A. Cosgrave, M.A., *Member*.
4. "Further Notes on the Development of the Spear-head." By George Coffey, M.R.I.A., *Hon. Fellow*.
5. "Stones with Cup- and Ring-Markings from Ryford, Co. Fermanagh." By George Coffey, M.R.I.A., *Hon. Fellow*.

SUMMER MEETING AT DOUGLAS, ISLE OF MAN.

(Continued from page 257.)

QUARTERLY MEETING AT THE TOWN HALL,

5th July, 1910.

AT 2.30 the members assembled in the Douglas Town Hall. Dr. Cochrane, the President of the Society, occupied the chair, and there was a full attendance of members.

The Mayor (Councillor A. H. Marsden, J.P.) extended a hearty welcome to the Society on behalf of the community of Douglas and the Island, and said it was with great pleasure that the Corporation placed the Council chamber at their disposal for their meetings.

Deemster Callow, President of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society, said: On behalf of the Manx Antiquarian Society, I give you a most hearty welcome, and can promise you that no

effort on our part shall be wanting to render your stay amongst us pleasant and interesting. We are always delighted to welcome any Society of Antiquaries to our Island, but we specially welcome your Society, because, whether St. Patrick did or did not introduce Christianity into Man, there is no doubt that we are indebted to Irish missionaries both for the introduction of religion and art. Thanks to Mr. Kermode, Canon Quine, and Mr. Rigby, we have been enabled to provide a description of the remains which we hope to show you, and we invite your criticism, and we look forward to obtaining much information from you. Let me express a hope that when you return to Ireland you may carry with you pleasant recollections of your visit to Manxland.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS IN REPLY.

The President, who was cordially received, said: It is a difficult matter adequately to convey the thanks of such a large number of members as are present, for the very cordial invitation given and the warmth of the reception accorded to them, on and since their arrival. Immediately on landing last night, we were welcomed in person by Deemster Callow, the Worshipful the Mayor of Douglas, Mr. Marsden, and other representative men. The difficulty is not lessened, while the pleasure is enhanced, by the terms of the letter addressed to our secretaries, wherein it is said that we were "welcomed by every man, woman, and child on the Island." This is true Manx hospitality, and highly gratifying to us as visitors. We have experienced in a marked manner this morning a privilege prompted by the thoughtful consideration and courtesy of His Excellency Lord Raglan, the Governor, to be present at one of the most interesting ceremonies in which we have ever been permitted to take part. I refer to the promulgation of the laws on Tynwald, the Manx hill of liberty; and it is, I believe rightly, regarded as the last surviving instance in Europe of such an open-air assembly. In Dublin there is still pointed out the site of a mound, or Thing Mote, said to have been used for similar purposes, but it is only the memory of a by-gone time; while with you it is a living reality, and it is the hope of all antiquaries that long may the custom be preserved. We are indebted to Mr. Kermode for a valuable contribution to our "Guide Book," which gives a full account of the Tynwald and the ceremonies connected therewith. We have before us this afternoon the honour and pleasure of participating in the hospitality of Lord and Lady Raglan at Government House; while at eight o'clock we shall be entertained by the Mayor and Mrs. Marsden. Our friends in Douglas have formed a very high estimate of our capacity for enjoyment, and we are realizing to the full what we have so often heard before, that the Island is the most enjoyable of all places where the English language is spoken. His Excellency and Lady Raglan have also

prepared an archæological treat for us on Wednesday morning at Castle Rushen, in the examination of the fine collection of Manx antiquities and the casts of sculptured and inscribed stones found in the Isle of Man. The building itself is of the greatest interest; and though the present structure may not date further back than the thirteenth century, there is little doubt that it occupies the site of a building three centuries earlier. On Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, we are to be the guests of other distinguished hosts—on the latter day of the Deemster and Mrs. Cheslyn Callow. Deemster Callow is President of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society, founded in 1879. The title of Deemster is new to some of us; but it is not the fault of a distinguished Manxman if it is not now known the world over. The office of Deemster appeals to antiquaries, as it is one which has existed since the time of the Norse rule in Manxland; and the Deemster is the direct successor of the old lawgivers. He is a judge of the High Court and also an ex-officio member of the Legislature. All the Manx Acts commence with the formula, "We, the Lieutenant-Governor, Council, Deemsters, and Keys, in Tynwald assembled."

Ethnology shows us that there is more vigour of body and mind in countries where there has been an admixture of different races of mankind. This no doubt accounts for the superior qualities of Manxmen; for the early history of the country shows a succession of dominating races in occupation of the Island. It does not appear that the Romans ever established a footing here; and it is, perhaps, as well; for while it would have conferred advantages, their grievous yoke would have utterly extinguished the self-governing aspirations of a people whose just pride is that they rule themselves and make their own laws.

A good deal of speculation has been indulged in about the origin of the name of the Island. It is generally regarded as derived from Manannan, who was King before the Christian era. There is every reason to believe that in the fifth century the language was common to both Man and Ireland. The name of St. Patrick is of very frequent occurrence in the Island. Jocelyn, writing in the twelfth century, says he did visit the Island, and there are a great number of early churches which were dedicated to him, or to saints who were known to be associated with him, and there are two churches named Kirk Patrick. The prevalence of the names of other Irish saints in the dedication of your most ancient churches, such as St. Bridget, St. Cairbre, St. Columba, and many more, is a further indication of the religious connexion. Germanus, to whom is dedicated the cathedral church of St. Germain's which we visit on Thursday, is now generally believed to have been commonly known in the Irish Martyrologies as Mochaemog, a disciple of St. Patrick. The place-names on the Island are found to be of Irish origin to the extent of about 60 per cent., while in the personal names there is a still greater majority of similar origin. The intercourse seems

to have been more or less of a friendly character from the time of the introduction of Christianity until the invasion of both countries by the Norsemen. It is believed tribute was paid to the King of Ireland about the tenth century, and in the *Annals of the Four Masters* it is recorded that in A.D. 1060 the King of Dublin went to Manann, and carried tribute thence. A few years later the Danes were installed as a conquering race in both countries; but the Celtic rule in the island seems to have been revived shortly after. An ancient record is quoted in the publications of the Manx Society, vol. xxii, that the King of Ireland, in 1096, was requested to appoint some competent person of the Royal race in Manxland to be their King. In 1113 there was an alliance on equal terms between the Kings of both countries; but soon the English influence began to be felt, and in the twelfth century, when the English came, they obtained a permanent footing in both Islands. The relations between Ireland and the Isle of Man would form the subject of a lengthened paper, too long to notice on the present occasion. There is an interesting article on "The Connexion of the Isle of Man with Ireland," in the *Celtic Review*, by Mr. A. W. Moore, your late Speaker.¹ Sir Henry Howorth, in his address to the Cambrian Archaeological Association, delivered at Chester, in August last year, puts in a plea for a Welsh colonization of the Island, and says²: "The fact is that the Manx people who speak Gaelic were brought there not earlier probably than the beginning of the ninth century, when they went under the leadership of Norwegian chiefs, just as similar colonies were similarly led at the same time to Galloway and the Hebrides, and became the ancestors of the Highland clans. . . . It thus appears that during the later occupation of England by the Romans not only a large part of the east coast of Ireland was occupied by Welshmen, but also the Isle of Man, and it is probable that a considerable number of them were victims of the Roman method of government who had fled thither to escape the Roman taskmasters, and this, perhaps, accounts for the vindictive and cruel raids on the Roman settlement beyond St. George's Channel made by the Picts—Irish—in later times."

To the antiquary the symbol of the Island, the Triskele, or "Legs of Man," is of peculiar interest as a present-day representation of a form of the Swastika, one of the earliest-known symbols of the solar system, dating further back than Roman civilization; and even at that remote period, in Eastern countries and in Aryan times, it was considered an ancient device.

The Island is especially rich in the number and variety of crosses with Runic inscriptions and ornament. It is generally accepted that the ornament on our Irish crosses, and the decoration of our metal-work, were inspired by the work in our illuminated manuscripts. The absence

¹ Vol. v, p. 110 (1909).

² *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. x, Sixth Series, p. 75.

of similar mss. on the Island has led to a discussion as to the source from which the ornament was derived; and it has been argued¹ that it is to ancient Gaul we owe both the Irish mss. and the ornament of the crosses. This is an interesting subject of inquiry, and we believe it has been pursued by our distinguished friend, Mr. P. M. C. Kermodé, in his valuable work on Manx Crosses.

The great number of primitive churches, of which there are about 100, called *keeills* in the Island, are well worthy of very careful examination. In Ireland the prefix "Kil" in place-names is taken as meaning a church (though sometimes it is derived from "Coill," which indicates a wood), and it may be assumed that the Irish "Kil" is the equivalent for the Manx "Keeill." In some of these structures the workmanship is of a rude type, somewhat like what may be seen in some of the Scottish islands, and indicating the work of a seafaring people who could more readily undertake the construction of a ship than the erection of a stone house. The examination of the stone circles, cairns, and barrows, and, particularly, the earthworks, will greatly interest our members. From what we have heard of the Round Tower at Peel, it appears to be akin to the typical structures in Ireland, from which it does not differ in any important point, such as the tapering of the masonry and general proportions, after making allowance for the modern changes made in the entrance doorway and in the later addition to the top. The tapering is so slight as to be scarcely noticeable.

Our visit to-day marks the first occasion on which you have received a body of Irish Antiquaries; but it is not the first time you have welcomed Archæologists of other nationalities. The Cambrian Archæological Association, which has the advantage of a seniority over our Society of three years (the Welsh Society having been founded in 1846, and ours in 1849) was received in a most friendly and hospitable manner in Douglas, in 1865, when Lord Loch, a former Governor, was President for that year. Dr. Oliver acted as a most efficient local secretary and conductor of excursions, with a local committee, of which the Lord Bishop, the venerable Archdeacon, the Speaker of the House of Keys, the two Deemsters, fourteen members of the House of Keys, the Vicar-General, and the Receiver-General were amongst the members.

You will not, of course, be surprised to know that amongst the Welsh archæologists on that occasion were several Irishmen, the most prominent of whom at the time was one of our own members, the late Richard Rolt Brash, the author of valuable works on "The Ogam-Inscribed Monuments of the British Islands," and the "Ancient Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland." Brash at that time was disappointed in not finding any Ogam-writing in the Island; but, as indicating the progressive nature of your work since then, four important Ogam inscriptions have been discovered, and it is highly probable more will be found

¹ "The Manx Note Book," vol. iii., p. 124.

and described to add to our knowledge of this early and most interesting form of epigraphy. The report of that meeting referring to your reception of the Association says that, either as regards the beauty and variety of the scenery, the interest of its various antiquities, and the cordial kindness with which the members were everywhere received, it yielded to no previous meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association—a sentiment which the members of this Society feel they can heartily endorse.

Just as in 1865 the Welsh Society contained representatives of our own body, it seems in accordance with precedent that the Irish Society should have in its party representatives of that most vigorous and important Association; and it is a great pleasure to us, as I have no doubt it is a source of gratification to you to know, that we have with us to-day the Rev. Canon Rupert Morris, D.D., F.S.A., one of the chief executive officers of the Cambrian Archæological Association, with other members of that body. The intimate connexion between the Isle of Man, Wales, and Ireland existed from the earliest times, though the visits were not always of a friendly nature. We are now engaged in keeping up the historical sequence, with this difference, that the modern “invasions” are of an eminently cordial character, and we shall take back with us rich stores of most valuable antiquarian knowledge and experience.

Another important body to which you have extended hospitality was the British Association excursion, to the number of eighty, from the 10th to 13th September, 1887, in charge of Professor Boyd Dawkins, F.S.A., who has been a member of our Society for many years. The invitation was given then, as now, by the Governor and the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society. I am aware that there are other Societies from which you have had visits; the two I have mentioned are those with which I have personal acquaintance. There is just one possible drawback to a friendly intercourse of our people with the Isle of Man—it might tend to increase the depopulation of Ireland. The Rev. P. Moore, writing in 1773, on the advantages of a residence in this Island, says:—“Is it not amazing that, while there is so general a complaint all over England of the cost of living, that people of easy fortunes don’t retire to the Isle of Man, where all the necessities and even the luxuries of life are cheap and in great abundance, where a small family or single person can live better on £60 or £70 a year than in England for £150, and so in proportion?” After enumerating the freedom from crimes of violence and robbery, and facility of intercourse with the rest of the United Kingdom, he adds that the growing “advantage peculiar to this part of His Majesty’s dominions is that no person, having no visible effects, can be imprisoned for debt.” With a budget of a taxing capacity of nearly two hundred millions, those observations are in many respects as forcible to-day as when they were written. The suggestion as to receiving persons of easy

fortune is admirable ; but I hope that not many of those without means, or persons escaping from their creditors, have claimed your hospitality.

One of the many things we desire to become better acquainted with is the practical working of your Museum and Ancient Monuments Act of 1886, the inception of which is a memorial to the genius of the men who produced it. There are a good many Acts for the preservation of ancient monuments in force for the United Kingdom ; but they are of a very detached and incomplete character, and, though their provisions were gladly accepted by archæologists at the time, that legislation cannot now be regarded as meeting the requirements of the present day. An examination of the reports of the "Manx Museum and Ancient Monuments Trustees" shows the careful and liberal-minded manner in which the Trust is managed. The reproduction of photographs in the report of the principal objects taken into the Museum each year is a practice which ought, and no doubt will, eventually, be followed elsewhere. Also all the objects are described, including those not illustrated. The descriptions and illustrations of the principal structures taken over as ancient monuments by the Trustees, and the issuing of a reprint at the nominal price of sixpence, is a practice that has everything to commend it, and for the past few years it has been followed in Ireland by the Board of Works with great acceptance and approval by that class of the public which is interested in such work. In the fifteen sections of your Act there are many clauses identical with the Act of 1882, which is in operation in the United Kingdom ; but there are additions of importance which, coupled with the liberal and sympathetic administration of your Act, make it of the greatest advantage to the Island. I observe with great pleasure that the trustees are able to take cognizance of isolated objects such as crosses, sculptured stones, and structures, even though they may not have been actually vested or offered to the Museum. Your late Speaker of the House of Keys, Mr. A. W. Moore, in February, 1893, then a member of the Manx Legislature, and one of the Trustees under the said Act, who was greatly interested in the preservation of Antiquities, and took such an important part in obtaining the Act, said, in a letter to me at the time:—"Unfortunately we are dependent on a very unsympathetic Legislature (our own) for funds." It is pleasing to know that this position no longer exists, and that the attitude is friendly and liberal ; indeed, seeing the progress in archæological work in all civilized countries, and the growing public interest that is manifested, it would be strange if such an enlightened and patriotic assembly as your House of Keys were in any way behind in giving the needful assistance. Another interesting feature in your work is your practical appreciation of what is a self-evident proposition, though strangely misconceived by the authorities elsewhere, that the first step towards protecting monuments is to have a careful and exhaustive list made of them, and I am happy to find you have accomplished this, and the work is

again undergoing revision and extension. That you should be the first in the British Dominions to have undertaken such an important work reflects the greatest credit on the community and the Manx antiquaries.

After many years of effort by leading archæologists in pressing on Government the necessity for preparing such lists, in 1908 separate Royal Commissions for Scotland, Wales, and England have been appointed to make inventories of the ancient and historical monuments and constructions connected with or illustrative of the contemporary culture, civilization, and conditions of the life of the people from the earliest times, and to specify those most worthy of preservation. Last year the Scottish Commission, the first appointed, produced a list for the county of Berwick—an octavo of fifty-nine pages. The other two Commissions are engaged in the preparation of their first reports, the Welsh Commission having taken up Montgomeryshire for consideration, and in England Hertfordshire will be dealt with. It seems that it will take a year for each county, and the time for completion may, therefore, be taken as the same number of years as there are counties. This rate of progress is much too slow, and it requires to be greatly accelerated.

It will, no doubt, astonish many that no Commission for compiling a list of the antiquities of the country has been appointed for Ireland, nor has one been asked for; but it is to be hoped that, when obtained, the time of completion will be arranged so as to occur within a more reasonable period. Royal Commissions in recent years have become remarkable for being ineffectual in promoting any practical legislative work. In this matter, however, the mere preparation of the lists of monuments in the country is of great value; but unless followed up by well-considered legislation much of the benefit arising from this expenditure would be lost. If we wait until *all* the lists are completed, many of the monuments, more particularly the earthworks, castles, and churches in graveyards, will have disappeared. It, therefore, follows as an absolutely necessary corollary that, as each county is finished, every item considered of sufficient importance to be preserved should be regarded as "scheduled" for protection against injury somewhat as provided for under the Act of 1882. This, while at once placing the monument under protection, would not interfere with the rights of the owner, who would have an opportunity at his leisure to consider the advisability of vesting it in the State or County, in the event of his not having already decided to do so. In this way the preparation of the list of the monuments and their protection would go on concurrently. An opportunity would be afforded of dealing with the highly important question of classification or allocation as between the State and the County. In the present unsatisfactory division of responsibility, many interesting structures well worthy of preservation are rapidly going to decay. If the preparation of the lists of monuments in Ireland is approached on some such broad and comprehensive basis, we would profit by the experience gained elsewhere, and turn the delay into an advantage.

The legislation for the preservation of antiquities in the United Kingdom has been of a very makeshift character; but, such as it is, we archæologists are thankful for it. The more thoughtful minds have long felt that enough has been done in this disjointed way, and the time has come that in any amendment and extension to be promoted it would be advantageous to consider the possible co-ordination of antiquarian work under a central authority. For the structural antiquities we have three or four distinct departments working independently—county councils without expert advice, in the absence of which their activity, if awakened, might become mischievous; local societies working intermittently, and sometimes aimlessly; and private uninformed effort; with the result that there is a great deal of misdirected energy and overlapping. The most prominent men in the archæological world are unanimous as to the necessity for the formation of a properly constituted advisory board, council, or commission, not to supersede any existing department or authority; but it should be placed in a position to assist and advise the different departments, organizations, and societies already engaged in the various phases of the work of preserving the antiquities of the country.

It is not necessary to go into any detail here as to the constitution of such an authority, which, however, should be composed of antiquaries of business aptitude and administrative ability, for work of co-ordination and decentralisation. My object is to indicate the pressing necessity for it, in the systematic development and complete use of scientific antiquarian knowledge and activity in the most advantageous direction to which such effort could be turned—viz., the preservation of the remains of our national antiquities; a subject on which more enlightened views are rapidly gaining ground.

The importance of Education, not only of the people, but “the masters as well as the masses,” as a means to the proper appreciation of the scientific value of our ancient buildings and their protection, as well as the utilisation of our museums of antiquities for educational purposes, demand urgent attention; while the development of open-air museums in preserving ancient structures, the removal of which from the original site has become unavoidable, are all matters of the highest moment; and for the co-ordination of this work there is no single existing department with powers capable of exercising a controlling and uniting influence and jurisdiction.

The urgent necessity for a new authority, with powers of co-ordination, organization, and control, is abundantly manifest; and in its absence there is nothing to look forward to but a continuance of fruitless and wasteful effort, with the growing decay and ultimate disappearance of many of those relics which the Legislature intended to be preserved.

Your cross-houses at Kirk-Maughold and Kirk-Michael, where at the former are preserved and exhibited 38 crosses dating from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries, are the earliest and most admirable examples

of open-air museums in the British Islands, though not on so extensive a scale as one at Lyngby, near Copenhagen. An approximation to the idea has been attempted at Lewes and Aylesbury.

I have only taken this opportunity in this brief manner of referring to such a subject, chiefly because we find that here, in your Island State, you have not only adopted the principle, but in your "Museum and Ancient Monuments Act" you have put into practical operation ideas similar to those which at present occupy the minds of all interested in the study and preservation of our national monuments. The consensus of opinion points to having for the United Kingdom a Trust or Advisory Council, to be known by whatever name is most convenient, corresponding in some respects with your Manx Museum and Ancient Monuments Trustees; with, of course, more extended powers and duties, as they would have to deal with the difficulty involved in distinguishing between "State" and "local" objects—a difficulty which does not arise in your administration. That such a body will be constituted for the United Kingdom some time there can be little doubt; whether sooner or later remains to be seen. The recognized necessity for utilizing the labours of the Royal Commissions by further legislation should tend to bring about early action.¹

The Mayor expressed his admiration of the excellent and interesting address of Dr. Cochrane, and the hope that it would be published in due course and largely circulated.

Deemster Callow also spoke in warm terms of his appreciation of the speech.

Mr. William Gray, M.R.I.A., Past Vice-President, said—I wish to make an observation or two that seem to be called for in reference to the subject-matter of the very excellent address we have just listened to with such deep interest and profit.

I am certain that I express only the unanimous opinion of this mixed meeting of British, Manx, and Irish antiquaries when I say that, under the peculiar circumstances of the occasion, we could not have had a more appropriate and profitable communication, and that our best thanks are due to Dr. Cochrane for the effort he has made.

I would particularly emphasize a reference to what we may hope may be its practical results—namely, the co-ordination of antiquarian work in Great Britain and Ireland under a central authority.

¹ The First Report of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of England, issued in October this year, mentions that they are frequently asked for advice and assistance with respect to the preservation of monuments, and they are of opinion that the time has come when such cases "should be dealt with by a Government department, acting with the assistance of a *Permanent Advisory Board*." This expression of carefully formed opinion, coming from such an authoritative body, should receive attention if properly followed up. In Sir John Lubbock's Bill of 1877 it was intended to call the new body the "National Monuments Commission."

It is scarcely necessary for me to remind you that many worthy efforts have been made, and much valuable work done, by various local societies and individuals in describing and cataloguing the antiquarian remains in their respective localities. Yet such efforts have been of necessity limited in their scope, commonly spasmodic in their zeal, and unsystematic in their methods; and, therefore, too often accomplished the comparatively useless, if not the positively mischievous, results of misdirected energy. The successful work accomplished by the authorities of the Isle of Man is exceptional, and hopefully indicates the possibilities to be realized under expert and systematic direction.

What we really want, as our President has clearly demonstrated, is a legally constituted central board or authority, to control, direct, and stimulate all our available agencies in protecting our ancient monuments, and formulating a systematic and complete descriptive catalogue of the antiquarian remains of Great Britain and Ireland.

With this view I beg to propose that the special thanks of this meeting be given to our President for his important address; that the address be published in the Society's *Journal*; and that copies be presented to all the learned societies of Great Britain and Ireland interested in the subject of archæological research.

The motion having been seconded by Mr. Henry Courtenay, I.S.O., and supported by the Rev. Canon Morris, D.D., F.S.A., London, was passed unanimously.

DESCRIPTIVE PARTICULARS OF PLACES VISITED.

 TUESDAY, JULY 5th.
TYNWALD.¹

THE Hill, called Cronk y Keeillown, i.e. Mound of the Church of John, is about 255 feet in circumference at the base, and rises by four circular platforms, of which the lowest is about 42 inches high, and the others rise respectively by 36, 27, and 20 inches. The width of the platform formed by the lowest step is 14 feet, that of next 8 feet, of the third 6 feet 6 inches; and the diameter of the top over 6 yards. The whole is surrounded at a distance from the lowest step of 18 feet, by a sloping bank 7 feet wide at base to 3 feet 6 inches at the top, which is faced on the outside by a wall 4 feet high. This may be on the site of an ancient ring-mound or wall, in which vestiges of two gateways remained when Robertson visited the Island in 1793.

The modern church of St. John's was erected about 1849, and is built of Foxdale granite, on the site of an older one. The discovery in its walls of the broken shaft of a cross-slab, now in the porch, implies that there had been a church here in Scandinavian times, no doubt used, as at present, in connexion with the ceremony on the Hill.

The cross-slab (81 in "Manx Crosses") originally about 7 feet high, has been carved on one face, which shows the ring-chain design so frequently met with on our Scandinavian pieces. The arms of the cross must have been very compressed, unless, indeed, this design formed a panel, with a cross above it. The other face has not been touched with a tool. The inscription, running up one edge, reads:—IN OSRUTH: RAIST: RUNAR: THSAR, i.e., "But Asruth carved these runes." Above this are five strokes, evidently the stems of runes, and they probably formed part of the name of the person who caused the monument to be erected, followed, no doubt, by that of the person to whose memory it was set up.

Our Manx Tynwald Hill, with its annual ceremony, is well known and widely celebrated as the only existing survival of a great

¹ This and the following articles, except where otherwise stated, are by P. M. C. Kermode, F.S.A. (Scot.), Hon. Sec. Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society.

Scandinavian institution, and a relic of the important part played in the history of the British Isles by the Vikings, who from the eighth century made excursions, followed in time by settlements, first to the Orkneys and Shetland Isles, then to the Hebrides, and thence gradually by the western isles of Scotland, to found kingdoms in Waterford, Limerick, Dublin, and Man, and finally to spread eastwards, and join forces with their brethren in York. But, centuries before the Scandinavian invasions, this hill (though not in its present form) was almost certainly the place of assembly of our earlier Celtic inhabitants, a place of installation of the chief or king, and of proclamation of the tanist, or heir-apparent; nor was this the only one in the Island. This was clearly brought out by the Rev. Canon Quine, in an address to the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society, in October, 1908. That the system had obtained here, and been continued through the period of Scandinavian rule, was to be "inferred from two conspicuous incidents in connexion with the Scropes and the Stanleys on their becoming kings of Man.

"We have a record of a Tynwald held on St. John's Tynwald Hill, in 1392, the year Sir William Scrope became King of Man by purchase of the regality from William de Montacute, second Earl of Salisbury. On that occasion, not only was Sir William Scrope proclaimed and accepted as sovereign, but also his brother, Sir Stephen le Scrope, who was his heir, was accepted as heir and successor to his elder brother as king of Man.

"Again in 1408, when the first Sir John Stanley, who never visited the Island, was proclaimed king, his son, the second Sir John, appeared, and was here as heir-apparent, and this in its essentials was the tanist system, evidently still surviving in the Isle of Man, as it had obtained in Ulster, and still of course at that period existed in Ulster, and continued down to the time of Queen Elizabeth."

Mr. Quine might have added that the challenge to titles made at the Tynwald of 1422, when the bishop of the diocese, the heads of two religious houses within the island and of five foreign to it, were called to appear before Sir John Stanley and show their titles to property they held here, was in strict accordance with the old tribal custom of the Celts on the proclamation of a new chief, and a survival no doubt of the ancient custom in the Island.

Like Iceland, but possibly at a rather earlier date, we received our institution from Norway. As in the case of Iceland, too, the far-distant King of Norway was scarcely more than suzerain in name. Unlike Iceland, we had kings of our own, and we had the strong traditions of earlier uses of the mound by our Celtic inhabitants, which modified our Scandinavian ceremonies. A formal constitution was brought to Iceland about 920-30, by Ulf-lod, "set according to the Gula Thing's Laws," and the counsels of Thorleif the Wise. In the Isle of Man there is no

hint of the bringing over of a ready-made constitution or of a body of laws, and the probability is that the constitution developed on purely local lines, modified, as said above, by the influence of the Celtic customs which were already quite familiar to our half-Celticised Norsemen before their arrival, but founded on their own traditions of the Things of their fatherland.

To our Scandinavian ancestors we owe the name THING-VÖLLR, i.e., court, or parliament field. The hill itself would be known to the Scandinavians as the THING-BREKKR, or Berg, or, as in Iceland, the LÖGBERG, hill of laws, being the mound from which laws, dooms, and proclamations were announced.

The modern ceremony seems still to show slight traces of that of early Celtic times, as well as a survival of the Scandinavian proceedings, which, allowing for the altered conditions and the natural evolution of seven centuries since the end of the Scandinavian rule, is wonderfully close to the original.

Every year on July 5th (mid-summer day, O.S.), the twenty-four Keys, with the Governor as representative of the Sovereign, and members of his council, assemble at St. John's to promulgate the statutes passed during the preceding session of the Legislature, which have received the royal assent. Until this is done, the "Act of Tynwald" has no force as law.

The proceedings follow the order founded on tradition, and first reduced to writing and prescribed at a Tynwald held in the early years of the fifteenth century.

Having attended morning service in the chapel (which takes the place of the pagan temple of old), a procession is formed answering to the Icelandic Lögbergis-ganga on the first Saturday of every session, "the distance," as we are told by Vigfusson (*Origines Islandicae*, vol. i.), "between the hill and court being about 140 yards in each case." The path, he adds, being fenced in like the court and hill, and used for this solemn procession, when the judges and officers go to and fro between them, would answer to the Icelandic Thingvallar-tradhkr. In the Isle of Man, the approach to the hill is *strewn with green rushes*. On arrival the King's representative takes his seat in a chair on the top, his "vissage unto y^e east," his sword before him "houlden with the pointe upwardes." On his left hand sits the Bishop of Sodor and Man, sole representative of the "barones sittinge in their degree beside" him. Grouped around them stand the members of the council, representing "your beneficed men and your Deemsters before you sitting"; the Deemsters (*dóm-stjórnar*), answering to the Icelandic law-man or law-speaker. There are two Deemsters in the Isle of Man, as Vigfusson surmises, because its central Tynwald is a union of two older separate Tynwalds, each of which kept its law-speaker when the two were united in one central moot. On the next platform now stand the

twenty-four Members of the House of Keys (a word derived probably from the Norse, *Kjosa*, to choose, elect), representing the bench of godes, "the worthiest men in y^e lande," originally elected from the godar, or chief landowners in a godord, which in the Isle of Man seems to have been identical with the division which came to be the parish, possibly the clan of older times. There were two benches of twelve godes, just as in Iceland, at the great Al-Thing, there were four benches, each of twelve godes. On the platform below there are the beneficed clergy; and guarding the approach to the summit, the captains of the parishes. Mr. R. D. Farrant has lately made the likely suggestion ("The Constitution of the Isle of Man," *Law Quarterly Review*, July, 1909), that the vicars and captains represent "the old-time assessors of the sixteen Keys." Sixteen, because at one time, eight of the Thing-men, or, as now called, the Keys, were returned from the out-isles, the Sudr-eyjar, which formed a part of the Norse kingdom of "Man and the Isles"; this accounts for the present-day representatives of the Assessors numbering only thirty-two (actually thirty-four), instead of the forty-eight which we must suppose to have been the original number. At what particular period, or for how long, members were returned from the out-isles which were frequently separated from Man, or how they were elected, we have neither record nor tradition to show, but it is easy to understand that after their final severance, while the number of Keys reverted to the traditional one of twenty-four, the number of resident Assessors alone continued to be summoned, and there would not be the same reason for their increase. In the "Icelandic Constitution," introduced by Ulf-liod about 920, we read—"That is also (law) as to all them that have seats in the law-court . . . that each of them ought to take two men into the law-court from among his moot-men, to take counsel with him the one before him and the other at his back." This explains their presence from time immemorial as nothing else can do, and, if correct, shows that their original and proper places on the hill were on the lowest dais, or platform, and on the third, the Keys, the twelves of godes, originally occupying the middle bench. This tallies also with the usage in the Icelandic Al-thing.

There remain "the comones to stand wthout in a circle in the folde, and the 3 reliques of Man there to be before you in yr presence, and three clarkes bearing them in their surplices." The three clerks are represented by the Crown Chaplains, who alone wear surplices, the other clergy being robed in their black academical gowns. But the "reliques" have long since disappeared. Cumming surmises that the "one hand and one byshoppe hede" mentioned in one of the Rolls, 32 Henry VIII, as among the property of Rushen Abbey prior to its dissolution, were two of these reliques. It seems more likely to suppose that the staff of St. Patrick and the staff of St. "Maughold," greatly more ancient and venerable relics, the only trace of which is now to be found in the two

estates called "staff-lands" in the respective parishes of Maughold and Patrick, were two of the original reliquaries, whatever the third may have been.

All the Commons of Man are of course represented by the people on the flat fair ground outside the mound, pathway, and chapel, who, as Mr. Farrant says, "stand and listen to the promulgation of the lawes, and indulge in feasting and fairing in the numerous booths erected all around."

The coroner of Glanfaba, or, as he is called in 1417, "the More of Glanfaba shall call in the Crownars of Man, and theire yarges in their hands wth theire weapons over them, sword or axe, and the (Moars) that be of every sheading. Then the cheefe, that is the More of Glanfaba, shall make proclumacon upon lyfe and lyme that no man make any disturbance or stirringe in the tyme of the Tynwald, moreover no risinge make in the King's presence upon paine of hanging and drawinge." The coroner of Glanfaba having thus "fenced the court," the six coroners, one for each sheading—in these days, however, no longer armed with "sword or axe"—in turn deliver up their wands, which are handed to their successors on taking the oath of office.

This ceremonial "fencing," in a reduced and simple form, is still in use at the opening of all our courts of laws. In Iceland a lengthy formula, handed down from pagan days, is recorded, as well as one for the closing of the court, of which we have no record or tradition here.

After this, abstracts of the laws newly enacted are proclaimed by the Deemster, and given in Manx as well as English. The Deemster then calls for three cheers for the King, the procession is re-formed, and the return made to the chapel. Here, the Keys, sitting in the nave and the Governor and Council in the chancel, hold a sitting of the "Tynwald Court," where purely formal business is transacted.

In the position of the King's representative on the top of the hill, surrounded by his household officers, in the strewn rushes on the approach to the hill, in the midsummer fair, and in the call for cheers in recognition of the Sovereign, we may see survivals from the old Celtic ceremonies of twelve to fifteen hundred or more years ago. The presence of the Keys with their Assessors, the Deemsters and all the Commons of Man, the Fencing of the Court, and the Proclamation of the Laws, though our idea of laws differs so greatly from their mere dooms or decisions in individual cases; the court held within the church, and of course the word "Tynwald" itself, are all living survivals of the customs and ceremonies of the Scandinavian settlers during their four centuries of rule in our Island.

The earliest reference to St. John's in its use as a Norse Tynwald is contained in the *Manx Chronicle* under date 1237:—"On the 29th day of the month of October . . . a meeting was held of all the people of Man at Tynwald." The place is mentioned under date 14 February, 1228-9,

as the site of a great battle between the two Manx kings Olaf and Reginald, who laid claim to Man, and fought, one with forces from the north side, and the other from the south side, when Reginald was slain. And in 1238, there was a battle between Laughan, Regent under Harold, and Dufgal, Thorkel, and Malmore, deputies of Harold, when the latter were slain.

Other Tynwalds recorded as having been held in Man are Cronk Urleigh, the "Hill of Reneurling," midsummer, 1432, when there was a rising of the Manx, who drove the lieutenant, John Walters, and his men from the Hill to Michael churchyard, which they defended till forced to retreat into the church. Another was held about two months later, when Sir John Stanley, King of Man, was present: the former insurgents were then tried and ordered to be drawn and quartered! At one held at Cronk Keeill Abban, in Baldwin valley, a few years later, "prowessee," or trial by combat, was put down. In 1430, a Court of all the Commons was held at Castle Rushen betwixt the gates, under Henry Byron, lieutenant to Sir John Stanley, when "all former laws were confirmed."

CIST-VAEN AT ST. JOHN'S.

Across the Follagh-y-Vannin, the road west of Tynwald Hill, are to be seen the side and ends of a perfect cist-vaen, discovered in 1849 when the roadway was being widened and deepened. It is formed of four large stones on edge, crowned by a heavy capstone. The mound, over 5 feet high by 45 to 60 feet diameter, shows in sections a layer of rather large, water-worn, white quartz stones over the cist. In 1897, the side stone having fallen, it was carefully examined by the writer, who found the inside dimensions of the cist to be 5 feet by 2 feet 7 inches and 2 feet 10 inches high. The top of the capstone was about 3 feet below the surface, and it measured 7 feet 2 inches by 4 feet 10 inches by 13 inches. The side-stone measured 5 feet by 2 feet 7 inches by 10 inches thick. A few white pebbles then remained round the edges, and crumbs of bone were found in the fine black mould on the floor. A flint core was met with in the cist, and a rude flint scraper in the mound above it.

About 50 yards west of this a second tumulus is recorded to have been found, in which were "a battle-axe and spurs, with glass beads." These were placed by Edward Forbes in the Jermyn Street Museum, where they may still be seen.

Still further to the west, on the brink of the same natural plateau, lintel graves have been met with, which from their description appear to have been Christian. But an early Christian cemetery implies a keeill or church, and we may suppose that while our Tynwald mound was still a Hill of Inauguration, the early Celtic inhabitants had their church on

this spot; but the Scandinavians, when they adopted the mound as a Hill of Laws, would, according to immemorial custom, require their temple (in which, when they came to sit under cover of a roof, their court was held) to stand at a certain distance to the east of it, and so built their church on the site of the present one, the only relic of which is the sepulchral slab now in the porch, on which Asruth (Åsrithr) carved his runes!

THE SCULPTURED AND INSCRIBED STONES OF THE ISLE OF MAN.

By far the most interesting and important of the loose objects of antiquity scattered throughout the Island are the ancient sepulchral monuments, of which 126 have now been brought to light. About one-third of these, forty-four, belong to the period of Scandinavian Christianity here—from the first half of the eleventh century to the beginning of the thirteenth century, when this type of monument came to an end. Twenty-six still show inscriptions in the Scandinavian runes, and we know not how many have been lost or destroyed. Special interest attaches to them as illustrating the adaptation by the Christian Norsemen of Celtic motives in their decorative art, and its gradual freedom and development on purely Norse lines. Of even more interest is the fact that we find here, on Christian sepulchral slabs, scenes and figures in illustration of the Norse Mythology, with a fine series depicting Sigurd the Volsung slaying the dragon Fafnir, roasting its heart over flames of fire, carrying off its treasure on the back of his steed Grani, and, most remarkable of all, the scene not elsewhere figured of Loki in the act of stoning the Otter, which was the cause for the demand of Weregild, and therefore of the capture of the dwarf, Andvari, with his hoard of gold and precious ring, and the bitter curse which accompanied that act.

Of the earlier pieces, dating from the sixth century to the eleventh century, the greater number are Celtic, while some are undoubtedly Anglian. Very few of these are inscribed, but four bear Ogams of the Munster type, three have Latin inscriptions, and two show Anglian runes of the seventh century or eighth century.

These monuments consist of upright slabs, rectangular in outline, about fifty-four of which are complete, or nearly so. Twelve are wheel-headed, whilst eight are carved on boulders or unhewn pillars. Three early pieces are cruciform in outline, and three of the latest of the Scandinavian pieces are pillar-crosses of pure Celtic type. They are of local rock, clay-slate, or various dyke or trap, the nature of the material affecting the character and execution, which is flat carving in very slight relief.

Of thirty-six early incised pieces, only four show any decoration, and

their chief interest lies in the varied forms of crosses displayed; of those in relief, about thirty are more or less ornamented with geometrical and zoomorphic patterns, rarely with figures of men and animals. Very noticeable is the almost complete absence from these of the characteristic Celtic designs—spiral, key, and step-patterns. The forty-four Scandinavian monuments are a continuation of the older series; the Celtic type of cross was adopted and figured with slight variations of form. Fifteen have purely geometrical decoration, and though the general character is distinctly Hiberno-Saxon, there are marked local peculiarities, as in varied forms of link-twist not elsewhere met with, in the ring-chain which occurs eighteen times, while elsewhere it is only to be met with on five or six monuments, in the Tendril-pattern and the designs which lead up to it, which are peculiar to the Isle of Man. The decorative treatment also of the head of the cross is not met with elsewhere except in Islay, which had a close connexion with the Isle of Man. Four pieces with zoomorphic work show serpents and lacertine and dragon figures, thoroughly Scandinavian in character. Nineteen have human and animal figures, and six of them are certainly mythological, four more giving original illustrations from the favourite story of Sigurd Fafni's-bane. We can recognize without a doubt Odin with his spear, in one case attacking the Fenris-wolf; Thor attacking Jormundgande, the mighty serpent coiled in the waters around the earth; Heimdall sounding the giallar-horn for the last great battle of gods and demons; and Loki heaving huge stones at the Otter. There are certainly other scenes, though we are not all agreed upon the reading of them. We have, too, figures of Hyndla, the wise-woman who foretold the terrors of Ragnarök, one of the Valkyrie, the Giant Rungnir standing on his shield to meet the attack of Thor, and the Dwarfs of the firmament. Then we have Sigurd the Volsung, with Grani his steed, and the Talking Birds; Fafnir, whose greed converted him into a monstrous dragon; and Gunnar in the Worm-pit, last of the heroes.

THE CROSS-SLABS AT KIRK CONCHAN.

Of the six pieces found in the parish of Conchan, a broken one (No. 11)¹ has on one face an incised cross within an oval, somewhat of the character of that at St. Trinian's, but more elaborate; the limbs terminated in crosslets, the upper and lower contained in small circles. A slab carved in relief on both faces (59) shows on the shaft of one the double twist, with diamond-shaped ring design which appears to be due to Northumbrian influence. Three show zoomorphic work; one of these (61) is the remains of a wheel-headed stone, and has the limbs of the cross connected by two rings, a peculiarity in treatment

¹ The numbers in brackets in these descriptions refer to those in the writer's larger illustrated work on "Manx Crosses."



No. 1.

No. 2.

TWO CROSS-SLABS, KIRK CONCHAN, WITH ATTEMPTED RESTORATION.

confined otherwise to the parish of Louan adjoining this on the north; both cross and circle are decorated with regular plait-work, but, in a sunk panel below, are two dog-headed figures. The next two are evidently by one artist, and they also may be Anglian. The head of the stone in each case is rounded, and the cross and circle into which it merges are decorated with fine plait-work. The first of these (Plate No. 2) (62) is almost perfect, and shows at either side of the shaft a dog-headed figure on its haunches, with long, lolling tongue; below is a band of scroll-work, and the bead borders of the shaft terminate above and below in volutes. A figure at the foot takes the form of a fylfot, with spiral terminations. The other (Plate No. 1) (63) is unfortunately but a fragment of what has been a very fine slab. The plait on the circle is a sort of looped figure-of-eight; at one side of the shaft may still be seen the remains of a monstrous figure which was dog-headed, somewhat like the last.

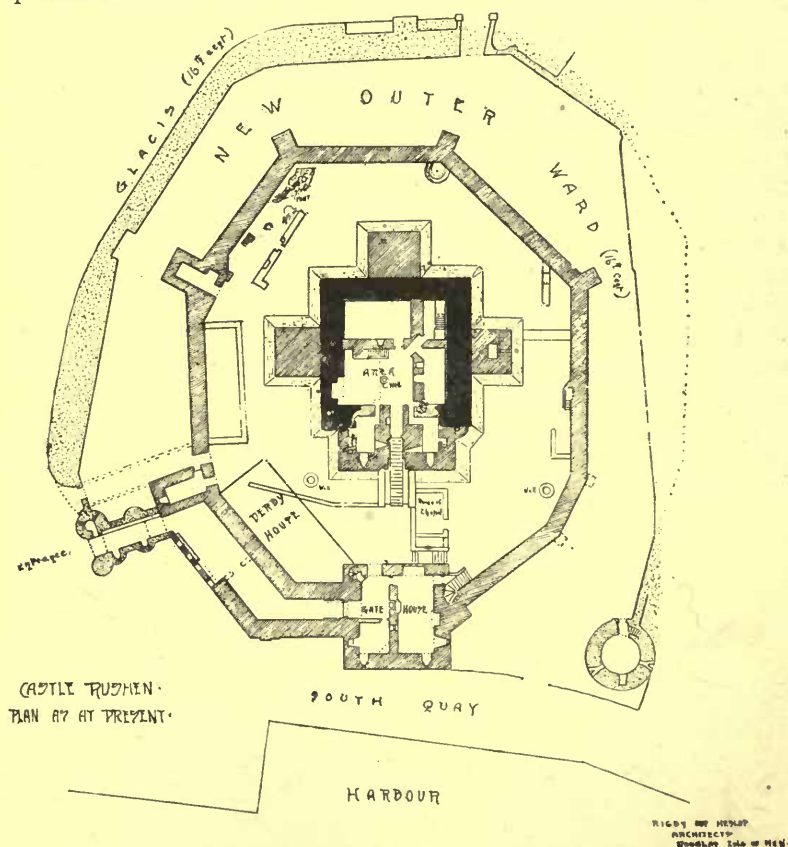
The remaining piece (113) has on each face a very rudely drawn cross and circle incised. The inscription is interesting and not altogether clear. The runes run alternately up and down on the spaces beside the shaft, the first part is fairly clear and reads:— . .] I SUNR = RAISTI × IF[T K]UINU SINA— . . A.B.'s] son erected (this cross) to the memory of his wife. The next line has the name MURKIALU ×, Muriel, followed by the letter M. . . On the other side of the shaft appear the names UKIFAT × AUK RATHIFRIT ×, followed on another line by some worn strokes which may possibly stand for . . . LAN[I],— . . land. The other face shows above the head the word KRUT[s], cross; and, on the upper limb—× ISU KRIST. Down the left side we read the name of the woman who carved it—THURITH × RAIST × RUNER . . ., Thurith carved (these) runes.

The stung-rune here stands for E instead of H, as in almost all our other inscriptions. It is evidently a late piece, but none of the names are known to our records.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 6th.

CASTLE RUSHEN.¹

THIS is the finest of all the Manx historic monuments; and it is to our present Lieut.-Governor, Lord Raglan, that we are indebted for its restoration almost to the condition in which it must have been from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. In studying the building, it should be carefully borne in mind that it now represents four main periods:—



1. The old square tower (coloured black on plan), probably built about the middle of the thirteenth century, and partly destroyed by

¹ By A. Rigby, F.R.I.B.A.

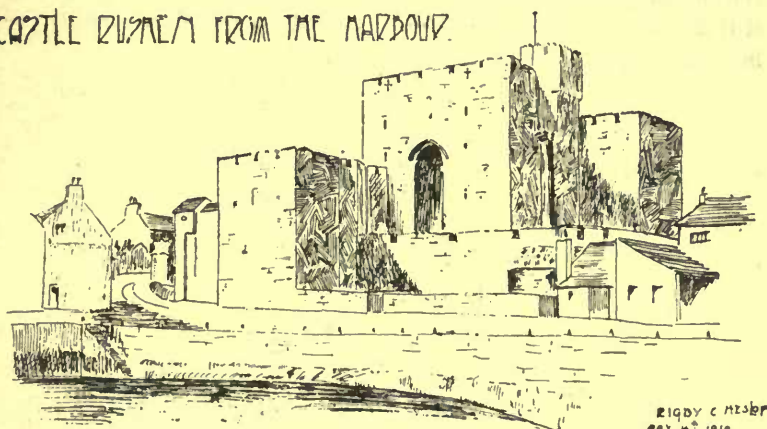
Robert Bruce in 1313. The remains of this tower formed the nucleus of the castle of the next period.

2. The fourteenth-century castle incorporating the old tower probably built by Sir William de Montacute about 1344. (Hatched on plan.)

3. The castle as further fortified for protection against cannon, said to have been done by Cardinal Wolsey early in the sixteenth century. (Dotted on plan.)

4. The castle domesticated by the erection of the Derby House in the main ward, and alterations to the sally port, &c.

CASTLE RUIN FROM THE HARBOUR.



Since the fourth period the castle has been used as a prison and lunatic asylum, and was considerably altered for these purposes. The restoration consisted largely in removing recent additions, and restoring parts altered to fit the buildings for the above uses, so that the effects of this period being practically obliterated, it need not be taken into consideration.

The view of the castle from the harbour has of course been somewhat altered and dwarfed by the construction of the quay. From the town side the height of the walls is dwarfed by the glacis of the third period.

The entrance is on the sea side. There were several reasons for this:—

1. An attacking enemy approaching the entrance would be under fire from the walls.

2. The mass of boulder clay on which the castle was built was at this point connected with the surrounding land by a neck, and for the remainder of the circuit was separated by a ravine.

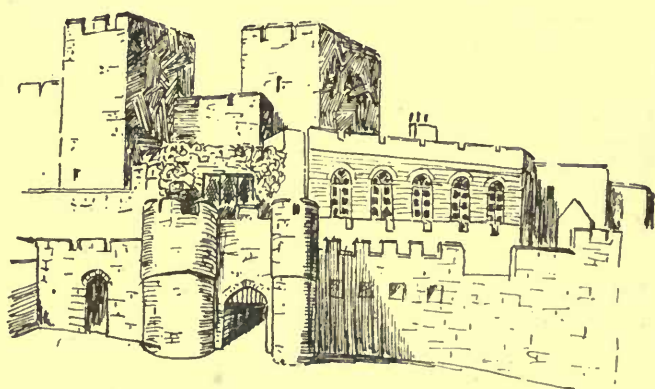
3. The object of the castle was not the defence of the coast, but a safe landing-place for the lord in case of insurrection or capture. In

any such case the lord could land on one loyal spot, well defended, and stored with arms, from which to commence operations.

The entrance passage belongs largely to the third period. In the previous period there was no walling outside the corner by the pay-gate. The neck of clay which here connects the castle mound with the mainland was cut through, and the space spanned by a plank bridge. From the pay-gate inwards there was a low retaining wall on the right as far as the barrier. (The illustrations on pages 20 and 21 show the entrance as at present, and as originally planned.)

Continuing up the entrance passage, and turning to the left, we face the entrance to the gate-house, with a portion of its original portcullis still *in situ*. In front of the door was a deep pit, since vaulted over, but originally spanned by a drawbridge.

CASTLE RUSHEN (MAIN ENTRANCE)



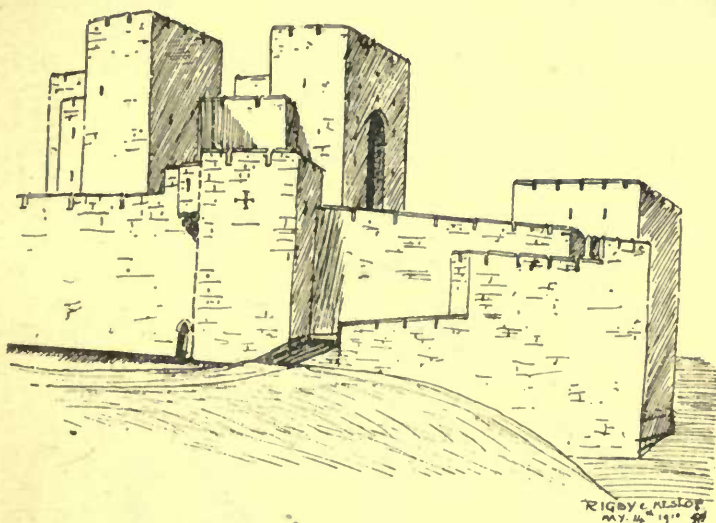
RIGBY & MESSE.
MA: 114. 1910
GOL

The gate-house contains a large guard-room and a kitchen on this level. The floor above is now the courthouse. The floor below was a tidal corn-mill. The arrangements for lowering corn are restored.

Passing out of the gate-house one enters the main ward, which is octagonal in plan, surrounded by the main walls of the second period (fourteenth century). In the centre is the great inner ward, a building about 70 feet in height, and containing very complete accommodation for the period. Before entering the inner ward the main ward should be seen and the curtain wall.

The main ward contained numerous temporary buildings, such as stabling, brewery, bakery, mint, blacksmiths' and other tradesmen's workshops. The foundations of some of these have been exposed by digging out the accumulated debris of centuries, amounting to a depth of about 4 feet. The only issues of coinage known to have been minted in Castle Rushen were in the eighteenth century. The brewery was evidently of some importance, as liberal daily allowances of "beere" were provided by order to the officials and garrison. The governor, for instance, was allowed a gallon per day; the Clerk of the Rowles two quarts; and so on.

CASTLE RUSHEN. (14th CENTURY ENTRANCE.)

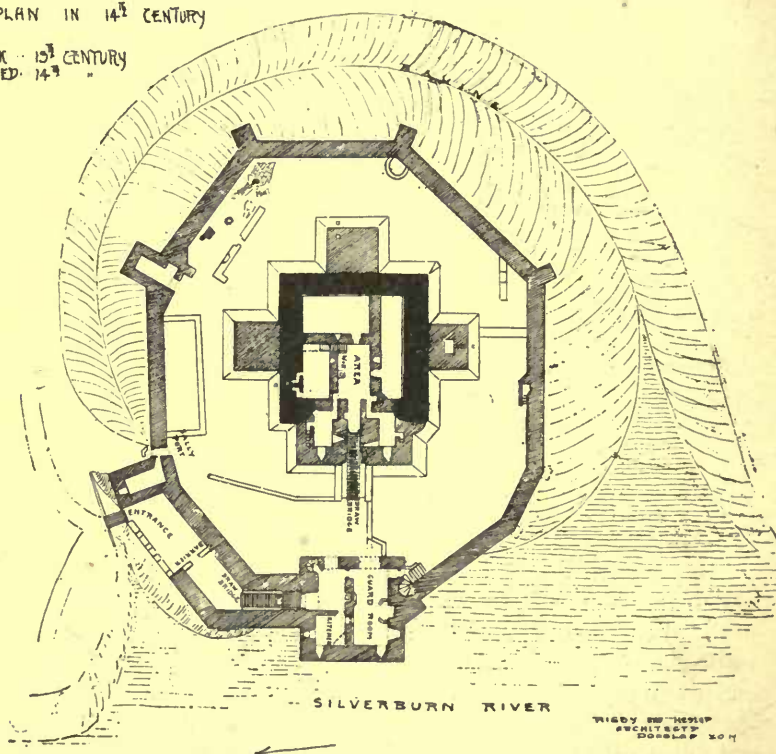


In the north-west corner of the main ward are the steps to the curtain wall, which is strengthened by turrets and towers at the salient angles. This wall stood on the scarp of the ravine which separated the castle mound from the surrounding land. The ravine was of considerable width on the river side, and gradually diminished in width towards the seaside until it disappeared at the main entrance. The widest part was filled with water at high tide, and the narrower parts may have been filled by the overflow from the well within the castle.

From this wall the glacis of the third period may be seen on the south and east sides. In order to erect this at the scientific distance from the wall it was designed to protect, the ravine had to be filled in. The space between the curtain wall and the glacis then became the gunward. The glacis was originally strengthened by three drum-towers, one of which remains.

Descending again to the main ward, some foundations will be noticed near the foot of the steps. These appear to have been the walls of a chapel, probably built in the seventeenth century. It seems to have been a two-story building, the lower part being used as a stable, while the chapel was entered from the causeway above. At the end of the chapel are steps up to the causeway, and alongside of these steps down to the mill under the gate-houses. Ascending to the causeway the Derby House (fourth period, 1644) is seen. It is a plain building, and somewhat spoils the appearance of the castle, but is preserved as a memorial of its builder, the great seventh Earl of Derby, who was executed for his devotion to the Stuart dynasty.

CATTLE TROCKEN
PLAN IN 14th CENTURY
BLACK 15th CENTURY
HATCHED 14th "



The causeway leads from the gate-house to the entrance of the inner ward. The great defensive strength should be noted. First comes the drawbridge, commanded by loops from the guard-rooms on either side of the entrance. Next a portcullis followed by the door, and at the inner end of the passage a second portcullis. The space between the inner and the outer portcullis was commanded by three holes in the floor of

the chamber above. These had been very carefully built up, and were discovered by Lord Raglan after most exhaustive examination of the ceiling, so accurately had they been filled in. It is supposed that they were used for pouring boiling pitch or lead upon the enemy.

On emerging from the entrance passage one arrives at the very centre of the castle—an open courtyard surrounded by various chambers.

It will be advisable at this point to note the walls of the old tower and the form of the additions. Standing with one's back to the entrance, the wall on the left is the east wall of the old tower, and the wall behind is the north wall. The south and west walls are not visible, as they are hidden by the range of rooms built against their inner faces. They may be seen by entering the respective rooms, though even then the actual faces are not seen, because they were lined in the fourteenth-century enlargement with a 12-inch stone lining, chiefly for the purpose of carrying the floor above. It should be remarked that a similar range of rooms originally occupied the space along the east wall, as indicated by the corbels in the wall, and by the mark of its junction with the north wall.

We find, then, that the original tower, which may be called the Norse tower, was about 46 feet square inside, and that when the fourteenth-century chambers were built within its walls there was left an open court measuring 24 feet by 14 feet; but now, owing to the destruction of the east range, measuring 24 feet by 30 feet.

Before leaving these internal additions it should be noted that the present ground-floor is at the level of the first floor of the old Norse tower. The lower floor of that tower was 8 feet below the present court-yard, and the cobble pavement still exists. It appears that when the fourteenth-century additions were made the bottom story was filled up with shore gravel, and upon this filling are built the walls of the added chambers. The lining of the well in the centre of the court was raised to the new level and padded around with clay.

It is probable that the entrance was always at the present level, and that the lower chamber was merely a cellar. So much for the internal additions. Externally the great double entrance tower was added upon the north, and a tower 20 feet square against the middle of the other three walls. This object was partly to buttress the old tower, and to this end they were built solid to a height of 20 feet, and contain chambers only on the upper floors. The plan thus formed bears a remarkable resemblance to that of the Keep of Trim Castle, but is otherwise almost unique. Warkworth, a much later castle, shows some similarity, and it seems possible that Rushen and Warkworth were both influenced by Trim.

As to the general fourteenth-century arrangement of rooms, the student must imagine that the missing chambers formerly occupying the east side of the court-yard are still in existence, extending from the

north wall to the open-air staircase. Like the other rooms on this floor, this additional room was merely for stores, the room above being the buttery. The open-air staircase, though probably narrowed since, occupies the position of the main staircase. It delivered one on to a landing with three doors. That in front was the kitchen, to the left the buttery, and to the right the hall. The dais was at the further end of the hall, and behind that the drawing-room.

Thus the first floor, as regards three sides, carries out the usual domestic plan of the period. The fourth side (north) is entirely confined to defensive arrangements on this floor and the next, while on the top floor is the garrison chapel.

It is interesting to notice that the domestic arrangements are almost duplicated on the second floor. The explanation may be that the castle was to be the seat of government as well as the military base for the Island, and that while the Lieutenant kept court in the lower hall, the king, when there, could have his own establishment above. In examining the arrangements of these floors it must be remembered that the iron staircase is a modern insertion. On each floor the space it occupies was a portion of the withdrawing room.

In the lower hall there is no fireplace, and no sign of one has been found. A spiral staircase connects the lower and upper halls, and the latter with the battlements. The family oratory is approached from the battlements. It is now used as the clock-room, containing a clock supposed to have been presented by Queen Elizabeth. The piscina, aumbry, and supports for the altar remain in the oratory. The upper hall and the garrison chapel are now temporarily used for museum purposes. In the former is the Irish elk skeleton, discovered and dug up about twelve years ago by a committee of the local Natural History Society, in conjunction with one appointed by the British Association. In the latter is the complete collection of casts of the Manx Runic and other stones, by Mr. P. M. C. Kermode, F.S.A. (Scot.). As before pointed out, the castle's history may be divided into four periods or stages of development. In three of these periods the castle sustained a siege, and was twice taken. During the first stage, in 1313, it was taken by Robert Bruce after a five weeks' siege.

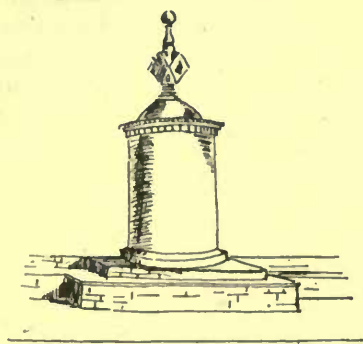
During the second period, in 1377, the island was overrun by French privateers. Capgrave says—"The Frenschmen took the Ilde of Man, al save the castel, which Ser Hew Tyrel manfully defended; but thei of the ylde were fayn to gyve the Frenschmen a M. marc that thei schuld not brenn her houses." In the fourth period the castle was besieged by Cromwell's troops under Colonel Duckenfield, in October, 1651. The treachery of the garrison gave the enemy control of the towers on the glaxis. The unfaithfulness of her garrison, coupled with the news of her husband's execution, communicated to her by Colonel Duckenfield, broke the spirit of the gallant Charlotte de la Tremouille, who, under

more ordinary circumstances, would probably have held Castle Rushen as successfully as she had held Lathom House. However, she marched out with all the honours of war, and with the distinction of being the last person to submit to the victorious Commonwealth.

The following dates may be regarded as approximately correct :—

Erection of old Norse tower, 1250-1260; destruction of same by Bruce, 1313; restoration and enlargement, 1340-1350; siege by French, 1377; outer defence against cannon, 1508-1516; siege by Colonel Duckenfield, 1651; conversion into prison, 1815.

CASTLE RUSHEN.



SUNDIAL.

RIGBY & ALDER
MAY 18 1890

GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

Upon leaving Castle Rushen a brief visit might be made to the Grammar School, which is close by. This was formerly the Church of St. Mary. By the style of the architecture Mr. Cumming thought it must have been built in the early part of the twelfth century, the identification of the work removed from Rushen not having occurred to him, and the main part of the walls being undoubtedly of great antiquity, but the roof of oak, which has a curious inequality, one side being longer than the other, corresponding with the Abbey Church, and three of the arches appear to have been bodily transferred to it from Rushen Abbey.

The modern Church of St. Mary contains a fine post-Reformation altar, the gift to the castle of James, tenth Earl of Derby.

MALEW CHURCH.

The church of Malew (St. Lua), though altered, shows the type of the old parish churches in Man, which were generally from about 60 to 70 feet long by 20 to 23 feet wide, and rectangular.

In this instance there has been added a comparatively recent extension eastwards and a transept on the north side, the nave being the actually ancient part; at the west end is the bell-turret, containing two bells. In connexion with Malew, we have almost our only instance of pre-Reformation plate—a small silver Chalice and Paten, bearing the legend, “Sancte Lupe, ora pro nobis.” The vernicle in the centre, instead of an Agnus Dei, or hand raised in benediction, establishes it as pre-Reformation—about seventy others being known to be in existence, and the date assigned in Hope and Fowler’s Catalogue as 1525. A head of a censer and a crucifix (of latén) of the twelfth century.

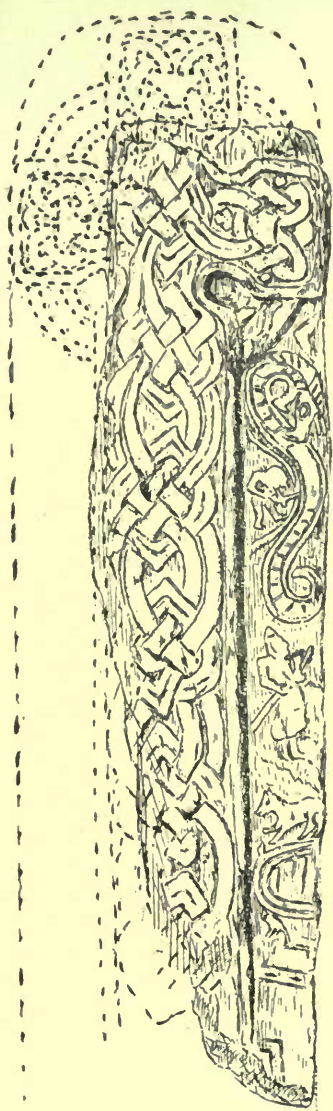
The Romanesque font is preserved, and two early crosses have been brought from outlying keeills in the parish. A very primitive one, of the Latin form, is incised on a granite boulder, and was found at Keeill Undin, on the slope of South Barrule, into the walls of which it may possibly have been built. The other, also on a granite boulder, is from Kerrow-Kiel, not far from the last, and shows a plain linear cross within an oval; between the limbs are shallow cup-hollows.

More interesting is a broken Scandinavian slab (94), found in the churchyard in 1854. It appears to have been originally about 80 inches by 21 inches. Each face shows the broken shaft of a cross. On one (Plate, No. 2) we have illustrations of Sigurd the Volsung. In a panel below the circle which surrounded the head of the cross is to be seen a figure of Sigurd with high cap and kirtle, his sword by his side; in his right hand a wand on which is the heart of Fafnir the dragon, roasting over flames of fire. In the lower panel Sigurd again appears, concealed in the pit, piercing the passing dragon with his sword. The space to the left shows, above, the remains of the steed Grani. The shaft itself is decorated with link-twist, and figure-of-eight knotwork. The other face shows a dragon figure of a different character, with irregular interlacing at either side of the shaft.

RUSHEN ABBEY.

The ruins of the Abbey on the Silverburn, about two miles from Castletown, in the parish of MALEW, *i.e.* Ma-Leoc, or Lua, are surrounded by the village of Ballasalla, *i.e.* Balla-Saint-Lua.

In the Chronicon Manniæ, written by the monks of this religious house, it is recorded that, in 1134, Olaf, the youngest son of Godred Crovan, granted to “Ivo, Abbot of Furness, a portion of his lands in Man towards building an Abbey in a place called Russin, and, to other



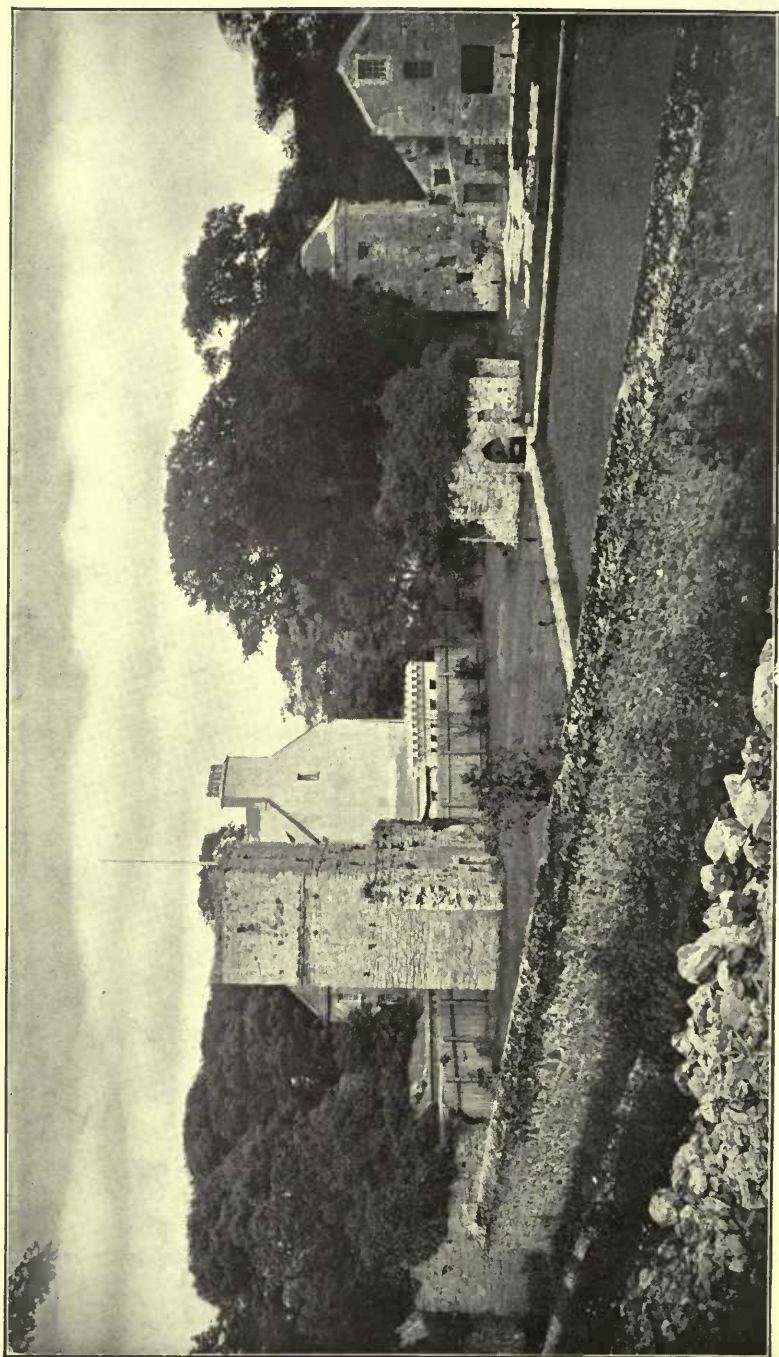
No. 1.



No. 2.

SIGURD PIECES—No. 1, FROM JUREY; No. 2, FROM MALEW.

To face page 405.]



RUSHEN ABBEY.

churches in the isles, lands and privileges." In a bull of Pope Eugenius III, 1153, mention is made of the monastery at Rushen, called S. Leoc.

The original establishment appears to have consisted of an abbot and twelve monks, who followed the Cistercian rule, one of whom was

Hamund, or Wimund, a native of Man, who became the first Bishop of Sodor and Man, about the year 1100. There were other religious houses in the Island at different times, namely—a cell on the land of Lake Mirescogh, in Lezayre (probably Ballamanagh), given in 1176 by Godred the Black to Silvanus, abbot of Rievall, as an expiation for having married Fingula without the rites of the church; this grant was afterwards transferred to the Abbey of Rushen—a temporary monastery at Douglas to which the monks transferred themselves from Rushen for four years, 1192; the Nunnery of St. Bridget, at Douglas; and a house of Grey Friars at Bechmachten, Bemaken, or Bimaken, in Kirk Arbory.

The Abbey Church of St. Mary of Rushen was consecrated, in 1257, by Richard, Bishop of the Sudereys, the Chronicle stating that King Magnus of Man was present.

The chronicle records the burial, in this spot, of Bishop Reginald, 1225, Olaf Godredson, 1237, Gospatrick the Norwegian Jarl, 1247, and Magnus, the last Scandinavian king of Man, 1265. It was the last monastery dissolved in the British Isles, 1541.

There are now to be seen the remains of two square battlemented towers, one of which was at the northern entrance; the other formed part of the church. The architecture is extremely plain—Early English, with a mixture of a Norman character, resembling that of the tower and choir of Peel Cathedral. According to Chaloner's

THIRTEENTH-CENTURY COFFIN-LID,
RUSHEN ABBEY.

drawings, made in the seventeenth century, there were five towers of rude masonry with square-headed openings. The only decided architectural detail is a plain chamfered arch in the church tower, apparently one of an arcade running north from the tower, three others now in the old Grammar School, which had been the church of St. Mary in Castletown, having,

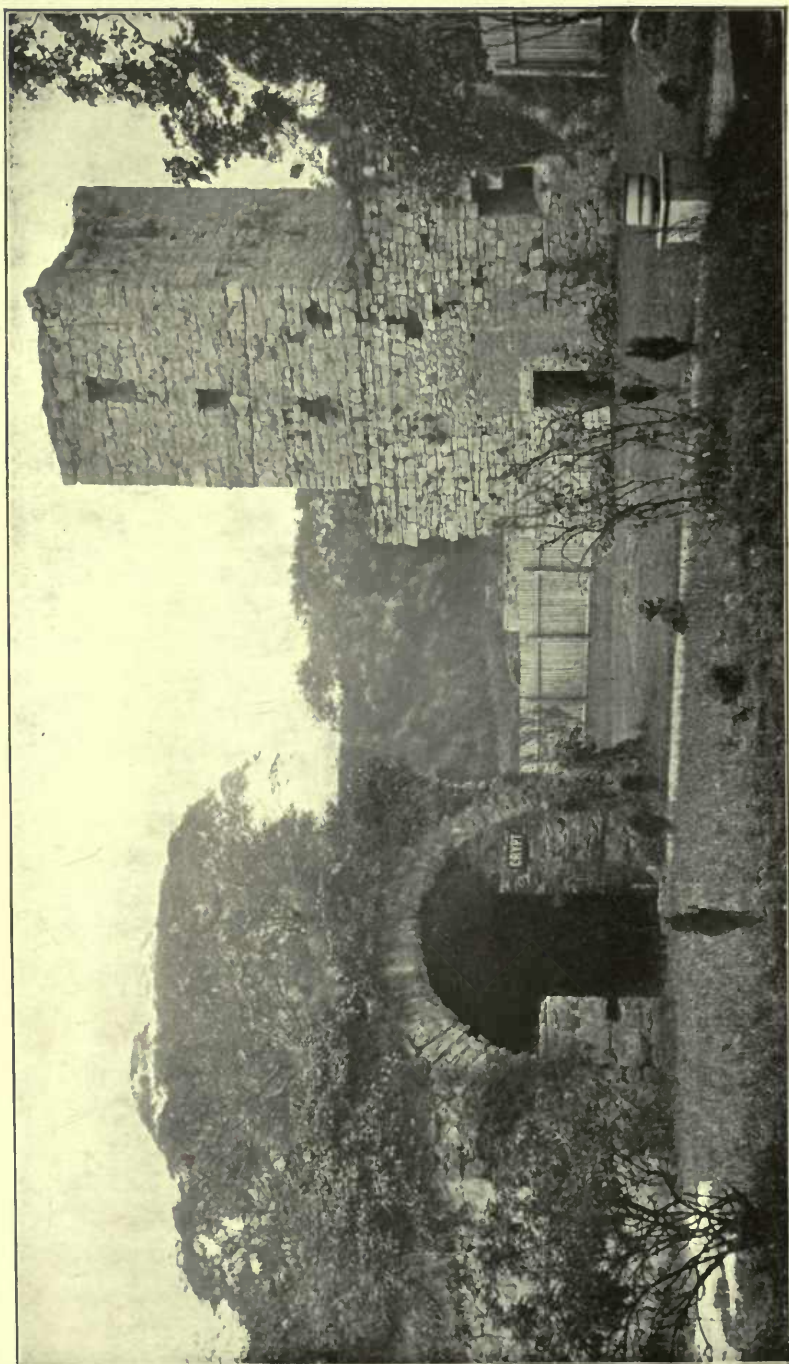


as argued by the Rev. J. Quine, together with the roof, been removed after the dissolution, when the furniture, ornaments, and building materials were sold and scattered. A small vaulted passage, left standing at the west end of the church, may, Cumming thought, have been connected with the crypt. On one of the key-stones of the arch is a socket for the suspension of a hook, perhaps for a corpse-light. Traces of inhumation have been found in one corner. In this vault is a coped-stone coffin-lid of the thirteenth century, interesting as being the earliest stone monument of Gothic or English architecture, marking the end of the old type illustrated by our numerous Celtic and Scandinavian carvings. It bears, within a flat border, a long-shafted floreated cross, with sword at one side.

An indication of the former level of the ground appears in the refectory, now converted into a stable, where the tops of the windows are now on a level with the present floor. Some encaustic tiles, probably of local manufacture, and perhaps fourteenth- and fifteenth-century, have been met with, one or two of which are in the Museum.

Just above the Abbey, at the foot of the mill-dam, is the "Crossag" or "Monk's Bridge," an example of thirteenth-century work, of two arches, one of which is pointed, the other semi-circular; the road over it is only wide enough for one pack-horse.

[To face page 406.]



RUSHEN ABBEY.

THURSDAY, JULY 7th.

KIRK BRADDAN CROSSES.

OF the nine pieces found in this parish, four are Scandinavian, with inscriptions in runes. Of the rest, one (No. 12),¹ which might be as early as the sixth century, is unfortunately lost; two in relief are perfectly plain, and both show the cross of early form; in the first of them the limbs are at an angle with the shaft, suggesting that the "Celtic" form of cross had not yet been adopted; the other is an early stage in the development of this form, when a cross with expanded limbs and curved recesses has the lower limb continued into a shaft, the head being surrounded by a plain ring. An interesting slab (No. 56) may be due to Anglian influence, but has so many irregularities in the execution of the design that one must suppose the sculptor was not familiar with the decorative treatment he attempted. The shaft has a panel of loop-plait, and the circle surrounding the head and enclosing the limb a twist-and-ring; the limbs bear a badly drawn figure-of-eight knot. A large wheel-cross (No. 69) is the only one of this series representing a scene from the Old Testament; this scene is that favourite type of the Resurrection, Daniel in the den of lions. It measures 73 inches long by 23 inches across the base, the head being 38 inches diameter, and is from 4 to 5 inches thick. One face is sculptured in relief, showing an equal-limbed cross, the limbs connected by two rings. In the upper panel are to be seen two lions on their haunches, Daniel being represented by his head only; the long tails of the lions terminate in spirals, and are bent over the back as on stones at Meigle and Dunkeld, Perthshire. The rest of the cross is completely covered with loose and intricate, but perfectly regular, plaitwork; the two circles (or the arcs of them) with plaits, the spaces between being occupied by nondescript dog-headed animals, which appear to be merely decorative.

Of the other pieces, the first (86) is a fine example of the early Scandinavian treatment in the application of purely geometrical designs, including the "ring-chain," introduced into the Island by the sculptor Gaut.

The twist-and-ring is due to Anglian influence; the head is unfortunately broken, as its treatment, apparently suggested by that of

¹ The numbers here quoted refer to the larger work by the writer on "Manx Crosses."

Gaut, evidently differed in detail from any of our other pieces. The inscription, running up the space to the right of the shaft, is quite clear except for the first word, which, however, it is still possible to decipher—THURSTAIN : RAISTI : KRUS : THANO : IFT : UFAAK : SUN : KRINAIS—Thurstein raised this cross to the memory of Ofeig, son of Crina.

A mere fragment (110) has the end of an inscription suggestive of some forgotten tragedy,— . . . N ROSKETIL : UULTI : I : TRIKU : AITHSOARA : SIN. . . But Hross-ketill betrayed in a truce his own oath-fellow. What remains of the decoration on both faces is purely geometrical, but very late in character.

The other two are probably the best known of these Manx monuments; the outline of the stone is cruciform, the material a fine blue clay-slate from Spanish Head. One (108) measures 80 inches long, the arms, originally 12 inches, now broken; across the foot 6 inches, expanding to 9 inches, and from 3 inches wide at the top, to 7½ below. The entasis, or slight widening and thickening in the middle, adds to its lightness and artistic effect. The four angles are cabled; both faces and one edge are carved with pelleted dragon figures, their tails and top-knots interlaced with bands notched and decorated with spirals. The head, containing the actual cross and connecting ring, follows Gaut's treatment. The inscription up one edge is perfectly clear,—THURLIBR : NHAKI : RISTI : KRUS : THONO : AFT : FIAK : s[UN] SIN : [B] RUTHUR : SUN : HABRS.—Thorleif Hnakki erected this cross to the memory of Fiacc his son, brother's son to Hafr. Above this, on the lower quadrant of the circle, is the word, "Jesus," added by another hand. The other cruciform stone (109) is now but a broken pillar, evidently similar in outline and character to the last. The dragons, however, are confined to one face, the others being divided into panels of geometrical designs. One edge has the step-pattern, the other bears the inscription,—UTR : RISTI : KRUS : THONO : AFT : FROKA[F]ATH[UR : SIN : IN : THUR. . .] Odd raised this cross to the memory of his father, Frakki, but Thor. . . Of the words in brackets only the stems of the runes now remain; they are chiefly interesting as giving the name of one of our Scandinavian artists, to whom from the nature of their decorative work and execution, we can with some degree of certainty assign three of our later and more handsome monuments.

THE CHURCH.

The old Church of Braddan was re-erected in 1773 on the site of one much older. We have evidence that a church was standing here in the fact that Mark, Bishop of Sodor and Man, 1275-1298, held a synod here on the 10th March, 1291, at which thirty-six canons were enacted. The tower at the west end is square and battlemented, and evidently

ancient. The arches of the west of the nave are of herring-bone work, the doors tall and narrow. In 1887 a cross (of which a cast is now in Castle Rushen) was noticed on the east gable; on its western face is a crucifix, on the east a "Maltese" cross of gneissose rock, rough and gritty. The features, the crown of thorns, the nails by which the hands are fastened, are remarkably distinct, though the stone is much weathered. The hand is bent forward and slightly turned to the left. The cross on the east face is also in high relief,—altogether it is a work of considerable artistic merit.

ALIGNMENTS.

In 1860, Dr. Oswald (*Manx Society*, vol. v., p. 95) described some earthworks, the remains of an extensive camp, extending over a space of ten acres or more, part of which may still be traced. He mentions "an irregular line of wall, about 70 yards in length, opposite the churchyard, which turns at both ends southward at sharp angles, so as to surround Kirk Braddan and its burial-yard; the western or outside front of this wall is faced with tall stones from 4 to 6 feet high, set on end close together, so as to form a parapet throughout the whole 70 yards which protects a covered way behind it, 14 feet wide, and 2 or 3 feet high above the area enclosed on the east. Outside of this redoubt, on the west, there are the remains of a wide ditch in which there is a run of water; and at the western end, the wall is continued southward till it is bisected by the high road, south of which it has been almost obliterated by the levelling and fencing of the burial-yard and of Kirby grounds, but traces of it can be followed on the east of the church. . . . On the declivity westward of the camp, traces of numerous ruined foundations and immense stones present themselves throughout the woods; and in the field beyond there is a spring of water called the Chibbers Niglus, about 100 yards from the wood, which gives name to the field; also the remains of a carnaen close to the boundary comprising some erect stones, and an immense one recumbent, measuring 7 feet 6 inches long by about 4 feet broad, and having on its upper flat surface a peculiar-looking excavation or trough, upwards of 2 feet long and 18 inches wide."

PEEL CASTLE.

This is the old *Purt ny Hinsey*, Harbour of the Island, i.e., of St. Patrick's Isle, or Holme, as called by the Scandinavians. The isle, $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres in extent, is surrounded by embattled walls, 4 feet thick, flanked at irregular intervals by square towers. The east end of the choir of the cathedral was utilized to form part of the defence in that direction. The *Manx Statutes*, 1593, referring to the two garrisons of Rushen and Peel, quote a "Resolution of my Lord," that he would have them re-erected. This would be under Ferdinand, Earl of Derby, and seems to imply that there had been earlier walls.

The approach has been ruined in appearance by modern quays and cement work, but some of the original steps remain cut in the solid rock, leading to the portcullis door of the old square tower which Canon Quine is no doubt right in considering to have been "the Peel." It has evidence of much alteration, and the present entrance was probably a complete structural re-arrangement. When the tower was enlarged into a castle of some strength, the entrance formerly high up was brought down and cut through the tower on the ground-floor, which involved the revaulting of the passage. Part of the old tower story remains in original shape in the guard-room. A barbican was added and joined into the tower. This old castle is of red sandstone, and the style of the building differs from that of the much later curtain-wall round the islet, for which the stone was all quarried on the spot. Godred Olafson died here in 1187, and King Olaf Godredson also died at Peel in 1237. We read of Reginald's descent upon it in 1228, when he burnt Olaf's ships and those of all the chiefs of Man. It seems therefore that Olaf must have had a stronghold here; and the origin and structure of the present entrance tower may possibly, as surmised by Mr. Quine, date from that period.

HISTORICAL NOTE ON ST. GERMAN'S CATHEDRAL.¹

1. An entry in *Chronicon Manniæ* assigns the building of St. German's to Bishop Symon (1226-47), viz.: "*ecclesia Germani, quam ipse edificare ceperat*," the Church of German which he himself had begun to edify. By the word "edify" we must, however, understand not only build, but rather, perhaps, the intention of the building, that is the creation of an *aedes* or "house," viz., the organization of a chapter of canons, and in effect create into a cathedral! Also, whatever his building was, with this object in view the chronicle implies that he began a work which he did not complete! It must be borne in mind that Symon had been Abbot of Iona, and had been engaged in the extension of the buildings there: consequently we must expect in his work at St. German's something of the same character as in the work at Iona.

2. That St. German's already existed, and that as a church of antiquity, before Symon's time, is evident from Jocelin's "*Life of Patrick*" (1183); and it is probably with Jocelin rather than with Symon that we must associate the earliest part of the existing cathedral, viz., the exceedingly beautiful chancel of St. German's, which, in a very mutilated form, speaks of builders quite other, and quite alien work—persons and conceptions forced to give place to Symon and the ideas he had brought with him from Iona!

3. The chancel of St. German's has three lancets in the east gable, five on each side north and south, and a sixth on each side walled up near

¹ By the Rev. Canon Quine, M.A.

the chancel arch. The stone used in the church for these windows, but found in no other part of the cathedral, is a golden yellow sandstone from quarries in county Down in Ireland. In design and style the chancel is "transitional"; the exterior treatment of windows panelled between pilaster is distinctly Norman in feeling: and it is not too early a date to assign the chancel to the year 1195. The building, moreover, has everywhere a "feeling," a tenderness of treatment, peculiarly associated with Cistercian workmanship, though in the mutilated state in which we see it, the attempt of so simple a building to be beautiful is a monument of pathos in stone. The historical evidence affords a strong probability that the chancel belonged to the reign of Reginald the Usurper (1187-1226), viz., before the episcopate of Symon; also that it was built by Cistercian workmen, as well as designed by a Cistercian architect, and that a terrible family feud in which (1226) Olaf triumphed accounts for no mention of anything reflecting honour on Reginald and those churchmen working under his patronage.

4. To understand the political history of this period it is sufficient to say that Aufrica, daughter of Godred II, and sister to Reginald the Usurper, married John de Courcy, Lord of Down. De Courcy introduced the Cistercian Order into Down by founding Inch Abbey near Downpatrick; and Jocelin of Furness, author of the "Life of Patrick," which he wrote under de Courcy's patronage, came from Furness to Downpatrick to organize the newly founded abbey at Inch in 1181. Later, in 1188, Jocelin is found occupying the position of Abbot of Rushen, and witness to a charter of Reginald confirming to Furness "all the liberties and dignities" conceded to that Cistercian house by Olaf I. He had doubtless received this preferment to Rushen as a reward for his work at Inch Abbey: the relations between Reginald on the one hand and de Courcy and Aufrica his wife being uniformly one of friendship and mutual support. Moreover, in 1193, Aufrica founded in the Ards of Down, over against Man, the Cistercian Abbey of Grey. We find then that at this period, and down to the fall of de Courcy (1203), both he and his wife were patrons of the Cistercian Order. We already see Reginald confirming to the Cistercians their existing dignities in Man. Later, on his death in 1228 he was buried in Furness Abbey—at the spot "which he himself had previously chosen to be his burial-place."

5. Now all these facts are necessary in order to explain that the Cistercian Order is found in possession of lands in the parish of Kirk German over against St. German's Cathedral, extending two miles or so along the coast, and an equal distance inland, in area considerably exceeding 2000 acres; and adjoining over 1000 acres of other church lands forming Bishop's Barony, glebes and lands given for education, but in the fifteenth century alienated into the hands of the Stanleys. No record is extant of how these 2000 acres of land became Cistercian property; but it is probable that the donor was Reginald, and that these lands were the patrimony of the church of St. German.

6. When we examine the chancels of Inch Abbey and of Grey Abbey in county Down, there is immediately seen to be a striking identity in design, style, the mouldings, stone used, and the very mason work of the walls within the chancel of St. German's. One sees not only the same architect, but the same masons. It might be said that St. German's chancel was brought bodily from Ireland. The presumption is that Jocelin was the link of connexion. A rather singular entry in the *Chronicon Manniæ* says that (1192) "the Abbey of St. Mary of Russin was transferred to Dufglas, and there dwelling through four years they returned again to Russin."

That this migration was in connexion with the re-edifying of the Nunnery or Priory of Nuns at Douglas there can scarce be a doubt; the traditional connexion of this priory with Aufrica, suggesting that her interest in a foundation situated in the Isle of Man, and bearing the name of St. Bridget, whose grave had been (professedly) discovered just before, in 1186, at Downpatrick, would lead her to rehabilitate it. And to the same period we must assign the beginnings at least of a Cistercian foundation on Peel islet. Whether this was under the auspices of Aufrica or not there is no evidence: but there is a tradition that she founded Grey Abbey—the abbey of the Vow—*de Jugo Dei*—in fulfilment of a vow in a storm at sea when returning from visiting her brother, Reginald.

7. With the fall of John de Courcy in 1203 the fortunes of Reginald became less flourishing. With the fate of Reginald in 1226, the project of a Cistercian foundation on Peel islet came to an end. Bishop Symon was a Benedictine. His idea seems to have been to found a Chapter of Canons: and after his death we find the Chapter in existence; the tower and transepts seem to be his work: character and feeling identical with that of Iona, being suggested in this part of the church. In order to erect the tower and transepts, it was necessary to cut away the west end of the chancel, and block up the windows nearest the tower. The floor of the chancel was at that time at a lower level than now. It does not appear that Symon necessarily contemplated the building of a nave; for the situation of the church made a nave seem out of the question; and certainly the existing nave is of later date.

8. But that Symon's work was considerably more than the tower and transepts is evident; for the cluster of buildings immediately north of the cathedral, usually called the Bishop's Palace, prove on examination to be arranged wonderfully like the arrangement at Iona. The cramped and limited situation and area of these buildings prevent this likeness to Iona being at first seen; but an examination of ground-plans of Iona conventual buildings and these buildings on St. Patrick's Isle show that the latter was probably copied from the former; and as Symon had been Abbot of Iona, such an aim in arrangement is simply and naturally explained. These buildings were doubtless the residence of the Chapter; for Symon himself seems to have had his residence on his

estate at Bishopscourt, where the old tower and traces of moat are without reasonable doubt as early as his time.

9. The nave of St. German's, erected on a rocky slope several feet higher than the level of the tower and transepts floor, shows, on its north side, windows of Early English style not earlier than the time of Bishop Richard (1251-75), but more probably of the time of Bishop Mark (1275-98). At this time the floor of the chancel was raised to a like level with the floor of the nave by a new vaulting underneath; and the floor of the tower and transepts was raised by being filled with a packing of earth. The beauty of the chancel was mercilessly destroyed not only by the raising of the floor, but also by the construction of a stairway in the south wall to reach the newly-vaulted crypt. It is probable that the older crypt occupied the site of the time immemorial church of St. German that Jocelin was acquainted with in 1183; and possibly this crypt was a shrine of some considerable sanctity. For though Reginald, whom we suppose to have given the Kirk German abbey lands to the Cistercians, was generous to that Order, we assume he was generous only with what was already ancient church land, viz. the patrimony of the church of St. German.

10. At a later date the south aisle was added to the nave, most probably in the time of Bishop Russell (1350-74). This aisle became a ruin about the end of the fifteenth century; was removed and the arcade built up, with a small perpendicular window in each bay.* Many alterations of the church in details of windows and other minor structural work can be traced, and appreciated only when seen.

11. It is interesting to note that the two ancient churches of St. Patrick and St. German (viz. the cathedral) were the parish churches of the two extensive parishes on the mainland, constituting the sheading of Glenfaba. In the course of time the inconvenience of this ended in a chapel,—the Church of St. Peter, in Peel town—being erected on the mainland to serve as a common parish church for both these parishes; and this church of St. Peter remained the *de facto* parish church of both parishes till 1714; and of Kirk German parish till 1894. It is more difficult to say when St. Peter's was erected. It contains a piscina, and is certainly of pre-Reformation date. One may venture to think it existed in 1420, when a Visitation of the Bishop's Commissary is recorded as having been held in Peel-town, presumably in St. Peter's Church. The building of the castle—a work of various periods—may have at some point rendered free access to the churches on the islet increasingly objectionable; and this, combined with the actual inconvenience, doubtless ended in the abandonment of the popular claim to parochial rights on the islet.

12. With the Reformation the cathedral seems to have steadily gone to decay. The last bishop enthroned in St. Germans was Dr. Hildesly, 1755: the choir only being at that time covered in with a

roof; the nave has been occasionally used for interments till within recent years: the graves, of necessity, being quarried out of the rock which comes very close to the surface. Both Bishop Symon and Bishop Mark were buried in St. German's, and various other bishops; the last being Bishop Rutter (1663), the only one whose tomb remains.

THE PEEL CROSS-SLABS.

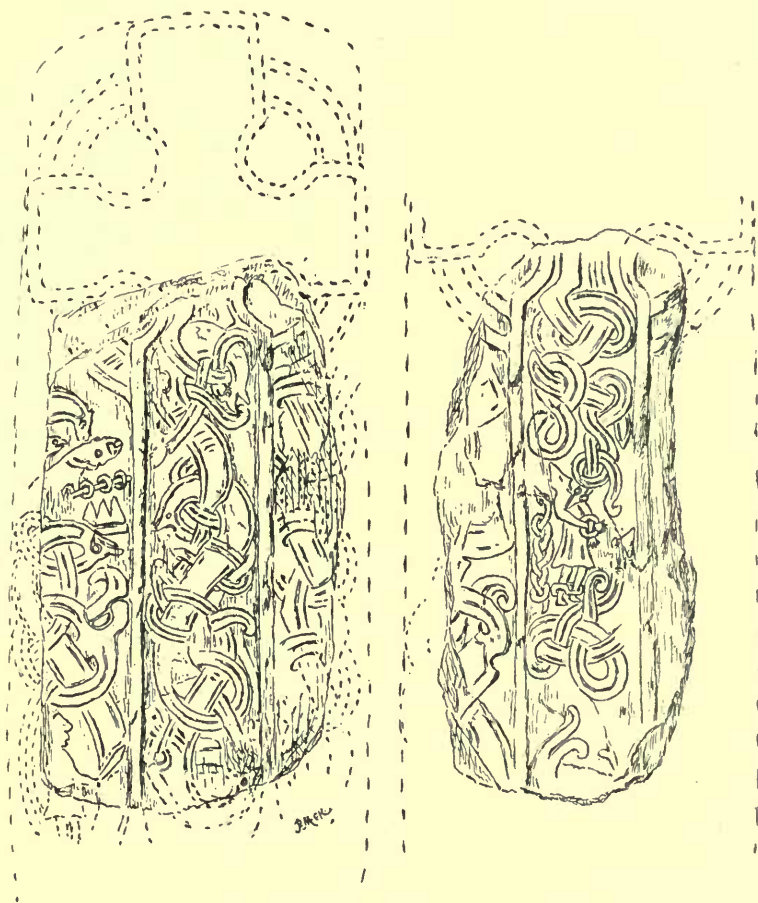
On St. Patrick's Isle have been found, in connexion with the ruined buildings there, four early pieces and two Scandinavian. Of the former, one broken piece (No. 46) appears to have been an altar-slab, which on one face shows in relief the remains of an equal-limbed cross, square-angled, the limbs running into a broad band at either side. This was found in St. Patrick's Church. It may have been originally 25 to 27 inches long by 18 to 20 inches wide. As marks of consecration, we see the five small linear crosses, one in the centre and one on each limb. Portable altars (generally about 9 inches square) were carried round by the priest when taking the Sacrament to the sick; and the sick bed being set in the corner as the most sheltered position, this gave rise to the bitter curse, "May the stone of the church (*clogh ny keeillagh*) be found in the corner of your house." The present example was, of course, not a portable altar, but may have been the consecrated slab set on the rubble foundation of which we find our early altars were composed, in the ancient Church of St. Patrick.

Much older than the altar-stone are two slabs bearing crosses (incised) with widely-expanded limbs, acutely angular at junction, of very primitive form (Nos. 15 and 16), reminding somewhat of the Ruadri cross at Clonmacnois ("Christian Inscriptions," vol. vii., 20), but perhaps of even earlier date. In one, the head of which is very widely expanded, the arms are merely appended; the other closely resembles the form known as *crux ansata*, with the upper limb as a triangular handle appended.

Another early slab (19) shows a Latin cross, the two lines forming the upper limb, terminating in circular rings, having the top open; there are circlelets also between the limbs.

Of the Scandinavian pieces, a fragment (88) found near the barracks appears to be by the same hand as two from Kirk Michael (88, 90), showing late work, well executed with a pointed chisel or square gouge. Originally it may have measured about 56 inches by 20 inches, and has borne on one face a loose plait, double-beaded. The other face is flaked off; the spaces between the limbs are pierced, which is not common.

The last (112) is tantalizing, as both faces, which are almost certain to have been carved, have been entirely flaked away, owing to the stone having been for a long time built into a wall of the cathedral. Only



SIGURD-SLAB, FROM KIRK ANDREAS.

the broken inscription on the edge now remains—. . . US . THENSI . EFTER . ASRITHI . KUNO SINA . TUTUR UT[s], i.e. [A. B. erected] this cross to Asrith his wife, daughter of Odd. This is followed by a space of 3 inches, and then by marks like the remains of runes, which may have given the writer's name. In this inscription the stung-rune stands for *ε*, not *η*, which is exceptional, and brings it into a different class. The words are divided by single dots instead of the usual colon. "Thensi" is our only instance of this spelling, the word being generally given as "thana" or "thono" (nasal *a*). "Efter" occurs in this form only on the Harper cross, Kirk Michael (104). The woman's name would in Iceland be given as Astrith, the absence of the spurious "t" here being due to Gaelic influence. The word "kunu" is sufficient to show that this is not by the writer of (104), who uses "kona," or of (103) Kirk Bride, who spells it "kuinu," and goes to show that we have in this piece a new "rune-smith." The common Icelandic name "Odd" occurs also at Kirk Braddan (109) as that of the man who erected a late cross to his father, Frakki, which again is by a different rune-writer.

THE CROSS-SLABS OF KIRK MICHAEL.

It is curious that so far no Celtic pieces have been found in the parish of Kirk Michael or in Ballaugh, which adjoins it on the north. The district was perhaps more Norse in character than any other in the island, but the ruins and sites of several keecills testify to its older Celtic Christianity. Of the nine Scandinavian pieces discovered, all but two bear inscriptions in runes. But there is an earlier one also, which I now think may be Anglian—namely, that found after the fire of 1893, built into a wall at Bishops court. Of this both faces and edges have been handsomely carved, and show a shafted cross of Celtic form, with circle surrounding the limbs, not merely connecting them. One face has had a fine loop-twist spiral design below the circle, and volutes at the termination of the shaft. Below the volute, only one of which remains, is the worn figure of a hound, and above a dog-headed monster on its haunches, resembling those on the Conchan slabs (62, 63). The other face, badly flaked and worn, shows below a spirited figure of a horseman armed with spear.

Of the Scandinavian pieces, one (74) is of special interest, from the fact that the inscription gives the name of the first Manx Scandinavian sculptor, GAUT. Two other fragments here (75 and 85) may be his work; they agree in bearing geometrical designs only, together with the "ring-cable" which he introduced, and the tendril pattern evolved by him from a simple twist. On a large slab at Kirk Andreas the artist calls himself Gaut Björnson of Cooiley; it may have been his first, and two or three others (nameless) in different parts of the island appear from their execution and design to have been by him. His period was probably

about the second quarter of the eleventh century. The inscription on No. 74 is carried up one edge, and finished above the head of the cross on one face :— \times MAIL : BRIKTI : SUNR : ATHAKANS : SMITH : RAISTI : KRUS : THANO : FUR : SALU : SINA : SIN : BRUKUIN : KAUT \times KIETHI : THANO : AUK ALA : I MAUN \times Mael Brigde, son of Athakan the smith, erected this cross for his own soul [and that of] his brother's wife \times Gaut made this and all in Man. It was the late Dr. Sophus Bugge who suggested that "SIN BRUKUIN" must be contracted, and stand for [AUK] SIN[AR] BRU-[THUR] KUIN[V], similar contracted forms being met with elsewhere. Dr. Brate holds that the word "SIN" here is borrowed into O.N. from the A.S.—*syn* = *sin*, as the first part of a compound adjective, of which "BRUKU" (from O.N. *RANGR*) is the second part, and renders the four words, "for his sin-wrong (sinful) soul." The final syllable, *IN*, he takes to be the beginning of a new clause—"But Gaut," &c. The word "all," of course, must be taken to apply only to Scandinavian pieces. The fragment (75) has now remaining only the words . . . s : THNA : AF . . . ; the other (85) the single word . . . RUNER . . . It has been broken, and subsequently turned upside down, the lower end rounded, and converted into a new tombstone in 1699, with a hideous skull and cross-bones marking the unhappy taste and morbid feeling of the end of the seventeenth century, so different from the artistic and gentle work of the eleventh century.

Two other Scandinavian pieces, uninscribed (89, 90), the latter of which is unfortunately but a fragment, show a later hand. The geometrical work is looser and more irregular, and is accompanied by dragon figures, typically Scandinavian in form. They are carved with a pointed or square chisel.

Another slab (100) is broken in two; one face has purely geometrical work; the other bears at either side of the cross-shaft human and animal figures, and gives us a glimpse into Valhalla. What remains of the inscription reads:—GRIM : RISTI : KRUS : THNA : IFT : RUMU [N . . .] IN \times Grim erected this cross to the memory of Hromund, his (brother's son) \times In the figures we may recognize Odin, with his spear, Gungnir, accompanied by his two wolves; Geri and Freki. The boar is probably meant for SÆHRIMNER, whom the gods and heroes hunt on the plains of Valhalla. They feast on him at night, and Thor, waving his hammer, restores the bones to afford another chase. Two bird-headed human figures are champions on the plain of Idavöll. The nimbed figure with tau-headed staff might be a saint, or even Christ Himself, to signify "that now He, and not Odin, is King of Heaven, the material joys of which are depicted at either side of (the cross) the Tree of Life—Odin's steed, Christ's palfrey."

A beautifully carved head of a cross (101) bears now only the end of an inscription:—. . . KRIMS : INS : SUARTA \times . . . of Grim the black. One face shows in the space between the limbs a figure of Christ in ascension.

Above, on the left, is a well-drawn figure of a cock, symbol of the Resurrection; to the right a winged Being, perhaps the Third Person of the Trinity. The other face has above the head, on the left, a dragon; on the right a man and eagle, intended possibly to represent Hrae-svelgr, the "Corpse-devourer," the reference being to a son of Grim the Black, fallen like a hero in battle!

The large slab (105) may be taken as a typical monument of this class. It is rectangular and exactly 10 feet high, by about 20 inches wide, and 5 feet 7 inches thick. The inscription up one edge reads, + IVALFIR : SUNR : THURULFS : HINS : RAUTHA : RISTI : KRUS : THONO : AFT : FRITHU : MUTHUR : SINO +, Joalf, son of Thorolf the red, erected this cross to the memory of Fritha his mother. Some scratch-runes at the side of, and beginning rather lower down than the first word, are meaningless, and may have been cut at any period by someone trying to copy characters he did not understand. The work is late, and the two dragon-figures on one face seem to connect it with that raised by Odd at Kirk Braddan, and carved by someone whose name began with Thor . . . The animal figures are drawn with much spirit, but appear to be merely decorative. The twist-and-ring design of one edge is artistic and well executed. Above the inscription on the other edge is the figure of a warrior armed with shield and spear, no doubt Joalf himself.

The last piece (104) has two inscriptions in runes, carved, not up the edge as usual, but up either side of the unsculptured face of the slab, and from the spelling, vocabulary, and form of the runes, show that the sculptor was Swedish, not Norwegian like Gaut and the other artists. The long one reads, MAL-LUMKUN : RAISTI : KRUS : THENA : EFTER : MAL MURU : FUSTRA : SINE : TOTIR : TUFKALS : KONA : IS : ATHISL : ATI + Mael-Lomchon erected this cross to the memory of Mal-Muru his foster [mother], daughter of Dugald, the wife whom Athisl had +. The shorter one, up the left of the slab—[B] ETRA : ES : LAIFA : FUSTRA : KUTHAN : THAN : SON : ILAN +. It is better to leave a good foster than a bad son +. A curious thing is that at a later date the monument has been utilized as a memorial of some one else whose name it is now impossible to decipher; for, in the middle space of the upper third of the stone is a faintly cut and very badly worn inscription in "scholastic ogams."

The other face is sculptured with a Celtic cross and circle. The decorative treatment is well balanced and effective, that of the cross itself purely geometrical and arranged in panels; the workmanship is fine and beautifully finished. In the centre is a ring of twist, surrounded by a broader one, showing a new application of Gaut's favourite chain-cable design; both cross and circle have ropework borders, terminating at the bottom of the shaft in the head and tail of a sharp-snouted serpent. Of figures, there are just under the circle, on the left, a stag with hound at its back seizing it under the ear, and, below, a robed figure in full face, the left arm raised, the right resting on a Tau-headed staff. At the

other side of the shaft are remains of another stag and pursuing hound. Below is a seated harper (in profile) playing on a harp of four strings, belted and arrayed in tight-fitting garments. In front, now almost worn away, may be traced a robed figure approaching with a drinking-horn held in one hand. This appears to be one of the Valkyrie offering homage and welcome to the harper. So, on a heathen block from south-east Gotland in Sweden, and another from south Gotland, may be seen robed figures offering a drinking-horn to a rider whom we recognize from his eight-footed steed to be Odin, and both of these may have been known to the sculptor of this stone. So we may have here possibly a representation of Bragi, god of poetry, a son and another incarnation of Odin. Below, stands another robed figure full-faced arms uplifted in the attitude of blessing, his right hand holding up a Tau-headed staff.

The later inscriber of the other face has here cut the ogam alphabet, with the double purpose, no doubt, of calling attention to the epitaph and supplying a key to the reading of it. This is contained within a rectangular panel, a little to the right of and below the sculpturing. The type is that of north-east Scotland; the date is difficult to surmise—possibly the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century.

FRIDAY, JULY 8th.

KIRK MAUGHOLD.

THE Church and its precincts which has given its name to the north-eastern parish of Kirk Maughold, has been a site of special sanctity, in continuous use to the present day, from the time of the introduction of Christianity into the Island; this alone can account for the exceptionally large number of early cross-slabs still surviving, in range of period from the sixth to the thirteenth century. The present building has, with repairs and alterations, been continuously used since the thirteenth century; its walls contain the materials of a twelfth-century church, which doubtless occupied the same site; while the foundations of two small keells or chapels to the north of it, and the memory of another to the east, the last traces of which were removed some years ago, speak of pre-Scandinavian Christianity. The story of the Irish bandit, converted and baptized by St. Patrick, and, in a coracle committed to wind and waves, to end by landing on the Island of Euonia, appears first as told by Muirchu in the Book of Armagh.

Jocelin of Furness (writing *circa* 1185) identifies Euonia with Eubonia, or Man; and the bandit, called Maccuil by Muirchu, he speaks of as "Maguil, who is the same as Machald." From this we may infer that in Jocelin's time the word Maughold was pronounced very much as it is to-day, viz. "Machald." The monuments which still remain testify to at least three early Bishops who were buried at Maughold; and Jocelin links its traditions with Ireland. While not accepting all his statements, especially concerning St. Patrick's supposed visit, we may regard that which expressly says that in St. Patrick's day Man was "subject to Britain," as no doubt founded on the basis of a then definitely existing tradition, to which the existing monuments give clear support.

Around a part of the large enclosure are remains still existing of strong defensive works, and it is reasonable to suppose that these originated in the "Cashel" surrounding the early establishment of a typical Celtic monastery, existing as such apparently till the twelfth century; Jocelin's words being: "There was a city called after him of no small extent, the remains of whose walls may yet be seen," which accords with the account of Somerled's raid, 1158, in which special mention is made of the pastoral staff of St. 'Machutus,' and of priest and clerks.

The adjoining estate, still known as "Staff-land," like that so called in the parish of Kirk Patrick, derives its name from the circumstance of its grant to, and occupation by, the hereditary keeper of this same relic, and the representation of a pastoral staff on two of the early monuments here (and not elsewhere in the Island) may be in part due to its reputation for peculiar sanctity and power. At the end of the twelfth century the church, together with that of Michael in the Barony in the same parish, was appropriated to Furness by Bishop Mark.

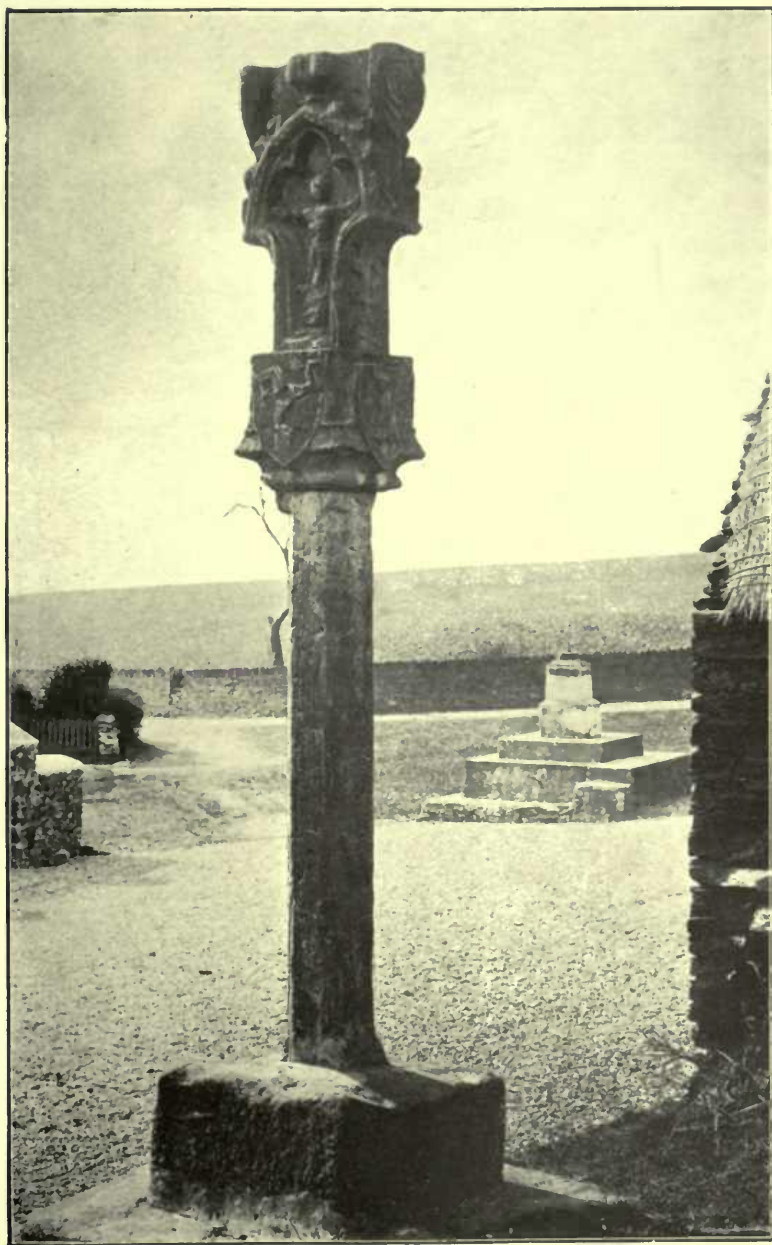
In the certificate of reserves belonging to Furness by the Commissioners of Henry VIII, 1537, the rectories of St. Mahold and St. Mighele are stated to have been let to farm, and a curate found for the yearly sum of £6 13s. 4d. . .

The unique gold coin (Louis le Debonaire, 814-840) now in the Manx Museum, found by the Rev. S. N. Harrison in 1884, about 30 feet S.E. of the church, is evidence of burial of a personage of some note, perhaps during the Scandinavian period; and we learn from the *Manx Chronicle* that Roolwer, a bishop in Man, who must have died about 1050 or 1060, was buried "at the church of St. Machutus." Some swords and daggers found in the churchyard, at the S.W., one of which was in the Edinburgh Museum, possibly belong to the same age; and the discovery in 1834 of two urns point to its use for burial, even in pagan times in the Bronze age.

The present building has been frequently restored, and its character greatly altered; the last, quite recent, restoration, painful as it must be to an antiquary to contemplate, gave opportunity, as happily expressed by the Rev. Canon Quine, "of looking upon, as it were, 'the face of the dead saint in his opened coffin.'" The church at this time was much as it had been when described by Cumming in 1861—of the true Manx type, 72 feet long by 17 feet broad, having chancel and nave without any architectural division, a western porch, with western bell-turret for one bell, rung from the outside. The chancel, he described as decorated; the east window was "a three-light, decorated (of later insertion) with cinquefoiled lights."

Mr. Quine thinks that this thirteenth-century church, based on the style of its work, was probably built in the episcopate of the first Scottish Bishop, Mark, about 1275, and that the west gable might possibly be later. The church probably had a north and south door, the twelfth-century work having been used for the latter, and afterwards removed, and used again for the west door, which took the place of the two doors done away with. This western porch, the arch of which, deepened, has been allowed to remain, was, as expressed by Cumming, "Romanesque, shallow, and wagon-vaulted, the arch rising from two square pillars. The edge of the wagon-headed vaulting is worked into a kind of nail-headed ornament." When the gallery was

[To face page 420.



STANDING CROSS AT MAUGHOLD CHURCH GATES.

erected, the arch of the door was lowered, the original stone-work replaced by a cross-slab, and the capitals of the door-shafts removed. The old Romanesque font—a perfectly plain, circular basin without a pedestal—which had lain on the ground outside the porch, was about 1860 restored to its place in the church.

In 1892 the Rev. S. N. Harrison gave a description of the church, and particularly of the enclosure, published in the magazine of the local society, *Yn Lioar Manninagh*, vol. i., p. 382; and an excellent account of the church itself, with surmises as to its origin and history, was given by Mr. Quine to the same society in 1904—*Yn Lioar Manninagh*, vol. iv., p. 203—of which what here follows is a brief summary.

The twelfth-century church was of Norman character, “incomparably better in feeling and quality of work than even the thirteenth-century church, conjecturally of Bishop Mark’s time.” Its date may be set down as somewhere about 1125, when the site was already an ancient one. This date falls within the reign of Olaf (1114–1154). Olaf was brought up at the Court of Henry I of England, and must have seen what churches and religious services were like in the south. He was an introducer into the Island of much religious innovation subsequently, namely of Catholicism as introduced into Scotland more extensively than before by David I. In 1134, Olaf made his Kingdom a diocese, and granted the lands of St. Leoc to the Cistercians of Furness, who accordingly founded Rushen Abbey. When Somerled landed near Ramsey in his wars with Godred Olafson, about 1168, there was much treasure at the church. It appears to have had a strong dyke about the precincts, into which people betook themselves and their belongings as a refuge. It was, no doubt, a “Sanctuary,” though the traces of the dyke to-day are so considerable that it probably admitted of being defended.

King Olaf had been slain at Ramsey in 1153, a dozen years or so before this landing, but his burial-place is nowhere mentioned. Our Chronicle tells us where practically all the other kings of this dynasty were buried. Evidently then he was not buried at Rushen, and probably his place of burial was unknown to the chronicler. Canon Quine suggests that he was buried at Maughold, and that the wealth of the church was partly through gifts made to it in that connexion: “That he had built the church is presumptive; but in the absence of any other alternative builder in any degree so likely, the presumption is fairly safe.” The exact spot where Olaf was treacherously slain by his nephew, Reginald, is not known, the words being “in portu qui vocatur Ramsa”; but one of our four Sigurd pieces, found recently in Ramsey, might, the present writer suggests (“Manx Crosses,” p. 178), have been erected to his memory; and as the house in which it was found had been built about 100 years ago by Mr. Christian, of Ballure, it seems likely that the stone had been brought by him from that old church as being the nearest consecrated ground to the place where he had fallen. But,

if this were so, it would not militate against the argument that the King was actually buried at the greater church,—the modern parish and ancient clan church of Maughold.

Canon Quine then proceeds to argue that this church was dedicated to St. Magnus of Orkney, whose shrine is in the cathedral of Kirkwall. Olaf had married as his first wife, Ingebiorg the Honourable, a granddaughter of Hakon of Orkney. William was Bishop of Orkney over the whole period of Olaf's reign. Magnus was the saint of the family; it was during this precise period that Maughold church was built. The Bishop William of our chronicle, Mr. Quine thinks, was most probably the same William of Orkney whose connexion with Man would be brought about by Olaf having married Ingebiorg. He goes on to refer to the ancient church in Islay called Ardmone,—probably nothing else than *Ard-magnus*. It belongs to this period. Islay was at that time as much a part of Olaf's realm as Man itself. Somerled married a daughter of Olaf, whether of Ingebiorg or not is uncertain, but himself certainly held St. Magnus in honour. The diminutive form *Magnolus* (a term of endearment or respect) would become *Magnols*, *Maggols*. The chronicler, writing very late in the thirteenth century, finding *Mag'old*, or, *Mag'al'd*, as the everyday name of the church, at once put it down in writing as *Machald*, with the Latin termination *us*, and we get the *Machaldus* of the chronicle. This the Cistercian chronicler takes to mean some well-known Celtic saint recognized in the Catholic list, and so corrects to *Machutus*!

When Gilcolm, one of his captains, tries to persuade Somerled that it would be no breach of the peace of Saint Machutus to raid up to the dyke about the precincts of the church, Somerled forbids the whole business, but, upon being urged, said, "Between thyself and St. Machutus let it be! I and my army shall be innocent! We do not care to have any share in your booty!" Somerled knew nothing about Machutus, but a church of St. Magnus was another matter. "If in the chronicle we substitute Magnus for Machutus, the whole thing becomes intelligible, palpitates with reality. Till we do this it is a mere desiccated and lifeless tale!"

East of the church, Maughold Head, "this grand pile of rock," as Cumming describes it, rises with a fine sweep from the valley lying between Port y Vullen (Mill Port) and the Port Mooar, and then sinks precipitously into the sea, from a height of nearly 500 feet. On its summit a grave has been found, apparently of Bronze Age; on its north-eastern side is the famous well, a dripping-well, always esteemed for its sanative properties, within a century ago a place of pilgrimage from far and near, and still visited on the first Sunday in August. A natural ledge on the cliff below, where ravens nest and peregrines now breed, is called by Cumming the "Saint's Chair," though whether that was a genuine tradition the writer has been unable to discover.

THE CROSSES OF MAUGHOLD.

In the cross-house, erected by the Manx Museum and Ancient Monuments Trustees in 1906, are no fewer than thirty-eight pieces, of which twenty-four have been found in the churchyard, and three, evidently removed thence, on the adjoining green; the rest have come from different keeills in the parish.

They extend over a lengthy period, the earliest being probably of the sixth century, the latest possibly the beginning of the thirteenth century. Only six belong certainly to the period of our Scandinavian Christianity; seven or eight appear to be Anglian, the rest Celtic.

The first (No. 10 in "Manx Crosses") was found as a grave cover near the foundations of the ancient keeill or chapel at the north end of the churchyard. It bears a small linear Latin cross with upper limbs encircled. Nine pieces are incised in outline with crosses of different forms. One of them (21) has had the Alpha and Omega symbol above a cross-pattée within a circle; the Alpha is broken off, the Omega is represented as usual by the small character. Two others (25, 26) are the only instances yet found in the Island with Anglian runes, both having the same name, "Blackman," and "[Blak]gmon"; like 21, which also may be Anglian, they show the cross-pattée within a circle, and date probably from the seventh century. Hexafoil designs are met with on three pieces (26, 27, 28). The hexafoil in 27 is contained within a circle which bears an inscription in Hiberno-Saxon characters, mixed majuscule and minuscule—. . . χ NE ITSPLI EPPS DEI INSULIS . . . , then in the opposite direction, the letters . . . BPAT. The first part may stand for "[IN] CH[RI] NOMI[N]E," in Christ's name; what the letters ITSPLI stand for, no one yet has been able to explain. The rest is clear, but the last character in the third word seems to be an unknown form, "bishop of God in the Isles." Below the circle, two linear crosses are most interesting as illustrating the derivation of the sepulchral figure of the cross from the Chi-Rho symbol. They show the rudimentary tail of the Rho in a little flourish to the right of the head, and are in this respect very similar to two very early slabs at Kirk-madrine, Wigtownshire.

At either side of these, reading downwards, are the words . . . i IN $\chi\pi$ NOMINE / CRUCIS $\chi\pi$ IMAGENEM. If the first word stood for "Feci," this would read—"I have made in Christ's name a figure of Christ's cross." Number 28 is the first of six pieces which lead from purely incised work to that in relief, portions of the design or background being sunk. The design of seven hexafoils (broken) is peculiar, but can be matched by a slab from Clonmacnois, where, however, this design is sculptured in low relief. The next three (29, 30, 31) have the typical Celtic form of cross with hollow recesses between the limbs; the next (32) has thistle-headed recesses, not so common, while (33) has,

within a circle, an equal-limbed cross to which a shaft and head are appended.

The remaining pre-Scandinavian pieces are carved in low relief. The first of these (38) shows on each face a cross and connecting circle of typical Irish form; the next (39) is an exception to the rule that these monuments are made of material from the immediate neighbourhood, being of Poolvaish limestone, which must have been brought by boat from the south of the island. Number 45 is one of the very few which are cruciform in outline; it has a central boss, and a row of five small cup-like hollows, reminding one of pieces in Wales and Cornwall. The next (48) bears across one edge an inscription in Hiberno-Saxon minuscules—*CRUX GURIAI*—from which its date may be placed as about 826. The next (51) is Anglian; the limbs are angular at their junction and decorated with plait and knot-work; below the circle is a curious human figure. In (52) which also may be Anglian, the limbs, as in the last, are angular at the point of junction; the cross (of which the central portion is sunk) and circle are contained within a rectangular border decorated with plait-work. The next piece (54) is our only instance of the Celtic form of cross with double recess, caused by the projecting corners of a central square-shaped ring of plait-work. A large piece (55) has the lower ends of the shaft of a large cross terminating in a smaller cross within a circle, of which form it is a solitary example. A wheel-headed slab with shaft of cross, decorated with double-twist and diamond-shaped rings, shows Anglian influence, as this design appears to have been developed from a somewhat similar one used on slabs from Northumbria.

One fragment (60) has dragon-headed interlacing, with double C-shaped spirals. The broken shaft of a large cross (65) shows on one face panels of loop-twist and key-pattern; on the other, figures of stag and hounds, above which is that of a bishop with pastoral staff at his side, on his breast a closed book. A beautiful slab (66) for many years did service as a lintel at the church doors, and, probably, it was for that purpose that it was deliberately broken, about one-third of the entire length having been chipped away. The head is rounded, but in such a manner as to leave curious projecting corners, the one which now remains being pierced. On one face, the cross is decorated with a simple plait-of-four, the shaft terminating in volutes. On the space to the left is the well-drawn figure of a robed priest in profile. Below are stags, hounds, and a huntsman on horseback. The other face has the shaft decorated with loop-twist, double-beaded, continued in a single bead and on a smaller scale around the circle; it terminates in volutes, and at its junction with the circle has volutes and graceful spirals; below, are remains of a stag attacked by a hound; at the side a boar hunted by hounds; what remains of one edge shows a plait-of-three.

A shafted cross with circle appears on (67). Facing the shaft at



No. 1.



No. 2.

CROSS-SLAB, KIRK MAUGHOLD.

either side is the figure of a seated ecclesiastic, with cowl or hood, one arm outstretched to the cross. Below are riders on horseback, and below them, on the left, the figure of a boar; on the right another figure, now almost entirely worn away.

Numbers (70) and (71) are the merest fragments; both show plait-work decoration, but appear to have belonged to two separate slabs.

A fine rectangular slab (72), the writer took to be by a Scandinavian, following unfamiliar Celtic models, and to have been set up possibly to the memory of Bishop Roolwer, who was buried at the church of "St. Machutus" about 1050 to 1060, but Mr. Collingwood, who has made a very careful study of the Northumbrian monuments, considers it to be Anglian in character, and to date from about 950.

It is carved on both faces and edges, but bears no inscription. One face (No. 1) is almost entirely occupied by the cross of a form not elsewhere met with in the Island, with head and shaft of almost equal length, the arms very short. The plain border expands to form a narrow circle connecting the limbs, the recesses of which are occupied by spirals. In the centre is a ring of step-pattern which is faced by a bird on either side limb. On the shaft is the figure of the Virgin, nimbed, and child; on the upper limb that of a bishop as shown by the pastoral staff at his side. The spaces above the arms show angular and irregular key-pattern, those below, contracted key-fret and infolded rings. The other face (No. 2) is divided into two panels. The upper one, enclosed in a cable border, shows a cross of similar form to the last, with plain circular ring connecting the limbs. Above the left arm is key-pattern, drawn but never cut, and evidently left unfinished; the space to the right has step design and a plain twist. Below this is a plait-of-three, and to the right irregular angular loop devices. The lower panel is divided down its length by a plain bead, to the left of which are two well-drawn stags and a hind followed by a hound, with irregular scroll-work at their backs. To the right a belted rider on horseback, below which a plait-of-four and irregular key-fret. The space between the two panels is occupied by angular key-pattern and double spirals. One edge has a curious design of curved lines incised, emphasized by dots; below this a four-fold ring and a plait-of-three. The other edge show within a flat border an angular key-fret of a form somewhat similar to that on a slab at Meigle, Perthshire; below are interlaced rings, double spirals back to back, rectangular key, interlaced rings, and plait-of-four with pellets.

The following are certainly Scandinavian both in design and workmanship:—

A broken shaft (82) has one face, like that at St. John's, with the ring-chain design, but, in this case, bordered by incised lines; the other face has the double twist and diamond-shaped ring design.

A small wheel-headed stone (91) has the peculiarity of chamfered edges to the shaft on one face, which add lightness to its appearance.

The limbs are decorated with irregular plait, having little flourishes to fill in the spaces; two quarters of the connecting circle contain plait-of-four, the other two plait-of-three, ending in the heads of serpents. The "shaft" is appended, and bears the favourite ring-chain, finely engraved. The other face shows the cross with shaft in relief, bordered by cable moulding, and decorated with plait-of-eight. The limbs have plait-work, and the circle step-pattern.

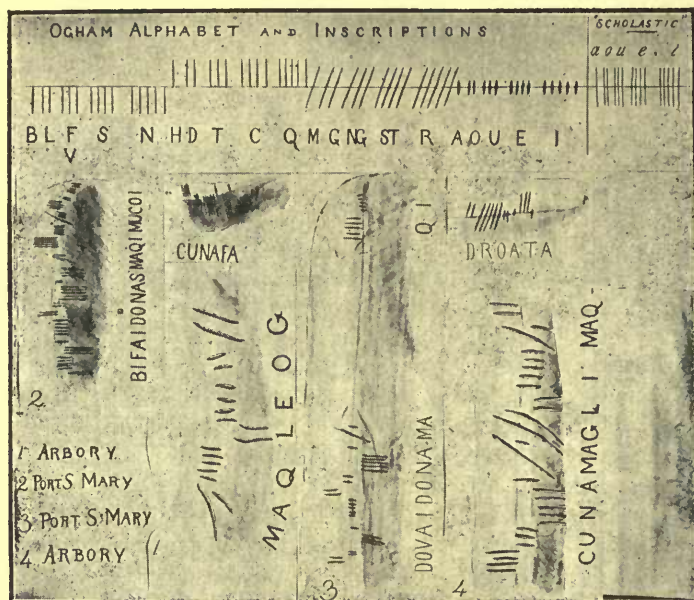
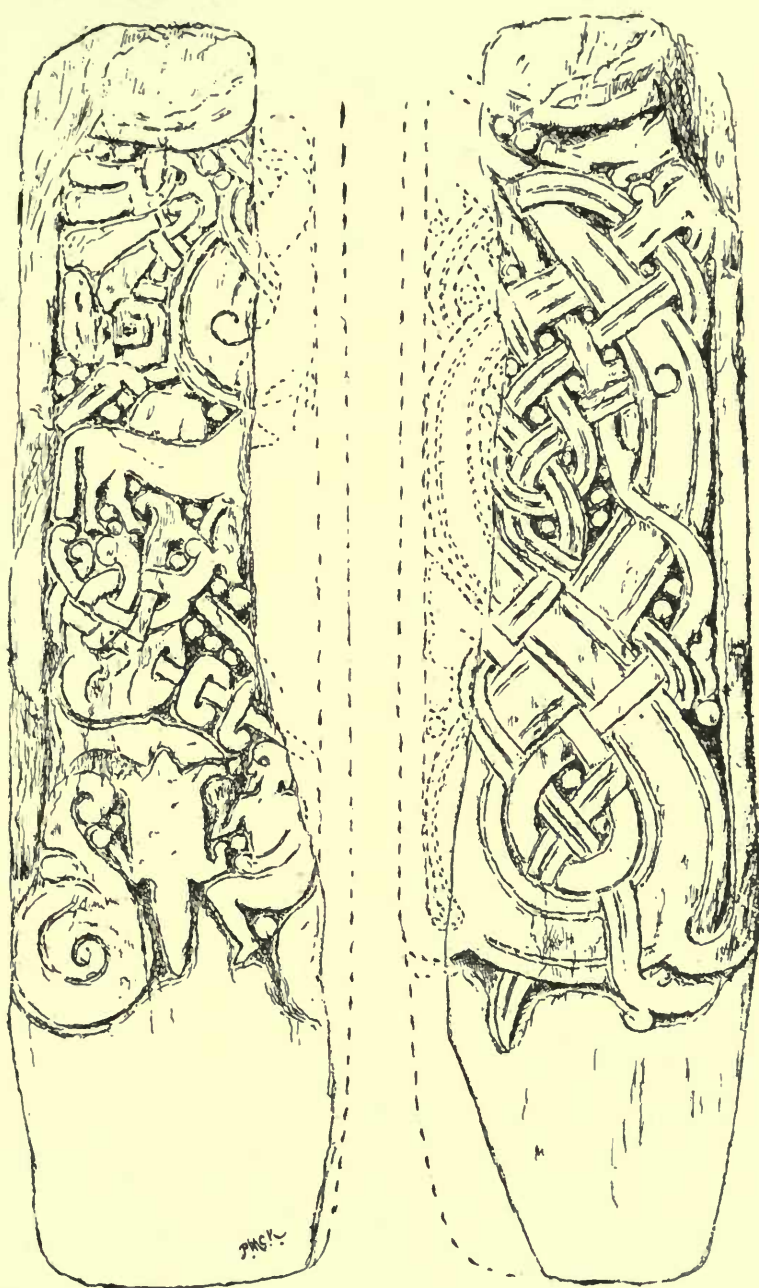


DIAGRAM (TO THE ONE SCALE) OF FOUR OGAM INSCRIPTIONS FROM RUSHEN AND ARBORY.

The latest discovery of a Sigurd piece (96) (see Plate) was made in a house in Ramsey, whither it had been removed probably from the burial-ground of Ballure, the site of an ancient Treen church. The head is broken off, and there is no sign of a cross on the portion that now remains; but, no doubt, there had been one in the panel above. One face shows a fine example of interlacing of broad bands in the form of a figure-of-eight, having narrow bands interlaced, and numerous pellets. The other face gives an entirely new illustration from the story of Sigurd Fafnir's-bane, showing Loki in the act of heaving stones at the otter, which is eating a salmon just caught in the pool. Above is the figure of his steed Grani, on its back a chest containing the gold hoard won by Sigurd upon his slaying the dragon. The rest of the face is filled with irregular interlacing and numerous pellets.



SIGURD-SLAB FOUND IN RAMSEY, AT KIRK MAUGHOLD.

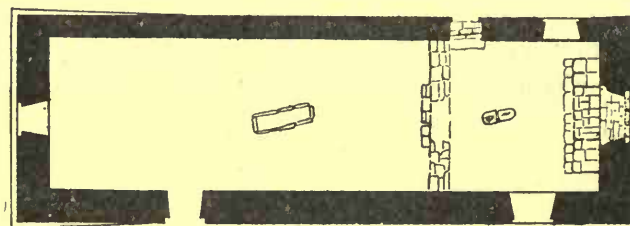
A very small fragment (106) is flaked off what must have been a large and handsome slab. The forepart of a boar remains, and was probably one of a series of figures at the side of the shaft of a cross such as we see on the Joalf stone at Kirk Michael. The edge shows the tops of four runes.

Two very late pieces (114, 115) are not cross-slabs, as they have had no carving, but simply bore inscriptions in the Runic characters, used most generally on the Manx monuments. The first begins with an invocation: "Christ, Malachi, Patrick, and Adamnan"; and continues: "But of all the sheep John is the Priest in Cornadale." It was found in the valley, the name of which is still pronounced as here spelled—Kurná—and came from an old keeill, of which even the ruins are now nearly destroyed. The other is broken, and shows three lines of inscriptions—(1) "John, the Priest, cut these runes"; (2) the Runic alphabet, or "Futhork," viz., FUTHORK HNIA TBML +, showing the fifteen characters used in the Manx inscriptions, also that the stung-rune stood generally for H, as had already been discovered; (3) the alphabet in Ogam characters, broken off in the middle—BLFSN HDTQ [M G NG ST R] AOVER. These appear to be of the end of the twelfth, or beginning of the thirteenth, century, and must be some of the latest of this class to have been carved in the Island, so that our very earliest and very latest monuments of this class are distinguished by inscriptions in those Ogam characters, which appear to have originated in Ireland. (See illustration, page 426.)

ST. TRINIAN'S.

THE existing ruins show nave and chancel of the old Manx type, rectangular and without architectural division, but there has been some mark of distinction as indicated by the foundation of a cross-wall, 3 feet wide, at a distance of 18 feet from the east end. It is not bonded into the walls of the church, and may have borne a screen of woodwork. The church measures inside 70 feet long by 19 feet wide, and is built in irregular courses of the clay-slate of the district, carefully selected and well fitted, but unhewn and undressed. Peel red sandstone is made use of for coignes and dressings to the windows and to the north doorway. To judge from the style, the date must be the end of the thirteenth century or beginning of the fourteenth century. The north wall of the

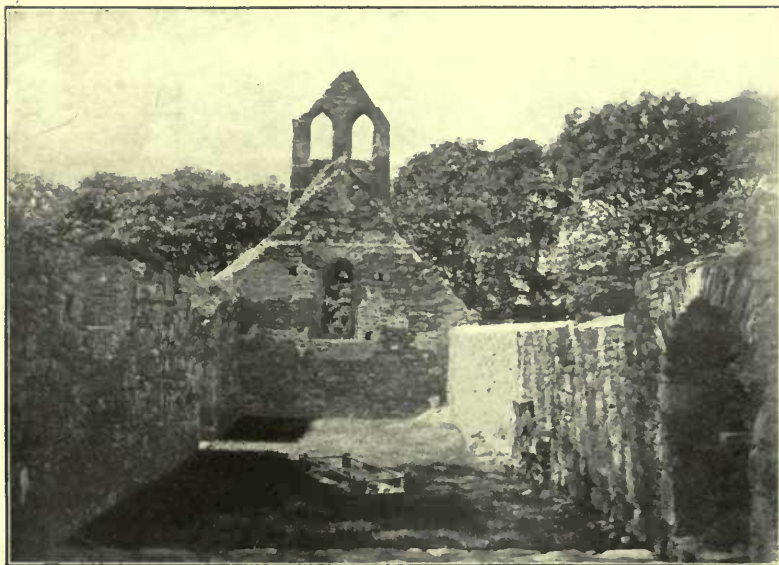
ST. TRINIAN'S CHURCH, CROSBY, I.O.M.



nave had entirely fallen when taken over by the Trustees of Ancient Monuments; but Cumming, in whose time it was in part standing, records that there were two one-light windows: the remains of another may still be seen in the chancel, which has also a north door. On the south side there is one window in the chancel, and there is one with a south door in the nave.

The rubble foundation of the altar remains; on its south side, in the position which at an earlier age would be the site of the founder's Shrine, the recent removal of a great ash-tree revealed an interesting pavement cross.

Besides the broken holy-water stoup of red sandstone in the wall by the south door, an older one of a hard trap rock, which is met with *in situ* across the valley (actinolite), was found loose on the floor. There are plentiful indications of an earlier building, evidently of the

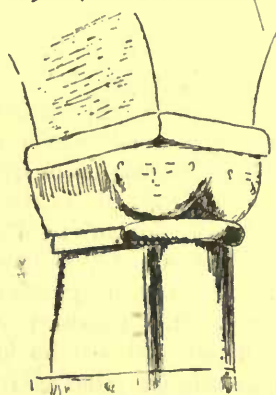


ST. TRINIAN'S CHURCH.
(Exterior and Interior.)

twelfth century. The south doorway is a reconstruction from one of that period, many stones of which had long since been removed for use in repairs to the old parish church of Marown. These are all of Foxdale granite, and throughout the walls were many pieces, some of which show interesting mouldings and carvings similar to Irish work of the twelfth century. A number of these have been recovered, and are being built by the Trustees into the new north wall, where they may be readily inspected.

About the middle of the nave two lintel graves were found, but contained nothing to indicate their date. In the middle of the chancel, however, was another, covered by three flags, one of which bore an incised cross of very early type and rude workmanship, almost worn away as if by the tread of feet when it had formed a part of the pavement. It may perhaps date from the sixth century (at latest from the seventh), showing that there were Christian burials here, and presumably a church, at that early period.

ST TRINIANS CHURCH.



“CAPITAL.”

RIGBY & MESLEP
MAR 18 1894

HISTORICAL NOTE ON ST. TRINIAN'S.¹

The history of St. Trinian's is linked to the history of the Premonstratensian Priory of St. Ninian of Whithorn in Galloway: "St. Trinian" being one of many forms of "St. Ninian." There exists among the Bridgewater mss. a transcript of Whithorn charters relating to St. Trinian's, prepared in 1504. There are twelve charters in all, and the two earliest of greatest historical importance. The first is a grant made by Olaf II of Man to Withorn, of "the hospital of Ballacguiba . . . [with endowment lands indicated] . . . the Church of St. Ninian of Ballacguiba, and the church of St. Runan in chapels, lands, and tithes." The second is a charter of Bishop Nicholas, comprising the King's grant in respect of the rectory of St. Runan, but securing the tenure of Brice, the then parson. This second charter is especially valuable as bearing on the date of Olaf's grant.

Olaf, though legitimate heir of Man from 1187, did not actually become King till 1226, his elder brother, Reginald, having usurped the title; and when Olaf attempted to assert his rights in 1206, Reginald, by arrangement with William the Lion of Scotland, had Olaf imprisoned, till the death of William the Lion in 1214. Olaf was then released, and came to Man to Reginald, and soon after, with a small retinue of nobles, set out for Compostella in Spain. As adventurers were then flocking from all quarters of Europe to take service against the Moors, it is probable that Olaf and his companions went on the Crusade.

In view of Olaf's affairs before 1214, it is extremely unlikely that he executed his charter, granting St. Trinian's to Whithorn, before that year; and as Bishop Nicholas died in 1215, the date of the charter is confined to these two years. Whether on crusade or pilgrimage, the journey to Spain implied considerable expense; and it is therefore probable that Olaf granted the hospital and its lands, and the two churches, to Whithorn Priory, either for value received in money, or as security for the repayment of what the Priory had contributed to the cost of his outfit.

The Church of St. Runan had already at that time given to the valley or district the name of Kirkmaroun and Dalmaroun, and was consequently even then a place of great antiquity. Also the hospital and the Church of St. Ninian (St. Trinian's) were already in existence, the hospital with extensive endowment of lands, the church with tithes. Olaf then was not the founder of St. Trinian's, but gave, in his capacity as lawful though not actual King of Man, an existing hospital and two churches, for the actual possession of which the Priory had to wait till the end of the reign of Reginald the Usurper. That Olaf had some

¹ By the Rev. Canon Quine.

peculiar interest in "St. Trinian's" may be inferred from words in his Charter, "for the souls of my father, and my mother, and of our ancestors." The mention of his father (Godred II) and mother (Phingola O'Loughlin of Ulster) leads us to think they may have been associated with the place. It gives us indeed the clue to the probable origin of the hospital, but hardly to that of the Church of St. Ninian. The recently discovered grave slab, with cross of the seventh century (*circa*), proves that St. Trinian's had been a place of Christian burial many centuries before Olaf's time; and the Normanese fragments of an older church built into the present thirteenth-century St. Trinian's, seem of an older date than the time of Godred II, Olaf's father. But that Olaf's father and mother founded and endowed the hospital is in the highest degree probable.

Godred II married Phingola, daughter of MacLoughlin, a son of the great Murkartac O'Loughlin, King of Ulster and Monarch of Ireland. This Irish princess belonged to a family associated with the endowment of religion; and the marriage took place in 1177, at a period when the "hospital" as an institution to be established and endowed had a vogue in Ireland. Cardinal Vivian, the Papal Legate, was present in Man at Phingola's marriage, accompanied by Silvanus, Abbot of Rievaulx, who performed the marriage ceremony. We know that Godred gave to Silvanus a gift of land in Lezayre. The Cistercian chronicler, while recording the gift to a Cistercian, says nothing of gifts to other religious orders or churches; but this does not in the least imply that no other gifts were on that occasion given; and every probability favours the idea of this occasion as the origin of the hospital.

It is significant that the predecessor of Silvanus, viz. Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx, had quite recently written a "Life of St. Ninian," which had greatly contributed to extending the fame of the saint, and further to the making of Whithorn to become a place of pilgrimage. With this fact fresh in the mind of Silvanus, it is probable that the Church of St. Ninian in Man would receive his attention; for at the moment the name of Ninian had become "as ointment poured forth."

The endowment of a "hospital," viz. a hospice or guest-house for travellers, and especially for the poor, with lands to provide free entertainment to those who needed it, was just then a form of benevolence which had, as indicated above, a vogue at least in Ireland among Phingola's own people." In 1176, the year before Phingola's marriage, "Rhoderick O'Conor, King of Ireland, granted a bally-biatach to God and St. Bearraidh" (Four Masters); and in 1177, the identical year of the marriage, "Donogh O'Carellain bestowed a bally-biatach on the monastery of Derry, in the parish of Donoghmore" (Four Masters). A bally-biatach was a townland given as endowment for a hospice or guest-house for travellers, and especially for the poor; and the evidence

of the extent of this benevolence is seen in the number of Ulster townlands in which the name "bally-biatach" survives.

Now the situation of St. Trinian's, or "the Church of St. Ninian's," in the great gap in the hills, and exactly on the divide of the island between the north-western and south-western regions, beside a high road, which was doubtless a travel-route much earlier than the twelfth century, was a spot admirably suited for the establishment of a hospice of the kind indicated. Not only was the founding of this kind of hospital antecedently probable, if we consider the circumstances, and the period of the marriage of the princess of the Ulster family to the King of Man, but that this actually was the kind of hospital is confirmed by two curious details of fact. We find as the names of two of the chief farms on the endowment lands of St. Trinian's, "Ballavitchal" and "Bautchin,"—names supposed, with a high degree of probability, to be etymologically equivalent to bally-biatach and biatach. Also, in connexion with these two farms, there is evidence that down to the earlier decades of the nineteenth century they were "a refuge for the poor": that is to say free bed and food for one night was given at both farms to the beggar-folk on their rounds, either coming from the west by Greeba (Ballacguiba), or coming from the east and bound westward.

Had a record of the act of Godred and Phingola survived in annals such as those of the Four Masters, we should expect to find some such brief entry as this: "A.D. 1177, Godred, King of the Isles, and Phingola, daughter of MacLoughlin O'Loughlin, his wife, granted a bally-biatach to God and St. Ninian."

Of records earlier than the time of Godred nothing exists in writing as to St. Trinian's. There remain, however, the fragments of a church of date probably earlier than his time, worked into the walls of the present church, of the time of Olaf, his son. There remains also a sixth- or seventh-century cross.

Of the charters relating to St. Trinian's, the following is a list: the donation of Olaf ii; confirmation of B^p Nicholas; confirmation of B^p Tymon; confirmation of King Harold; confirmation of King Reginald ii; confirmation of Prince Alexander, son of Alex iij of Scotland; confirmation of Alex iij; mandamus of Alex iij to his Bailiff of Man; confirmation of B^p John; there are also grants of the advowsons of Kirk Christ Lezayre and Kirk Bride to Whithorn, but at date subsequent, and in no way affecting St. Trinian's.

The Reformation period in Man was for all practical purposes almost simultaneous with the Reformation in England—viz. in respect of the dissolution of monastic houses. Not so in Scotland. Rushen Abbey, Douglas Priory, and the Friary of Bemaken were dissolved in 1540. All that is known of St. Trinian's is that it was probably seized at the same time; for though Whithorn Priory was not dissolved

absolutely till 1587, when it was vested in the King of Scots, "St. Trinian's" had ceased to be a source of revenue to Whithorn in 1545.

It is a curious fact that St. Trinian's (for centuries perhaps) down to the disuse of the Manx language was called by the country people "the broken church," a name or an expression that may have originated in an act of breaking or removing the roof. It is much to be regretted that in 1780 much material with mouldings was removed from St. Trinian's, and conveyed to the old parish church of Marown, and used in the rebuilding of the western gable and doorway, and the porch, which formed steps to reach the door to the western gallery.



LIST OF FELLOWS AND MEMBERS

WITH

LIST OF OFFICERS

FOR THE YEAR 1910,

AND

GENERAL RULES OF THE SOCIETY.

(Revised 31st DECEMBER, 1910.)

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.

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

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

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

The *Journal*, now issued Quarterly, from the year 1849 to 1910, inclusive, forming forty Volumes (royal 8vo), with more than 3000 Illustrations, contains a great mass of information on the History and Antiquities of Ireland.

The following Volumes are now out of print:—First Series, Vols. I. (1849–51) and III. (1854–55); New Series, Vols. I. (1856–57) and III. (1860–61); Fourth Series, Vols. IV. (1876–78), VIII. (1887–88), and IX. (1889). Of the remaining Volumes, those for 1870–1885 can be supplied to Members at the average rate of 10s. each. Odd Parts, included in some of the Volumes out of print, can be supplied at an average of 3s. each. Part I. of the Fifth Series (1890) is out

of print; the other Parts of this, the present Series, can be had for 3s. each.

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

The Extra Volume Series consists of the following Works:—

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

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

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

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The foregoing may be had from the Publishers, Messrs. HODGES, FIGGIS, & Co., Ltd., 104, Grafton-street, Dublin, including the "Antiquarian Handbook Series," of which No. 1, "Tara and Glendalough," price 6*d.*, has been issued (now out of print); No. 2, "The Western Islands of Ireland" (Northern portion), price 1*s.*; and No. 3, "The Western Islands of Ireland" (Southern portion), price 1*s.*; No. 4, "The Western Islands of Scotland, Orkney, and Caithness," price 2*s.* 6*d.*; Nos. 5 and 6, "The County Clare Handbook," price 1*s.*, all copiously illustrated.

All who are interested in antiquarian study are invited to join the Society. Application for membership may be made to the Hon. Secretaries, 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin, or any Member of the Society.

Subscriptions to be sent to the "Honorary Treasurer," 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin, by Crossed Cheque or Postal Order, payable to "The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland."

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31st December, 1910.

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1910.

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(Revised 31st December, 1910.)

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1906	1908	Armstrong, E. C. R., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., F.R.A.I. (<i>Hon. General Secretary</i> , 1909). 37, Eglinton-road, Donnybrook.
	1889	ARMSTRONG, Robert Bruce , F.S.A. (Scot.), 6, Randolph Cliff, Edinburgh.
1866	1903	Ashbourne, Right Hon. Lord. 5, Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W.
1890	1904	Alton, James Poë. Elim, Grosvenor-road, West, Rathgar.
1897	1906	BAIN , Lieut.-Col. Andrew, R.E. Woodlawn, Longfield, Kent.
1898	1885	Balfour, Blayney Reynell Townley, M.A. (Cantab.), M.R.I.A., J.P., D.L. Townley Hall, Drogheda.
1896	1899	BALL, Francis Elrington , M.R.I.A., J.P., Wilton-place, Dublin. (<i>Hon. Treasurer</i> , 1899-1900; <i>Vice-President</i> , 1901-1904.)
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1880	1893	Beattie, Rev. A. Hamilton. Portglenone, Co. Antrim.
1883	1905	BEATTY, Samuel , M.A., M.B., M.CH. Craigvar, Pitlochry, N.B.
	1898	Bellingham, Sir Henry, Bart., M.A. (Oxon.), J.P., D.L., Bellingham Castle, Castlebellingham. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1910.)
1889	1900	Berry, Henry F., I.S.O., Litt.D., M.A., M.R.I.A., Barrister-at-Law. 61, Waterloo-road, Dublin. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1907-1910.)
1896	1898	Berry, Major Robert G. J. J., A.S.C. Care of Sir C. R. M'Gregor, Bart., & Co., 25, Charles-street, St. James's-square, London, S.W.

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	1907	Boughton-Chambers, Capt. William, Indian Service. Office of Indian Freemasons, Bombay.
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1864	1882	COCHRANE, Robert , LL.D., I.S.O., F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., M.R.I.A., Past President Inst. Civil Engineers of Ireland; Vice-Pres. Cambrian Archæol. Assoc. 17, Highfield-road, Dublin. (<i>Hon. Treasurer</i> , 1888-1898; <i>Hon. General Secretary</i> , 1888-1909; <i>President</i> , 1909.)
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1888	1894	Cooke, John, M.A., M.R.I.A. 66, Morehampton-road, Dublin.
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1894	1908	Cosgrave, E. Mac Dowel, M.D. 5, Gardiner's-row, Dublin.
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1889	1910	COX, Michael Francis , M.D., <i>Hon. Causa</i> , R.U.I., F.R.C.P.I., M.R.I.A. 26, Merrion-square, Dublin.
	1891	Crozier, Right Rev. John Baptist, D.D., Bishop of Down and Connor and Dromore. Culloden, Craigavad, Co. Down. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1906-9.)
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	1905	Day, Right Rev. Maurice, D.D., Bishop of Clogher. Bishops-court, Clones.
	1910	Delany, Very Rev. William, S.J., LL.D. 35, Lower Leeson-street, Dublin.
	1910	Desart, The Right Hon. The Earl of, K.C.B., D.L., B.A. (Cantab.). Desart Court, Kilkenny.
	1907	DOBBS, Archibald E. , M.A. (Oxford), J.P. Castle Dobbs, Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim.
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1888	1893	Duignan, William Henry. Gorway, Walsall.

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1890	1909	Fahey, Very Rev. Jerome, P.P., V.G., St. Colman's, Gort. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1910.)
1876	1889	FFRENCH , Rev. James F. M., Canon, M.R.I.A. Ballyredmond House, Clonegal. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1897-1900.)
1878	1900	Fielding, Major Joshua, J.P., M.R.I.A. 57, Kenilworth-square, South, Dublin.
	1889	FITZGERALD , Lord Frederick. Carton, Maynooth.
	1888	FITZGERALD , Lord Walter, M.R.I.A., J.P. Kilkea Castle, Mageney. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1895-1898, 1900-1903.)
	1900	FITZMAURICE , Arthur, J.P., Johnstown House, Carlow.
1898	1902	Fitz Patrick, S. A. O. Gowran, Brighton-square, Rathgar, Co. Dublin.
1890	1898	Fogerty, William A., M.A., M.D. 67, George-street, Limerick.
	1901	*Forshaw, Chas., LL.D., F. R. Hist. Soc., F.R.S.L. 4, Hustler-terrace, Bradford, Yorks.
	1910	Frost, Frederick Cornish, Surveyor. 6, Regent-street, Teignmouth, Devon.
1866	1875	GARSTIN , John Ribton, LL.B., M.A., B.D., F.S.A., F.R.H.S., J.P., D.L. (<i>Vice-President</i> , <i>R.I.A.</i>). Bragans-town, Castlebellingham. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1885-1895; <i>President</i> , 1903-1905.)
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	1908	Hanson, Philip, B.A., Commissioner of Public Works. 6, Upper Merrion-street, Dublin.
1897	1907	Hastings, Samuel, J.P. Church-street, Downpatrick.
1887	1890	Healy, His Grace the Most Rev. John, D.D., LL.D., M.R.I.A., Archbishop of Tuam. The Palace, Tuam. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1890-1898, 1899-1902, and 1903-1906.)
1894	1897	*Hickey, Rev. Michael P., D.D., M.R.I.A., Professor of Gaelic and Lecturer on Irish Archæology. St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.
1897	1898	Higgins, Patrick. 35, Catherine-street, Waterford.
1886	1888	Hill, Right Hon. Lord Arthur Wm., M.P. 74, Eaton-place, London, S.W.; and Bigshotte, Rayles, Wokingham, Berks. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1888-1895.)
1902	1905	Hilliard, John. Lake Hotel, Killarney.

DATE OF ELECTION.

MEMBER.	FELLOW.	
	1900	HOGG, Rev. A. V. , M.A., Canon. St. Mary's Rectory, Gowran, Co. Kilkenny,
	1890	Houston, Thomas G., M.A. Academical Institution, Coleraine.
1905	1905	Howard, Stanley M'Knight. Seapoint, Rostrevor, Co. Down.
	1901	Howley, Most Rev. M. F., D.D., Archbishop of St. John's, Newfoundland.
1882	1888	Humphreys, Very Rev. Robert, M.A., Dean of Killaloe. The Glebe, Ballynaclough, Nenagh.
	1901	INCHIUQUIN , Right Hon. Lord. Dromoland Castle, Newmarket-on-Fergus. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1906-9.)
	1902	Iveagh, Right Hon. Viscount, K.P., LL.D., M.A. (Dubl.), D.L. 80, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.
	1905	Jourdain, Capt. H. F. N., F.R.G.S., Connaught Rangers. Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.
1866	1906	Joyce, Patrick Weston, LL.D., M.R.I.A. Barnalee, 18, Leinster-road, West, Rathmines, Co. Dublin. (<i>Hon. President</i> , 1906 ; <i>President</i> , 1907-1908.)
	1907	Joyce, Weston St. J. 7, Ormond-road, Rathmines, Dublin.
1904	1905	Joynt, Richard Lane. 84, Harcourt-street, Dublin.
	1898	Keating, Miss Geraldine, Cannon Mills Cottage, Chesham, Bucks.
1893	1894	KELLY, Edward Festus . Hollington House, Newbury.
1890	1894	* Kelly, George A. P., M.A., Barrister-at-Law, J.P. Cloon-glasnymore, Strokestown.
	1909	Kelly, John Forrest. 284, W. Housatonic-street, Pittsfield, Mass., U.S.A.
1889	1890	Kelly, William P., Solicitor. Shannonview Park, Athlone.
1887	1888	Kirker, Samuel Kerr, C.E. Board of Works, Belfast ; and Bencoolen, Maryville Park, Belfast. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1909.)
1872	1886	Knowles, William James, M.R.I.A. Flixton-place, Ballymena. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1897-1900.)
	1896	Knox, Hubert Thomas, M.R.I.A. Westover House, Bitton, Bristol. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1907.)
1890	1906	Laffan, Thomas, M.R.C.S. Cashel.
1872	1879	Langrishe, Richard, J.P. Archersfield, Kilkenny. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1879-1895, 1900-1903, and 1909.)
1892	1896	Latimer, Rev. William Thomas, M.A. The Manse, Eglisli, Dungannon. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1903-6.)
	1908	Lawrence, L. A., F.R.C.S. 9, Upper Wimpole-street, London, W.
	1908	LEINSTER , His Grace the Duke of, M.R.I.A. Carton, Maynooth.
1891	1892	LEWIS CROSBY , Rev. Ernest H. C., B.D. 36, Rutland-square, Dublin.
	1895	Lillis, T. Barry. Carrig, Queenstown, Cork.
	1896	LINN , Richard. 38, Worcester-street, Christchurch, New Zealand.
	1906	Lucy, Anthony, M.A. 35, Hillcroft Crescent, Ealing, London, W.
1883	1889	Lynch, Patrick J., M.R.I.A.I. 5, Sandycove-avenue, West, Kingstown, Co. Dublin. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1907-10.)

DATE OF ELECTION.

MEMBER.	FELLOW	
1895	1910	Macalister, Robert Alexander Stewart, F.S.A., Professor of Celtic Archaeology, University College, Dublin.
1889	1908	Mac Cormick, Rev. F. H. J., F.S.A. (Scot.), M.R.A.S. Wrockwardine Wood Rectory, Wellington, Salop.
1889	1893	Mac Ritchie, David, F.S.A. (Scot.) 4, Archibald-place, Edinburgh.
1891	1896	MARTYN, Edward. Tulira Castle, Ardaban. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1897-1900.)
1893	1896	McCREA, Rev. Daniel F. , M.R.I.A. (Rome.)
1905	1910	*M'Crum, Mrs. Elizabeth Jane. Ballyveasy, Carnmoney, Co. Antrim.
1890	1907	M'Enery, M. J., B.A., M.R.I.A. (<i>Hon. Gen. Secretary</i> (1909)). Public Record Office, Dublin.
	1909	Mellon, Reuben Edward. 64, Brighton-square, Rathgar, Co. Dublin.
	1897	MELLON, Thomas J. , Architect. Sorrento-terrace, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.
1884	1888	MILLIGAN, Seaton Forrest , J.P., M.R.I.A. Bank Buildings, Belfast. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1895-1899, 1900-1903, 1905.)
1889	1892	Mills, James, I.S.O., M.R.I.A. Public Record Office, Dublin. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1904-1907.)
1887	1907	Moore, Rev. Courtenay, M.A., Canon. The Rectory, Mitchelstown, Co. Cork.
1889	1907	Moore, Rev. H. Kingsmill, D.D. Training College, Kildare-street, Dublin.
1869	1888	*Moran, His Eminence Cardinal, D.D., M.R.I.A. Archbishop of Sydney, New South Wales. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1888-1896.)
	1909	Morrison, Lieut.-Col. Henry Walters, R.A. 42, Beaufort-gardens, London, S.W.
	1908	Muldoon, John. O'Maoldubhian House, Dungannon, Co. Tyrone.
1889	1889	MURPHY, Michael M. , M.R.I.A. Troyes Wood, Kilkenny.
	1910	Murray, Samuel Grierson. Eclene, Dartry-road, Dublin.
1889	1909	*Nixon, William, Solicitor. 10, Whitehall-street, Dundee.
1888	1909	Nolan, M. J., L.R.C.S.I. District Asylum, Downpatrick.
	1890	Norman, George, M.D. 12, Brock-street, Bath.
1904	1910	Oakden, Charles Henry, F.R.P.S. 30, Meadow-road, Shortlands, Kent.
	1909	O'CONOR DON, The , H.M.L. Clonalis, Castlereagh.
1877	1889	O'BRIEN, William , M.A., LL.D. 4, Kildare-street, Dublin.
1892	1893	O'Connell, John Robert, M.A., LL.D. Ard Einin, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
1887	1890	O'Donovan, The, M.A. (Oxon.), J.P., D.L. Liss Ard, Skibbereen. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1890-1894.)
1900	1907	O'Duffy, Kevin E. 85, Harcourt-street, Dublin.
	1890	O'NEILL, His Excellency The , <i>Comte de Tyrone</i> , (Grand Officier de la maison du Roi). 59, Rua das Flores, Lisbon, Portugal. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1910.)
	1890	O'NEILL, Hon. Robert Torrens , M.A. (Oxon.), J.P., D.L., M.P. Tullymore Lodge, Ballymena, Co. Antrim.
	1895	O'REILLY, Rev. Hugh , M.R.I.A. St. Colman's Seminary, Newry.
1894	1898	O'Reilly, Patrick J. 84, Lower Gordinre-street, Dublin.
	1889	ORMSEY, Charles C. , M.I.C.E.I. District Engineer's Office, M.G.W. Railway, Galway.
	1889	OWEN, Edward. Royal Commissioners' House, Westminster, London, W.

DATE OF ELECTION.

MEMBER.	FELLOW.	
	1875	Palmer, Charles Colley, J.P., D.L. Rahan, Edenderry.
	1903	Peacock, Dr. Charles James, D.D.S. 57, Queen's-road, Tunbridge Wells.
1867	1888	Perceval, John James, J.P. 7, Glenna-terrace, Wexford.
	1873	*Phené, John S., LL.D., F.S.A., F.G.S. 5, Carlton-terrace, Oakley-street, London, S.W.
	1888	Plunkett, George Noble, Count, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., K.C.H.S. Barrister-at-Law, Director, Irish National Museum. 26, Up. Fitzwilliam-st., Dublin. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1906-9.)
	1896	Plunkett, Countess. 26, Upper Fitzwilliam-street, Dublin.
1889	1893	Pope, Peter A. New Ross.
	1910	Power, James Talbot, D.L. Leopardstown-park, Co. Dublin.
1908	1909	Purefoy, Richard Dancer, M.D., Ch.L., F.R.C.S.I., M.R.I.A. 62, Merrion-square, Dublin.
	1902	RATH-MERRILL, Mrs. M. E. 80, North Weiner-avenue, Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A.
1894	1894	Robinson, Andrew, C.E., Board of Works. 116, St. Laurence-road, Clontarf.
	1894	ROBINSON, Rev. Stanford F. H., M.A. 17, Lower Leeson-street, Dublin.
1880	1888	Rushe, Denis Carolan, B.A., Solicitor. Far-Meehul, Monaghan.
	1898	SAUNDERSON, Rev. Robert de Bedick, M.A. (Dubl.). Milton House, Sittingbourne.
	1907	Shaftesbury, Right Hon. the Earl of, K.C.V.O., H.M.L. Belfast Castle, Belfast. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1908.)
	1896	Shaw, Sir Frederick W., Bart., J.P., D.L. Bushy Park, Tereure.
1900	1907	Shea, William Askin, J.P., D.L. Ellenville, 5, Garville-avenue, Rathgar.
	1892	Sheehan, Most Rev. Richard Alphonsus, D.D., Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. Bishop's House, John's Hill, Waterford. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1896-1899, 1901-1904, and 1909.)
1875	1875	***Smith, Joseph, M.R.I.A. 22, Arpley-street, Warrington.
	1873	Smith, Worthington G., F.L.S., M.A.I. 121, High-street, Dunstable, Beds.
1892	1902	Somerville, Bellingham Arthur. Clermont, Rathnew, Co. Wicklow.
	1909	Somerville, Capt. Henry Boyle Townshend, R.N. Admiralty Survey Office, Tenby, South Wales.
	1894	Stevenson, George A., M.V.O., C.B., Commissioner of Public Works, 6, Upper Merrion-street, Dublin.
1898	1902	Stokes, Henry J. Rookstown, Howth; and 24, Clyde-road, Dublin. (<i>Hon. Treasurer</i> , 1903.)
	1905	Stonestreet, Rev. W. T., D.D., LL.D., F.R.S.L, c/o New Church Book Depôt, 18, Corporation-street, Manchester.
1890	1890	Stoney, Rev. Robert Baker, M.A., D.D., Canon. Holy Trinity Rectory, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
	1904	STRANGWAYS, Leonard Richard, M.A., M.R.I.A. 56, Holland-road, London, W.
1895	1902	Strangeways, William N. Lismore; 17, Queen's-avenue, Muswell Hill, London, N.
1885	1888	Stubbs, Major-General Francis William, J.P. 2, Clarence-terrace, St. Luke's, Cork. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1901-1905.)
1890	1900	STUBBS, William Cotter, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 28, Hatch-street, Dublin. (<i>Hon. Treasurer</i> , 1900-1902; <i>Vice-President</i> , 1903-6.)
1892	1893	Swan, Joseph Percival. 22, Charleville-road, N.C.R., Dublin.

DATE OF ELECTION.

MEMBER.	FELLOW.	
	1900	Tate-Stoate, Rev. W. M., M.A., M.R.I.A. Pebworth Vicarage, near Stratford-on-Avon.
	1893	Tenison, Charles Mac Carthy, M.R.I.A. Barrister-at-Law, J.P. Care of Hibernian Bank, College-green, Dublin.
	1904	Thorp, John Thomas, LL.D., F.R.S.L., F.R. Hist. S. 57, Regent-road, Leicester.
	1892	Tighe, Edward Kenrick Bunbury, J.P., D.L. Woodstock, Inistioge.
1901	1907	*Tighe, Michael J., M.R.I.A.I., M.S.A., M.R. SAN. I., Architect. Merville, Galway.
	1893	***Uniacke, R. G. Fitz Gerald, B.A. (Oxon.). Foxhall, Upminster.
1896	1899	Upton, Henry Arthur Shuckburgh, J.P. Coolatore, Moate, Co. Westmeath.
1884	1890	Vinycomb, John, M.R.I.A. 32, Salford-road, Streatham, London, S.W. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1907-1909.)
1900	1906	Warnock, Frank H. 9, Herbert-road, Sandymount.
1890	1897	Warren, Rev. Thomas. Belmont, 29, Gipsy Hill, London, S.E.
1871	1871	Watson, Thomas. Ship Quay Gate, Londonderry.
	1905	Weldrick, John Francis. 12, Booterstown-avenue, Co. Dublin.
1886	1893	WESTROPP, Thomas Johnson , M.A., C.E., M.R.I.A. 115, Strand-road, Sandymount, Dublin. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1902-5.)
1899	1908	White, John. Malvern, Terenure-road, Co. Dublin.
1880	1907	White, John Newsom, M.R.I.A., J.P. Rocklands, Waterford.
	1896	Windle, Bertram C. A., M.A., M.D., D.Sc. (Dubl.), F.R.S., President, University Coll., Cork. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1905-1908.)
1889	1890	WOOLLCOMBE, Dr. Robert Lloyd , M.A., LL.D. (Dubl. Univ.); LL.D. (National Univ.); F.I. Inst., F.R.C. Inst., F.R.G.S., F.R.E.S., F.S.S., M.R.I.A., Barrister-at-Law. 14, Waterloo-road, Dublin.
	1908	WRIGHT, William , M.B., D.Sc., F.R.C.S., F.S.A. Middlesex Hospital, London.
	1903	Wyndham, Rt. Hon. George, M.P. 35, Park-lane, London, W.
1891	1891	Young, Robert Magill, B.A., C.E., M.R.I.A., J.P. Rathvarna, Antrim-road, Belfast. (<i>Vice-President</i> , 1898-1901 and 1904-1907.)

HONORARY FELLOWS.

Elected 1891	Avebury, Right Hon. Lord, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., M.P. High Elms, Farnborough, Kent.
1909	Coffey, George, A.I.B., M.R.I.A., <i>Officier d'Académie</i> , Prof. of Arch. in the R.H.A., Keeper of Irish Antiquities in the National Museum, and Curator to the R.I.A. 5, Harcourt-terrace, Dublin (<i>Member</i> , 1891; <i>Fellow</i> , 1894).
1909	Evans, Arthur John, Litt.D., Hon. LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., Hon. M.R.I.A., Youlbury, Oxford.
1909	Hartland, Edwin Sidney, F.S.A., Highgarth, Gloucester.
1909	Howorth, Sir Henry Hoyle, K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., President of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1909; Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries. 30, Collingham-place, London, S.W.
1902	Montelius, Oscar, PH.D., Prof. at the Nat. Hist. Museum, Stockholm.
1891	Munro, Robert, M.A., M.D. (Hon. M.R.I.A.), Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Elmbank, Largs, Ayrshire, N.B.
1891	Pigorini, Professor Luigi, Director of the Museo Preistorico-Etnografico Kircheriano, Rome.
1910	Raglan, His Excellency the Right Hon. Lord, Lieut.-Governor of the Isle of Man, Honorary President of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society. Government House, Douglas, Isle of Man.
1891	Rhys, Sir John, M.A., D.Litt., Professor of Celtic, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford.
1909	Thomas, Ven. David Richard, M.A., F.S.A., President of the Cambrian Archaeological Association, 1906; Archdeacon of Montgomery. The Canonry, St. Asaph.

Life Fellows,	..	..	..	..	..	..	49
Honorary Fellows,	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
Annual Fellows,	..	..	..	..	..	..	142
Total, 31st December, 1910,	..	..	..	..	..	..	202

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

(Revised 31st December, 1910.)

A star [*] preceding a name denotes that the Subscription for 1910 was unpaid on 31st December, 1910; two stars denote that the Subscriptions for 1909 and 1910 are unpaid; and three stars that the Member owes for three years.

The Names of those who have paid the Life Composition, and are Life Members, are printed in heavy-faced type. (*See Rules 4, 8, and 9, page 37.*)

Elected

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|------|---|
| 1896 | Acheson, John, J.P. Dunavon, Portadown. |
| 1898 | Adams, Rev. William Alexander, B.A. The Manse, Antrim. |
| 1892 | *Alcorn, James Gunning, Barrister-at-Law, J.P. 2, Kildare-place, Dublin. |
| 1890 | Allingham, Hugh, F.S.A. (Scot.), M.R.I.A. The Mall, Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal. |
| 1903 | Allen, Mrs. Stillorgan Rectory, Co. Dublin. |
| 1891 | Alment, Rev. William F., B.D. Drakestown Rectory, Navan. |
| 1910 | Andrews, Michael Corbet. 17, University-square, Belfast. |
| 1897 | Archdall, Right Rev. Mervyn, D.D., Bishop of Killaloe, &c. Clarisford, Killaloe. |
| 1891 | Archer, Rev. James Edward, B.D. Scagoe Rectory, Portadown, Co. Armagh. |
| 1894 | Ardagh, Rev. Arthur W., M.A. The Vicarage, Finglas. |
| 1905 | Ardagh, Mrs. Robert. Pouldrew, Portlaw, Co. Waterford. |
| 1868 | Ardilaun, Rt. Hon. Lord, M.A., M.R.I.A. St. Anne's, Clontarf. |
| 1907 | Atkinson, C. C. Ivanhoe, Belgrave-road, Monkstown, Co. Dublin. |
| 1890 | Atkinson, Ven. E. Dupre, LL.B. (Cantab.), Archdeacon of Dromore. Donaghcloney, Waringstown. |
| | |
| 1895 | Badham, Miss. St. Margaret's Hall, Mespil-road, Dublin. |
| 1890 | *Baile, Robert, M.A., J.P. Ranelagh School, Athlone. |
| 1893 | Bailey, Right Hon. William F., P.C., C.B., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 3, Earlsfort-terrace, Dublin. |
| 1894 | Baillie, Col. John R., M.R.I.A., J.P. Strabane, Co. Tyrone. |
| 1865 | Ballard, Rev. John Woods. 21, South-parade, Ballynafeigh, Belfast. |
| 1890 | Bardan, Patrick. Coralstown, Killucan. |
| 1868 | BARRINGTON-WARD, Rev. Mark James, M.A., S.C.L. (Oxon.), F.R.G.S., F.L.S. The Rectory, Duloe S. O., Cornwall. |
| 1907 | Barry, Henry. Fermoy. |
| 1910 | Barry, H. Standish, J.P. Leamlara, Carrigtwohill, Co. Cork. |
| 1877 | Barry, James Grene, D.L. Sandville House, Ballyneety, Limerick. |
| 1890 | Barry, Rev. Michael, P.P. Ballylanders, Knocking, Co. Limerick. |
| 1909 | Barry, Rev. Robert, P.P. Oldcastle, Co. Meath. |
| 1906 | Barton, Miss Eden, Rathfarnham. |
| 1910 | Barton, Miss Frances M. Glendalough House, Anamoe, Co. Wicklow. |
| 1894 | Battleby, Colonel D'Oyly, J.P., D.L. Belvedere Hall, Bray, Co. Wicklow. |
| 1902 | Bayly, Colonel W. H. Ballynacloagh, Nenagh. |
| 1891 | Beardwood, Right Rev. J. Camillus, Abbot of Mount St. Joseph, Roscrea |

Elected

- 1904 Beary, Michael, Borough Surveyor. Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
 1898 Beater, George Palmer. Minore, St. Kevin's Park, Upper Rathmines.
 1903 Beatty, Arthur W. Norham Maia, Zion-road, Rathgar.
 1891 *Beere, D. M., C.E. G. P. O., Melbourne, Victoria.
 1893 Begley, Rev. John, C.C. St. Munchins, Limerick.
 1910 Belas, Philip E., B.A. University College, Cork.
 1902 Bellew, the Hon. Mrs. Jenkinstown Park, Kilkenny.
 1903 Bennet, Mrs. 1, Tobernea-terrace, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
 1890 Bennett, Joseph Henry. Blair Castle, Cork.
 1895 Beresford, Rev. Canon, M.A. Inistioge Rectory, Co. Kilkenny.
 1889 **BERESFORD, Denis R. Pack.** Fenagh House, Bagenalstown.
 1895 Bergin, William, M.A., Professor of Natural Philosophy. University College, Cork.
 1895 *Best, Mrs. 35, Percy-place, Dublin.
 1897 Bestick, Robert. 5, Frankfort-avenue, Rathgar.
 1907 Betham, Mrs. 9, Belgrave-square, North. Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
 1890 Bewley, Joseph. 8, Anglesea-street, Dublin.
 1901 Bewley, Dr. H. T. 89, Merrion-square, Dublin.
 1901 Bewley, Mrs. S. Knapton House, Kingstown.
 1897 Biddulph, Lieut.-Col., Middleton W., J.P. Rathrobin, Tullamore, King's County.
 1910 Bird, William Hobart, Engineer. Grey Friar's-green, Coventry.
 1901 Black, Joseph. Portballintrae, Co. Antrim.
 1902 Blake, Lady. Myrtle Grove, Youghal, Co. Cork.
 1896 *Blake, Mrs. Temple Hill, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
 1904 Blake, Martin J. 10, Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, London.
 1900 *Bleakley, John T. Avenue-road, Lurgan.
 1902 Boland, John, M.P. 40, St. George's-square, London, S.W.
 1893 Bolton, Charles Perceval, J.P. Brook Lodge, Halfway House, Waterford.
 1899 Bolton, Miss Anna. Rathenny, Cloughjordan.
 1906 Bompas, Charles S. M. 121, Westbourne-terrace, London, W.
 1903 Boothman, Chas. T., Barrister-at-Law. 14, Clarinda-park, W., Kingstown.
 1889 Bowen, Henry Cole, M.A., J.P., Barrister-at-Law. Bowen's Court. Kildorney, Co. Cork.
 1909 Bowen-Colthurst, Capt. J. C. 2nd Royal Irish Rifles, Downpatrick.
 1894 Boyd, J. St. Clair, M.D. Chateworth, Belfast.
 1905 **BOYLE, E. M. F. G.** Solicitor Gorteen, Limavady.
 1905 Brady, Rev. James. The Presbytery, 47, Westland-row, Dublin.
 1892 Brereton, Fleet-Surgeon R. W. St. Nicholas' Rectory, Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim.
 1891 *Bridge, William, M.A., Solicitor. Roscrea.
 1891 **BRODIGAN, Mrs.** Piltown House, Drogheda.
 1904 Brodrick, Hon. Albinia L. Ballincoona, Caher Daniel, Co. Kerry.
 1893 Brophy, Michael M. 48, Gordon-square, London, W.C.
 1888 Brophy, Nicholas A. A.R.C.A. Glenlevan, Lansdown-road, Limerick.
 1894 Brown, Miss. 2, Lethendry, Brighton-road, Rathgar.
 1908 Brown, Thomas. 104, Grafton-street, Dublin.
 1906 Browne, Miss Kathleen A. Rathronan Castle, Bridgetown, Co. Wexford.
 1910 Browne, Rev. Henry, S.J., M.A., Professor of Greek, University College, Dublin. 45, Lower Leeson-street, Dublin.
 1906 Brunker, J. Ponsonby. 18, Grosvenor-place, Rathmines.
 1906 Brunker, Thomas A. Provincial Bank of Ireland, Carlow.
 1894 Brunskill, Rev. K. C., M.A. Rectory, Stewartstown, Co. Tyrone.
 1866 Brunskill, Rev. North Richardson, M.A. Kenure Vicarage, Rush.
 1903 Brunskill, Rev. T. R., M.A. St. Mary's Rectory, Drogheda.
 1896 Buckley, James. 11, Homefield-road, Wimbledon, Surrey.
 1907 Buckley, J. J. National Museum, Kildare-street, Dublin.
 1910 Buckley, Nicholas D. 6, Ely-place, Dublin.
 1884 Buggy, Michael, Solicitor. Parliament-street, Kilkenny.
 1907 Bulger, Mrs. A. Thomond House, Lisdoonvarna.
 1897 *Burke, Rev. Thomas, P.P. Kinvara, Co. Galway.
 1897 ***Burke, Rev. W. P. St. Maryville, Cahir.

- Elected**
- 1899 Burnard, Robert, F.S.A. Thiceaby House, Princetown, S. Devon.
 1892 Burnell, William. Dean's Grange, Monkstown.
 1910 Burns, J. Roseman, Architect. 17, Serpentine-av., Ball's Bridge, Dublin.
 1905 Burnett, George Henry. St. George's, Herbert-road, Bray, Co. Wicklow.
 1891 Burnett, Rev. Richard A., M.A., Canon. Rectory, Graignamanagh, Co. Kilkenny.
 1907 Burton, Miss. Adelphi, Corofin, Co. Clare.
 1906 Bute, The Marchioness of. Mount Stuart, Rothesay, N.B.
 1903 Butler, Mrs. Cecil. Milestown, Castlebellingham.
 1908 Butler, Mrs. Henry Cavendish. Innis Rath, Lissnaskea, Co. Fermanagh.
 1904 Butler, Miss E. The Lodge, Waterville, Co. Kerry.
 1909 Butler, John Philip, J.P. Southhill, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
 1198 Butler, William F., M.A., F.R.U.I., Professor of Modern Languages, Registrar's House, Queen's College, Cork.
- 1891 Cadie, Edouard, D.Litt., R.S.H., Professor of French and Roman Philology, National University of Ireland. Mon Caprice, Pembroke Park, Dublin.
 1904 Caldwell, Charles Henry Bulwer, J.P. Antylstown, Navan; and The Cedars, Wyndlesham.
 1896 Caldwell, Charles Sproule, Solicitor. Castle-street, Londonderry.
 1910 Callaghan, Frederick William. 58, Lansdowne-road, Dublin.
 1904 Callanan, Martin, Physician and Surgeon. The Square, Thurles, Co. Tipperary.
 1896 Callary, Very Rev. Philip, P.P., V.F. St. Brigid's, Tullamore, King's County.
 1897 Campbell, A. Albert, Solicitor. 4, Waring-street, Belfast.
 1891 Campbell, Rev. Joseph W. R., M. A. Methodist College, Belfast.
 1890 Campbell, Very Rev. Richard S. D., M.A., D.D., Dean of Clonmacnois. The Rectory, Athlone.
 1898 **CARDEN, Lady.** Templemore Abbey, Templemore.
 1893 Carmody, Rev. William P., B.A. Knockbreda Rectory, Belfast.
 1900 Carmody, Rev. James, P.P. St. Colman's, Milltown, Co. Kerry.
 1894 Carolan, John, J.P. 77, North King-street, Dublin.
 1910 Carolin, Miss Ida. Iveragh, Shelbourne-road, Dublin.
 1900 Carolin, Geo. O. J.P. Iveragh, Shelbourne-road, Dublin.
 1888 Carrigan, Rev. William, D.D., P.P., M.R.I.A. Durrow, Queen's County.
 1893 Carrigan, William, Barrister-at-Law. 13, Herbert-street, Dublin.
 1889 ****Carroll, Anthony R., Solicitor. 47, North Great George's-street, Dublin.**
 1890 Carroll, William, C.E., M.R.I.A.I. 18, Rue de la Culture, Brussels.
 1901 Carter, Mrs. Hugh Foxley, Burnham, Bucks.
 1901 ****Carter, Joseph S., Solicitor. Benard, Galway.**
 1904 Cassidy, C. D., L.D.S. 29, Westland-row, Dublin.
 1885 Casson, George W., J.P. 25, Clyde-road, Dublin.
 1893 Castle Stuart, Right Hon. the Earl of, J.P., D.L. Drum Manor, Cookstown; Stuart Hall, Stewartstown, Co. Tyrone.
 1906 Cavenagh, Lieut.-Colonel Wentworth Odiarne. The Red House, St. Margarets-at-Cliff, Essex.
 1894 Chambers, Sir R. Newman. Carrig Cnoe, Greencastle, Co. Donegal.
 1905 Chambré, Mrs. C. Northland-row, Dungannon.
 1907 Chamney, William. 15, Elgin-road, Dublin.
 1907 Champneys, Arthur C., M.A. 45, Frogual, Hampstead, London, N.W.
 1906 Chute, J. H. C., A.M.I.C.E. 23, Morehampton-road, Dublin.
 1896 Clark, Miss Jane. The Villas, Kilrea, Co. Londonderry.
 1909 Clarke, William, 4, Jervis-place, Clonmel.
 1890 **CLEMENTS, Henry John Beresford, J.P., D.L. Lough Rynn, Leitrim.**
 1874 Clonbrock, Right Hon. Lord, B.A. (Oxon.), K.P., H.M.L. (Vice-President, 1885-1896.) Clonbrock, Aghascragh.
 1904 Coakley, Rev. Cornelius, C.C. Farran, Co. Cork.

Elected

- 1910 Cochrane, Rev. Robert Hawken, B.A., T.C.D. Queen-street, Clonmel.
 1893 Coddington, Lieut.-Colonel John N., J.P., D.L. Oldbridge, Drogheda.
 1900 Colahan, Rev. Richard Fallon, C.C. 47, Westland-row, Dublin.
 1888 Coleman, James. 2, Rosehill-terrace, Queenstown, Co. Cork.
 1894 Colles, Alexander. 3, Elgin-road, Dublin.
 1903 Colvin, Miss Carolin, Ph.D. Orono, Maine, U. S. A.
 1897 Commins, John. Desart N. S., Cuffe's Grange, Kilkenny.
 1897 **CORNAN, Alexander.** Mount Alverno, Dalkey.
 1876 Condon, Very Rev. C. H. St. Mary's, Pope's-quay, Cork.
 1893 Condon, Frederick William, L.R.C.P.I., &c. Ballyshannon.
 1892 Conlan, Very Rev. Robert F., P.P., Canon. 6, Uxbridge-terrace, Dartmouth-square, Dublin.
 1889 Connellan, Major James H., J.P., D.L. Coolmore, Thomastown.
 1904 Connor, G. W., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., L.D.S. 77, Hill-street, Newry.
 1898 Conyngham, O'Meara. Hotel Metropole, Sackville-street, Dublin.
 1909 Cooke, Lieut.-Col. R. J., D.L. Kiltinane, Fethard S.O.
 1896 Cookman, William, A.B., L.R.C.S.I., J.P. Kiltrea House, Enniscorthy.
 1894 **CORBALLIS, Richard J.**, M.A., J.P. Rosemount, Roebuck, Clonskeagh.
 1899 Corcoran, Miss. Rotherfield Cottage, Bexhill-on-Sea.
 1890 Cosgrave, Henry Alexander, M.A. 67, Pembroke-road, Dublin.
 1899 Costello, Thomas Bodkin, M.D. Bishop-street, Tuam.
 1895 Courtenay, Henry, I.S.O. Hughenden, Grosvenor-road, Rathgar.
 1892 **COWAN, P. Chalmers**, B.Sc., M.Inst.C.E. Local Government Board, Dublin.
 1891 Cowell, Very Rev. George Young, M.A., Dean of Kildare. The Deanery, Kildare.
 1905 Coyle, Rev. James, P.P. Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow.
 1904 Crawford, Henry Saxton, B.E., M.R.I.A. 113, Donore-terrace, South Circular-road, Dublin.
 1896 Crawford, Robert T. Estate Office, Ballinrobe.
 1890 Creaghe, Philip Crampton, M.R.I.A. Kilreene House, Kilkenny.
 1910 Credin, David, Electrical Engineer. Clabby, Fivemiletown, Co. Tyrone.
 1893 Crone, John S., L.R.C.P.I. Kensal Lodge, Kensal Rise, London, N.W.
 1898 Crooke, T. Evans Beamish, J.P. Lettercollum, Timoleague.
 1898 Crookshank, Major Richard R. G. 1, Sloperton, Kingstown.
 1891 Crossley, Frederick W. 30, Molesworth-street, Dublin.
 1904 Crowley, Timothy, M.D. Larchfield, Coachford, Co. Cork.
 1895 Cunningham, Miss Mary E. Glencairn, Belfast.
 1897 Cunningham, Miss S. C. Glencairn, Belfast.
 1890 Cunningham, Rev. Robert, M.A., Canon. Ballyrushane Rectory, Coleraine.
 1891 Cunningham, Samuel. Fernhill, Belfast.
 1906 Curran, John. Ventry N. S., Ventry, Co. Kerry.
 1899 *Cuthbert, David, Superintendent, Pacific Cable Board. Devon Chambers, Hunter-street, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1889 Dallow, Very Rev. Canon Wilfrid. Upton Hall, Upton, Birkenhead.
 1891 **DALTON, John P.**, M.A. Taylor's Hill House, Galway.
 1908 *Dalton, John Paul. Camden Hotel, Cork.
 1898 **DALY, Rev. Patrick**, P.P., St. Michael's, Castlepollard, Westmeath.
 1897 Daniell, Robert G., J.P. Newforest, Tyrrellspass, Westmeath.
 1906 D'Arcy, Right Rev. Charles Frederick, D.D., Bishop of Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin. The Palace, Kilkenny.
 1895 D'Arcy, S. A., L.R.C.P.I., L.R.C.S.I. Etna Lodge, Clones.
 1905 Darling, Rev. J. Lindsey. Mariners' Parsonage, Kingstown, Co. Dublin.
 1900 Davils, Miss Rosa. Greenhall, High Blantyre, N.B.
 1891 **DAVIDSON, Rev. Henry W.**, M.A. Abington Rectory, Murree, Limerick.
 1903 Davys, Miss Teresa. The Manor Cottage, Malahide, Co. Dublin.
 1895 Dawkins, Professor W. Boyd, F.S.A., F.K.S., F.G.S., &c. Fallowfield House, Fallowfield, Manchester.

Elected	
1895	Dawson, Joseph Francis. Inspector, Munster and Leinster Bank, Dame-street Dublin.
1910	Day, Rev. T. G. F., M.A. Kilkenny.
1868	Deady, James P. Hibernian Bank, Navan.
1905	***Deane, Arthur, Curator, Public Museum, Royal-avenue, Belfast.
1908	Deane, Freeman W. Ashbrook House, Sallymount-avenue, Dublin.
1893	Deane, Mrs. J. William. Longraigue, Foulksmill, Co. Wexford.
1904	Decie, Mrs. Prescott. Ballyglas, Kildare.
1908	de Gernon, Vincent. Tempo, Clarinda Park, East, Kingstown, Co. Dublin.
1910	Deglatigny, M. Louis. 11, Rue Blaise Pascal, Rouen.
1894	Delany, Rt. Rev. John Carthage, Lord Abbot of Mount Melleray, Cappoquin.
1889	Denny, Francis Mac Gillycuddy. Denny-street, Tralee.
1884	Denvir, Patrick J. 29, Adelaide-street, Kingstown.
1890	D'Evelyn, Alexander, M.D. (Dubl.). Ballymena, Co. Antrim.
1896	Diamond, Rev. Patrick J. 29, Mott-street, New York, U.S.A.
1899	*Dickenson, Col. Wykeham Corry. 22, Hereford-square, South Kensington, London, S.W.
1905	Dickie, Thomas Wallace. Clonavon, Omagh, Co. Tyrone.
1891	Dickson, Rev. William A. Fahan Rectory, Londonderry.
1905	Digby, Cecil, M.D. Knockane, Beaufort, Co. Kerry.
1892	Dillon, Sir John Fox, Bart., J.P., D.L. Lismullen, Navan.
1897	Dixon, Henry. 19, Cabra-road, Dublin.
1909	Dixon, Robert Vickers, M.A. 4, Wellington-road, Dublin.
1904	Doherty, E. E. B. Oaklands, Bandon.
1903	DOLAN, Joseph T. Ardee, Co. Louth.
1891	Dougherty, Right Hon. Sir James B., M.A., C.V.O., C.B., Under-Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. Under-Secretary's Lodge, Phoenix Park, Dublin.
1887	Douglas, M. C. Beechville, Carlow.
1899	Doyle, Edward. Charleville Lodge, Cabra, Dublin.
1896	Doyle, Rev. Luke, P.P. St. Mary's, Tagoat, Wexford.
1897	Doyle, M. J. N.S., Windgap, Co. Kilkenny.
1904	**Doyne, Miss M. Josephine. Rossbegh, Shrewsbury-road, Dublin.
1910	Drennan, John T., Barrister-at-Law, J.P., Assistant Secretary to the Estates Commissioners. Upper Merrion-street, Dublin.
1905	Drew, Thomas, Secretary, Committee of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. Courthouse, Kilkenny.
1904	Duffy, Joseph J., 5, Brighton Vale, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
1908	*Dunalley, Right Hon. Lord, H.M.L. Kilboy, Nenagh.
1891	Duncan, George. 82, Ranelagh-road, Dublin.
1907	Duncan, James. 52, Highfield-road, Rathgar.
1910	Dunlop, William Henry, F.S.A.A., F.C.R.A. 11, Merrion-square, Dublin.
1872	Durham, Dean and Chapter of, <i>per</i> C. Rowlandson. The College, Durham.
1890	Duan, Rev. John J., P.P., V.F. Murroe, Co. Limerick.
1909	Earle, Rev. George A., M.A. Dunkerrin Rectory, King's County.
1904	Eeles, Francis Carolus, F. R. Hist. S., F.S.A. (Scot.). 1, Strathfillan-road, Edinburgh; and 5, Antrim Mansions, London, N.W.
1892	Elliott, Charles. 223, Amhurst-road, Stoke-Newington, London, N. E.
1895	Ennis, Michael Andrew, J.P. 10, Longford-terrace, Monkstown, Dublin.
1884	Erne, Right Hon. the Countess of, Crom Castle, Newtownbutler.
1894	Everard, Rev. John, P.P. Clogheen, Co. Tipperary.
1888	Falkiner, Rev. William F., M.A., M.R.I.A. Killucan Rectory, Co. Westmeath.
1897	Faren, William. 11, Mount Charles, Belfast.
1906	Farragher, Rev. Murtagh, P.P. Kilronan, North Aran, Co. Galway.
1908	Faussett, Rev. Charles, B.A. Clonmethan Rectory, Oldtown, Co. Dublin.
1891	Fawcett, George. Montevideo, Roserea.

- Elected
- 1904 Fayle, Edwin. Kylemore, Orwell Park, Rathgar, Co. Dublin.
- 1892 Fegan, William John, Solicitor. Market Square, Cavan.
- 1909 Fegan, Rev. Nicholas. Ennistimon, Co. Clare.
- 1901 ***Felix, Rev. John. Cileain, Mold, North Wales.
- 1887 Fennessy, Edward. Ardscredawn House, Kilkenny.
- 1898 Fenton, Rev. Charles E. O'Connor, M.A. Roundhay, Leeds.
- 1898 Fenton, Rev. Cornelius O'Connor, M.A. 20, Nelson-street, Liverpool.
- 1898 Fenton, Rev. S. L. O'Connor, M.A. St. Paul's Vicarage, Durban, South Africa.
- 1904 Ferrar, Benjamin Banks, B.A., M.D. (Univ. Dubl.). 5, Charlemont-place, Armagh.
- 1897 Field, Miss. 6, Main-street, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
- 1891 Fielding, Patrick J. D., F.C.S. 66, Patrick-street, Cork.
- 1906 Figgis, William Fernsley. Rathmore, Bray.
- 1902 **Finegan, Rev. Peter, C.C. St. Patrick's, Dundalk.
- 1906 Fitz Gerald, Rev. James K., P.P. St. Brendan's, Ardfer, Co. Kerry.
- 1908 Fitz Gerald, John J., M.D. District Asylum, Cork.
- 1890 FitzGibbon, Gerald, M. Insr. C.E. 30, Steele's-road, Haverstock Hill, Hampstead, London, N.W.
- 1892 *Fitz Patrick, P., D.I.N.S. Sligo.
- 1868 Fitzsimons, John Bingham, M.D. The Cottage, Lymptstone, South Devon.
- 1899 Fleming, Miss H. S. G. Pallisade House, Omagh.
- 1908 Fleming, James S., F.S.A. (Scot.). Inverlery, Callander, Perthshire.
- 1893 Flood, Rev. James. 611, Eighth-avenue, Brooklyn, New York, U.S.A.
- 1899 Flood, William H. Grattan, Mus. Doc. Rosemount, Enniscorthy.
- 1894 Flynn, Very Rev. Patrick F., P.P. St. Anne's Presbytery, Waterford.
- 1907 Fogarty, Most Rev. Dr., Bishop of Killaloe. Ashline, Ennis.
- 1901 Fogerty, George J., M.D., R.N. 67, George-street, Limerick.
- 1896 Foley, J. M. Galwey, C.I., R.I.C. Lissen Hall, Nenagh.
- 1906 Forde, Rev. George H. Methodist Manse, Killarney.
- 1908 Forsayeth, Gordon W. Whitechurch House, Cappagh, Co. Waterford.
- 1904 Fottrell, Miss Mary Josephine. 1, The Appian Way, Leeson Park, Dublin.
- 1904 Fox, Rev. Arthur W., M.A. (Camb.). Fielden Hotel, Todmorden, Lancashire.
- 1910 French, Edward John, M.A. 71, Ailesbury-road, Dublin.
- 1903 Fricker, Ven. Archdeacon M. A., P.P. The Presbytery, 25, Rathmines-road, Dublin.
- 1910 Frost, John G. Newmarket-on Fergus, Co. Clare.
- 1898 Fry, Matthew W. J., M.A., F.T.C.D. 39, Trinity College, Dublin.
- 1908 Fry, William, J.P., F.R.G.S. Wilton House, Merriem-road, Dublin.
- 1891 Furlong, Nicholas, L.R.C.P.I., L.R.C.S.I., M.R.I.A. Lymington, Enniscorthy.
- 1906 Gaffney, James S., B.A. 86, O'Connell-street, Limerick.
- 1904 Galway, William Berkeley, M.A., Solicitor. Scottish Provident Buildings, Donegall-square, W., Belfast.
- 1894 Gamble, Major G. F. Mount Jerome, Harold's-cross, Dublin.
- 1905 Geoghegan, John Edward. Springfield, Piltown, Co. Kilkenny.
- 1890 Geoghegan, Michael, J.P. P. W. Hotel, Athlone.
- 1891 Geoghegan, Thomas F. 2, Essex-quay, Dublin.
- 1890 George, William E. Downside, Stoke Bishop, Clifton.
- 1903 Geraghty, Rev. Canon Bernard, P.P. Kilbegnet, Roscommon.
- 1907 *Gibson, Miss. 26, Earlsfort-terrace, Dublin.
- 1897 Gibson, Very Rev. Thomas B., M.A., Dean of Ferns. The Rectory, Ferns.
- 1909 Gibbs, John Talbot. Clonard, Westfield-road, Harold's-cross, Dublin.
- 1892 **GILFOYLE, Anthony Thomas**, M.A., J.P., D.L. Carrowcullen House, Skreen, Co. Sligo.
- 1900 *Gillespie, Rev. Ed. Acheson. Balteagh Rectory, Limavady.
- 1887 Gillespie, James, Surgeon. The Diamond, Clones.

- Elected
 1901 Gilligan, Rev. Laurence, P.P. The Cottage, Dunkerin, Roserea.
 1894 **GLEESON, Paul.** Kilcolman, Glenageary, Co. Dublin.
 1899 Gleeson, Michael, Crown Solicitor. Nenagh.
 1897 *Gloster, Arthur B., B.A. Beechfield, Fermoy.
 1898 Glover, Edward, M.A., M.Inst. C.E., F.R.I.B.A. County Surveyor's Office, Naas.
 1901 Glynn, Joseph A., B.A., Solicitor. Beech House, Tuam, Co. Galway
 1891 Glynn, Thomas. 102, Salisbury-road, High Barnet, Herts.
 1897 Glynn, William, J.P. Kilrush.
 1897 **GODDEN, George.** Phoenix Park, Dublin.
 1890 Goff, Rev. Edward, B.A. Kentstown Rectory, Navan.
 1894 Goodwin, Singleton, B.A., M.Inst.C.E. Tralee.
 1897 Gore, John. 4, Cavendish-row, Dublin.
 1900 Gore, Mrs. Derrymore, O'Callaghan's Mills, Co. Clare.
 1901 Gorman, Major Lawrence. 37, Brighton-road, Rathgar.
 1902 Gormanston, The Viscountess. Gormanston Castle, Balbriggan.
 1891 Gosselin, Rev. J. H. Prescott, M.A. Muff Parsonage, Londonderry.
 1904 Gould, Mrs. Ellen Louisa. Stradbroke House, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
 1894 Gray, Robert, F.R.C.P.I., J.P. 4, Charlemont-place, Armagh.
 1896 **GRAYDON, Thomas W., M.D.** La Fayette Circle, Clifton. Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A.
 1910 Green, Mrs. Alice S. A. 36, Grosvenor-road, Westminster, London.
 1900 *Green, T. Geo. H., M.R.I.A. Lisnagar, Temple Gardens, Palmerston Park, Dublin.
 1907 Green, Lieut.-Colonel J. S., B.A., M.B., M.R.I.A. Air Hill, Glanworth, Co. Cork.
 1907 **Green, Miss. 25, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin.
 1910 Greene, Dr. T. A., J.P., District Asylum, Carlow.
 1896 **GREENE, Mrs. T.** Millbrook, Mageney.
 1897 Greer, Thomas MacGregor, Solicitor. Ballymoney.
 1901 Griffen, Mrs. C. M. Provincial Bank House, Kanturk, Co. Cork.
 1902 Griffith, Patrick Joseph, Professor of Music. 13, York-road, Rathmines, Co. Dublin.
 1885 Grubb, J. Ernest. Carrick-on-Suir.
 1902 Grubb, Miss Rosa F. Cooleville, Clogheen, Cahir.
 1890 Guilbride, Francis, J.P. Newtownbarry, Co. Wexford.
 1955 Guinness, Miss Eva Frances. Fairleigh, Slough, Bucks.
 1904 Guinness, Henry Seymour. Burton Hall, Stillorgan, Co. Dublin.
 1895 Guinness, Howard R. Chesterfield, Blackrock.
 1908 Hackett, Edmund Byrne, Publisher. 6718, Second-avenue, Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, New York.
 1891 **HADDON, Alfred Cort, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.Z.S.** Inisfail, Hill's-road, Cambridge.
 1892 Hade, Arthur, C.E. Carlow.
 1895 Hales, Mrs. Arthur. 17, Lansdown-crescent, Bath; and Charmouth, Dorset.
 1907 **Hall, Cyril. Munster and Leinster Bank, Ennistymon.
 1899 Hall, Ernest Frederick. The Lodge, Westport.
 1893 Hall, Thomas. Derrynure House, Baillieborough.
 1906 Hall-Dare, Robert Westley, D.L. Newtownbarry House, Newtownbarry.
 1908 Hamilton, The Lady Alexandra Phyllis. Barons Court, Stewartstown, Co. Tyrone.
 1889 Hamilton, Everard, B.A. Ballinteer Lodge, Dundrum, Co. Dublin.
 1900 ***Hamilton, Rev. James, M.A. Clara, King's County.
 1889 Hanan, Ven. Denis, D.D., Archdeacon of Cashel. The Rectory, Tipperary.
 1909 Hargrave, Miss Jennette, M.D. 8, Upper Mount-street, Dublin.
 1890 Harman, Miss Marion. Barrowmount, Goresbridge.
 1897 Hartigan, P. Castleconnell, Limerick.
 1891 Harty, Spence, M. Inst. C.E.I. 76, Merrion-road, Ball's Bridge, Dublin.
 1898 Hayes, James. Church-street, Ennis.

Elected

- 1889 Hayes, Rev. William A., M.A. The Deanery, Londonderry.
 1891 Headen, W. P., B.A. (Lond.), D.I.N.S. 1a Bergerie, Portarlington.
 1891 Healy, George, J.P. Glaslyn, Clontarf.
 1910 Healy, Nicholas, Solicitor. High-street, Kilkenny.
 1888 Healy, Rev. John, L.L.D., Canon. The Rectory, Kells, Co. Meath.
 1869 Healy, Rev. William, P.P. Johnstown, Co. Kilkenny.
 1910 Hemphill, Miss Mary B. T. Oakville, Clonmel.
 1897 **HEMPHILL, Rev. Samuel, D.D., M.R.I.A., Canon.** Birr Rectory, Parsonstown.
 1897 Henderson, William A. Belclare, Leinster-road, West, Dublin.
 1901 **HEUSER, Rev. Herman J.** Overbrook, Pa., U.S.A.
 1892 Heron, James, B.E., J.P. Tullyvery House, Killyleagh, Co. Down.
 1909 Hewetson, John. 32, Cornwall-road, Bayswater, London, W.
 1908 Hewson, Rev. Lindsay Joseph Robert Massy. 71, George-street, Limerick.
 1890 Higgins, Rev. Canon Michael, P.P. Castletownroche, Co. Cork.
 1889 Higinbotham, Granby. Fortwilliam Park, Belfast.
 1910 Hill, William Henry, Jun., Civil Engineer and Architect. Monteville, Montenotte, Cork.
 1878 Hill, William H., B.E., F.R.I.B.A. Audley House, Cork.
 1871 ^{*}Hinch, William A. 24, Cambridge-road, Rathmines.
 1893 Hoare, Most Rev. Joseph, D.D., Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnois. St. Mel's, Longford.
 1896 **HOBSON, C. I.** Benburb, Moy, Co. Tyrone.
 1890 Hodgson, Rev. William, M.A. 32, Holford-square, London, W.C.
 1891 Hogan, Rev. Henry, B.D., Canon. All Saints' Vicarage, Phibsborough-road, Dublin.
 1890 Hogg, Right Hon. Jonathan, D.L. 12, Cope-street, Dublin.
 1910 Hollwey, Peter Good, M.I.N.A., Naval Architect. Crumlin House, Co. Dublin.
 1898 Holmes, Mrs. St. Michael's Vicarage, Shrewsbury, Shropshire.
 1889 Horan, John, M.E., M. Inst. C.E., County Surveyor. 4, Pery-square, Limerick.
 1893 Hore, Philip Herbert, M.R.I.A. 121, Coleherne Court, Earl's Court, London, S.W.
 1906 Horgan, Rev. Michael A., P.P. Sneem, Co. Kerry.
 1899 Horner, John. Drum-na-Coll, Antrim-road, Belfast.
 1895 Huband, Rev. Hugo R., M.A. (Cantab.). Kimsbury House, Gloucester.
 1895 Hughes, Benjamin. 96, North Main-street, Wexford.
 1905 Hughes, Edwin, B.A., J.P. Dalchoolin, Craigavad, Co. Down.
 1900 Hughes, Wm. C.E. Ahenny, Carrick-on-Suir.
 1901 Hunter, S. C. 2, Wellington-place, Belfast.
 1899 Hynes, Miss. 3, Belgrave-place, Belgrave-square, Rathmines.
 1910 Irvine, James Potts, C.E., Architect. Aileach, Jordantown, Belfast
 1903 Jackson, Charles James, J.P., F.S.A., Barrister-at-Law. 47, Eton-avenue, London, N.W.
 1907 James, Lieut.-Colonel Samuel A. Care of National Provincial Bank of England, Lancaster Gate, Hyde Park, London, W.
 1889 Jennings, Ignatius R. B. 70, Eccles-street, Dublin.
 1895 Jephson-Norreys, Mrs. Mac Ewen. The Castle, Mallow.
 1901 ^{**}Johnston, Swift Paine, M.A., Asst. Commissioner, Intermediate Ed. Board, 1, Hume-street, Dublin.
 1900 Joly, Miss Anna M. 5, Upper Ely-place, Dublin.
 1894 **JONES, Capt. Bryan John.** 1st Leinster Regiment, Limawilly, Dundalk.
 1907 ^{***}Jones, Rev. Thomas E. H. The Manse, Clarryford, Belfast.
 1909 Joyce, William B., B.A. Hartstonge-street, Limerick.
 1904 ^{*}Joynt, Alfred Lane, B.A. 5, Pembroke Park, Clyde-road, Dublin.
 1909 Kane, William F. de Vismes, M.R.I.A., D.L. Drumreenske House, Monaghan.
 1905 Kavanagh, Mrs. H. Borris House, Borris, Co. Carlow.

- Elected
 1896 Kavanagh, Very Rev. Michael, D.D., P.P., V.F. New Ross.
 1910 Keane, E. T., Proprietor and Editor of the *Kilkenny People*. Parliament-
 street, Kilkenny.
 1893 Keane, Marcus, J.P. Beech Park, Ennis.
 1891 Keane, Miss Frances. Glenshelane, Cappoquin.
 1895 Keatinge, Rev. P. A., O.S.F. Franciscan Convent, Waterford.
 1906 Keaveny, Thomas, D.I.R.I.C. 59, Clifton Park-avenue, Belfast.
 1898 *Keelan, Patrick. 13, Greville-street, Mullingar.
 1889 Keene, Charles Haines, M.A. 19, Stephen's-green, and University Club,
 Dublin.
 1889 Keene, Most Rev. James Bennett, D.D., Bishop of Meath. Bishops-court,
 Navan.
 1908 Kehoe, Lawrence. 8, Bloomfield-avenue, Dublin.
 1888 Kelly, Edmund Walsh. Bella Vista, Tramore.
 1899 Kelly, Rev. James, Adm. Doon, Clifden, Co. Galway.
 1905 Kelly, Rev. Joseph, C.C. Episcopal Residence, Mullingar.
 1890 Kelly, Very Rev. James J., P.P., V.F. St. Peter's, Athlone.
 1896 Kelly, Rev. John, C.C. Sandyford, Co. Dublin.
 1898 Kelly, Dr. Joseph Dillon, J.P. 31, Earl-street, Mullingar.
 1891 Kelly, Richard J., Barrister-at-Law, J.P. 10, Mountjoy-square, Dublin.
 1891 Kelly, Thomas Aliaga. 1, Mountjoy-square, Dublin.
 1903 Kennedy, R. R., M.A. 8, Royal-terrace, East, Kingstown, Co. Dublin.
 1906 Kenny, Miss Elizabeth. Grace Dieu, Clontarf, Dublin.
 1907 Kenny, Henry Egan. Hillington House, Goole, Yorks.
 1895 Kenny, Thomas Hugh. 55, George-street, Limerick.
 1905 Kent, Ernest Alexandre Harry. 26, Sunnyside-road, Ealing, London, W.
 1894 ***Kernan, George. 50, Dame-street, Dublin.
 1891 Kernan, Rev. Richard Arthurs, B.D., Canon. The Rectory, Hillsborough.
 1889 Kerr, Rev. Wm. John B. Irchester Vicarage, Wellingborough.
 1898 Kerrigan, Dr. Owen P. Ardna Greina, Castletown-Geoghegan, Co. West-
 meath.
 1904 Kincaid, Mrs. M. M. 4526, Brooklyn-avenue, Seattle, Washington.
 1890 King, Lucas White, LL.D., F.S.A., C.S.I. Roebuck Hall, Dundrum,
 Co. Dublin.
 1885 Kirkpatrick, Robert. 1, Queen's-square, Strathbungo, Glasgow.
 1904 *Kirwan, Denis B. Dalgin, Milltown, Tuam.
 1899 Knox, Mrs. Godfrey. 51, Northumberland-road, Dublin.
 1902 Kyle, Valentine Joyce. Gortin, Co. Tyrone.
 1910 Lamont, Rev. Deuald, M.A. The Manse, Blair Athol, Perthshire.
 1890 LANGAN, Rev. Thomas, D.D. Abbeylara, Granard.
 1906 La Touche, Christopher Digges. 53, Raglan-road, Dublin.
 1901 Laughlin, Robert C. Gortin, Co. Tyrone.
 1906 Laverton, Mrs. H. V. Ardovie, Brechin, N.B.
 1902 Lavery, Rev. Francis, P.P. St. Mary's Presbytery, Portglenone, Co.
 Antrim.
 1910 Law, Michael, late Judge of the Mixed Courts of Egypt. 20, Longford-
 terrace, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
 1903 Lawler, Chas., J.P. 62, Leinster-road, Rathmines.
 1900 Lawless, Rev. Nicholas, C.C. Kilcurry, Dundalk.
 1891 Lawlor, Rev. Hugh Jackson, M.A., D.D., Canon. Trinity College, Dublin.
 1909 Lawlor, Patrick. Ballincloher N. S., Lixnaw, Co. Kerry.
 1910 Leask, Harold Graham. Office of Public Works, Dundalk.
 1901 *Lebane, Daniel, District Inspector N. S. 1, Zion-road, Rathgar.
 1909 Lee, Philip G., M.D. 26, St. Patrick's Hill, Cork.
 1894 Leeson-Marshall, M. R., Barrister-at-Law. Callinafercy, Milltown, R.S.O.,
 Co. Kerry.
 1892 Le Fanu, Thomas Philip, B.A. (Cantab.). Chief Secretary's Office, Dublin
 Castle.
 1908 Lefroy, Benjamin St. George. Derrycashel, Clondra, Co. Longford.
 1906 Lenchan, N. V., Solicitor. 24, St. Andrew-street, Dublin.

Elected,	
1892	Leonard, Mrs. T. Warrenstown, Dunsany, Co. Meath.
1903	Leslie, Rev. J. Blennerhassett, M.A. Kilsaran Rectory, Castlebellingham.
1880	Lett, Rev. Henry Wm., M.A., M.R.I.A., Canon. Aghaderg Glebe, Loughbrickland.
1998	Librarian. Carnegie Free Library and Museum, Limerick.
1903	Librarian. Public Library, Capel-street, Dublin.
1903	Librarian. Public Free Library, Town Hall, Clonmel, c/o Town Clerk.
1868	Librarian. Public Library, Armagh.
1869	Librarian. Belfast Library, Linen Hall, Belfast.
1891	Librarian. Belfast Free Public Library, Belfast.
1891	Librarian. Free Public Library, Liverpool.
1890	Librarian. Public Library, Boston, U. S.
1890	Librarian. Public Library, New York, U.S., c/o B. F. Stevens & Brown, 4, Trafalgar-square, London.
1868	Librarian. King's Inns Library, Henrietta-street, Dublin.
1888	Librarian. Library of Advocates, Edinburgh.
1894	Librarian. Limerick Protestant Young Men's Association. 97, George-street, Limerick.
1899	Librarian. Natural History and Philosophical Society, Armagh.
1903	Librarian. Public Library, North Strand, Dublin.
1882	Librarian. Public Library, Melbourne, <i>per</i> Agent-General for Victoria. 142, Queen Victoria-street, London, E.C.
1864	Librarian. Queen's College, Belfast.
1868	Librarian. Queen's College, Cork.
1888	Librarian. Queen's College, Galway.
1874	Librarian. Berlin Royal Library, <i>per</i> Messrs. Asher & Co., 13, Bedford-st., Covent Garden, London.
1899	Librarian. St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.
1900	Librarian. Marsh's Library, St. Patrick's Close, Dublin.
1905	Librarian. Royal Library, Copenhagen, c/o William Dawson & Sons, St. Dunstan's House, Fetter-lane, Fleet-street, London, E.C.
1869	Librarian. Board of Education, South Kensington, London, S.W.
1901	Librarian. Reform Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.
1903	Librarian. Public Library, Thomas-street, Dublin.
1903	Librarian. London Library, St. James'-square, London.
1910	Librarian. Yale University, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A. c/o E. G. Allen & Son, London, 14, Grape-steet, Shaftesbury-avenue, London, W.C.
1890	Lindesay, Rev. William O'Neill, M.A. St. Catherine's, N. C. R., Dublin.
1892	LINDSAY, Dr. David Moore , L.R.C.P.I., &c. 551, South Temple, Salt Lake City, Utah, U.S.A.
1904	Little, E. A., M.A., LL.D. 55, Lower Baggot-street, Dublin.
1903	*Lloyd, Miss Annie. 16, Pembroke Park, Dublin.
1889	Lloyd, William. 1, Pery-square, Limerick.
1894	Long, Mrs. 16, Appian-way, Dublin.
1893	Longford, Right Hon. The Dowager Countess of. 24, Bruton-street, London, W.
1893	Lopdell, John. 94, Pembroke-road, Dublin.
1887	Lough, Right Hon. Thomas, M.P., H.M.L., Co. Cavan. 14, Dean's Yard, London, S.W.
1896	*Lovegrove, E. W., M.A., M.R.I.A. The Schoolhouse, Stamford.
1896	Lowe, William Ross Lewin. Middlewych, St. Albans, Herts.
1897	Lucas, Rev. Frederick John, D.D. 2, Cliff-terrace, Kingstown.
1868	Lunham, Colonel Thomas Ainslie, M.A., M.R.I.A., C.B., J.P. Ardfallen, Douglas, Cork.
1894	Lyle, Rev. Thomas, M.A. Dalriada, Howth-road, Dublin.
1893	LYNCH, J. J. Towanda, Pa., U.S.A.
1905	Lyons, Patrick, Sergeant, R.I.C. Ballvhaunis, Co. Mayo.
1891	Lyster, Rev. H. Cameron, B.D., Canon. Rectory, Enniscorthy.
1900	Mac Clancy, James. Milltown Malbay, Co. Clare.
1908	M'Elney, Rev. Robert, M.A. The Manse, Downpatrick.

- Elected
- 1899 Mac Enerny, Rev. Francis, C.C. Westland-row, Dublin.
- 1891 Mac Gillycuddy, Major John, J.P. Ballinagroun, Annascaul, Co. Kerry.
- 1893 *Mac Ilwaine, Robert. Secretary, County Council Office, Courthouse, Downpatrick.
- 1902 *Mac Inerney, T. J. 8, Shamrock-villas, Drumeondra, Dublin.
- 1892 Mackenzie, John, C.E. Scottish Provident Buildings, Belfast.
- 1894 Macmillan, Rev. John, M.A. 76, South Parade, Belfast.
- 1894 Macnamara, George Unthank, L.R.C.S.I. Bankyle House, Corofin.
- 1902 Mac Namara, Rev. John. St. Joseph's, Dundalk.
- 1894 Maconachie, Rev. James H., B.A. Heaton Presbyterian Church, New-castle-on-Tyne, England.
- 1852 Macray, Rev. Wm. Dunn, M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A. Ducklington, Witney, Oxon.
- 1895 **M'Aleer, H. K. X. L. Bar, Sixmilecross, Co. Tyrone.
- 1887 *M'Arthur, Alexander, J.P. Knox's-street, Sligo.
- 1894 M'Bride, Francis, J.P. 39, Grosvenor-square, Rathmines.
- 1894 M'Bride, Joseph M. Harbour Office, Westport.
- 1888 ***M'Carte, James. 51, St. George's Hill, Everton, Liverpool.
- 1898 **M'Carthy, Charles. 2, Emmett-place, Cork.
- 1904 *M'Carthy, James. Newfound Well, Drogheda.
- 1892 M'Carthy, Samuel Trant, J.P. Srugrena Abbey, Cahirciveen, Co. Kerry.
- 1890 M'Clintock, Very Rev. Francis G. Le Poer, M.A. (Cantab.), Dean of Armagh. Drumcar Rectory, Dunleer.
- 1899 M'Clintock, Miss Gertrude. Drumcar, Dunleer, Co. Louth.
- 1899 M'Connell, John, J.P. College-gren House, Belfast; Rathmona, Donaghadee.
- 1902 M'Connell, Sir Robert, Bart., D.L. Ardanreagh, Windsor-avenue, Belfast.
- 1891 M'Cormick, H. McNeile. Cultra House, Cultra, Co. Down.
- 1909 M'Coy, Matthew D., Solicitor. 6, Alphonsus-terrace, Limerick.
- 1892 M'Creery, Alexander John. John-street, Kilkenny.
- 1884 M'Crum, Robert G., J.P. Milford, Armagh.
- 1897 M'Cutchan, Rev. George, B.D. Rectory, Kenmare.
- 1906 M'Donnell, James. Dungarvan N. S., Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny.
- 1892 M'Enery, D. T., M.A., D.I.N.S. 80, Sunday's Well, Cork.
- 1892 M'Gee, Rev. Samuel Russell, M.A. The Rectory, Narraghmore, Co. Kildare.
- 1896 M'Glone, Very Rev. Canon Michael, P.P. Rosslea, Clones.
- 1906 M'Golrick, Right Rev. James, D.D., Bishop of Dunluth. Minnesota, U.S.A.
- 1901 M'Grath, Rev. Joseph B., C.C. St. Agatha's Presbytery, Richmond-place, N. C. R., Dublin.
- 1891 M'Inerney, Very Rev. John, P.P., V.G. Kilrush, Co. Clare.
- 1898 M'Kean, Rev. William. The Manse, Strandtown, Belfast.
- 1892 M'Kee, Robert, M.A. Harlesden College, Bramshill-road, London, N.W.
- 1893 M'Keefry, Rev. Joseph, P.P., M.R.I.A. Garvagh, Co. Derry.
- 1895 M'Kenna, Rev. James E., Adm., M.R.I.A. Dromore, Co. Tyrone.
- 1890 M'Knight, John P. Temple Gardens, Palmerston Park, Dublin.
- 1900 M'Mahon, Rev. Canon John, P.P. St. Mary's, Nenagh.
- 1890 M'Manus, Very Rev. Canon, P.P. St. Catherine's, Meath-street, Dublin.
- 1890 M'Neill, Charles. 19, Warrington-place, Dublin.
- 1890 M'Neill, Professor John. Irish School of Learning.
- 1906 M'Sweeny, William, M.D. Park-place, Killarney.
- 1905 M'Ternan, Miss Mary. 14, Clare-street, Dublin.
- 1900 Maffett, Rev. R. S., B.A. 17 Herbert-road, Sandymount.
- 1908 Maguire, John. Moore Mount, Dunleer.
- 1890 Mahony, Daniel, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. Mount Alverno, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.
- 1891 Mahony, Denis M'Carthy, B.A., Barrister-at-Law. Salthill Hotel, Monkstown, Dublin.

- Elected
 1898 *Mahony, Rev. Henry. Cambridge House, Cambridge-road, Rathmines, Dublin.
 1887 Mahony, J. J. 4, Lower Montenotte, Cork.
 1908 **Mahony, Peirce Gun, M.R.I.A. 24, Burlington-road, Dublin.
 1895 Mahony, Thomas Henry. 8, Adelaide-place, St. Luke's, Cork.
 1899 Malone, Laurence. Innismaan, Queen's Park, Monkstown.
 1899 Malone, Mrs. Innismaan, Queen's Park, Monkstown.
 1906 Mangan, Most Rev. John, D.D., Bishop of Kerry. Killarney.
 1899 Manning, John Butler. 18, Upper Sackville-street, Dublin.
 1895 March, Henry Colley, M.D. (Lond.), F.S.A. Portesham, Dorchester.
 1910 Marstrander, Professor Carl. Irish School of Learning, Dublin.
 1894 **Martin, R. T. 25, St. Stephen's-green, Co. Dublin.
 1900 Mason, J. J. B. 6, Ely-place, Dublin; and Glenmalure, Bushy Park-road, Terenure.
 1887 Mason, Thomas. 5, Dame-street, Dublin.
 1906 Mason, Thomas H. 5, Dame-street, Dublin.
 1910 Maunsell, Mrs. E. The Island, Clare Castle, Co. Clare.
 1889 Maunsell, William Pryce, B.A., Barrister-at-Law. 5, Martello-terrace, Kingstown.
 1907 Max, John T., J.P. Maxfort, Thurles.
 1907 May, Miss Charlotte P. Knockmore, Enniskerry, Co. Wicklow.
 1907 May, Miss Stella M. E. Knockmore, Enniskerry, Co. Wicklow.
 1910 May, Mrs. Florence E. Abbeylands, Milltown, Co. Kerry.
 1891 Mayne, Thomas, F.R.G.S.I. 19, Lord Edward-street, Dublin.
 1906 Mayne, Gerald. 19, Lord Edward-street, Dublin.
 1909 Mayne, Rev. William J., M.A. Auburn, Sydney Parade-avenue, Merriem.
 1893 Mayo, Right Hon. the Earl of, K.P., D.L. Palmerstown House, Straffan.
 1893 Meade, Right Rev. William Edward, D.D., Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross. The Palace, Cork.
 1865 Meagher, Very Rev. William, P.P., Canon. Templemore.
 1906 Mearedy, R. J. Vallombrosa, Bray, Co. Wicklow.
 1897 **MEEHAN, Rev. Joseph, C.C.** Mullagh, Kells.
 1903 Metford, Miss Isabella. Glasfryn, Dinas Powis, near Cardiff.
 1899 Micks, William L., M.A. Commissioner, Congested District Board, Rutland-square, Dublin.
 1898 Miller, Mrs. The Manse, Armagh.
 1910 Miller, Rev. Robert, M.A. 48, Kildare-street, Dublin.
 1907 Milligan, Humphrey, Athlone.
 1901 Milliken, James. 146, Anfield-road, Liverpool.
 1891 **MILLNER, Colonel Joshua Kearney.** Galtrim, Bray, Co. Wicklow.
 1908 Mills, Dr. John, M.B. Resident Physician, District Asylum, Ballinasloe.
 1909 Milne, Very Rev. Kentigern. The Abbey, Fort Augustus, Scotland.
 1906 **MITCHELL, Thomas.** Walcot, Birr.
 1910 Mockler, Alfred J. Castle Annagh, Wexford.
 1891 Moffatt, Rev. John E., M.D. 1, Palmerston Villas, Rathmines.
 1898 Moloney, Maurice T. Ottawa, Illinois, U.S.A.
 1891 Molony, Alfred. 4/48, Dartmouth Park Hill, London, N.W.
 1897 Molony, Henry, M.D. Odellville, Ballingarry, Limerick.
 1904 ***Monahan, Miss M. A. 63, Northumberland-road, Dublin.
 1897 Monahan, Rev. Daniel, P.P. Tubber, Moate, Co. Westmeath.
 1901 Monteagle of Brandon, Right Hon. Lord, K.P. Mount Trenchard, Foynes, Co. Limerick.
 1892 Montgomery, Archibald V., Solicitor. 13, Molesworth-street, Dublin.
 1904 Montgomery, Henry C. Craigmoyle, Craigavad, Co. Down.
 1892 Montgomery, John Wilson. Dufferin-avenue, Bangor, Co. Down.
 1897 Montgomery, Robert J., M.A., M.B., F.R.C.S.I. 28, Upper Fitzwilliam-street, Dublin.
 1907 Moony, George M. S. Enraght, J.P. The Doon, Athlone.
 1905 Moore, Edward R. Langara, Glenageary, Co. Dublin.
 1902 Moore, John. 117, Grafton-street, Dublin.

Elected

- 1892 Moore, John Gibson, J.P. Llandaff Hall, Merriion.
 1885 Moore, Joseph H., A.I.M. 5, Brookfield-terrace, Donnybrook.
 1889 Moore, William. Castle Mahon, Blackrock, Co. Cork.
 1909 Moore, William Colles. 13, Herbert-road, Sandymount.
 1909 Moore-Brabazon, Chambré. Tara Hall, Tara.
 1889 **Morgan, Arthur P., B.A. (Dubl.), D.I.N.S. Glenview, Monaghan.
 1903 Morris, Henry. 8, Main-street, Strabane.
 1910 Morris, Rev. Canon, D.D., F.S.A., Hon. Sec. Cambrian Archæological Association. St. Gabriel's Vicarage, 4, Warwick-square, London, S.W.
 1907 Morrissey, James F., B.A. Public Record Office, Dublin.
 1907 Morrissey, Thomas J., LL.B. Public Record Office, Dublin.
 1889 Morton, John. 45, Wellington-road, Dublin.
 1906 Moulder, Victor J. 7, Lower Downs-road, Wimbledon, London, S.W.
 1909 *Moynagh, Stephen H., Solicitor. Roden-place, Dundalk.
 1903 Mulhall, Mrs. Marion (19, Via Boncompagni, Rome). Care of London and River Plate Bank, 7, Prince's-street, London, E.C.
 1889 Mullan, Rev. David, M.A. 22, Cambridge-terrace, York-road, Kingstown.
 1902 Mullan, James. Castlerock, Co. Londonderry.
 1891 Mullan, Robert A., B.A. 7, Trevor Hill, Newry.
 1889 Mullen, Frank. Cavanacaw, Clanabogan, Co. Tyrone.
 1905 Mulligan, John. Greina, Adelaide-road, Glenageary.
 1907 Mulligan, Miss Sara. 13, Patrick-street, Kilkenny.
 1902 Mulvany, Rev. Thomas, C.C. The Presbytery, St. Columbkille's, Kells.
 1890 Murphy, Rev. Arthur William, P.P. Brosna, Abbeyfeale.
 1901 Murphy, Francis. 284, Newport-road, Cardiff.
 1900 Murphy, James Edward. 40, Pembroke-road, Dublin.
 1892 Murphy, Rev. James E. H., M.A., M.R.I.A., Professor of Irish, Dublin University. Rathore Rectory, Enfield, Co. Meath.
 1889 Murphy, Very Rev. Jeremiah, D.D., P.P. Macroom.
 1895 Murphy, John J. 1, Mount Charles, Belfast.
 1896 Murphy, M. L. Ballyboy, Ferns.
 1897 Murphy, Miss. 26, Ulverton-road, Dalkey.
 1889 Murray, Archibald. Portland, Limerick.
 1910 Murry, Bruce. Portland, Limerick.
 1899 Murray, Daly, J.P. Beech Hill, Cork.
- 1889 Nash, Lieut.-Colonel Edward, J.P. 94, Piccadilly, London, W.
 1895 Nash, Richard G., J.P. Finstown House, Lucan.
 1905 Nash, Sir Vincent, Knt., D.L. Tivoli, Limerick.
 1902 Neale, Walter G. 29, Grosvenor-square, Dublin.
 1892 Neill, Sharman D. 22, Donegall-place, Belfast.
 1890 Nelis, John. Londonderry.
 1891 Newell, P., B.A., D.I.N.S. Donegal.
 1904 Nichols, James. 85, Ranelagh-road, Dublin.
 1899 Nichols, Mrs. Kilbrack, Doneraile, Co. Cork.
 1893 Nixon, James H. F., F.R.G.S., J.P. Cragbeg, Clarina, Co. Limerick.
 1902 Nolan, Rev. John, P.P. Kircubbin, Co. Down.
 1906 **Nolan, Miss Louisa A. 69, Northumberland-road, Dublin.
 1890 Nolan, Pierce L., B.A., Barrister-at-Law. 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.
 1896 *Nolan, William R., B.A. Brookville, Simmonscourt-avenue, Donnybrook.
 1898 Nooney, Thomas F., J.P. Earl-street, Mullingar.
 1910 Nugent, Michael. Knocktopher Abbey, Knocktopher, Co. Kilkenny.
- 1902 O'BRIEN, Conor. 7, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.
 1898 O'Brien, Daniel. 2, Belfast-terrace, N. C. Road, Dublin.

- Elected
 1900 O'Brien, Mrs. South Hill, Limerick.
 1889 O'Brien, Very Rev. Lucius H., M.A., Dean of Limerick. The Deanery, Limerick.
 1871 O'Brien, Robert Vere, B.A. (Oxon.), J.P. Ballyalla, Ennis.
 1901 *O'Byrne, William L. Woodville, The Hill, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
 1890 O'Callaghan, Mrs. Maryfort, O'Callaghan's Mills, Limerick.
 1890 O'Callaghan-Westropp, Colonel George, J.P. Coolreagh, Bodyke.
 1903 *O'Conchobhair, Domhnall. 35, Botanic-avenue, Glasnevin, Dublin.
 1901 O'Connell, Daniel, J.P., D.L. Derrynane Abbey, Waterville, Co. Kerry.
 1902 O'Connell, Mrs. Mary. Killeen, Killiney, Co. Dublin.
 1907 O'Connell, Sir Morgan Ross, Bart. Lake View, Killarney.
 1893 O'Connor, Charles, K.C., Solicitor-General for Ireland, M.A. 28, Fitzwilliam-place, Dublin.
 1906 O'Connor, Rev. W. 1, Le Bas-terrace, Leinster-road, West, Rathmines, Dublin.
 1897 O'Connor, M. J., Solicitor. 2, George-street, Wexford.
 1904 Odell, Mrs. Cloncoskraine, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford.
 1897 O'Duffy, John, L.D.S., R.C.S.I. 54, Rutland-square, Dublin.
 1908 O'Grady, Guillamore, M.A., Dublin Herald-of-Arms. 49, Fitzwilliam-square, Dublin.
 1889 O'Hanrahan, Timothy Wm., J.P. Parliament-street, Kilkenny.
 1890 O'Hara, Right Rev. John M., Monsignor, P.P., V.F. Crossmolina.
 1896 O'Hennessy, Bartholomew. Kilkee.
 1889 O'Keefe, Stephen M., B.A., Barrister-at-Law, J.P. Delville, Glasnevin.
 1903 O'Leary, Very Rev. Archdeacon David, P.P. The Presbytery, Kenmare.
 1891 O'LEARY, Rev. Edward, P.P. Portarlinton.
 1892 O'LEARY, Rev. John, P.P. Freemount, Charleville.
 1884 O'LEARY, Patrick. Main-street, Graiguenamanagh, Co. Kilkenny.
 1899 O'Malley, Arthur M. The Quay, Westport.
 1891 O'Meara, John J., Solicitor, T.C. 205, Great Brunswick-street, Dublin.
 1894 O'Morchoe, The. Kerrymount, Foxrock.
 1891 O'Morchoe, Rev. Thomas A., M.A. Kilternan Rectory, Golden Ball.
 1903 O'Neill, Mrs. Jocelyn-street, Dundalk.
 1908 O'Reilly, George. 26, Trinity-street, Drogheda.
 1908 O'Reilly, Very Rev. Michael, O.C.C. 56, Aungier-street, Dublin.
 1896 O'RIORDAN, Rev. John, C.C. Cloyne.
 1904 O'Ryan, Rev. T. W., C.C. Presbytery, Golden Bridge, Dublin
 1870 ORMONDE, Most Hon. the Marquis of, K.P., H.M.L. The Castle, Kilkenny.
 1887 Orpen, Goddard H., B.A., Barrister-at-Law. Monksgrange, Enniscorthy.
 1903 Orpen, Miss Lilian Iris. Monksgrange, Enniscorthy.
 1890 Orpen, Right Rev. Raymond d'A., M.A., Bishop of Limerick and Ardferd. The Palace, Henry-street, Limerick.
 1907 O'Sullivan, Daniel. Caherdaniel, Waterville, Co. Kerry.
 1898 *O'Toole, Arthur. 5, Foster-place, Dublin.
 1890 Oulton, Rev. Richard C., M.A., B.D., Glynn Rectory, Glynn, Belfast.
- 1907 Pakenham-Walsh, Lieut. Winthrop Pakenham. Crinken House, Shankill, Co. Dublin.
 1879 Palmer, Mrs. Carrig House, Lower Road, Cork.
 1896 Parkinson, Miss. Westbourne, Ennis.
 1909 Patch, Mrs. F. R. Fareham, Hants.
 1899 Paterson, Thomas. Tildarg, Merrion-road, Dublin.
 1892 Patterson, Mervyn S. Rosavo, Cultea, Co. Down.
 1868 Patterson, William Hugh, M.R.I.A. Garranard, Strandtown, Belfast.
 1910 Patton, Rev. George Herbert, M.A. The Rectory, Kilmessan, Co. Meath.
 1890 Pentland, George Henry, B.A., J.P. Black Hall, Drogheda.
 1893 Peter, Miss A. 10, Peter-place, Adelaide-road, Dublin.
 1900 Peyton, Geo., L.L.D. Dinard, St. Kevin's Park, Dublin.
 1890 Phelps, Ernest James. 9, Lower Hatch-street, Dublin.

- Elected
- 1905 ***Phillips, G.T. Harrowville, Kilkenny.
- 1909 Phillips, James Gastrell, Architect. Barnwood-avenue, Gloucester.
- 1888 Phillips, James J., C.E., Archt. Assurance Buildings, 16, Donegall-square, South, Belfast.
- 1906 Pilkington, Richard Grant. 81, Marlborough-road, Donnybrook.
- 1903 ***Pim, A. Cecil. Monarna, White Abbey, Co. Antrim.
- 1900 Pim, Miss E. M. Newtown Park, Waterford.
- 1902 Pim, Miss Ida. Lonsdale, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
- 1903 Pim, Jonathan, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 10, Herbert-street, Dublin.
- 1904 Place, G. W., Barrister-at-Law. 9, Ailesbury-road, Dublin.
- 1903 Place, Thomas Dumayne. Rosemount, New Ross.
- 1887 Plunkett, Thomas, M.R.I.A. Enniskillen.
- 1891 Poë, Colonel Wm. Hutcheson, C.B., J.P., D.L. Heywood, Ballinakill.
- 1864 **POER, COUNT DE LA**, Lord le Power and Corroghmore, D.J. Gurteen Poer, Kilsheelan, Co. Waterford.
- 1899 Pollock, Hugh, Barrister-at-Law. 50, Northumberland-road, Dublin.
- 1910 Potter, Alderman Michael L., J.P. The Worshipful Mayor of Kilkenny.
- 1892 Pounder, Festus Kelly, B.A. St. John's-terrace, Enniscorthy.
- 1904 Powell, Miss Una T. E. Bella Squardo, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
- 1892 Powell, Rev. William H., D.D. Garrycloyne Rectory, Blarney.
- 1910 Powell, Thomas Valentine, 3, Bushy Park-road, Rathgar.
- 1884 Power, Rev. George Beresford, B.A. Kilfane Glebe, Thomastown.
- 1876 **POWER, Rev. Patrick**, M.R.I.A. Portlaw, Waterford.
- 1868 *Power, Laurence John, J.P. Parade House, Kilkenny.
- 1884 Power, Rev. John, P.P. Kiltely, Pallasgrean, Co. Limerick.
- 1909 Price, George, LL.D. Board of Works, 6, Upper Merrion-street, Dublin.
- 1902 Prochazka, the Baroness P. Leyrath, Kilkenny.
- 1894 Purefoy, Rev. Amyrald D., M.A. The Rectory, Chapelizod, Co. Dublin.
- 1890 Quau-Smith, Samuel A. Bullock Castle, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.
- 1906 Quiggin, Edmund Crosby, M.A. Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
- 1908 Quinn, Augustine. The Beeches, Liscard, Cheshire.
- 1893 Quinn, Rev. Bartholomew, P.P. Laveragh, Ballymote.
- 1908 Quinn, John Monsarratt. 4, Kildare-place, Dublin.
- 1896 Rankin, Rev. R. B., B.A. All Saints, Newtown-Cunningham, Co. Donegal.
- 1891 Rapmund, Rev. Joseph, P.P. Parochial House, Silverstream, Co. Monaghan.
- 1898 Redington, Miss Matilda. Kilearnan, Oranmore.
- 1891 Reynell, Miss. 22, Eccles-street, Dublin.
- 1902 Reynolds, Mrs. Kate Isabella. The Mullens, Ballyshannon.
- 1905 Rice, Ignatius J., Solicitor. Rose Lawn, Ballybrack, Co. Dublin.
- 1881 Rice, Lieut.-Colonel Richard Justice, J.P. Bushmount, Lixnaw.
- 1904 **ROBB, Alfred A.**, M.A., Ph.D. Lisnabreeny House, Castlereagh, Belfast.
- 1897 Roberts, Edward, M.A. Plás Maesinclá, Carnarvon.
- 1902 Robertson, Hume. 26, Porchester-terrace, London, W.
- 1897 Roche, H. J. The Castle, Enniscorthy.
- 1900 Rochfort, William, J.P. Cahir Abbey, Cahir, Co. Tipperary.
- 1892 Rogers, William E. Belfast Banking Company, Portaferry.
- 1896 *Roice, Bernard Herron. Churchtown House, Tagout, Co. Wexford.
- 1905 Ross-Lewin, Rev. Canon G. H., M.A. St. Cuthbert's Vicarage, Shotley Bridge, Co. Durham.
- 1894 **ROTHERAM, Edward Crofton**. Belview, Crossakiel, Co. Meath.
- 1906 Roycroft, Andrew. 94, Drumcondra-road, Dublin.
- 1890 Ryan, Very Rev. Arthur, P.P., V.G. The Presbytery, Tipperary.
- 1889 Ryan, Rev. James J., President, St. Patrick's College, Thurles.
- 1907 *Ryan, James P., M.D. Collins-street, Melbourne, Victoria.
- 1908 Ryan, Rev. Patrick. St. Patrick's College, Thurles.
- 1891 Ryland, Richard H., B.A., Barrister-at-Law. 9, Mount-street Crescent, Dublin.

Elected	
1907	Sadler, Thomas Ulick, M.R.I.A., Barrister-at-Law. 9, Gardiner's-place, Dublin.
1895	Salazar, Count Lorenzo, Consul for Italy in Ireland. Melrose House, Kingstown.
1908	Sayers, Reginald Brydges. 88, Upper Leeson-street, Dublin.
1892	Scott, Conway, C.E. Albion Hotel, Falmouth.
1900	Scott, Geo. Curraghgower, Limerick.
1901	Scott, John Alfred, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.S.I. 36, Lower Baggot-street, Dublin.
1892	Scott, Samuel. 144, Woodsley-road, Leeds.
1891	Scriven, Rev. Rowland, M.A. (Cantab.), M.R.I.A. Balbriggan.
1905	Seton, Malcolm Cotter Cariston. 13, Clarendon-road, Holland Park, London, W.
1907	Seymour, Rev. St. John, B.D. Donohil Rectory, Cappawhite, Co. Tipperary.
1896	Shackleton, George. Anna Liffey House, Lucan.
1902	Shaw, Frederick, M.R.I.A. 20, Laurence-street, Drogheda.
1898	Shaw, Thomas J., J.P. 58, Earl-street, Mullingar.
1904	Sheil, Mrs. E. M. Boskell, Cahireonlish, Co. Limerick.
1905	Sheridan, George P., Architect. 1, Suffolk-street, Dublin.
1896	*Sheridan, Mrs. 26, North Earl-street, Dublin.
1896	Sheridan, Rev. N. T. Ramsgrange, Arthurstown, <i>viz</i> Waterford.
1898	Sherwin, Rev. James P. University Church, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.
1902	Sheil, H. Percy. Brownesgrove, Tuam, Co. Galway.
1896	Shore, Hon. Mrs. Ballyduff, Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny.
1909	Shortal, Nicholas, Solicitor. Parliament-street, Kilkenny.
1909	Sides, Rev. John Robert, B.A. The Rectory, Burnfoot, Londonderry.
1895	Simpson, Mrs. West Church Manse, Ballymena.
1887	Simpson, William M. Walmer, Ballyholme-road, Bangor, Co. Down.
1909	Sinclair, Thomas. 18, Castle-lane, Belfast.
1893	Skeffington, Joseph Bartholomew, M.A., LL.D., S.I.N.S. Waterford.
1893	Small, John F., Solicitor. 37, Hill-street, Newry.
1906	SMITH, Mrs. Augustus. Sion Lodge, Waterford.
1902	Smith, Blair, J.P. Errigal House, Laurence-street, Londonderry.
1894	Smith, Rev. George Nuttall, M.A. The New Vicarage, Weston, Southampton.
1887	Smith, Owen. Nobber, Co. Meath.
1893	Smyth, Edward Weber, J.P. 6, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin.
1895	Smyth, Mrs. E. Weber. Cuil-min, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
1909	Smyth, Miss Isabella. 14, Morehampton-road, Dublin.
1894	Smyth, Richard O'Brien, C.E., Archt. 2, Kenilworth-square, Dublin.
1895	Smyth, Robert Wolfe, J.P. Portlick Castle, Athlone.
1902	Spring, Richard Francis, C.E. Polehore, Wexford.
1890	STACK, Rev. C. Maurice, M.A. The Vicarage, Magheraclone, Kells.
1904	Stacpoole, Miss Gwendoline Clare. 24, Harcourt-street, Dublin.
1910	Stanley, John Francis, Designer, 3124, Hull-avenue, New York City.
1895	Steele, Rev. William B., B.A. Levally Rectory, Enniskillen.
1891	Stephens, Pembroke Scott, K.C. 30, Cumberland-terrace, Regent's Park, London, N.W.
1903	Stevenson, James, J.P., M.R.I.A. Fort James, Londonderry.
1893	Stewart, Rev. Harvey, M.A. 44, Upper Mount-street, Dublin.
1898	Stewart, Rev. Joseph Atkinson, Canon. Killowen, Lisburn.
1900	Stourton, Miss. South Gate, Castlebellingham, Co. Louth.
1893	Stubbs, Henry, M.A., J.P., D.L. Danby, Ballyshannon.
1908	Studholme, Lancelot Joseph Moore, B.A. (Oxon.), C.E. Ballyeighan, Birr.
1879	Swanston, William. 4A, Cliftonville-avenue, Belfast.
1901	Swanzy, Rev. Henry Biddall, M.A. Omeath Rectory, Newry, Co. Louth.
1889	Synnott, Nicholas J., B.A. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law. Furness, Naas.
1890	Tarleton, Mrs. The Abbey, Killeigh, Tullamore.
1894	Telford, Rev. William H. Reston Free Church Manse, Berwickshire.
1908	Tempest, Harry G. Dundalgan Press, Dundalk.

Elected	
1890	Tempest, William, J.P. Douglas-place, Dundalk.
1901	Tenison, Arthur Heron Ryan, F.R.I.B.A. 21, Great Peter-street, Westminster, London, S.W.; and Elm Dene, 32, Bath-road, Bedford Park, Chiswick, W.
1897	Thomas, W. J. Mullingar.
1905	Thompson, Dr. Cuthbert. Weissinger, Louisville, Kentucky, U.S.A.
1895	Thunder, Francis P. Grása Dá, Upper Drumcondra, Dublin.
1903	Tibbs, John Harding, B.A. Ginnett's Great, Summerhill, Co. Meath.
1909	*Tierney, Denis J. 9, Mountpleasant, College-road, Cork.
1896	Tivy, Henry L., J.P. Barnstead, Blackrock, Cork.
1893	Tohill, Most Rev. John, D.D., Bishop of Down and Connor. Chichester Park, Belfast.
1890	Toler-Aylward, Hector J. C., J.P., D.L. Shankill Castle, Whitehall, Co. Kilkenny.
1889	*Toner, Rev. Joseph. St. Lawrence, Atlantic-avenue, Pittsburg, U.S.A.
1892	TORRENS, Thomas Hughes , J.P. Edenmore, Whiteabbey, Co. Antrim.
1895	Townshend, Thomas Courtney, B.A. (Dubl.). 23, South Frederick-street, Dublin.
1883	Traill, William A., M.A., C.E. Giant's Causeway, Bushmills.
1891	Tresilian, Richard S. 9, Upper Sackville-street, Dublin.
1897	Tuite, James. 14, Greville-street, Mullingar.
1906	Tuthill, Lieut.-Colonel Phineas B. Villiers-, R.A.M.C. The Slopes, Kingstown, Co. Dublin.
1904	Twigg, Thomas S. Rare-an-ilan, Coliemore-road, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.
1901	Twigge, R. W., F.S.A. Reform Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.
1904	USSHER, Beverley Grant , H. M. Inspector of Schools. 20, Glenmore-road, Hampstead, London, N.W.
1893	Ussher, Richard John, J.P., D.L. Cappagh House, Cappagh R.S.O., Co. Waterford.
1897	VANSTON, George T. B. , LL.D., K.C. Hildon Park, Terenure-road, Rathgar.
1890	Vaughan, Joseph, J.P. 7, Crosthwaite Park, West, Kingstown.
1891	Venables, William J. Gortallowry House, Cookstown.
1901	Vereker, Henry. 89, Upper Leeson-street, Dublin.
1907	Waddell, John J., Barrister-at-Law. 1, Bayswater-terrace, Sandycove. Co. Dublin.
1890	Waldron, Laurence A., M.R.I.A. 10, Anglesea-street, Dublin.
1904	Walker, Richard Crampton, Solicitor. Fonthill Abbey, Rathfarnham, Co. Dublin.
1892	Walkington, Miss, M.A., LL.D. Edenvale, Strandtown, Co. Down.
1901	Wall, Rev. Francis J. St. Mary's, Haddington-road, Dublin.
1909	Wallace, Joseph, B.A. 9, Victoria-terrace, Limerick.
1897	Wallace, Colonel Robert H.. C.B. Myra Castle, Downpatrick.
1894	Walpole, Thomas, C.E., M. Inst. N.A. Windsor Lodge, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
1896	WALSH, John Edward , M.A. (Dubl.), Barrister-at-Law, J.P. Belville, Donnybrook.
1890	Walsh, Very Rev. James H., D.D., Dean of Christ Church. 47, Upper Mount-street, Dublin.
1903	Walsh, Richard Walter, J.P. Williamstown House, Castlebellingham, Co. Louth.
1891	Walsh, Ven. Robert, D.D., Archdeacon of Dublin. St. Mary's Rectory, Donnybrook.
1890	Walsh, Thomas Arnold, Kilmallock.
1899	Walsh, V. J. Hussey-. 16, Avenue Trocadero, Paris.
1899	Walshe, Richard D. 42, Bloomfield-avenue, S. C. R., Dublin.
1902	Ward, Edward. Ulster Bank, Dundalk.
1896	Ward, H. Somerset. Dunibert House, Balfron, N.B.

Elected	
1906	Ward, Hon. Kathleen A. N. Castle Ward, Downpatrick.
1905	Warren, Miss Edyth G. 12, Fitzwilliam-square, Dublin.
1905	Warren, Miss Mary Helen. 12, Fitzwilliam-square, Dublin.
1903	*Watters, Rev. Thomas F., B.A. St. John's, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.
1901	Weaver, Lawrence, F.S.A. 14, Northwick-terrace, St. John's Wood-road, London, N.W.
1890	Webber, William Downes, J.P. Mitchelstown Castle, Co. Cork.
1909	Webster, Rev. Charles A., B.D., Rector of Marmulane. Passage West, Cork.
1898	Webster, William, Solicitor. 35A, Church-street, St. Helens.
1888	Welch, Robert John, M.R.I.A. 49, Lonsdale-street, Belfast.
1889	Weldrick, George. 40, Park-avenue, Sandymount, Co. Dublin.
1905	Wells, Samuel W. 216, Beechcliffe, Keighley, Yorkshire.
1901	West, Capt. Erskine Eyre, Barrister-at-Law. Shoyswell, Cowper Gardens, Dublin.
1895	Westropp, Miss. Park House, Clonlara, Co. Limerick.
1895	Wheeler, Francis C. P. 14, Fade-street, Dublin.
1909	Wherry, Joseph. Northland Arms Hotel, Dunganon.
1887	White, Rev. Hill Wilson, D.D., LL.D., M.R.I.A. Wilson's Hospital, Multifarnham, Co. Westmeath.
1889	White, James, L.R.C.P.S.E., J.P. Kilkenny.
1883	White, Colonel J. Grove, J.P. Kilbyrne, Doneraile, Co. Cork.
1896	WHITE, Rev. Patrick W. , B.A. Stonebridge Manse, Clones.
1896	WHITE, Richard Blair. Ashton Park, Monkstown.
1910	White, Samuel Robert Llewellyn, Major 1st Leinster Regt. Scotch Rath, Dalkey, Co. Dublin.
1889	White, W. Grove, LL.B., Crown Solicitor for Co. Kildare. 18, Elgin-road, Dublin.
1901	Whitfield, George. Modreeny, Cloughjordan, Co. Tipperary.
1905	Whitton, Joseph, B.A., B.E. Board of Works Office, Tralee.
1902	Whitworth, Mrs. Blackrock, Dundalk.
1889	Wilkinson, Arthur B. Berkeley, B.E. Drombroe, Bantry, Co. Cork.
1902	Wilkinson, George, B.A. Ringlestown, Kilmessan, Co. Meath.
1900	Wilkinson, W. J. Newtown Park, Trim.
1888	Willcocks, Rev. Wm. Smyth, M.A., Canon. Dunleckney Glebe, Bagenals-town.
1868	Williams, Edward Wilmot, J.P., D.L. Herrington, Dorchester.
1894	Williams, Rev. Sterling de Courcy, M.A. Durrow Rectory, Tullamore.
1874	Williams, Mrs. W. Parkside, Wimbledon Common, London, S.W.
1899	Williamson, Rev. Charles Arthur, M.A. Ashampstead Vicarage, Reading, Berks.
1904	Wilson, Charles J., Barrister-at-Law. 17, Pembroke Park, Dublin.
1907	Wilson, Charles Pilkington, Solicitor. Lismallon, Foxrock, Co. Dublin.
1887	Wilson, James Mackay, J.P., D.L. Currygrane, Edgeworthstown.
1872	Windisch, Professor Dr. Ernst, Hon. M.R.I.A. Universitäts Strasse, 15, Leipzig.
1900	Wood, Herbert, B.A., M.R.I.A. 6, Clarinda-park, E., Kingstown, Co. Dublin.
1890	Woodward, Rev. Alfred Sadleir, M.A. St. Mark's Vicarage, Ballysillan Belfast.
1890	Woodward, Rev. George Otway, B.A. Rectory, Newcastle, Co. Down.
1910	Woolcombe, Miss Annie. 14, Waterloo-road, Dublin.
1887	Wright, Rev. Wm. Ball, M.A. Osbalwick Vicarage, York.
1907	Young, Rev. T. E., M.A. Hill View, Abbeyleix, Queen's County.
1890	YOUNGE, Miss Katharine E. Upper Oldtown, Rathdowney, Queen's County.

Total number of Fellows, . . .	202	(Life and Hon. Fellows, 60.)
.. .. Members, . . .	881	(Life Members, 48.)
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Total, 31st December, 1910,	1083	

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

SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS WHICH RECEIVE THE QUARTERLY
JOURNAL

OF THE

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland
FOR 1910.

-
- American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass., U. S. A.
Antiquary (Editor of), 62, Paternoster-row, London, E.C.
Architect, The (Editor of), Imperial Buildings, Ludgate Hill, London, W.C.
Belfast Naturalists' Field Club : The Museum, Belfast.
Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Society : Rev. William Bazeley, M.A.
Librarian, The Society's Library, Eastgate, Gloucester.
British Archæological Association : Hon. Secretary, 32, Sackville-street, Piccadilly,
London, W.
British School at Rome : The Library, British School, Palazzo, Odesscalchi, Rome.
Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archæological Society : William Emery, Hon.
Secretary, Eynesbury House, Eynesbury, St. Neots.
Cambridge Antiquarian Society : Rev. F. G. Walker, Secretary, 21, St. Andrew-
street, Cambridge.
Cambrian Archæological Association : c/o Canon Trevor Owen, M.A., F.S.A.
Bodelwyddan Vicarage, Rhuddlau, North Wales.
Chester and North Wales Archæological and Historic Society : John Hewitt, Hon.
Librarian, Grosvenor Museum, Chester.
Det Kgl, norske Videnskabers. Selskab, Thronbjem Norvége.
Folk Lore (Editor of), 270, Strand, London, W.C.
Glasgow Archæological Society : A. H. Charteris. 19, St. Vincent-place, Glasgow.
Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire : The Secretary, Royal Institution,
Celquitt-street, Liverpool.
His Majesty's Private Library : The Librarian, Buckingham Palace, London.
Irish Builder, Editor of : R. M. Butler, Esq., Dawson Chambers, Dawson-street,
Dublin.
Kent Archæological Society : The Hon. Secretary, Maidstone, Kent.
Kildare (County) Archæological Society : c/o Lord Walter Fitz Gerald, Kilkea
Castle, Mageney.
Louth (County) Archæological Society : c/o Rev. James Quinn, C.C., Cooley,
Carlingford.
National Library of Ireland, Kildare-street, Dublin.

- Numismatic Society : The Secretaries, 22, Albemarle-street, London, W.
- Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia : Hall of the Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U. S. A.
- Palestine Expioration Fund (Secretary of), 38, Conduit-street, London, W.
- Paris, Museum of St. Germain.
- Revue Celtique : Monsieur C. Professeur Vendryes, 85, Rue d'Assas, Paris.
- Royal Institute of British Architects : The Librarian, 9, Conduit-street, Hanover-square, London, W.
- Royal Institution of Cornwall : The Hon. Secretary, Museum, Truro, Cornwall.
- Royal Irish Academy : 19, Dawson-street, Dublin.
- Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland : The Hon. Secretary, 20, Hanover-square, London, W.
- Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, 11, Rue Ravensten, Bruxelles.
- Société des Bollandistes, 14, Rue des Ursulines, Bruxelles.
- Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord : Messrs. Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta-street, Covent Garden, London.
- Society of Antiquaries of London : The Assistant Secretary, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W.
- Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne : C. Hunter Blair, Librarian, The Black Gate, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
- Society of Antiquaries of Scotland : Joseph Anderson, Esq., LL.D., National Museum of Antiquities, Queen-street, Edinburgh.
- Society of Architects, 28, Bedford-square, London, W.C.
- Smithsonian Institution : Washington, D. C., U.S.A., c/o Wm. Wesley, 28, Essex-street, Strand, London.
- Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society : H. St. George Gray, Taunton Castle, Taunton.
- Stockholm, Academy of Antiquities.
- Suffolk Institute of Archæology. The Librarian, Athenæum, Bury St. Edmunds.
- Surrey Archæological Society : Hon. Secretaries, Castle Arch, Guildford.
- Sussex Archæological Society : Care of Hon. Librarian, The Castle, Lewes, Sussex.
- The Bodleian Library, Oxford (5 & 6 Vict. c. 45).
- The Copyright Office, British Museum, London.
- The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 64, Chancery-lane, London, W.C.
- The Library, Trinity College, Dublin (5 & 6 Vict. c. 45).
- The Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 50, Great Russell-street, London, W.C.
- The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, c/o Messrs. Henry Sotheran & Co., 140, Strand, London.
- The Thoresby Society, 10, Park-street, Leeds.
- The University Library, Cambridge (5 & 6 Vict. c. 45).
- Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society : The Secretary, Devizes.
- Yorkshire Archæological Society : E. K. Clark, Esq., Hon. Librarian, 10, Park-street, Leeds.

GENERAL RULES

OF THE

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

(*As Revised at the Annual Meeting, 1898.*)

OBJECTS.

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

CONSTITUTION.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OFFICE-BEARERS AND COUNCIL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

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

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

PUBLICATIONS.

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

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

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

GENERAL.

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

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

E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.,
M. J. M'ENERY, B.A., M.R.I.A.,

Honorary General Secretaries.

6, ST. STEPHEN'S-GREEN, DUBLIN.

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