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THE JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND

FORMERLY

The Royal Historical and Archæological Association
OF IRELAND

FOUNDED AS

The Kilkenny Archæological Society

VOL. VI.—FIFTH SERIES

VOL. XXVI.—CONSECUTIVE SERIES



1896

DUBLIN
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
FOR THE SOCIETY
BY PONSONBY AND WELDRICK

1896

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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 as far as No. 26 of the General Rules of the Society extends.

PREFACE.

THE Preface to the last Volume of the Society's *Journal* pointed to the great influence which the wider scope of the Society's Excursions had upon our work. The Excursions in 1896, though less novel in their conception, still impart some prominent features to the present Volume.

The Society's visits, and the local interest stirred by them, have produced several important Papers in this Volume. The early Christian island settlements of High Island, and Mac Dara's Island, in the Atlantic, have been the subjects of very acceptable Papers by Mr. Macalister and Mr. Bigger. Dr. Stokes contributed an interesting account of St. Hugh of Rahue, and his times. The Society's visit to Inistioge and Dunbrody has called forth accounts of those abbeys from Mr. Langrishe and Rev. J. F. M. French. The Excursions also elicited incidental notices of other church remains—Kill, Killiney, and Dalkey, by Mr. Wakeman; Durrow, Rahan, &c., by Dr. Stokes. In connexion with church remains, we should also point to the study of Howth Church, by Mr. Cochrane, with which the Volume commences.

In connexion, too, with our Excursions, are notices of several mediæval lay buildings, as the Castles of Enniskillen, Portora, Castle Archdall, &c., in the

account of the Summer Excursion, and those of Dalkey, Bullock, and Leixlip, in the Autumn Excursion.

We had last year to notice a revived interest in Ogham study. This has been fully maintained in the present Volume. Rev. E. F. Hewson notices several hitherto unpublished inscriptions. Rev. E. Barry completes his scholarly study of the county Kilkenny Oghams. Mr. Macalister also furnishes notes on some inscriptions, as well as a useful summary of progress in this field during the year (p. 392).

Prehistoric Archæology is represented by the continuation of Mr. Coffey's work on the origin of Ornament. By Mr. Westropp's account of Stone Forts in Clare, and his illustrations of the similarity of these forts with others throughout Europe (pp. 142, 254). Dr. William Frazer has furnished a list of "Holed" Stones in Ireland. The Society's visits to Deerpark, near Sligo, to Carrowmore, and Knocknarea, is the occasion for illustrations of the antiquities at those places.

Numerous shorter communications report finds of ancient objects. Among the more important of these are Mr. Allingham's account of what are believed to be Otter-traps; a Bone Flake, with geometrical design, from Slieve-na-Caillighe (Mr. Rotheram); the site of a Flint-maker's Work-place, under peat (Mr. Patterson); and a Spear-head of unusual type (Mr. Rotheram).

Among Historical subjects are Miss Hickson's notices of the Fitz Maurices, Lords of Kerry; Rev. W. T. Latimer's identification of the site of the Battle of Benburb; the Wardens of Galway, by Mr. R. J. Kelly; Warren of Corduff, a distinguished Irish officer in the French service, by Rev. Thomas Warren; and notices

of clerical life in the 16th century, from the Journal of Peter Lewys, by Mr. Mills.

Interesting communications on Topographical points are supplied by Miss Hickson, on the river Lee of Tralee; and by Mr. Goddard Orpen, on the name of Blackstairs Mountain.

A valuable Paper on the "Shamrock in Literature," dealing exhaustively with that somewhat vexed question, is given by Mr. Colgan.

Mr. T. P. Le Fanu has written an elaborate Paper on Dean Swift's Library.

The remains of the old stained glass of Kilkenny are skilfully dealt with by Mr. Buckley.

The accounts of the Excursions occupy no inconsiderable part of the Volume. They should supply increased interest, and an additional stimulus to all, to travel in our own land, and to study and preserve the remains and memories of its past.

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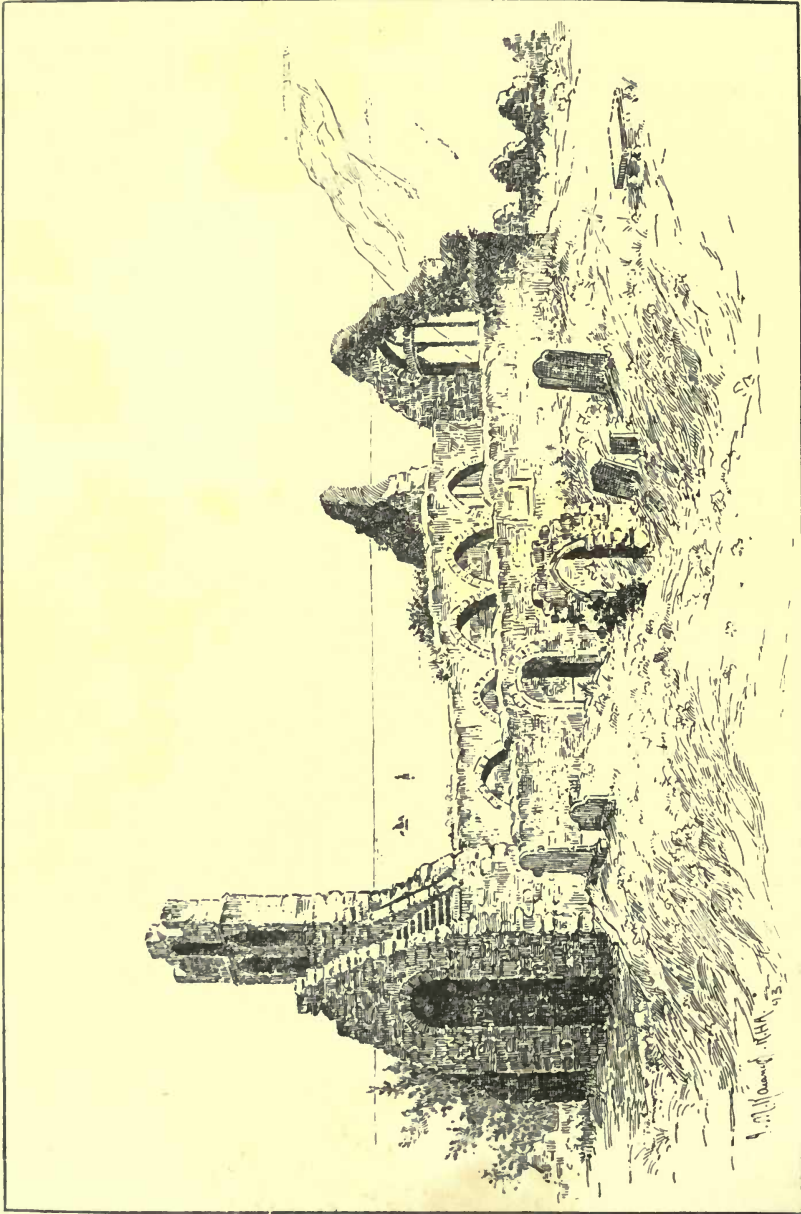
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SOUTH-WEST VIEW OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH, HOWTH.
(From a drawing by J. M. Kavanagh, R.H.A.)

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND,
FOR THE YEAR 1896.

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART I. FIRST QUARTER, 1896.

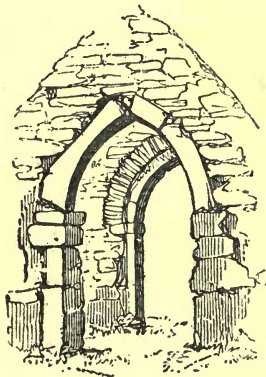
Papers.

NOTES ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL ANTIQUITIES IN THE
PARISH OF HOWTH, COUNTY OF DUBLIN.

By ROBERT COCHRANE, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., FELLOW.

IV.—THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY, COMMONLY CALLED THE “ABBAY”
OF HOWTH.

IN a former Paper¹ it was shown, by a detailed examination of the structure, that the modest and comparatively modern ruin, called St. Fintan's Church, represents all that remains of a very early and long forgotten, though important, ecclesiastical foundation, the history of whose founder is still imperfectly known; and while “St. Fintan's” had been reconstructed with the stones of the original churches found on the site, the church of Inis Mac Nesson (erroneously called St. Nesson),² on the contrary, had been almost entirely rebuilt, and with new material; and so closely had the primitive plan been adhered to, that the new work had become generally accepted as the original church, and is described as such by several authors.



South Porch, as in A.D. 1840.

The writers who conferred the title of “Saint” on Nesson of Ireland's Eye, without canonical authority, seem to have had similar ideas with those who first described the church of St. Mary at Howth as an “abbey.” There are no grounds for either designation.

¹ Vol. iii., 5th Series, 1893, p. 386.

² Vol. iii., 5th Series, 1893, p. 396.

The ruins now under consideration, as at present standing in Howth, afford no evidence of the existence at any time of the usual and necessary conventual buildings which, attached to and grouped around a church, caused the mediæval ecclesiastical edifice, when presided over by an abbot, to be called an abbey.¹

The term abbey is properly used only to denote a foundation presided over by an abbot, but in Ireland many of the monastic houses, of Orders, such as the Franciscans and Dominicans, are styled abbeys, where the term priory or convent for such houses would be more appropriate. The term abbey has sometimes been used to indicate the community occupying the edifice.

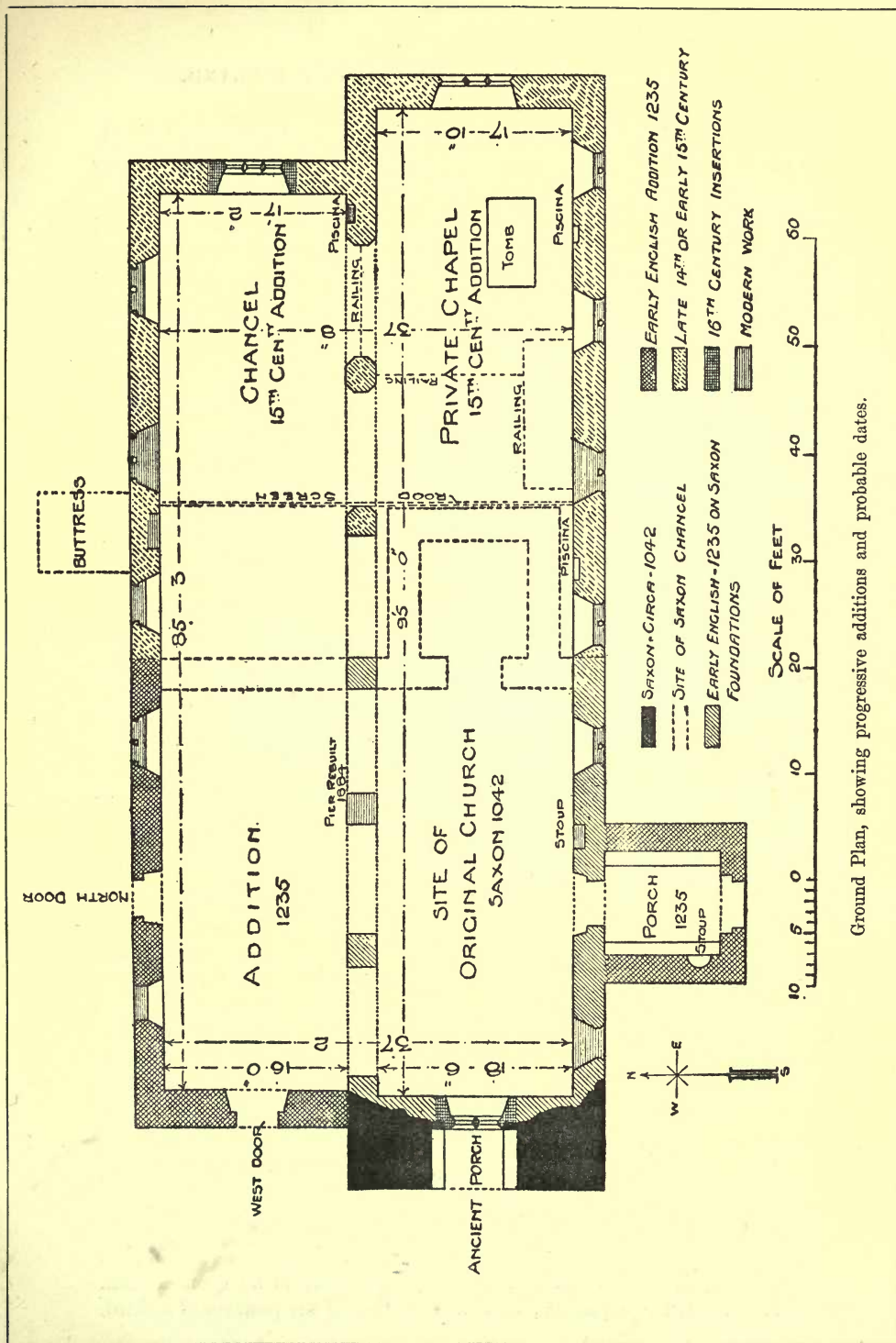
It does not appear that the church at Howth had attached to it any of the regular clergy. If it had been so occupied, the circumstance would be recorded in the annals of the particular Order to which it belonged, but the name is omitted from the lists of religious houses established in this country. The names of most of the secular clergy are on record since its dedication in A.D. 1235.

Thus both structural and historical evidences combine to prove that the name "abbey" as applied to this ruin is a misnomer, while that of a collegiate church would be more applicable. The common name, the "College of Howth," indicates a tradition of this distinctive character. Its plan would seem to indicate a typical collegiate church, served by a *Collegium* of three or more priests, such as was the foundation of St. Nicholas, Galway, or St. Mary's, Youghal.

I shall now briefly describe the ruins as they exist. The church comprises nave, aisle, and chancel; but, as the original nave became an aisle, and an aisle added in A.D. 1235 became a portion of a larger nave about A.D. 1400, it will be more convenient, and less confusing, to describe it as a two-aisled church. The south aisle measures 95 feet in length internally, including the eastern portion, which was used as a chantry or private chapel; the width of this aisle is 18 feet 6 inches at the western end, and 17 feet 10 inches at the east end. The northern aisle measures 85 feet 3 inches in length, and is 16 feet in breadth at the west end, and 17 feet 2 inches at the eastern end.²

¹ The old Celtic establishments were very different; they consisted of a chapel or oratory of limited dimensions, around which were grouped the cells of the clergy, each one occupying a separate cell or house, sometimes of stone, as at Skellig Michael, but generally made of wattles encased with mud walls. The church, as a rule, was of stone.

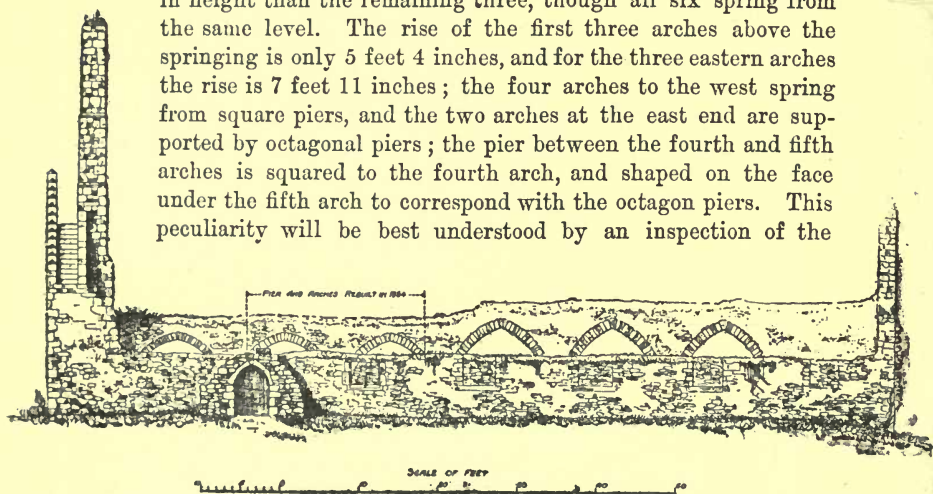
² There are many two-aisled churches in county Dublin, all of early foundation. In addition to St. Audoen's, the former parish church of Lusk, as well as the old church of St. Michael in High-street, Dublin, were double-aisled. Duleek Church was of the same type, as were several others. This arrangement is very common in parish churches in the west of England: at Lancaster Church, near Launceston, the plan of an elongated chancel is identical, except that the north aisle has been lengthened to extend beyond the south aisle. At Warbstow parish church, the south aisle has been elongated, and the arrangement corresponds exactly with what we have at Howth.



The two aisles are divided from each other by an arcade of six arches, carried on piers 2 feet 8 inches in width; the total width of the church measured across both aisles is 37 feet 2 inches at the western end, and 37 feet 8 inches at the eastern end.

It will be observed that in the south aisle the eastern end becomes narrowed to the extent of 8 inches, while in north aisle this is reversed, and the east end is widened by 14 inches; this seems to have been an attempt to recover the parallel form which had been lost in extending the south aisle.

In the arcade dividing the two aisles the three western arches are lower in height than the remaining three, though all six spring from the same level. The rise of the first three arches above the springing is only 5 feet 4 inches, and for the three eastern arches the rise is 7 feet 11 inches; the four arches to the west spring from square piers, and the two arches at the east end are supported by octagonal piers; the pier between the fourth and fifth arches is squared to the fourth arch, and shaped on the face under the fifth arch to correspond with the octagonal piers. This peculiarity will be best understood by an inspection of the



South Elevation, showing the portion of South Side-wall, still standing, and the upper portion of Nave Arcade, which is higher than the South Wall.

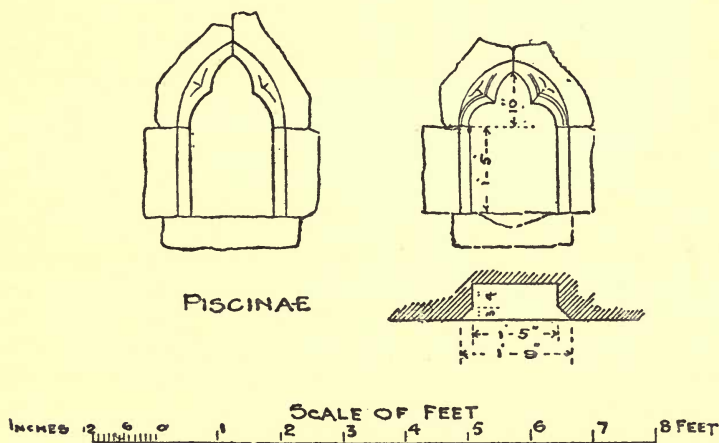
ground plan, p. 3, and an elevation of the arcade shown on the drawing above. The three western arches show the extent of the first addition to the early church; they are flatter than the remaining three, denoting the earlier period at which they were erected—the transition from round-headed to pointed arches. The eastern arcade of three arches denotes the second period of the pointed style, and indicates the date and extent of a later addition. The thirteenth-century addition, though shown on the ground plan as extending only to the third arch, very probably comprises a portion or perhaps the whole of the fourth arch, and this portion was taken down and the later fourth arch inserted.

The exact position and extent of the portion of the church devoted to the chancel is not now indicated clearly, and there is no chancel arch. There are still two piscinae, and an indication of the position of a third.

The eastern one, in south aisle, is 18 inches higher than that nearer the western end; and as they were adjoining separate altars, and the floor on which the eastern altar was placed was 18 inches higher than the western, the latter was presumably the level of the floor of nave.

The chancel was of course divided from the body of the church by a screen; and though no trace of it now remains, its position can be fixed as being at the rere of the altar which stood at the western piscina.

Screens were generally closed the whole height, but sometimes they were solid for a few feet from the bottom, and open at the top; in this case the screen was probably closed for the width of the south aisle. The second altar was placed westward of this screen, and a third at the east end of the north aisle.

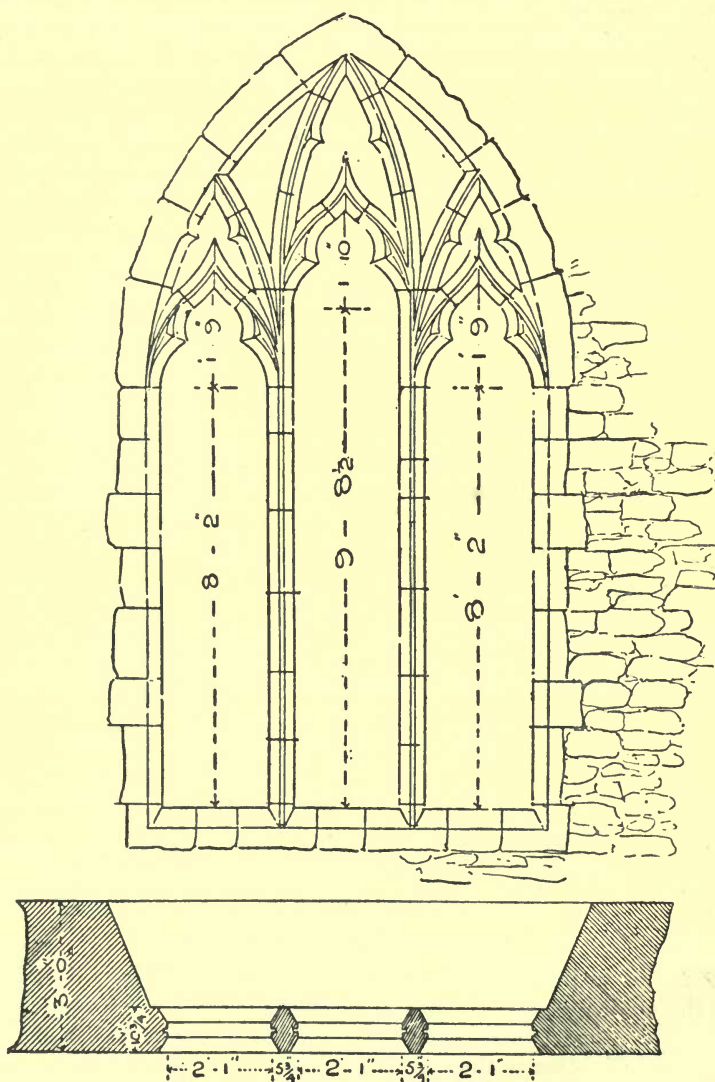


Piscinæ.

Access to the building was provided for by three doors, in addition to the original entrance, one in the southern porch which was used by the clergy, and two in the north aisle, one of which was in the west end, and the other in the north side wall.

The church was lighted by fifteen windows in all, of which two are the east windows (one in the chantry, and one in the chancel at east end of north aisle). There are two west windows, one under the belfry in the south aisle, and one over the west doorway in the north aisle; six side windows filled the south wall, and five were in the north wall.

The original entrance was under the bell tower in the west gable,



SCALE OF FEET

Elevation and Plan of East Window of South Chancel.

the opening in which, measuring 8 feet in width by 5 feet 11 inches in depth, formed an open porch, a not uncommon feature in very early parish churches. In the absence of an outer door, a movable wooden barrier to keep out cattle was usually provided. The bench table, or low stone seat, in this porch, is still observable, and this feature will be seen repeated in the later southern porch. The ancient open porch was 8 feet in width; the bench tables at each side would contract it to a width of 6 feet; open porches of this width were not uncommon in small early churches, and were of use for processional purposes.

The south chancel or chantry contains a three-light window in the east gable, in which the centre light is predominant, and the heads are formed of arch tracery with trefoiled ogee heads for each light, of a simple yet pleasing design of late fourteenth-century period (see drawing on opposite page). The stones forming the centre mullions of this window are of limestone from the sill up to level of springing of arch. The tracery of the upper portion is of granite, greatly weathered; the sill also is of granite, save for a couple of recently inserted stones, which are sandstone. Three stones in the arch are insertions, but it is evident the original window was formed of granite, and that the limestone mullions were inserted when the flat arches in the north chancel were introduced in the sixteenth century.

In the east window of north aisle, and the west window of south aisle, the mullions have shallow hollows, and the flat-headed form of arch, with rounded corners, for the window heads, denotes the debased perpendicular style, and fixes the date of this portion of the work as late as the sixteenth century. These features would indicate a somewhat earlier date in England. The straight arch, with rounded angles, is not frequently met with in ecclesiastical edifices, though common enough in domestic architecture.

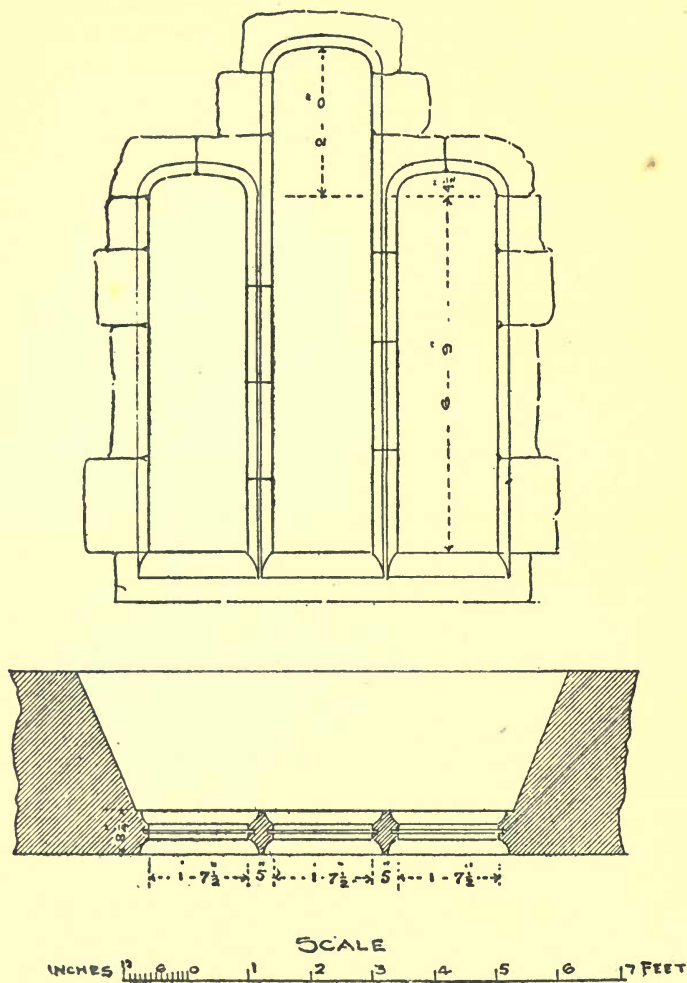
The windows in the north side have Portland or Somerset stone dressings, same as on the south side, and as in the west window of the north aisle over the doorway.

On the north side the two windows nearer to the east end are lower than the central window, which is narrower than the others as well as higher. The proximity of the approach to the rood loft would account for the central window being narrower and on a higher level than the other windows.

The windows of the south wall, of which only the sills and parts of the jambs and mullions now remain, were of the same period, and fortunately there is still in the ruin, but not *in situ*, one window of that period, that is the two-light Early English window now placed over the western doorway in the north aisle.

The east window, before referred to, in the south chancel has three lights, the centre one rising higher than the two side lights; all three have trefoil cusping at the top, immediately below which is inserted in

each light similar trefoils under ogee-arched heads, the whole forming a vigorous example of tracery work.



Plan and Elevation of East Window (16th century) in North Aisle.

The east window of the chancel in the north aisle is of the same character as the window under the belfry; together they represent the latest work done in the church. Both are clearly of the same date as the "college" adjoining. A drawing of this window, showing the Burgundian form of arch, is given above.

The marks of the different roofs which covered this building are still observable in the gables. First, there was the high roof over the south aisle; second, the north aisle when built was covered with a separate roof parallel to the original one, with a gutter or valley between; third, the two separate roofs were taken off, and both aisles were included in one span; and fourth, a new roof with a higher pitch was put on, and the gables were raised sufficiently high to suit the altered pitch, the additional masonry being still observable, as well as the lines of the different roofs.

In the western wall we have the original Saxon¹ work of A.D. 1042. The width of the early church is very clearly defined; we have the gable measuring externally 23 feet 6 inches, and internally 18 feet 6 inches; and there is not much difficulty in determining what the length was; the remaining walls have been removed, but we can judge of what the original was by an examination of the additions, which were governed, in a great measure, by the then existing work.

In this connexion there are two features worthy of attention, that is, the square piers under the first four arches forming the west end, and the octagonal piers under the two remaining arches. The first three arches are flatter, and more nearly approach the semicircular form, showing their earlier period, which I fix at A.D. 1235, the date of Archbishop Luke's dedication. There is here the clearest indication that the original church extended in length as far as the square piers, and the limit should be some place between the third and fourth pier, or at the fourth pier, as I have indicated. Thus the original church measured about 52 feet in length, including the chancel, which was about 10 feet square.

¹ The work is Saxon in character, though founded during Danish rule in Dublin. It corresponds with undoubted Anglo-Saxon work; and there are no specimens of distinctly Danish architecture in England or Scandinavia of this period. Since the views expressed on page 10 were in type, Mr. Romilly Allen has kindly favoured me with his opinion on the question of Saxon *v.* Danish architecture. He says: "When the Danes came over to England they adopted the methods of building in stone which they found in use amongst the Saxons. The churches in Northumbria, like Escombe, are undoubtedly Saxon, and therefore it seems to me that, as the Danish influence came to Ireland by way of Northumbria, it is most reasonable to suppose that any church built by a Danish prince in Ireland would be in the same style as the churches of Northumbria—that is to say, Saxon."

The theory of influence on Hiberno-Danish builders direct from Norway—as seen in some common features of Christ Church in Dublin and Trondhjem Cathedral—even if assumed, would not affect the position in 1042. In Fergusson's "History of Architecture," edited by R. Phené Spiers, F.S.A., 1893 Edition, at page 316, vol. ii., in describing Trondhjem Cathedral, it says that it is said that St. Olaf was buried (*circa* 1032) where the high altar of the cathedral is now situated, and between the years 1036 and 1047 Magnus the Good raised a *wooden chapel* (no doubt a round one) over the grave. The transept of the church was commenced in 1160; and during the next sixty or seventy years the whole eastern part was rebuilt, *the tomb house or shrine being joined on to the apse*. The nave was not commenced until 1248. Fergusson says the east end externally presents a bold style of architecture resembling the early English, and is an exact counterpart of Becket's Crown at Canterbury (1175–1184). Upsala Cathedral was designed by a Frenchman A.D. 1287. The Church of St. Nicholas at Orebro "is chiefly interesting on account of its strong resemblance to English work."

THE ORIGINAL CHURCH, FOUNDED A.D. 1042.

The foregoing outline describes the ruin as it stands since it was abandoned as a place of public worship, probably some time between 1640 and 1650.

The date of the foundation is generally accepted as A.D. 1235, in which year the prebendal church of Inis Mac Nessan was removed to the mainland, and a new church is said to have been erected here. This, however, is not quite correct. A church existed here prior to that date, but it was enlarged and dedicated to the B.V.M. in the year 1235.

The original church is said to have been founded at Howth by the Danish prince, Sigtrygg or Sitric, in the year 1042, twenty-four years before the Norman Conquest of England, and twenty-eight years after the date of the famous battle of Clontarf (only a few miles distant), where the Danes were defeated, but not, as is often stated, driven from Ireland. The extent of their occupation was thenceforward limited in area to Dublin and the great seaports, and those who remained in the country conformed more generally to the profession of the Christian religion than they had during the previous century.

I hope to show that in the remains at Howth we have still a portion of the structure founded in the time of the Danish prince, and also to make it clear that the church established in his time was more a Saxon building than either Danish or Celtic in design or construction. The Danes, though much given to intermarrying with the Irish, disliked the natives too much, especially the ecclesiastics, to adopt the methods of the Celtic Church; and the Norsemen had as yet no Christian churches of stone in their own country, where Canute, who ruled over the lands now known as Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, had but recently re-established Christianity from his English kingdom.

The intercourse between the Saxons in England and the Danes in Ireland at the time was frequent and continued. Anlaff Cuaran, Danish king of Dublin, became a Christian in A.D. 943 in England. His father Sitric had been baptized, but died a heathen. Anlaff, in A.D. 944, brought over from Northumbria a number of Anglo-Saxon monks, as described in Haliday's "Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin," and with them they brought their own methods of Church building. Their numbers were recruited by successive arrivals from time to time, and their ecclesiastical practices prevailed as long as the Danish occupation lasted. Coming as they did from a particular part of England, an examination of the Saxon churches they left behind them in Northumbria is at once suggested. Haliday remarks that, for upwards of a century, Dublin was more a Northumbrian colony than a separate kingship.

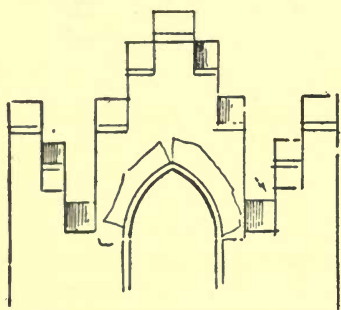
Not until about the middle of the present century was any serious

attention directed to the study of Saxon architecture in England. The late Thomas Rickman, in an essay written in A.D. 1813, and afterwards expanded and republished in 1817,¹ says it may be possible that in obscure churches some real Saxon work may exist, but none hitherto had been found to be of so great an age.

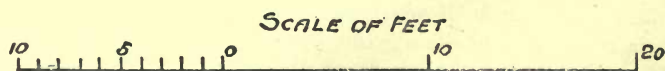
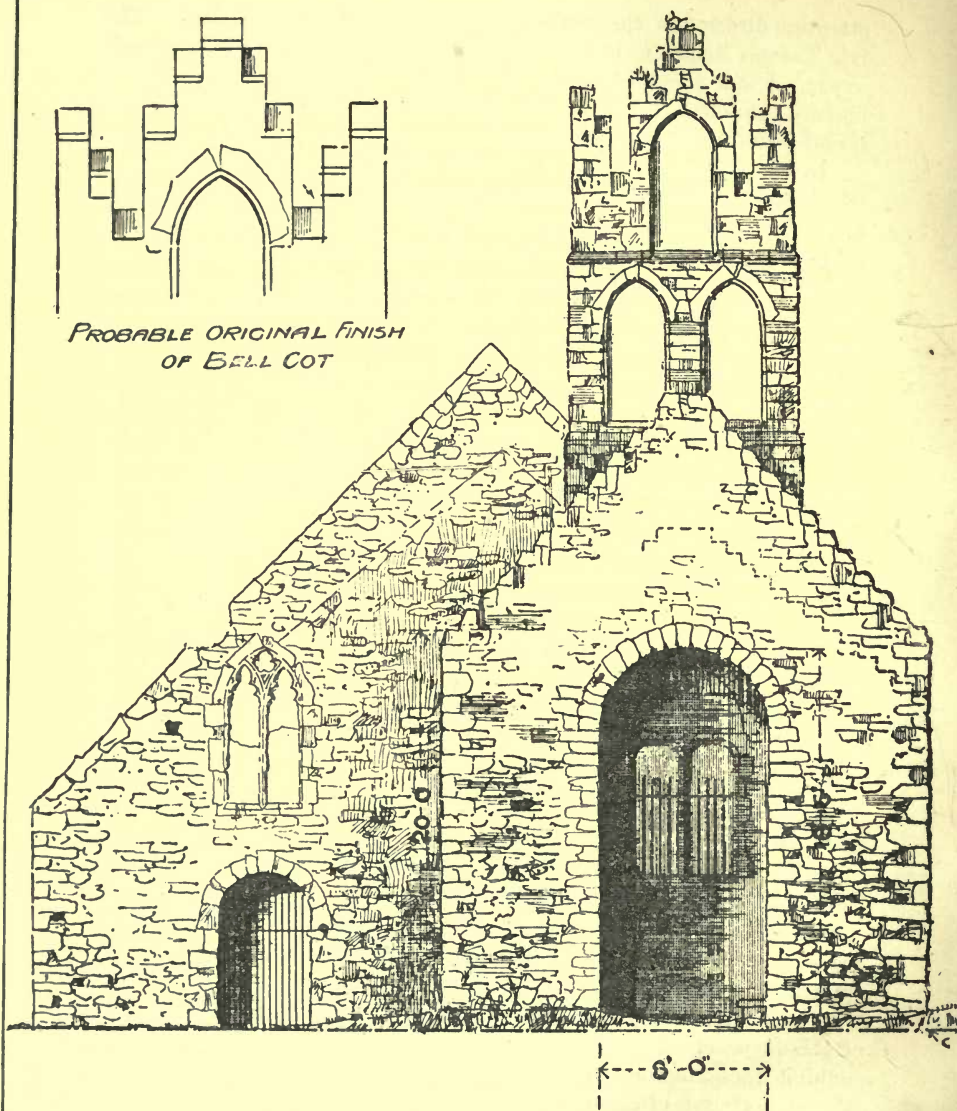
In the edition of 1881, a valuable chapter on Saxon architecture, which had been introduced in the edition of 1848, was suppressed in the belief that there was no warrant for the dates; this was afterwards acknowledged by the editor to be a mistake, as convincing evidence was produced by archæologists as to the authenticity of the dates assigned to the examples of Saxon work. There are now about 130 well-known specimens of that period, and several fairly complete Saxon churches have been, within the last ten years, fully described and illustrated. Of these the church at Escombe, in the county of Durham, is perhaps the best known. It has been illustrated in the "Reliquary," vol. viii., pp. 66-67, in an interesting series of articles on *The Pre-conquest Churches of Northumbria*; and in *The Illustrated Archaeologist* for March, 1894, edited by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, a detailed description and seven illustrations are given of this church. The writer of the Paper says: "We find therefore that the chief characteristic of the earlier Saxon churches was their great height in proportion to their width, and that the very early examples were long and narrow as well as high, and as the length decreased so did the height in proportion to it. The reason of this is given by the known history of the churches. St. Wilfrid, Benedict Biscop, and others who belonged to the Roman School, were the first to build stone churches in England, and they derived their designs from the Roman basilicas; hence they made long and lofty naves." The date of Escombe church is fixed, with every degree of probability, as the end of the eighth century.

The interest attaching to these Saxon churches is that they are the link between the period of the Roman occupation and the Norman Conquest, and in their construction they show Roman influence grafted on native methods. A country which had Augustine with his monks representing the civilisation of Christian Rome in the south, and thirty-four years previously Columba and his church-building followers, from Ireland, penetrating from the north, would eventually develop and exhibit these features in the construction of their churches; and in the little church of Escombe in common with many others (prototypes of Sitric's Church at Howth), in addition to the Roman features already suggested, the details of the doors and windows are purely Celtic. The window in south wall of the nave is round-headed; the head is formed out of a single stone for the inner face; this stone is 7 ft.

¹ "An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of English Architecture," by Thomas Rickman. London: Longmans & Co. (No date, but internal evidence shows the date of this, the first edition, to be A.D. 1817.)



PROBABLE ORIGINAL FINISH
OF BELL COT



CHURCH OF ST. MARY, HOWTH.

West Elevation, showing Ancient Porch of Sitric's Church, and 13th-century addition and Doorway. (The Window over latter is not in its original position.)

in length, and a similarly shaped stone forms the outer face, but of lesser length. The jambs of this and two small square-headed windows in the north wall are inclined, and are identical in construction with what is found in the early oratories in Ireland. And at the same time the Roman influence in the work of Escombe is beyond doubt, as some of the stones used in building have Roman lettering and tooling, but are built in reversed positions.

The Saxon churches had a porch or tower at the western end. The arrangement at Howth provided for an open porch 8 ft. in width, with massive walls and high arch over, the proportions of which are almost identical with the Escombe chancel arch.¹ As regards the great height of the side walls compared to the width, the Escombe walls are 24 ft. high, width of nave 14 ft. 6 inches. At Monkwearmouth Saxon church the relative proportion is as 31 ft. to 19 ft., and at St. Lawrence, near Bradford-on-Avon, the proportion is 25 ft. to 13 ft.

At Howth the measurements give a present height of 20 ft. 6 in. for a width of 18 ft. 6 in.; the walls no doubt were originally considerably higher.

Taking the proportion of length to width at Escombe we have 43 ft. to 14 ft. 6 in., and at Monkwearmouth the proportion is about 66 ft. to 19 ft. The proportion at Howth was as 52 ft. to 18 ft. 6 in.

The contrast between these proportions and those of the churches of the early Celtic type is very marked; the side walls of the latter are very low, and the proportion of length to width is about 15 to 10 or 12.

In the view of the west end of Howth church on p. 12, the proportions of the arch, 8 feet wide and 18 feet 6 inches high, are shown, and the character of the ancient masonry is suggested rather than brought out. For the sake of comparison, a view of the chancel arch of Escombe church is also given, which is 5 ft. 3 in. wide and 15 ft. high.

The masonry of the west end of Howth church is very much weathered; and the quoins, which were originally squared, are now rounded and worn, and only by careful examination can the character of the masonry be clearly distinguished.



Chancel Arch in Escombe Church.

¹ The Saxon church of Merrington, Durham, had a chancel arch of similar proportions to that at Escombe, and the western arch at Howth.

THE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY DEDICATION TO B.V.M. BY ARCHBISHOP LUKE,

A.D. 1235.

The church erected in Howth A.D. 1042, and the church on Ireland's Eye maintained their independent existence until A.D. 1235; the latter was a distinct Celtic establishment, and continued as such long after Sitric's church was built at Howth. In 1179 Ireland's Eye is mentioned in the Bull of Pope Alexander III., and it is confirmed to Archbishop O'Toole, including its chapel at Kilbarrack, for the endowment of the See of Dublin, as stated by Ussher. In 1186 Hernesius was the cleric in charge, and up to that time the tithes of Raheny belonged to it, but in that year Raheny was given up by Hernesius in exchange for Kilbarrack, by an arrangement with the Abbey of St. Mary's, Dublin, which came into the possession of the Cistercian Order in 1139. In 1190 when Archbishop Comyn built St. Patrick's Collegiate Church, Howth became one of the thirteen prebends assigned to it, and the island of Ireland's Eye was confirmed to him by Prince John.

In A.D. 1235 an amalgamation having been decided on, a new dedication was established at Howth, and the Church of Inis Mac Nessian probably closed, its position being exceedingly inconvenient for a parish church, intended to serve a portion of the mainland. Sitric's church, though much larger than Mac Nessian's, was not large enough for the purpose, and it was extended by making an arcade of three arches in the north wall of Sitric's church, and the formation of a north aisle which practically doubled the size of the old church. At this time the southern porch was added. The church is said to have been "endowed" by the then Lord of Howth with twenty-five acres of land, and the granting of certain rights to the vicar which are quaintly set out in the deed, a translation of which is here given. I am indebted to Dr. La Touche for this document, which he copied and translated from the original deed in Lord Howth's possession.¹ It is extremely interesting, not only as showing the so-called endowment of the new dedication, but also in the side lights it throws on the social conditions of the times. The undertaking of the Lord of Howth, under a penalty of forty shillings, not to lay violent hands on his prelates or any clerk, except in self-defence, is an indication that the attitude of the Baron to the clergy was not always cordial.

¹The original deed, admirably preserved, is now exhibited in the Science and Art Museum, Dublin. A Latin text of it, copied from Alan's Register, and so containing a few inaccuracies, is printed in the "Register of All Hallows, Dublin," pp. 127-8.

TRANSLATION OF DEED.

*Almaricius of Howth to the Vicar of the Church of Howth.**(Circa 1231-1240.)*

"To all faithful people of Christ to whom this present deed shall come, Almoricius of Howethe greeting in the Lord. Know all that I have given granted and by this present deed have confirmed, for my soul and the souls of my ancestors, to the Vicar of the Church of Howethe, twenty-five acres of land¹ of my demesne; to hold and to have in pure and perpetual alms; that is to say, those which lie near the stream flowing into the sea between the church and the old Castle towards the east, and reach from the centre of the water in length unto the boundaries made between that land and my land towards the west, and from the way coming from Manaloge unto the said stream of water towards the south side, unto the sea, in width; with all its appurtenances, from the time when Walter de Suell was Vicar of Howethe. And in compensation for this land the said Walter de Suell assigned to me fifteen acres of land near my gate towards the town of Cornewaleys. Moreover this exchange of land was made for the good of the church, with the assent and good will of our Reverend Father the Lord Luke Archbishop of Dublin, of Master Gentilius, parson of Howethe at that time, and of Walter de Suell, Vicar, and was confirmed by the lord of Dublin. Moreover I and my heirs will warrant the said twenty-five acres of land to the said Walter de Suell and his successors against all men. I have also

¹ I have been able to ascertain the precise position of the lands demised in this deed. The stream referred to as forming the western boundary, is the well-known "Bloody Stream," so called as being the scene of the battle in which Sir Almeric Tristram, the founder of the Howth family, gained a victory over the Danes and others on St. Lawrence's Day, A.D. 1177. This stream discharges into the sea at Evora Bridge, on the Dublin-road, and the plot extended from the waterfall at that bridge, in an easterly direction, to the western gable of the present St. Lawrence Hotel; its eastern limit still forms the boundary between the modern townlands of "Howth Demesne" and "Howth." The field now forms part of the demesne directly facing, and in full view of, the entrance door of Howth Castle. The sea-shore formed the northern boundary, but the "way coming from Manalogue," described as the boundary on the south side, has long since disappeared, and there is no trace of it or record of the name.

Fortunately the southern boundary can be otherwise determined, as the eastern and western boundaries, before described, converge in the southerly direction to within a few yards of each other, and so denote the southern limit. I have made a calculation of the area of land included as above, and measuring from the Ordnance Survey Maps, it amounts to 28 statute acres. This plot is still in one field, save the portions taken up by the road along the sea, and the yards of the houses having a frontage thereto, the remainder is known by the older inhabitants as the "twenty-acre field." Twenty acres is the extent mentioned in many of the notices of the grant to the church, but the original deed states twenty-five acres. The Bloody Stream was altered in its course in A.D. 1812, when it was moved 120 yards to the west. It formerly flowed along the site of the church erected in 1812, but was directed away from it to protect the foundation of the new structure.

granted that all his men and tenants shall be quit and free from all servitude, exaction, custom and demand appertaining to me and my heirs. And that they may have free ingress and egress through my land and sea, and that they may have turf for their fire and pasture for their animals, and other necessities for themselves, as other men of the country have, and that they may buy and sell and carry on their traffic through the whole of my land quietly and peaceably and without any impediment. Further, I will that the men of my land may be hired workmen in the service of the Vicar for his own use, when he shall need them, when they are not retained in my own service. Besides, I have granted to the said W. de Suell for the increase of his said Vicarage (being moved thereto by piety) one fishing boat, free and quit for ever from all custom, exaction and demand appertaining to me and my heirs, wherever it shall land on my land. And that all the fishermen of my land who shall enter the same boat to fish on the sea, whether they are under engagement to him or not, whilst they are in his service, when they shall return to land, shall be free of all exaction and demand pertaining to me or my heirs; nor shall I or any of my people, in my name, exact anything from them by extortion or unjustly. But if I shall desire to have any purchase of fish from the same, I may receive it of their own free will, and at a price at which another may be able to make the purchase, and I shall satisfy them of the value in the port without any difficulty or delay. Besides, I have bound myself, as well by the acknowledgment of an oath as by my present deed, and under a penalty of 40/-, having sworn for me and my heirs, that never in my life will I rise up against my prelates contrary to justice, nor in the future lay violent hands on them or any of them or on any clerk unless in defending myself, nor will I vex them or their men unjustly or treat them badly; and if that, I being unwilling or not knowing it, anything of his or any of his men be made forfeit by my men, forthwith I shall cause that to be amended according to ecclesiastical form. And if it should happen that I in process of time in any wise should bring anything against or abate by any ecclesiastical law this present deed, within two months after that this shall have been proved, the penalty of 40/- shall fall on me, to be committed by the hands of my Prelate without any contradiction to the use of the sick men of St. John without the new gate of Dublin, nor shall the payment of the penalty be further delayed.

“And in witness of this thing I have strengthened this present writing by the addition of my seal. These being witnesses, Lord L(uke) Archbishop of Dublin, Sir G(eoffrey) de Turvile, Archdeacon of Dublin, Master T(homas) de Craville, Chancellor of Dublin, W. de Frewill, then official of the Lord Archdeacon of Dublin, Sir Alan, then Dean of Swords.”

The 15 acres of land given to Lord Howth in exchange for the 25 acres were, no doubt, a possession of the church erected in the time of Sitric; and their proximity to Lord Howth's entrance gate would render the 15 acres of as much value to him as the 25 acres on the margin of his demesne. Sometime in the seventeenth century (*circa* 1630) the Lords of Howth resumed possession of these lands, but not without a protest from the prebendary of that period; ecclesiastical affairs were not, at that time, in a healthy condition either in Howth or many adjoining parishes, a circumstance which may have seemed a sufficient justification to the representative of the original grantor for taking back the lands, but the 15 acres were not restored.

The church, as enlarged in A.D. 1235, remained without any alteration until the end of the fourteenth, or early in the fifteenth, century. During that period it was in charge of the following prebendaries, of whom only two are mentioned in Mason's list of the Prebendaries of Howth, viz., John de Sancto Amaro and William de Beverly:—

<i>Circa</i> , A.D. 1231–1240,	{ MASTER GENTILIUS, “Parson.” WALTER DE SUELL, “Vicar.”
„ Close of 13th century,	{ JOHN DE SANCTO AMARO, “Rector.” ¹
„ A.D. 1330,	ADAM DE HERVYNGTON, “Prebendary.” ²
„ A.D. 1380,	WM. DE BEVERLY, “a Canon of Westminster.” ³
„ A.D. 1468,	JOHN PLANT.
„ A.D. 1470,	WILLIAM TREGORREI, “Rector.” ⁴

¹ In the “Crede Mihi,” in a record, made about A.D. 1275, of the state of the parishes in the Diocese of Dublin, there is an entry relating to the “Church of Howthe with Chapel of Mone (Kilbarrack), Master John de Sancto Amaro, Rector, ‘Ex callog’”; and in the “Ecclesiastical Taxation of Ireland,” A.D. 1302–6, the annual value of the prebend of Howth is given at £13 6s. 8d. (Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, A.D. 1302–7, p. 237: Prebend of Howth, £13 6s. 8d. yearly value; £1 6s. 8d. tenth). Richard, Lord of Howth, had a lease of this rectory at the suppression of the cathedral.” (See p. 64, “History of St. Patrick’s Cathedral,” by W. Monck-Mason).

² In the Patent Rolls of Edward III., there is the following entry:—“A.D. 1330, February 12th. Grant to Adam de Hervyngton of the Prebend of Howth, in the church of St. Patrick, Dublin, in the king’s gift by reason of the late voidance of the See of Dublin. Mandate in pursuance to the Archbishop.”

³ In the Calendar of Patent Rolls, 3rd Richard II., Part iii. p., 481, 7th April, A.D. 1380, there is a record of a license for the king’s clerk, William de Beverle, Canon of Dublin Cathedral, and Prebendary of Houthe in the same, as he is one of the Residentiary Canons in the king’s free chapel of St. Stephen, within his palace of Westminster, to absent himself from Ireland, notwithstanding the ordinance in the last Parliament at Westminster, on condition that he contribute to its defence.

⁴ Exchequer Fines. Term S. Mich., 10 Edw. IV., m. 33 [A.D. 1470]:—“Will. Tregorrei, rector of the church of St. Mary the Virgin, of Howth, came here before the barons of this Exchequer, 12th day of October, in this term, and made fine with the lord the king, for contempt, in that he, on the fourth day of June last past, at Dublin, said to Christopher Russell, of Dublin, tailor, Hen. Lang, of same, and others, jurors, who were sworn between the same rector and John Laralton in a plea of debt, such words, maliciously: ‘Ye beth all false forsworne harlotis.’ Fine, 40s.” (The original entry is in Latin, but the abusive words of his reverence are entered in English, just as uttered. The Rector only meant that the jury “were all false and forsworn scoundrels.” This exploit has preserved his name from oblivion).

THE CHURCH FROM A.D. 1380 TO 1470.

The absence of any architectural details in carved work or mouldings is a distinct disadvantage in fixing dates. Sitric's church was entirely devoid of ornament. The arch of the western entrance had not even an impost at the springing, and owing to its length it partook more of the nature of a vault than an arch over a wall-opening. In the thirteenth-century additions, the chiselled stone used was Somerset or other oolitic stones, of which only a few sills and mullions remain, with part of the head of the arch. There is, fortunately, in the chancel a very good fourteenth-century window, before referred to. It has an equilateral-headed arch, and exhibits other distinctive forms very much in vogue during the time of Edward III., who died in A.D. 1377. There is no record that I know of to indicate any changes in the structure at this time; but as I have, in the course of this Paper, relied on the evidence presented by the building, rather than on historic documents, the absence of written records on this point is not so material: the stones tell their own story; the history of the past is not all contained in printed books or manuscripts.

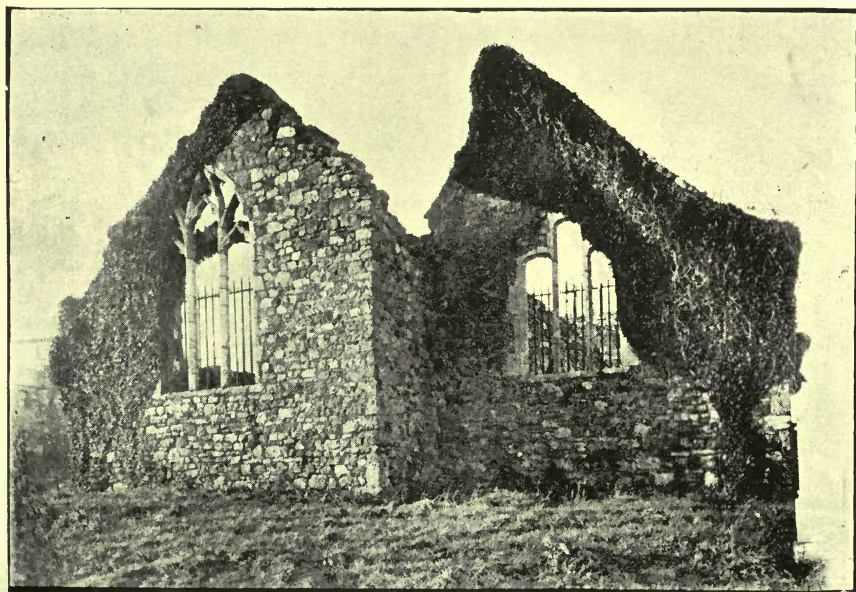
The reign of Edward III. was marked by considerable architectural activity—one of his bishops, William of Wykeham, was celebrated as an architect—and the pointed style is considered to have arrived at its classic age about this time. In Ireland it was a turbulent and stormy period. An Act was passed displacing all holders of office, substituting persons of English birth, and the Viceroy, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, banished all but these from his court in Dublin. Some time before this (A.D. 1330) Adam de Hervyngton had been presented to Howth by the king; and, later on, in A.D. 1380, William Beverly, who was a Canon of Westminster, succeeded him. It was doubtless in the period of the occupation of the latter that the last addition to the church was commenced. This consisted of a longitudinal extension to the east; the addition of A.D. 1235 having been a lateral extension of the Anglo-Saxon Church to the north.

An enlarged chancel, measuring about 40 ft. in length and 17 ft. 10 in. in width, was formed, which was constructed after the manner of a private chapel, or chantry. Chantry in parish churches were frequently founded at existing altars, but in this instance it was attached to the new high altar, and eventually the whole of the south chancel became a private chapel. The screen separating it from the body of the church ran across the north aisle also, and access to the rood loft was obtained by steps in the north wall, opposite where the buttress is shown.¹ The space east of this, in the north aisle, formed a

¹ In an investigation of the kind, even what would seem to be trivial considerations should not be disregarded. Did the buttress denote a weakness of the wall at this point, and why should it be weak here? The rood beam rested on its top, and its



SOUTH-WEST VIEW OF THE RUINS OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH, HOWTH.



EAST WINDOWS, ST. MARY'S CHURCH, HOWTH.

chancel for the body of the church, and under the east window stood a public altar, which had a statue of the B.V.M., as we learn from a reference (*circa* 1485) to "Our blessed Lady that bliste (?) in the North Church of Houth."¹ There were in all three altars in this church, the positions of each of which I have already described.

The question naturally arises: Who founded this enlarged chancel or chantry which formed the principal eastern extension at this period? The very fine altar-tomb in this portion of the church, known as the St. Lawrence tomb, supplies the answer. At this period altar or table-tombs, with recumbent effigies, were very common.

Nicholas, Baron of Howth, is mentioned as having been a Commissioner of the Peace in 1381; he died in 1404, and was succeeded by Christopher, who died in 1430. Though some writers are of opinion that the tomb referred to is to the memory of Christopher, the 20th Baron, who died in A.D. 1589, the monument exhibits all the evidence of the early fifteenth-century period, and must be taken as referring to Christopher, the 13th Baron. A detailed description of this tomb will be given later on. The western panel of the structure is removable, and gives access to the crypt below, which extends as far as the chancel, and is the burying place of the Barons of Howth.

The curious arch of rubble masonry, which runs across the tracery head of the east window of this chapel, is one of the evidences we have that a croft or upper chamber in continuation of the rood loft extended over this portion of the chancel.

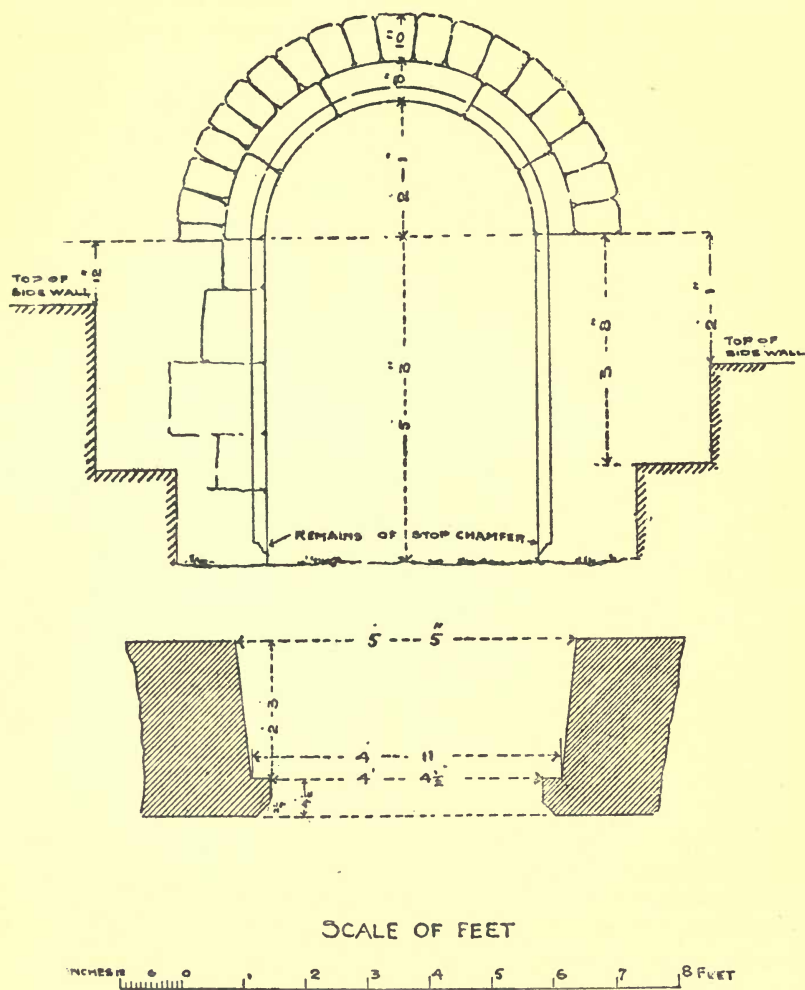
The super-imposed woodwork of the floor formed a ceiling over the chancel and a canopy over the tomb, and if it was used as a private chapel, the choir were dispossessed. The croft over was a sort of music gallery, and it was usual to have a small organ and a few desks for the singers; the handrail over the beam in front contained basins and stands for tapers; and in front of the beam the great cross or rood was attached, before which a light was kept burning, and if the church could afford it, this lamp was not extinguished day or night.

As to the rest of the church, the absence, at the present time, of chiselled stone from the piers and arches gives a mean appearance to the ruin. This effect was not presented when the church was complete. The stone used for the east window is granite, one of the hardest stones and most difficult to dress; this circumscribed its ornamental use, but the deficiency was fully atoned for by the use of woodwork internally in the church, especially for the decoration of the chancel.

thickness was curtailed and weakened by the steps forming the approach to the rood loft. Later on it yielded, and had to be supported externally by a buttress. The junction of the new wall with the old occurred about this place, and this may have been a third factor of instability. This buttress, however, may have been the base of the stairs turret, but the character of the masonry, here and at other places, has been so changed by pinning, pointing, and spawling, that its comparative age is difficult to fix.

¹ See vol. iii., 5th Series, p. 396, of this *Journal*, 1893.

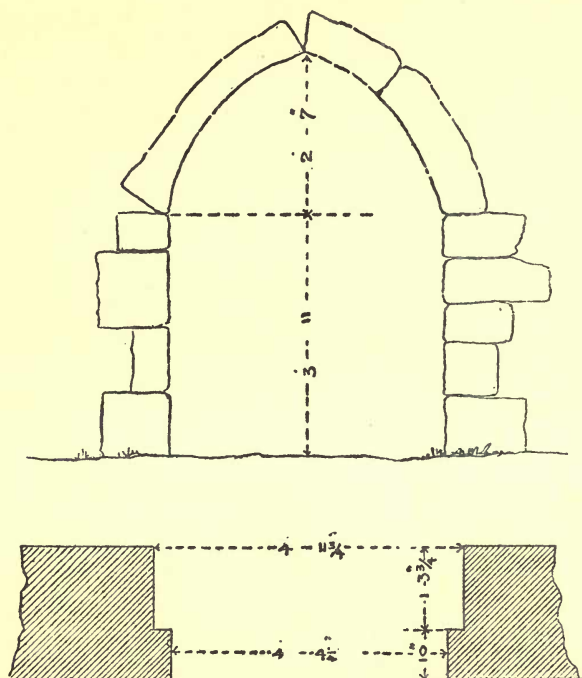
A parish church of this size at this time would have pews, especially in the eastern portion, but at the west end and near the doors a clear



Plan and Elevation of Inner Door, South Porch.

space was left. It was usual for men to occupy one side of the church and women the other, a practice still adhered to at the present day in the churches of some denominations in rural districts, and revived in many English churches in this century.

Completing our survey of the church as finally enlarged, we find the south porch had a stoup or basin for holy water, and another in the side wall directly inside the church door; there was yet another in proximity to the north door, which seems to have served for the western entrance as well. There is no trace of the font; its position would have been some



Plan and Elevation of Outer Door, South Porch.¹

place west of the first pillar. There might have been a pulpit at this period, and probably a litany desk and confessional, but the absence of the two latter would not be unusual; the necessity for these distinctive features had not at the time been fully recognised.

¹ The stones forming the arch of this doorway, as shown above, have been referred to by a writer as "an example which, combining all the simplicity of the inclined stones, originates at once the principles of the pointed arch," adding that "this example is probably later than the period in which the pointed arch was prevalent in England, but it does not make it any the less an original example or less fit for illustration." ("Practical Geology and Ancient Architecture of Ireland," by George Wilkinson, 1845.) This is the only reference in the work to Howth Church. The example referred to is of thirteenth-century date, and the stones forming the arch are worked in as dressings, being of a different and more expensive description than the stone of the surrounding walling. The pointed arch had been used in vaulting as early as the tenth century, and it was in common use in the twelfth century.

ON OGAMS, INCLUDING THREE RECENTLY DISCOVERED IN THE COUNTY KILKENNY, AND ONE IN THE COUNTY WATERFORD.

BY THE REV. E. F. HEWSON, B.A., HON. LOCAL SECRETARY, SOUTH KILKENNY.

PERHAPS the most pressing question in the matter of Ogams is this :— Do they, or, do they not, contain Latin words? Mr. Brash's well-known and learned work still holds the field as a recognised authority; and he appears unable to see in any ogam any Latin or Greek word, any Christian idea or symbol, anything that is not purely pagan and Celtic. If a cross appears inscribed on the same stone, as it does in several instances, it is the addition of a later age.

On the other hand, Bishop Graves of Limerick affirms, and gives as yet unshaken evidence, that Latin words occur in the ogams here and there; and, more decisive still, the names of persons mentioned in our ecclesiastical records, "not merely as Christians, but as holding eminent places in the history of the Irish Church." If these two points be established, there will remain no ground for dispute about the crosses. They will readily be admitted as contemporaneous with the epitaphs.

The admission of the use of the ogam character in Christian times would account for one thing that must have surprised every person who has read as many as half-a-dozen ogams. It is the frequency with which the deceased person commemorated on the stone, is described as a swine-herd, or the son of a swine-herd—that is, in all probability if not certainly, a slave. To readers of Sir Walter Scott, the description recalls the figure of Gurth, the Saxon thrall, in *Ivanhoe*. Wearing an iron collar as the badge of his servitude, deprived of legal rights, broken in spirit, or else made treacherous and vindictive by the contempt in which he was held, by the hard fare, the hard words, and the hard blows; one could scarcely expect that any large proportion of these monuments would be erected to such as he. Once, however, admit that these swine-herds may have been Christians; and, if so, then possibly even fathers and pioneers of Christianity in a country still largely pagan; and this puts a new face on the matter. The Christian congregations formed by St. Paul contained numbers of slaves; and it was one main part of his teaching that a common Christianity breaks down the barrier between "bond and free." The name of Onesimus, one of these slave disciples of St. Paul, has come down to us with the record that he was to the apostle as "a son" and a "brother beloved." To come nearer to the point in question: St. Patrick the apostle of Ireland was a swine-herd and a slave.

A good many years ago Sir Samuel Ferguson made a suggestion which points in the same direction. He had observed indications that the early Christians in Gaul were called "Swine," either by their heathen neighbours in dislike and contempt, or else by themselves in pious humility, as though they thought themselves unworthy to be called sheep of the flock of Christ. Much may not be built upon this; but if it applies to the Irish ogams, then the swine-herd of the ogam would be not merely a Christian but a clergyman.

The matter remains in obscurity, but whatever may be the explanation I have said enough to show the importance of the question whether the ogam character was used in Christian times, or, which comes to the same thing, whether the inscriptions contain Latin. If they do, as the Bishop contends, contain not only Latin, but the names of Christians eminent in our ecclesiastical annals, then the fact has a most important bearing on the correct reading and interpretation of ogams. It makes a great difference indeed if a man mistakes the Irish he is reading for Latin, or, *vice versa*, the Latin for Irish; and therefore before we go much further in the reading of these inscriptions it ought to be decided whether the Latin, and the Christian ideas generally which accompany it are admissible: whether in short the Bishop of Limerick has proved his point. Once admit that, and a fresh impetus would be given to the discovery and correct reading of more ogams, and new light thrown upon our early ecclesiastical history.

Several years ago three articles by the Bishop appeared in *Hermathena*, a very learned publication indeed, devoted to the discussion of various very abstruse subjects.¹ The greater part of *Hermathena* I found utterly beyond the comprehension of my rustic intelligence; and these articles on ogams, although level enough to the most ordinary understanding, are, for a different reason, beyond the reach of the general public. This reason is that the circulation of *Hermathena*, in which they appear, is limited to a small number of copies, printed at the University Press, and circulated privately; although the articles may be read at the public libraries. Their scarcity and difficulty of access, together with the value of what they contain, is my excuse for making some extracts.

Leaving out of account Welsh and Scotch Ogams, from a study of which however he claims like results, Bishop Graves confines himself to Irish ogams, and he instances about nine cases in which he makes little doubt of the presence of Latin. Not improbably the number might be found much greater if the inscriptions were less injured and correctly transcribed. He thinks the letter "F" is made to stand for *FILIUS*; the letters "A. N. M." for *ANIMA*; and "FECT" or "FECTI" after the name of a man, for "FECIT," as it might after the name of the stone-cutter of a modern epitaph.

¹ Vol. ii., p. 443; vol. iii., p. 208; and vol. vi., p. 241.

I can best, perhaps, convey an idea of the divergence of opinion between Mr. Brash and his school on the one side, and the Bishop on the other, by the following instance:—Upon a stone at Kinnaird East, county Kerry, the Bishop and Mr. Brash both read “*MARIANI*.” There is no difference between them as to the letters. But the Bishop understands by that the genitive case of the familiar Latin name *Marianus* borne by several well-known Irishmen. *Marianus Scotus*, for instance, Abbot of Ratisbon in the eleventh century, *Marianus Gormanus*, or Gorman, abbot of Louth, in the twelfth. Mr. Brash, taking the word for Irish, translates it “the field plain or land of Rian,” O’Ryan’s country, while the Bishop argues further, on philological grounds, that it could not be that. It happens that there is inscribed on the stone a cross within a square. This the Bishop takes for the Christian symbol. Mr. Brash takes it for a map of the said O’Ryan’s country.

In like manner what they both read “*SAGGITARI*,” the Bishop takes for the genitive (badly spelled) of *SAGITARIUS*, either a Latin proper name or the Latin for an archer. Mr. Brash, on the other hand, in agreement with his theory, sees only Irish, and translates accordingly. While the Bishop contends that his own Latin is good Latin; Mr. Brash’s Irish is bad Irish.

I have myself seen and transcribed with all the care I could, having the various readings before me, one of these stones of which the Bishop claims that it contains Latin. I think the reading is “*AFINES AGRACOLINEA*.” I do not know whether any one will contend that this is Irish. To very many it will seem badly spelled Latin. In the matter of spelling we are not to expect in these ogams classical accuracy. In the Glossary of King Cormac and in the Brehon Laws, as Bishop Graves has pointed out, the Latin spelling is quite as rude, at least, as in what he takes to be Latin in these ogams. The stone I speak of is one of several by a well near Stradbally in the county Waterford, known as the Ballyvooney ogams. They are about half-a-mile from the ruins of the monastery, or ecclesiastical establishment of some sort, at Ballyvooney. The inscription “*AFINES AGRACOLINEA*” may mark this one (the Bishop suggests) as the boundary stone of the land of a man with the Latin name *Agricola*. It is not easy to get over the idea that it contains Latin.

The last instance which I shall extract is this “*CARE PAITAIR UDI*” which the Bishop takes as bad spelling for “*care pater audi*”—Dear Father hear.

If once the presence of Latin be admitted, the way is made easier for the admission of the Bishop’s second claim, to have identified the persons commemorated on the stones with historical Christian personages. My object is to send my readers to the articles in *Hermathena* themselves, and I shall give but one instance. On a stone at Ballysteenig, near Dingle, Co. Kerry, occurs the name “*Moinenn*,” whom the Bishop identifies with the uncle of the great Saint Brendan of Clonfert. He

was attached by St. Brendan, as Bishop, to the Monastery of Clonfert, and is named as Bishop of Clonfert in the Felire and in the Martyrologies, being commemorated on March 1st. He died A.D. 572. In the list of bishops given in the Book of Leinster there is but one Moinenn.

These ideas ought to give a new impetus to the study of Ogams. That a large number remain to be discovered I have not the slightest doubt. They lie buried in raths and tumuli, built into the walls of old churches and castles, buried in the clay of ancient graveyards. Kilkenny is too far inland to be expected to contain many; and for 600 years, since the Anglo-Norman Conquest, the stone-mason has been very busy here, as is evidenced by our noble ruins. The stone-mason, more than the farmer, is the natural enemy of the ogam. In utter disregard of the inscribed letters, his eye gladdens at the *proportions* of the stone; and his hammer falls in the squaring and the fitting. Even, however, in Kilkenny I have to record the recent discovery of three ogams.

No. 1 is at Legan Castle, a ruin about a mile and a half from Thomastown, beside the old disused coach road between Thomastown and Kilkenny, and close outside Lord Carrick's demesne, Mount Juliet. It was one of perhaps a score of castles in Kilkenny, Tipperary, and other counties, which belonged to the once powerful family of Grace, descended from Raymond le Gros, one of the most distinguished early Anglo-Norman conquerors, and brother-in-law to Strongbow. A voluminous account of the family, with numerous illustrations, will be found in "Memoirs of the Family of Grace," by Sheffield Grace, London, 1823. They were barons of Courtstown and lords of the cantred of Grace's Country in Kilkenny. A junior branch were owners of this castle at Legan, of another at Ballylinch, the ruins of which remain within the demesne of Mount Juliet, and of Carney Castle, near Nenagh, in Tipperary. Sketches of these three castles may be found in "Notitia Historica," by Nicholas Harris Nicolas of the Inner Temple, a publication which I found bound up with the Grace Memoirs. It preserves also Latin epitaphs to four members of the family, which once stood in Jerpoint Abbey, but of which there remains now but one fragment built into the west gable, and consisting of some metrical lines.

At one corner of Legan Castle there was till lately a very large quoin stone, the lower end sunk in the ground, its upper part about five feet above the ground. Of this stone I was told on the spot the following tradition:—When the castle was about to be built and its site was being chosen the stone stood in the way, fixed upright in the ground—a legan or pillar stone. An assistant said to the architect, "It is a fine legan"; and the other said, "Let it stand, and we shall name the castle after it." The castle was accordingly so built, that without the removal of the stone it served as a quoin. The dialogue between the architect and his assistant has been preserved in the Irish language, the only Irish words I have heard in the county during a residence of many years; and the

castle appears to have been invariably called—as named by the architect after the stone—Legan Castle.

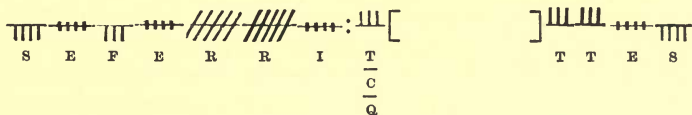
About sixteen years ago a storm blew down part of the castle; and about 1887 Holohan, the farmer in whose yard it stands, in clearing away the fallen material, exposed to view an ogam inscription on the legan, which had been concealed in the masonry. It remained unnoticed until 1891, when Mr. John Moore, of Columbkille,¹ reported the matter to me, and I made a rough sketch, a transcript, and a mould, which I immediately sent to the Bishop of Limerick.

The stone now lies in the farm-yard by the castle. It measures about 6 feet 5 inches in length. Its base 22 inches by 17, and its top 17 inches square. The inscription is rudely cut upon a rugged surface. It begins 25 inches from the base and runs up the left-hand angle and over the top, where, however, it is much injured. Near the top is a plain Latin cross, but there is considerable appearance of its being of later date than the ogam.

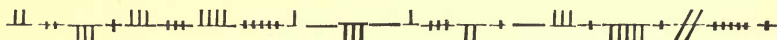
Nos. 2 and 3 are at Lamogue. This is a place little known, about half-way between Ballyhale Station on the Waterford and Central Ireland Railway and Carrick-on-Suir: six or seven miles from either. It lies a little south of the direct road between the villages of Kilmoganny and Windgap, a mile and a half or two miles from either. It is a mere rural townland, with a grave-yard. All that remains of the church is a small featureless piece of one wall, and, by encroachments of the adjoining field, this bit of wall of the church has become part of the wall of the grave-yard as well. So the farmer told me—bones, he said, having been frequently turned up in the field. Near the centre of the grave-yard one cannot fail to notice a large sandstone boulder set up on end to mark a modern grave, with an ogam inscription in a bold hand. The stone measures about 4 feet 9 inches in height, and 2 feet 3 inches in breadth at the base, tapering to about 15 inches at the top. Its thickness is about 12 inches. The inscription begins on the left-hand angle, 27 inches from the base, and runs upward to the top, where it is broken sharply off at the third score of the eighth letter, leaving it doubtful whether the letter is complete. The inscription continues downward along the right-hand angle, a good deal being lost in the

¹ Mr. John Moore deserves here a short notice. A working farmer, he has never, I believe, been a member of any archaeological society, but he is, nevertheless, a most enthusiastic antiquarian, and is the discoverer of the Claragh as well as of the Legan ogam. His interest began with the foundation of this Society, and for many years, till disabled by age, he devoted one month in the year to antiquarian research. Leaving home he traversed the country on foot, examining every old church, and rath, and castle—every stone that might possibly be a cromlech or an ogam, or have any antiquarian interest whatever. He extended his walks into neighbouring counties, and is said to know every big stone on the Blackstairs and Mount Leinster ranges as far as the borders of Wicklow. He regularly supplied the late Rev. James Graves with information, and his services to archæology in that way cannot now be estimated. He is an intellectual man, with unusual charm of manner, and lives in the past.

middle by the injury to the top of the stone. What remains is distinct.



No 3 is another sandstone boulder lying flat on the ground some five or six yards from No. 2. It measures 4 feet 5 inches in extreme length, 16 or 17 inches in width, and 7 inches in thickness. The inscription begins on the left-hand angle, about 19 inches from the base, runs over the top and down the right-hand angle, ending nearly opposite where it began. At the top of the left angle is the eighth letter $++++$, and very close to its fifth score, almost running into it is a consonantal score not so deep as the others on the stone, but still distinct. It lies so close to the letter before it as to suggest the idea that it was intended to correct a mistake by cutting out the fifth vowel score and so to change the preceding letter from *r* into *e*. I read—



It is noticeable that along the top angle of the stone there are three gaps, each large enough to contain about five scores. I could see no trace of scores in these gaps, but if any were originally there, they were probably *above* the stem lines where the surface is uneven, rather than *below* it where the surface is smooth and level.

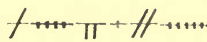
These two stones and their markings have been for half a century well known to the rustics living near. Comerford, an intelligent farmer, told me that he and his neighbours had known them from childhood, but he had always taken the inscription for scratches made by the plough.

In 1891 the Lamogue ogams came under the notice of Mr. Cummins, master of the National School at Desert, then of Mr. Shelley of Callan, who sent me two sketches. Lamogue is nineteen miles by car from Gowran, where I live; but in September of that year I made moulds which I sent to the Bishop of Limerick.

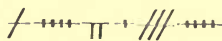
It may save some antiquarian the loss of some hours of valuable time if I mention an ogam which was reported to me as being in the grave-yard of the chapel at Windgap. I found a very long inscription beautifully cut, after the manner of a printed ogam, in very small ogam *consonants*, without any vowels, upon the face of a modern tombstone. It makes no sense whatever; and a man was brought to me who said it was cut fifty years ago by his father. The father had apparently copied, without understanding them, the occult characters he had seen at Lamogue, and probably, too, in print.

No. 4 is in the townland of Garraun, about three miles from

Kilmacthomas, in the county of Waterford, on the road to Dungarvan. It is on the property of the Duchess of St. Alban's, and the farm was lately occupied by Mr. Pierce Casey; in the autumn of 1890 when I was there, by the Land Corporation. I am explicit in these details on account of the difficulty and loss of time I have experienced in finding well-known ogams. On a rising ground, about 400 yards from the farm house, is a killeen, within which is the foundation of a very small church, said by the country people to be "the second oldest church in Rome," by which I suppose is meant the Roman jurisdiction or obedience. Close outside the killeen is a tall pillar stone over seven feet high, usually kept white-washed out of reverence, and said to mark the grave of a Bishop. Conspicuous from either the road or the railway, both of which are close by, it is the best guide to the spot. It bears an ogam inscription very much worn by weather and the rubbing of cattle, and long known to antiquarians; for which reason I shall not further mention it. My business is with a big boulder lying on its side, about five yards distant. This boulder measures 8 feet 2 inches in length, varies from 33 to 12 inches in width, and is of a nearly uniform depth of 13 or 14 inches. It was sunk in the ground by its own weight, but Miss Fairholme, of Comeragh, had it turned over in my presence by a number of navvies; and then there appeared a faint ogam inscription. It appeared uninjured, except by the uniform wear of the weather during the time it had stood upright, and seems to have consisted originally of a single word. The men dug where the stone had lain to the depth of about eighteen inches, and found burnt and blackened earth and pieces of charcoal of the size of a marble. I sent a mould to the Bishop of Limerick, and give the following transcript:—


 M E L A G I

OR


 M E L A N G E

I have given alternative readings because I am not sure whether the eleventh score is part of the following vowel or of the preceding consonant; but I rather think the former. A deep mark at the end is, I think, a natural indentation.

THE BATTLE OF BENBURB.

BY THE REV. W. T. LATIMER, B.A., HON. LOCAL SECRETARY FOR EAST TYRONE.

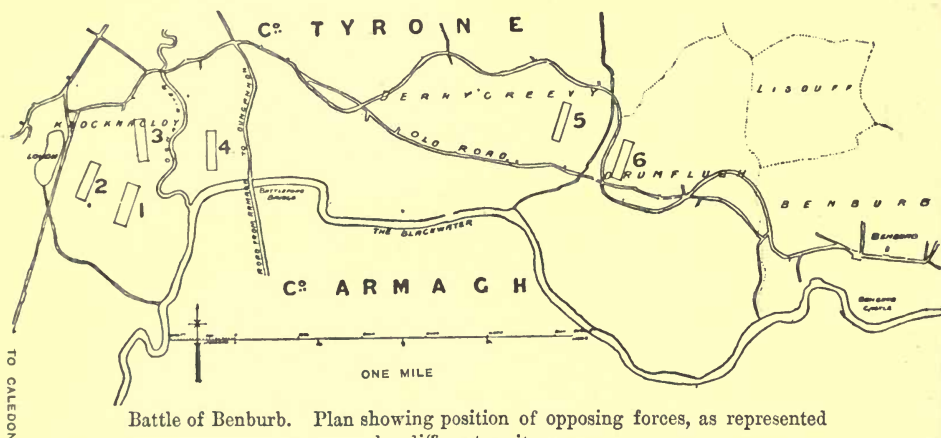
IT seems exceedingly strange that almost every historian who has written of Owen Roe O'Neill's great victory, is astray, with regard to the position of the battle-field. Collier has placed Benburb in county Armagh. Wright evidently knew that this village was in Tyrone, but he has erred in stating that Monro marched as far as Glasslough, which he strangely imagines to be near Benburb, on the Armagh side of the river. But, dismissing narrators such as Wright, who tries to teach geography without consulting an atlas, we have a large number of painstaking and accurate historians who place the battlefield on the west bank of the Oona, beside where that river falls into the Blackwater. And even if we go further back, and consult the narratives of those who themselves took part in the engagement, we find much confusion and inconsistency. It is therefore only by carefully comparing one account with another, and by repeated examinations of the ground itself, that it is possible to determine the position of the battle-field with anything like absolute certainty. Living in the immediate neighbourhood, I have made this question a particular study, and I now give the results to the Royal Society of Antiquaries.

In the Summer of 1646, Owen Roe O'Neill,¹ with about 5000 foot and 1500 horse, made a descent upon Ulster. General Robert Monro, with an army fully as numerous, took the field to oppose him, and, on the 4th of June, marched to Hamilton's Bawn, in the county of Armagh. Colonel George Monro, nephew of the General, at the head of a strong detachment, was coming from Coleraine to join the main body; while O'Neill, stationed at Benburb, lay between these two divisions of the British army. General Monro, fearing lest his kinsman might be overwhelmed by superior forces on his march, determined to offer battle to the Irish, and, on the morning of the 5th of June, 1646, advanced from Hamilton's Bawn to the neighbourhood of Benburb.² From a ridge of rugged hills that rise above Maydown, on the Armagh side of the river, he was enabled to view the enemy's position. O'Neill held both the bridge and the ford, and the ford was defended by the old castle, which

¹ Historians are about equally divided as to whether Owen Roe O'Neill was the grandson or great grandson of Matthew, Baron of Dungannon. Many think the balance of probability is in favour of the latter assumption, since Art McBaron and his wife were so very old in 1609, when Owen Roe was very young, that they could hardly be his parents. But, on the other hand, O'Mellon, who ought to know, calls him Owen McArt, the son of Fedoragh (Matthew).

² Monro's Dispatch. O'Neill's Journal.

stood majestically on the summit of a cliff, 100 feet high, overhanging its base, which was washed by the waters of the rapid river. Monro, seeing that it would be hazardous to attempt crossing, under such difficulties, marched towards Caledon, toiling for six long Irish miles over pathless bramble-covered hills, and through the intervening bogs, bringing his cannons and baggage, with immense difficulty, and rendering his troops so fatigued,¹ by this toilsome journey, that, afterwards, they were really unable to encounter their enemies. Near Caledon, Monro succeeded in crossing the Blackwater, without opposition. Leaving his baggage there with about 1500 men, he marched back, along the Tyrone bank of the river, over hills and through fearful quagmires, towards O'Neill's position. Meanwhile, the Irish leader had left Benburb, and advanced leisurely to meet the advancing Scots. About a mile from the castle,² on



Battle of Benburb. Plan showing position of opposing forces, as represented by different writers.

the slope of a scraggy hill,³ named Drumflugh,⁴ he took up his position (see No. 6 on plan), and determined, in this place of advantage, to await his enemy, whom he beheld still toiling along on the Armagh side of the river.⁵ Here O'Neill drew up his men, with the Blackwater on his left, and certainly not on his right, as stated by Carte, and all the historians that have followed him, for, in this case, his error would have been towards the attacking army. Probably Carte may have misunderstood Monro's somewhat ambiguous statement that the Blackwater was on "the right," meaning his own right, and thus fell into

¹ "British Officer." Declaration of Scottish Army in Ireland.

² "British Officer." Rinuccini.

³ Aphorismal Discovery.

⁴ O'Mellon's MS. O'Mellon was a friar in the Brantry Religious House, situated less than four miles from Drumflugh. Consequently he was well acquainted with the ground.

⁵ O'Neill's Journal.

an error that has been often copied. Meanwhile, O'Neill sent a detachment, under O'Ferrell to render Monro's advance as difficult as possible. This detachment was soon supported by reinforcements so large that the party amounted in all to nearly 2000 men.

Monro had marched about three miles from Caledon, when he was confronted by these Irish troops. But he succeeded, by means of his cannons, in driving them back fully a mile and a half,¹ to Drumflugh, where the main body was stationed. The Scottish General now took up his position on a gently rising eminence (No. 5), opposite the rugged ridge of Drumflugh, having the Blackwater on his right,² and a "marrish bog" on his left, with a "bottom"³ between the opposing armies. Monro opened a very ineffectual fire with his cannons,⁴ and the enemy replied. Thus the conflict continued for some hours, without much loss on either side. Late in the evening, after the sun had ceased to shine brightly in the eyes of the Irish, they made a general charge, with both horse and foot. Monro ordered a squadron of cavalry to meet his assailants,⁵ before they could reach his foot. But these horsemen were generally Irish, under British officers. Failing to repulse the enemy, they became disorderly, and retreated through the foot, making room for the enemy's horse to follow and attack the Scottish infantry, whose pikemen were armed with weapons much shorter than those possessed by the Irish. The Scots, moreover, were fatigued, while their enemies were fresh. For a short time, the conflict was maintained with determination, but the vigour and enthusiasm of the Irish overcame the opposition of their enemies, who were soon compelled to retreat. At this critical moment, a party that had been sent by O'Neill to prevent Colonel George Monro from joining the General, returned from the neighbourhood of Dungannon, having failed to prevent the Colonel from making a safe retreat. The arrival of this detachment enabled O'Neill to effectually turn the left wing of the Scots, who had been already driven backwards, and by this movement, not only deprived of the protection afforded by the bog on their left, but brought right into the front of the party returning from Dungannon.

The greater part of the British were now driven down the gently sloping hill, from Derryreevey to where the Battleford Bridge now spans the Blackwater. Thistle Hill, steep and impassable, was before them, the Irish behind, and on their right, as they fled; while, to the left, was the river, dark and deep, even in Summer. Into this river the fugitives, horse and foot, were driven, in one surging mass. The waters rose high above those struggling in the stream for life. Yet the Scots pressed madly onwards, rushing in upon the dead and dying. At last, it was possible to cross the river by walking on the bodies of the dead, and thus

¹ Relation of the Fight.

⁴ "British Officer."

² Monro's Dispatch.

⁵ Monro's Dispatch.

³ "British Officer."

a portion of the defeated army succeeded in escaping. The wounded, who lay helpless on the battlefield, were slain by the enemy.¹ The dead were afterwards stripped, so that there was a "multitude of corps starke naked like a great hearde of small cattle afar off."²

Some fugitives from the defeated army seem to have succeeded in passing between Thistle Hill and the detachment who had turned their left. Making for Caledon, many of them, it is said, were drowned in Knocknacloy Lough.³ This is exceedingly probable, as a marsh between the Blackwater and the Lough would impede their flight, while the cavalry, returning from Dungannon, would prevent their retreat in the direction of Brantry, north of the lough. Caught as in a net, most of these fugitives must have perished.

Different estimates have been formed of the British loss. Monro puts it down at 500, the "British Officer" at about 1900, and the Nuncio at over 3000; probably the truth lay somewhere near the second of these estimates. Monro himself escaped with difficulty, leaving behind his hat and wig. Lord Montgomery of Ardes was taken prisoner. Sir James Montgomery's regiment alone retreated in order. O'Neill followed the Scots in their flight for some distance, but the darkness of night soon put an end to his pursuit. The Irish admitted a loss of only 70 killed and 200 wounded. They captured 1500 horses and two months' provisions for the Scottish army.

O'Neill then marched to Tanderagee, which he was about to attack, when he was requested by the Nuncio to proceed south, in order to counteract the influence of the party who had made peace with King Charles. The Irish General obeyed, and marching to Kilkenny, threw away all the fruits of his victory.

There are three different theories with regard to the position of the contending armies in this engagement:—

(1) The opinion of historians generally that Monro (No. 1 on plan) and O'Neill (No. 2) were both on the west bank of the Oona. Against this supposition is Monro's assertion that the Blackwater (and not the Oona) was on his right, and also O'Mellon's statement that many of the retreating Scots were drowned in Knocknacloy Lough, which would have been impossible, according to this theory, as that lough is almost directly behind where the *victorious* army is supposed to have been stationed. Besides, in this position, the setting sun would not have shone in the faces of the Irish, and Monro could not possibly have seen their cavalry, when returning from Dungannon, as stated by O'Neill.

(2) The theory, advocated by Davis in the appendix to his poems, that Monro (No. 3), stationed on the west bank of the Oona, engaged O'Neill (No. 4), stationed on Thistle Hill, which rises abruptly from the

¹ O'Mellon's MS.

² Aphorismical Discovery.

³ O'Mellon's MS.

opposite or eastern bank. Against this supposition is the "British Officer's" statement that there was a "bottom" between the two armies, and also Monro's assertion that he had a bog on his left. If the theory of Davis were correct, then there would have been a river between the armies, and a sand hill on Monro's left.

Against both of these theories is the fact, that Knocknacloy Hill, on the west bank of the Oona, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Benburb, while the "British Officer" states that O'Neill took up his position one mile from that village. This statement is corroborated by Rinuccini, who mentions two camps, "a mile's distance from each other, at a place called Benburb," and still more positively by O'Mellon, who states that the armies met at Drumflugh, which is almost exactly a mile from the village in question. Besides, no balls, bones, or other relics of a battle have been found west of the Oona, and there is no tradition of an engagement having been ever fought in that locality.

(3) There now remains the theory advocated in this paper, which places O'Neill on Drumflugh Hill (fig. 6), and Monro on the opposite acclivity (fig. 5). In favour of this opinion are the traditions of the people, the positive statements of O'Mellon and the "British Officer," and the corroborative account of Rinuccini. Between the Battleford Bridge and Drumflugh immense numbers of gun balls and some human skeletons have been turned up; and the place where Monro's defeated army crossed the river is still known as the "Battle Ford." Besides, I do not think that any other engagement was fought on this ground. Certainly the conflict of 1597 was north-east of Drumflugh, between Tobermason and Portmore (Blackwatertown).

Taking all these circumstances into consideration, I have no doubt but Monro was driven backwards from the rising ground west of Drumflugh. At Derrycreevey, his left flank was turned, and the great body of his troops driven into the Blackwater, where now stands the Battleford Bridge.

[I have to return my best thanks to Mr. R. Young, J. P., C. E., for his assistance, and to Dr. Sommerville and Mr. J. Salmon, for some valuable extracts bearing on the question.]

ORIGINS OF PREHISTORIC ORNAMENT IN IRELAND.

BY GEORGE COFFEY, A.I.B., M.R.I.A., FELLOW.

(Continued from page 211, Vol. V., 1895.)

VIII.

IF we except certain legends of invasions or colonizations preserved in the ancient manuscripts of Ireland, it is not possible to bring forward evidence from literary sources of intercourse between Scandinavia and Great Britain and Ireland in remote ages. We must rely, therefore, on archæological evidence. Fortunately the latter is sufficient. It is necessary that this should be made clear before we resume the story of the patterns. Professor Montelius has collected a considerable body of evidence on the connexion between Scandinavia and the west of Europe in pre-historic times.¹ Objects of recognised western types found in Denmark and Sweden, but rare in those countries, must, he considers, be regarded as of foreign origin, and as evidence of early relations with the West. Evidence of this class remounts to the close of the Stone Age.

For the Stone Age he refers to certain forms of conical buttons, arm guards, and sepulchral vessels known as "drinking cups"; also chambered barrows with holed entrance stones. Some or all of these types are found in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and on the Continent they can be traced from the north-west as far south as the Spanish peninsula.

It is worthy of note that the drinking-cup type, numerous examples of which have been found in England and Scotland, is, if not absent, excessively rare in Ireland. As far as I can learn no certain example is recorded.² In Ireland it is replaced by the low bowl-shaped vessels so frequently associated with unburnt interments—a type not represented in England or Scotland.

The drinking cup may reach back to the close of the Stone Age in Britain, as its association with unburnt interments would seem to

¹ "Verbindungen zwischen Skandinavien und dem westlichen Europa vor Christi Geburt."—*Archiv für Anthropologie*, vol. xix.

² An urn of the "drinking cup" type is figured from Grey Abbey, county Down, in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1832, p. 108. But from the thickness of the lip, and ornament on inside of lip, I suspect that the drawing is not correct, and that the original was not a drinking-cup. The two other urns in the same cut are apparently the urns from Grey Abbey, illustrated in the *Ulster Journal*, vol. ix., pl. i., one of which is very incorrectly drawn in the *Dublin Penny Journal*.

indicate, but that mode of burial continued in use side by side with cremation, and many of the drinking cups belong to the Bronze period.¹

The geographical distribution of this type of vessel in Britain is interesting. They are found most frequently in the south of England, chiefly in Wiltshire, and become rare as we proceed northward. In Yorkshire they are heavier and coarser, and in Scotland the majority are still heavier and coarser, and show modification of type pointing to debasement. They have been rarely found north of the Moray Frith. As already stated, they are not found in Ireland. They are, however, numerous in the Channel Islands; and, as they are rare in Scandinavia, their numerical distribution in Britain points across the Channel rather than to the north.²

In the Bronze Age the evidence points more definitely to Britain and Ireland. Montelius figures examples of celts from Scandinavian finds which will be readily recognised as British and Irish types. He refers also to certain round bronze shields, ornamented with bands and bosses, several examples of which have been found in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and which he regards as British and Irish types. Further, two gold lunette-shaped ornaments found in Fünen show, he considers, marked Irish influence. Concerning them he writes:—"Gold ornaments like these have not been discovered elsewhere in Scandinavia, while a great number of similar ornaments have been found in the British Islands, especially in Ireland, whose wealth of gold in the Bronze Age is amazing."³

In fact, much of the prehistoric gold found in Scandinavia, Montelius believes to be of Irish origin. On the general question the following extract will be of interest to Irish readers:—

"As certain of the gold objects found in Denmark have been introduced demonstrably from the British Islands, probably from Ireland, the thought is obvious—Is not a great part of the other gold objects found in Southern Scandinavia also of Irish origin, and of the Bronze Age there? That most of these objects were made here in Scandinavia is at any rate clear, because they represent types found here alone, and it is even possible that in that age a small number of them were made of native gold. But the many finds preserved to the present day are evidence that the use of gold here, even in the Bronze Age, was so general that the native output could scarcely have sufficed for the entire demand. Thus there is a basis for the theory that a great part of this gold was imported, here to be worked or reworked, and we may suppose

¹ Thurnam's "British Barrows."—*Archæologia*, vol. xliii., p. 389.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 389-91.

³ Montelius, *loc. cit.*, p. 9. A plain gold lunette, in the Copenhagen Museum, is stated by Wilde to greatly resemble No. 12 in the Academy's collection, "both in size and absence of ornament."—"Catalogue," p. 13.

with a certain justification that the country whence at least a part of the imported gold has come is Ireland. For this island during the Bronze Age was one of the lands of Europe richest in gold."¹

Montelius then proceeds to consider in this light the results of analyses of Scandinavian gold antiquities. They yield—gold, 81 to 87 per cent.; silver, 12 to 19 per cent., with a trace of platinum. It has been inferred from the presence of platinum that the gold was possibly brought from the Ural Mountains. But apart from the improbability of that being the source, on account of the distance of the Ural range and the absence of evidence of intercourse with that district, the assumption is negated by the fact that the gold of the Ural Mountains does not contain platinum.² Comparing the analyses of the gold from Scandinavian finds with those of Irish finds, they are found to be in substantial agreement. The figures for the latter are—gold, 76 to 89 per cent.; silver, 11 to 24 per cent. As regards the presence of a trace of platinum in the Scandinavian analyses, Montelius draws attention to the fact that small quantities of platinum are found in all "gold-sand," including Irish.³

Evidence of an inverse flow of trade southward from Scandinavia depends mainly on the amber finds in the Bronze Age graves of Central and South-eastern Europe. Amber is abundant in the Stone Age finds of Scandinavia, but is notably absent in those of the Bronze Age. This is explained by a great increase in the exportation of amber in the latter period. The surprising wealth of the Danish and Swedish lands in metals can only be accounted for by commerce. Denmark contains neither copper, tin, nor gold, and the copper mines of Sweden and Norway were unknown till far into the Middle Ages.⁴ The resources of Scandinavia in amber—a substance so highly prized in antiquity—were, however, comparable to the possession of gold mines by other countries. Worsaae suggests that, in addition to the barter of furs and cattle, the development of agriculture in the lands bordering on the Baltic, and the prosperity thus produced, had also a share in facilitating the acquisition of foreign metals.⁵ It may be added that a traffic in slaves should not be overlooked. We know that it furnished one of the higher units of value in the primitive currency systems of Europe.

¹ Montelius, *loc. cit.*, p. 10.

² This statement is surprising, the Urals being one of the chief localities for platinum. Possibly it has not been sufficiently looked for in the gold.

³ The analyses of seven specimens from ancient gold objects found in Ireland yielded—gold, 71·54, 79·48, 81·10, 85·62, 86·72, 88·64, 88·72; silver (corresponding figures), 23·67, 18·01, 12·18, 12·79, 12·14, 11·05, 10·02: Mallet, *Transactions, R.I.A.*, vol. xxii., p. 315. The standards of these specimens are below that of analysed specimens of native Irish gold (which yield from 6 to 8 per cent. of silver); the alloys appear, therefore, to be artificial, and the result of the comparison is, I think, negative. The positive evidence rests on the type relations, and is undoubtedly strong.

⁴ Worsaae—"Industrial Arts of Denmark," p. 44. Montelius—"Les Temps Préhistoriques en Suède," p. 69.

⁵ "Industrial Arts of Denmark," p. 46.

The southern trade is thus amply accounted for on both sides.

Evidence for an amber trade with Britain and Ireland is not so clear. The fact that amber has been found in not inconsiderable quantities on the east coast of Britain introduces a disturbing element.¹ We have, as Sir John Evans says, no means of judging how far the amber ornaments of the Bronze Age found in Britain are of native manufacture.²

In Ireland amber beads have been frequently found, chiefly in bogs, but occasionally in crannoges and tumuli. The museum of the Royal Irish Academy is particularly rich in amber beads, a large number of which have been acquired since the publication of Wilde's Catalogue.³ Unfortunately in very few cases are any particulars known as to the circumstances of their finding. The great majority of the beads are of globular form, somewhat flattened on the perforated sides, and range from a fraction of an inch to nearly three inches in diameter. Some are more or less "bugle" shaped; and several partake of an annular form, with a secondary perforation from side to side along the diameter of the bead, and at right angles to the principal perforation. Unworked pieces of amber, pierced as beads, are also found in Ireland. They are not unlike some of the crude amber beads found in Scandinavian Stone Age graves, but are similar likewise to unworked amber beads found in Anglo-Saxon graves in England.⁴ It is impossible, in the absence of more precise data, to say to what period amber beads may go back in Ireland; but in a large number of instances the advanced state of the decomposition of the surface of the amber points to an early period. Amber beads found in a Bronze Age hoard near Forfar, Scotland, are described by Dr. Anderson in words which closely describe the form and condition of many of the beads in the Academy's collection, including a fine set of thirty-five graduated beads, from three-eighths of an inch to two inches in diameter. He writes:—"Besides these ornaments of bronze and gold there was a necklace of thirty-two beads, of which twenty-eight were of amber and five of jet or albertite. The amber beads are chiefly of globular shape, more or less compressed, and with flattened sides. The perforations are large in comparison to the diameter of the bead. Through long burial in the soil, the surface is encrusted with an opaque clayey deposit, and the amber has darkened considerably, the interior of the broken beads showing a rich dark-red colour, very rarely seen, unless under similar circumstances." He adds—"Amber beads are frequently found in Britain in association with Bronze

¹ On the coasts of Aberdeenshire, Yorkshire, and Norfolk. Amber (both yellow and red) is washed out of the cliff at Cromer, Norfolk, where Sir Thomas Browne tells us (1668) "pieces of a pound weight" were sometimes met with. Pieces exceeding half that weight are now rare. Thurnam's "British Barrows," p. 508.

² "Bronze Implements," p. 486.

³ Wilde gives the number then in the collection as 480; the number is at present nearly 1200.

⁴ Akerman, "Remains of Pagan Saxondom," p. 41.

Age interments. . . . In form they are chiefly globular and mostly of red amber, covered with a straw-coloured encrustation produced by partial decomposition. They are less numerous in the barrows of the north of England, and not at all common in Scotland. A necklace of badly-made beads, found with two thin circular disks of gold with embossed ornamentation, in a barrow at Huntiscarth, Orkney, is the principal, if not the only authentic, instance of their occurrence in Scotland."¹

As already said, amber beads have been found in crannoges.² Our crannoge finds are, however, so mixed as to periods, that no certain inference can be drawn as to the antiquity of such beads. Amber beads are known to have been found in tumuli in a few instances. One bead was found in the Dowth tumulus.³ But, as I have shown elsewhere,⁴ the secondary use of this tumulus at a late period renders it uncertain how far the finds can be ascribed to the period of its erection. Seven amber beads were found by Conwell in Cairn H., Loughcrew.⁵ These beads, from associated objects with Late Celtic patterns, can be ascribed to the Iron Period.

The most important case of the association of amber with objects belonging to an early period in Ireland appears to be a necklace of amber beads, in the Academy's collection, found with gold beads at Cruttenclough, near Castlecomer, county Kilkenny. The beads are fourteen in number, of the usual globular form, and range from $\frac{1}{4}$ ths of an inch to nearly 2 inches in diameter. The surfaces of the beads are opaque from decomposition, but the decomposition has not proceeded nearly so far as in the case of many other examples in the Academy's collection. A memorandum attached to the beads identifies them as the amber beads found with the conical gold beads, Nos. 35 and 41 to 47, page 37, of the Catalogue.

No record exists, as far as I have been able to trace, of sea-carried amber having been washed up on the Irish coast.⁶ Amber occurs in small lumps in the cavities of the lignite at Craignashoke, Ballinascreen, county Londonderry, of "a rich yellow colour and highly transparent;" and Portlock states, on the authority of Sir C. Giesecke, that it also occurs in the coal of Rathlin, county Tyrone.⁷ The occurrence of amber in these localities appears to be little known, and the quantity found seems to have been small.

The amber of prehistoric times, which from the size and the number of the beads which show advanced decomposition, I am inclined to think

¹ *Proc. S.A.S.*, vol. xxvi., p. 186.

² See Munro's "Lake Dwellings of Europe." ³ "Catalogue" R.I.A., p. 167.

⁴ *Trans. R.I.A.* xxx., p. 55.

⁵ "Ollamh Fodhla," p. 52.

⁶ O'Flaherty states that ambergris is frequently found on the coasts of Galway and Mayo, but that is quite a different substance.—"H-Iar Connaught," *Irish Archaeological Society*, 1856, p. 94.

⁷ Portlock's "Geology of Londonderry," p. 227.

was fairly abundant in Ireland, must, on this supposition, have been brought from either Britain or the Baltic.

In historical times there is no reason to doubt that amber, in which Ireland is relatively so rich, was derived from the Baltic; and it is probable from the general evidence of contact with Scandinavia that amber found its way into Ireland from the same source in the Bronze Age.

Outside the question of an amber trade, Scandinavian influence appears to be shown in the bronze-hafted daggers occasionally found in Ireland. The form of the haft presents affinities to recognised northern types.¹ A large spiral armlet in the Petrie Collection, Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, may also be instanced. It was found at Ballitore, county Kildare, but is almost certainly of foreign origin. The type is common in Scandinavia and Germany.

Taking the evidence as a whole from both sides, we can, I think, say that, whilst as to amber we shall have to wait for more definite facts regarding Irish finds, before we shall be justified in regarding the amber beads so frequently found in our country as evidence of Scandinavian trade, the return commodity for gold exported, there is sufficient evidence to support the conclusion that Scandinavia and Ireland were not isolated from each other in the Bronze Age.

We may now resume the more direct line of our argument. It has already been insisted that west of the Ægean-Baltic line true spirals are practically non-existent in the Bronze Age. That this is an accepted fact in archæology may be gathered from the statement quoted from Mr. A. J. Evans, sec. vii., p. 205 (*Journal*, 1895), namely, that the spiral is non-existent in Bronze Age remains in Northern Italy, Gaul, and Britain. But as this fact is the turning point of the argument, it may be well to emphasise it by the following passage from Montelius' "*Les Temps Pré-historiques en Suède*." Concerning spiral ornaments, he says²:—"On le constate également en Hongrie, en Autriche, en Bohême, dans le nord-est de l'Allemagne, le Danemark, la Suède et la Norvège, alors que le reste de l'Europe n'en présente pas d'exemples à la même époque. Il est donc clair que cette décoration nous est venue par la route de l'Elbe, qui mettait le sud-est de l'Europe en communication avec le nord."

These statements are substantially accurate; but Mr. Evans and Professor Montelius have overlooked an early class of spirals incised on rock surfaces and rude stone monuments in Britain and Ireland, and, in one instance, in Brittany. However, as we shall see later, these exceptions strengthen rather than impair the force of the general statement.

Why did not the spiral find its way along the north coast to the mouth of the Rhine and through Gaul to Britain? We cannot precisely

¹ "Catalogue" R.I.A., fig. 334. There is a second example in the collection with similar haft.

² Page 62.

say. But the key to the solution of this question appears to me to lie in the following suggestions. In the narrow seas and islands of the western Baltic a high degree of civilization was developed in the early Bronze Period—a civilization which, though lower in order, is comparable with that of the Ægean in the same period. This is shown not only by remarkable skill in the working of metals, but also by the advanced state of the arts of dress exhibited in the early Scandinavian grave finds. The Ægean and the Baltic may in fact be regarded as poles of influence for western Europe in that period of the Bronze Age which for chronological purposes is called the Mycenæ Period.

Western Germany, Gaul, and Britain were at that time in a lower state of civilization than Scandinavia, and it would appear that the circumstances which operated to check the spread of Ægean-Baltic influence westward through middle Europe also operated to check the spread of Scandinavian influence along the north-western coast.

We have seen that, at a later period, sea-going enterprise from the south-west of Gaul and Spain was apparently thrown westward to Ireland; and it would appear, from the distribution of spiral ornament, that in the earlier part of the Bronze Age Scandinavian enterprise on the North Sea was thrown likewise to the west by Scotland to Ireland, rather than southward to the coasts of Gaul and Britain. Two causes possibly contributed to this result.

During the Roman occupation of Britain the Channel was infested by Saxon pirates from the coast lands between the Elbe and the Rhine. The chief object of these raiders was man-hunting. They were noted alike for their savage cruelty and their seamanship. In the fourth century they descended on Britain.¹ In more remote times the conditions were probably not wholly dissimilar. The fleets of the Veneti were formidable in Cæsar's time. And we may infer from the numerous representations of ships on the stones of the Brittany tumuli that, in still more remote times, the west and north-western coasts of Gaul were occupied by seafaring peoples. The similarity of many of the bronze types of the north of France and of the south of Britain shows that intimate relations existed between the opposite coasts of the Channel, and it is possible that the sea-way south of the Elbe was more or less closed to Scandinavian enterprise in the Bronze Age.

Another cause tending to the same result would lie in the fact that the main trade of Scandinavia was with the south-east of Europe. Thence were imported bronze and gold. Trade with the lands of North-Western Germany and North Gaul could not have offered equal inducements, nor would amber, which is found as far south as the Zuider-Zee, have commanded a high price there. The relations of Scandinavia with these lands was probably hostile and of the nature of slave-raiding. The

¹ See Green's "Making of England"—Introduction.

discovery of a gold source in Ireland would, however, supply an inducement for a more westerly line of enterprise, for which the open sea between Norway and Scotland offered every facility. The numerous representations of ships of the Viking type, with high prows and sterns and projecting keels, on rocks, bronze knives, &c., which appear about the close of what, speaking broadly, may be called the Early Bronze Age in Scandinavia, show that the art of building ships had been fully mastered in the north at an early period. The navigation of the open sea presented, therefore, no insuperable difficulty to the inhabitants of the Baltic lands. The length of the voyage was not beyond their powers. The Shetlands are only some twenty-four hours' sail from Norway; thence to Ireland is a coasting voyage.

In the ninth century the fixed geographical relations of the northern lands imposed an analogous division on the lines of advance of the Viking raids. One line, starting from South Jutland, passed south along the coast of Gaul; the other, from the Cattegat and coast of Norway, followed a westward course by the Shetlands and Orkneys to the coasts of Ireland. It was from Ireland that the earlier attacks on southern Britain were made.¹

Following the spiral westwards to Britain, we note on the way examples of single spirals incised on stones in two localities in Orkney. In Scotland examples of double or of single spirals, associated with concentric circle, cup and ring, and cup markings, are found on rock surfaces and sepulchral stones in Argyleshire, Ayrshire, and Peeblesshire. In England they are found in Cumberland, Lancashire, and Northumberland. An isolated example occurs in Merionethshire, Wales. I shall return to these examples of spiral and concentric circle markings, when detailed references will be given, observing for the present that spiral markings of this class appear, with the exception of the examples in Orkney and Wales, to be confined to the triangle of counties comprised by Argyleshire, Lancashire, and Northumberland.

The most remarkable instances of early spiral ornament from Scotland are found on some examples of a peculiar class of stone balls, which, with the exception of one specimen found in Ireland,² are exclusively confined to that country. The purpose of these balls has not been finally decided. A bronze ball of somewhat similar form, bearing a spiral with Late Celtic zoomorphic ending, has led Dr. Anderson to assign them as a class to the Iron Period. Whether or not these balls be in some instances as late as the Christian Period, he regards the zoomorphic ornament of the bronze example and the spirals of other specimens as "sufficiently distinctive to claim for them a place in the same system of design which produced the peculiar patterns of the Pagan Period, and developed from

¹ Green's "Conquest of England," Chap. ii.

² A plain example found at Ballymena, *Archæological Journal*, vol. xi., p. 58.

them the more elaborate system of decoration so widely applied in the early Christian art of Scotland."¹

A stone ball found at Towie, Aberdeenshire, is the most richly decorated example known. It is elaborately incised with double and single spirals, concentric curves and zig-zags. Others are decorated with single spirals. The general character of these spirals appears to me to be distinctly Bronze Age, not Late Celtic. Through what length of time these balls were in use we cannot say; the bronze example with zoomorphic ornament may represent a survival and not the limit of their antiquity.

In any case, whether they be late or early, unless it be contended that the spiral is original in Scotland, it is, I think, clear that the spirals on these balls represent the early spiral system of the Bronze Age, which

we have traced from the Ægean to the Baltic. The divergent spiral, and zoomorphic forms of Late Celtic ornament which stretch back across Europe to the Danube region, represent a distinct and later wave of influence, which spread westward with the Iron Culture. The generally received view that the divergent spirals or Trumpet pattern of the Late Celtic Period was developed locally in Ireland and Scotland from the double and single spirals, which have been

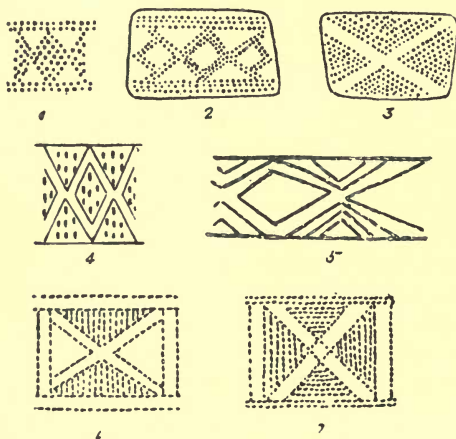


Fig. 53.

Details from Jet Necklaces and Sepulchral Vessels.

regarded as more elementary forms, is not, therefore, justified; though to the union of the earlier and later spiral systems may be traced the spiral patterns of early Christian times.

Lozenge patterns, though not common, are well represented in Britain, especially on sepulchral pottery from Derbyshire² (fig. 53, Nos. 4 and 5). They may be put back to probably the beginning of the Bronze Age. Lozenges occur in the ornament of several of the flat plates of jet necklaces found in England and Scotland (Nos. 1 and 2). It should be mentioned that Opposed Triangles frequently present the appearance of a lozenge pattern; but in such cases the lines

¹ "Scotland in Pagan Times: Iron Age," p. 171.

² Food-vessel, Hitter Hill (*Cran. Brit.* xix.). Drinking-cups—Sliper Lowe (*Arch. Journ.* i., 248): Monsale Dale (*Cran. Brit.*, xx.).

enclosing the lozenges are not, as a rule, carried through the angles of the triangles, so that the lozenge is apparent rather than real, and can be distinguished from the preceding examples. In some instances of this class incorporation or transference of the lozenge motive has probably taken place. Lattice patterns, of which the last pattern is frequently the unit, are common on the sepulchral pottery of both countries.

The chequer of lozenges occurs on the thin bronze blades with tangs, found with cinerary urns in Scotland.

A celt from Westmoreland, of the winged and flanged type, in the British Museum, is decorated with a similar pattern. A celt of the same type, from Northumberland (Evans, fig. 51), bears a chequer of squares, probably of textile origin. It is notable that no examples of this kind of ornament appear to have been found in the south of England.

Panel patterns of \times forms, designated by Thurnam "Saltire" patterns, are fairly frequent. They appear in many instances to be a modification of the triangle pattern. Two triangles placed point to point

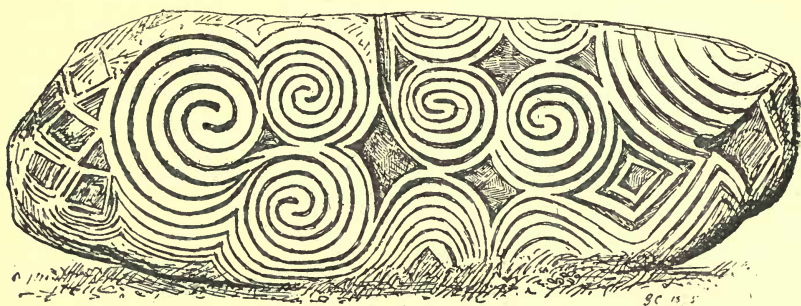


Fig. 54.—New Grange—Stone at Entrance.

readily assume a saltire form. The manner in which two of the opposite spaces of the \times are frequently filled in with hatching or punctations shows the triangle basis of the pattern. Four filled in triangles are opposed on a jet necklace plate from Morayshire, Scotland, leaving a saltire space between the triangles.¹ With this example may be compared the similar treatment of the pattern on a Drinking Cup from Green Low, Derbyshire.² On a Drinking Cup from East Kennet, Wiltshire, the lines enclosing the triangles are carried across the central space, thus forming a lozenge in the centre and giving emphasis to the saltire form³ (fig. 53, Nos. 3, 6, and 7).

As stated earlier, evidence for the history of lozenge, chequer and \times patterns is not very clear. These forms may be original in Britain. But

¹ *Proc. S.A.S.*, vol. iii., p. 47.

² *Crania Britannica*, xxi.

³ Thurnam's "British Barrows," p. 392.

I am inclined to regard the hatched triangle and lozenge as representing

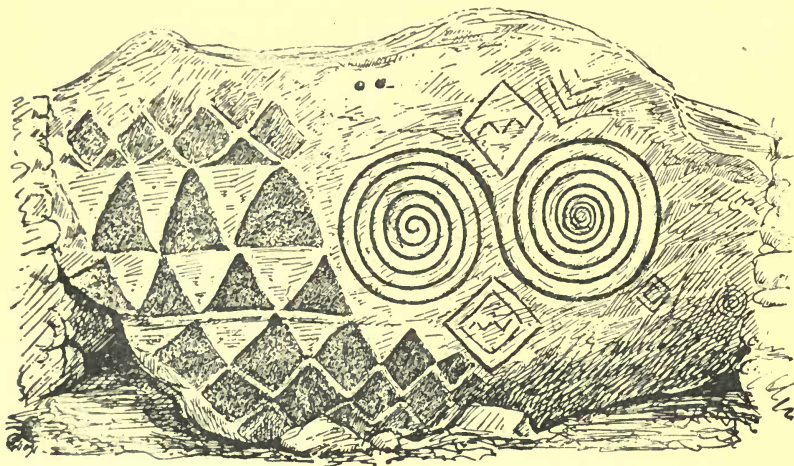


Fig. 55.—New Grange.

Bronze Age influence. Drinking Cups in which the ogee curve of the vessel is well marked, which appears to be the earlier and Continental type, are not characterised by lozenge or saltire patterns, but by a decoration of parallel bands. And triangle and lozenge forms are not found on the bowl-shaped vessels found with unburnt interments in Ireland.

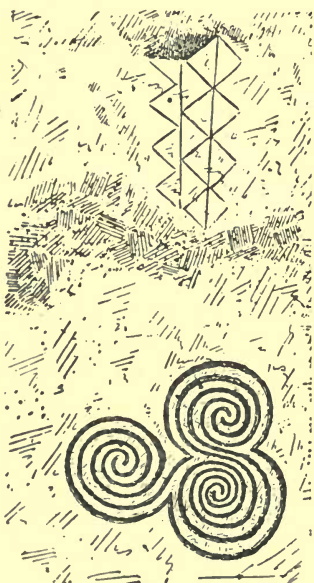


Fig. 56.—New Grange.

Triangle, lozenge, and saltire patterns are, however, so widely distributed in Western Europe that until their history and local periods have been more fully worked out on the Continent, it is hazardous to draw conclusions as to their possible points of entry into Britain. The lozenge occurs frequently on the incised pottery of the Ægean; it is found also on Mycenæ objects. It occurs also with a quartering of four sub-lozenges on one of the clay stamps from Hungary which are assigned to a very early period.¹ At the close of the Stone

¹ Hampel's "Trouvailles de l'Âge de Bronze en Hongrie."—*Cong. Préhist.*, Bu la l'est, vol. ii., pl. lxx., fig. 21.

Age it is found on pottery and on an early form of bronze axe in Scandinavia.

These latter examples are referred to Ægean influence by Montelius, but the connexion has not been proved for this motive. A diaper of lozenges occurs on a bronze sword hilt from Denmark.¹ On the other hand, the manner in which the saltire panels are struck between groups of upright lines on the British pottery, especially the Drinking

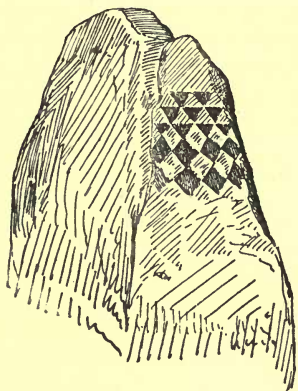


Fig. 57.—New Grange.

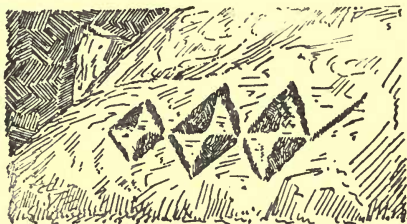


Fig. 58.—New Grange.

Cups of the South of England, may carry a reference to the central districts of Europe.

Passing now from Britain, we find in Ireland, the terminus of our journey, a remarkable display of spiral ornament. It is only necessary to place before the reader the accompanying examples from the great tumulus at New Grange, Co. Meath. They show at once the extensive use of spirals in these incised patterns and the Bronze Age character of the ornament (figs. 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, and 59). In figure 57 the association of triangle and lozenge forms is interesting: it may be compared with figs. 50 and 51 (*Journal*, 1895, p. 209), where the tendency of these forms to replace each other was noted.

In my memoir on the Tumuli at New Grange, Dowth, and Knowth,² I adopted the view hitherto accepted by Irish and Scotch archæologists, that the simple spirals of these monuments were the precursors of the spiral system of the Late Celtic period, known with us as the trumpet or divergent spiral pattern. The single spiral was considered to be a more elementary form than the double or returning spiral. The spiral patterns of New Grange were therefore regarded as representing the



Fig. 59.—New Grange.

¹ Madsen, pl. vii., fig. 29.

² *Trans. R.I.A.*, vol. xxx. The cuts, figs. 57, 58, and 59 have been kindly lent by the R. I. A.

development of spiral ornament in Ireland immediately preceding the Late Celtic patterns.

Arguing thus, and taking account of what seemed to be the developed architectural features of the New Grange structure,¹ that monument was placed at the end of the series of tumuli in Ireland, and approximately dated in the period of transition between the Bronze and Iron Ages. The tumulus of Dowth, where the incised markings are ruder, and the spirals confined to the simple form of the single spiral, was regarded as probably earlier, though the evidence was disturbed by the presence of what appeared to be later forms, for instance, the cross in circle.²

It will be seen, from the argument of this paper, that the preceding view of the succession and development of spiral forms in Ireland can no longer be maintained. New Grange must be transferred from the close to the beginning of the series. The returning and interlocked spirals on its stones instead of indicating development from the isolated single spirals of Dowth, represent, on the contrary, the higher forms of spiral ornament as introduced into Ireland, and the single spirals and concentric circles of Dowth, debasement. We have noted all along the path of the spiral across Europe this tendency of the higher forms of interlocked spirals to degenerate to single spirals and concentric circles. As has been pointed out earlier, there is in fact no evidence that primitive ornament has ever been developed in a consciously logical way from the simple to the complex. It will be readily understood that where a pattern is introduced from an advanced civilization to one more primitive, the earlier copies will be closer to the original than the later. Unless the influence be so constant as to amount to a transference of culture, the vitality of the introduced patterns will be speedily exhausted, and their forms in less skilled hands, debased and spread as feeble copies, and copies of copies.

Viewed from this standpoint, the more important differences in the inscribed figures which distinguish the tumulus of New Grange from that of Dowth, and both from those at Loughcrew, at the western end of the same county, fall naturally into place, and, as we shall see, furnish a most interesting chain of evidence of Scandinavian influence.

¹ When describing fig. 59, I instanced the approximation to a moulding, shown in the lines cut on the upper face of this stone. In some drawings of the stone they have, in fact, been represented as a moulding. They are, however, simply three grooves cut on the horizontal face of the stone, and, on reconsideration, may, I think, be classed with the treatment of saltire patterns on urns. The saltire pattern on this stone should be compared with that on the necklace, fig. 53, No. 3. The small chevrons in the lozenges, above and below the spirals in fig. 55, are not shown in the drawing of this stone in the *Trans. R. I. A.*; they are not very distinct in the photograph from which the drawing was made, but are so on the stone. Fig. 56 shows a marking above the spirals not included in the photograph in the *Transactions*.

² The retaining wall round the base of the tumulus at New Grange, which I regarded as possibly part of the original structure, I have since learned is a modern feature. The Rev. E. Hogan, s.j., informs me that the Rev. Mr. Tiernan, son of a former tenant of New Grange, recollects the erection of the wall in his father's time.

We must, I think, regard the incised line as the pattern in the New Grange examples. A contrasted effect is obtained in many instances by picking out portions of the stone, the remaining parts being left in relief, and relief is possibly intended in some cases. But if we follow out the spirals on the entrance stone, we shall see that the free ends come out as the incised lines, and that the pattern is better explained on that supposition.

Numerous examples of returning and single spirals are found at New Grange. The joining of two double spirals S-wise was understood, but the difficulties presented by the bringing in of a third spiral, so as to interlock spirally with the first two, were not overcome. Where three returning spirals are connected in one figure, we find that two of them are truly joined, the lines passing without break from one centre to the other. The third spiral, however, does not enter either of the others. On the contrary, the free ends of the third spiral are carried round the other two in concentric curves, and return on themselves. Thus the free ends of the third enclose the other spirals but do not connect spirally with them. This imperfect method of solving the problem appears to have led to the system of carrying concentric lines round associated figures, which we see employed effectively on the entrance stone at New Grange. It may be suggested that it was evolved in the effort to imitate the all-over effect of interlocking spirals as found in the Scandinavian and Mycenaean examples.

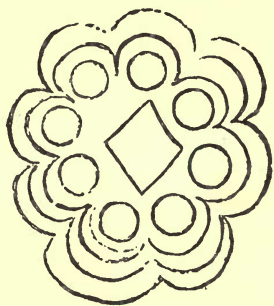


Fig. 60.—New Grange.

The ornament at New Grange is consistently Bronze Age. We have double and single spirals, the chevron or zigzag, and triangle, lozenge, and saltire patterns. Moreover, the manner in which the lozenge is in some instances subdivided into contrasting triangles, either as a halving or quartering of the lozenge is characteristic of Bronze Age treatment. This consistency of the ornament emphasises the absence of concentric circles at New Grange.

On the roofing stone of the east recess occurs a figure of a lozenge surrounded by eight single circles, the whole enclosed by concentric curves, fig. 60. The greater part of a second similar figure is concealed by the overlap of the stone on its support at the back of the recess. On other parts of the stone are examples of three circles enclosed by a similar scalloped border of concentric curves. A figure of concentric ovals, with curiously divided centre, may also be mentioned. The foregoing examples approach concentric circles, and are related to them, but are distinguishable from the free groups of concentric circles which represent the debasement of isolated single spirals.

It is worthy of note that the circles around the lozenge in the above figure are eight in number. This is almost always the number of the spirals or concentric circles disposed as an ornament round the central boss on the pommels of Scandinavian bronze swords, fig. 61. Following Montelius it will be observed that the oval form of the expanded pommels of the early types becomes modified to a lozenge in later types, and the central boss takes a corresponding lozenge form. The spirals are at the same time degraded to concentric circles, and in some instances even a further stage is reached, the concentric circles being replaced simply by holes.

We see in this series the origin of the pattern at New Grange. We have there the lozenge surrounded by eight circles. The scalloped border of curves which encloses the figure may be set down to the general use of enclosing curves which characterises the treatment of

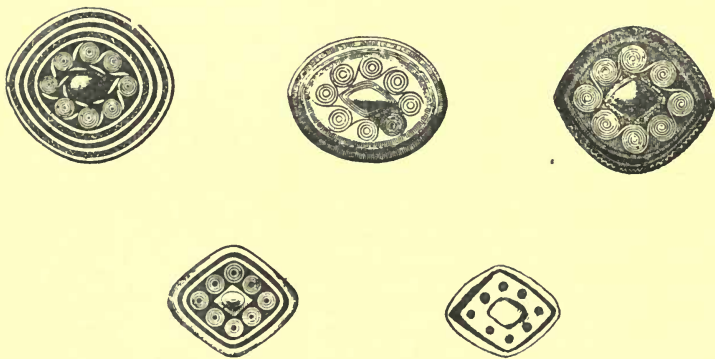


Fig. 61.—(Montelius, *Cong. Préhist.* Stockholm, II. 886.)

the carvings at New Grange. It may seem, perhaps, that too much weight is laid on the resemblance between the pattern at New Grange and the pommel ornaments of the Scandinavian swords; a simple figure such as this, it will be said, might originate anywhere. The answer is that it did *not* originate anywhere. As far as I am aware, outside Scandinavia, not a single example of this particular pattern can be instanced in the Bronze Age ornament of the Continent. And its significance at New Grange is that it is not there an exceptional or disturbing element, but in place with other Scandinavian representatives. It is not to be understood that the pattern at New Grange has been necessarily copied from a sword pommel, but that in the arrangement of the spirals and lozenge on the pommels we have evidence of the currency in Scandinavia of the pattern found at New Grange.

The explanation I have given of this pattern is of especial interest as accounting for the association of the lozenge with the spiral which forms a marked feature in so many of the carvings at New Grange.

Another pattern at New Grange, which likewise appears exceptional, can be explained in a similar manner. It has been suggested to me that



Fig. 62.—New Grange. (From a Paper-squeeze.)

the triangular or wedge-shaped cuttings of the boundary-stone on the west side of the tumulus, fig. 62,¹ are intended for celts (stone or bronze axe-heads), as in the case of the markings on the cist cover at Kilmartin, near Crinan, Scotland, and the sculptured stones at Gavrinis in Brittany. That is possible, but I hesi-

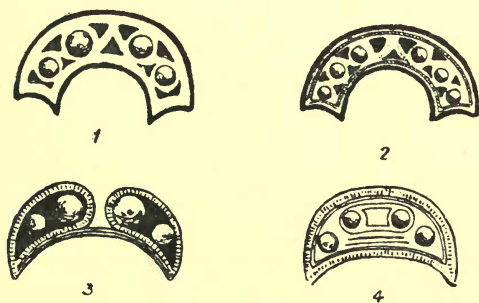


Fig. 63.—Madsen.



Fig. 64.—Madsen.

tate to accept this explanation without further evidence. A more fruitful explanation is suggested by the series of ornaments from the lower parts of Scandinavian sword-hilts, fig. 63. The triangular sinkings

¹ This stone appears to have fallen over on its face, and it is not possible to see the markings except by lying full length beneath it in the space excavated for the purpose. The present illustration is drawn from a paper-squeeze taken by Mr. R. L. Praeger and myself last year. It shows three cups at the left side, and two lozenges at the right, not given in the drawing in the *Transactions, R.I.A.* With the exception of these, and a few trifling details, the latter is correct.

between the rivet heads in these examples are derived from the triangular or V-shaped spaces left alternately above and below the line of a continuous spiral, where it passes from one spiral turn to the next. The first example in fig. 61 shows the origin of the form. In numerous examples where the spiral pattern assumes the form of a somewhat broad ribbon, these triangular sinkings are strongly marked. In the transference of the motive to the rivet spaces, the circular rivet-heads

replace as centres the spirals or concentric circles of the original pattern.. Triangular sinkings become now an accepted mode of treating the rivet spaces, and the motive is given currency as a sword-hilt ornament. Figure 64 shows the adoption of the motive as an independent ornament.

The rivet area on these sword-hilts is usually enclosed by a strongly marked ornamental band. In some instances two rivet-heads are enclosed by a comma-shaped band, No. 3; and in one example we see the central rivets enclosed by an oval line within the larger border, No. 4. The treatment of enclosing bands or borders may be further illustrated by the pommel ornaments, fig. 61. If we turn now to the cartouche-like figures on the New Grange stone, we see that the spaces between the cup marks are treated in the same manner as the rivet spaces on the sword-hilts.

The double enclosing border further suggests a transference of the border treatment, current

on the sword-hilts, but taking a symmetrical oval form when no longer governed by the outline of the hilt. I do not mean to suggest that the cup marks on this stone represent rivet-heads, or that the cartouche figures have been copied from sword-hilts, but merely to point to the currency in Scandinavian ornament of the same treatment that we find on this stone at New Grange. This treatment is of course a common-place

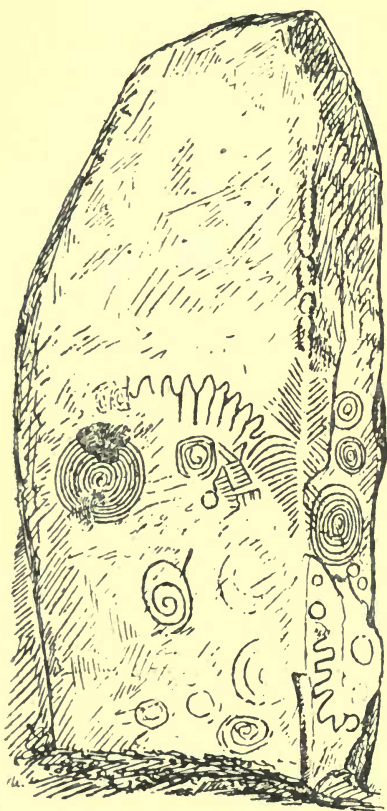


Fig. 65.—Dowth.

in developed forms of ornament; it occurs in the wall-painting at Tiryns, but as in the case of the lozenge and circle figure already discussed, the significance of the preceding relation lies in the fact that outside Scandinavia and Ireland this form of ornament is not found in Western Europe, and its presence at New Grange is now seen to be in harmony with the evidence of Scandinavian influence deduced from the spiral.

The triangular cuttings between the cups, and, by an extension of the treatment, in the angles of the pattern, are accounted for. Whether the wedge-shaped cuttings at the centres of the half-circular or crescentic curves is an extension of the same motive is not quite certain. The

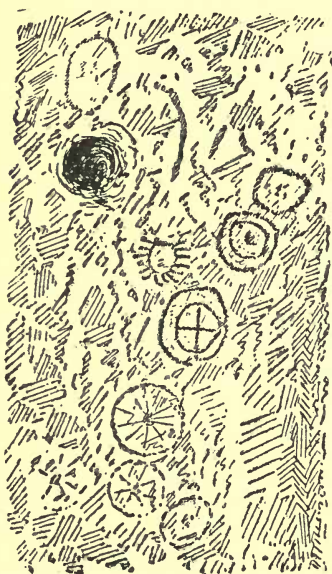


Fig. 66.—Dowth.

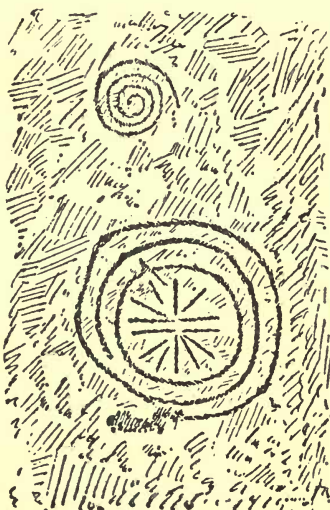


Fig. 67.—Dowth.

resemblance of the form to an axe-head cannot have escaped the carvers of this stone, and the widespread adoption of the axe symbol in primitive cultures gives probability to the axe theory; but on the other hand there is a triangular cutting enclosed by curves at the base of the entrance stone, fig. 54, which does not appear to have any special significance. The motive of groups of concentric curves springing from each other recalls the scale patterns of early *Ægean* pottery, but I have not been successful in tracing this pattern to Scandinavia.

The ship figure in the west recess at New Grange, which I have already, when previously writing on this tumulus, compared with

Scandinavian examples, is now further seen to be in place in the general reference to Scandinavia.¹ Concerning the so-called fern or palm-branch, incised on the same stone as the ship, I have nothing to add. It is really chevron or herring-bone. But whether it has any special significance at New Grange is not apparent.

At Dowth no example of the double spiral is to be found. The work is ruder, and the examples of single spiral are isolated, that is, no attempt at grouping occurs. But concentric circles are well represented. Further, there is not a single example of the triangle or lozenge form. The zigzag has lost its chevron character, and partakes somewhat of the form of a debased meander, fig. 65. Consistently with this debasement of the earlier ornaments, new forms, the cross in circle and wheel figure, appear, figs. 66 and 67. These latter forms pertain in Scandinavia to the close of the early, and to the later, Period of Bronze.

The series of incised stones at Loughcrew is the most extensive in Ireland. Some of the forms may be considered as intermediate between New Grange and Dowth, others afford additional points of reference to

Scandinavian examples. The entire series has recently been published by Dr. W. Frazer, M.R.I.A., in the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," from drawings made by Du Noyer in 1865, when the cairns were explored by Conwell.² The drawings number seventy-six, and include over eighty inscribed surfaces. The references given are to the figures in Dr. Frazer's Paper, five of

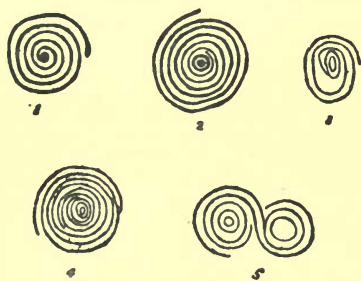


Fig. 68.—Details, Loughcrew.

which have been kindly lent by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland to illustrate the present Paper. In the entire series of markings there are only three examples of the double spiral. One of these consists of but a half turn (Cairn I, view of chamber). The other two occur on one stone (Cairn I, stone g), and, though small, are well cut examples. Thus out of some eighty incised stones, but two are marked with the double spiral; one of these examples is almost negligible, and the other two are not large

¹ M. Adrien de Mortillet has adopted my argument to explain similar figures on dolmens in Brittany, but thinks that the portion of the figure at New Grange, which I conjectured to be a sail, represents a species of guerite such as appears on the triremes of the bas-reliefs of Trajan's column, *Revue Mensuelle de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris*, p. 285. 1894.

² *Proc. S.A.S.*, vol. xxvi. Since these drawings were made the stones have suffered greatly from weathering, and it is no longer possible to trace many of the devices on them. I hope shortly to publish, through the Royal Irish Academy, photographs of some of the better preserved stones for comparison with the drawings. With few exceptions the latter appear to be very accurate.

nor important. Single spirals are numerous, and, in the case of the sill stone at the entrance to the northern sub-chamber of Cairn H (stone *a*),



Fig. 69.—Loughcrew, Cairn 1.

three single spirals are disposed in a manner which recalls the entrance stone at New Grange. It should be noted that the centres of these



Fig. 70.—Loughcrew, Cairn 8.

spirals consist of a cup and circle. Note also spirals with concentric circle centres (Cairn 1, stones *f* and *i*), the transitional form between the

spiral and concentric circles. In this connexion an example of concentric circles joined tangentially (Cairn 1, stone *f*), is important (see figs. 68 and 69, pp. 52, 53).

Free concentric circles, with and without cup centres, are numerous.



Fig. 71.—Details, Lougherew.

The chevron is well represented, but only one example of triangle ornament occurs (Cairn 1, view of chamber). Several examples of the lozenge may be observed, and examples of halved and quartered lozenges may be noted in Cairn 1. A cross, within a circle, surrounded by a single

spiral turn, occurs on stone *d*, Cairn 5 (fig. 70). It should be stated that the markings at Lougherew are scored or punched on the surface skin of the stones. No example, in which parts of the pattern are contrasted by picking of the surface, as at New Grange, is met with, so that the quartered lozenge has the appearance of a cross in a lozenge, but it is no doubt the same form as fig. 58 at New Grange.



Fig. 72.—Lougherew, Cairn 1.

In addition to the preceding familiar types we meet a number of new forms at Lougherew. Concentric half circles occur on several of the stones, for instance Cairn 1, stone *d*, Cairn 5, stone *c*, Cairn 1, chair stone, Cairn 1, stones *d*, *l*, and *f* (fig. 71). The half circle motive has not been imposed by want of room, it is often cut in the free field of a stone, and is clearly intended for a distinct device. As in the case of Ægean examples (fig. 30), the concentric half-circle motive appears in several instances to be simplified to a single hoop form (fig. 72). The latter

form, it may be noted, is found on several British urns (see "Greenwell's British Barrows," figs. 84 and 130).

To a few of the devices at Loughcrew I have not found a definite clue, some are possibly boats, but little is gained by conjectural explanations. Two of the markings on oo, Cairn r, can, however, I think, be related to a Scandinavian bird motive. Mr. Goodyear has directed attention to certain conventionalisations of the solar goose on archaic Greek pottery, resulting in an S or pothook form (G. L., Pl. lvi.). This derivative may be represented in Scandinavia, but an independent bird series can be made out for Scandinavia, leading to an analogous form, supposed, by Worsaae, to be a sun-snake.

The following series, Nos. 1 to 10, are taken, with the exception of No. 10, from bronze knives of the later Bronze Period of Scandinavia. The references are given below.¹ On the next page three of these knives

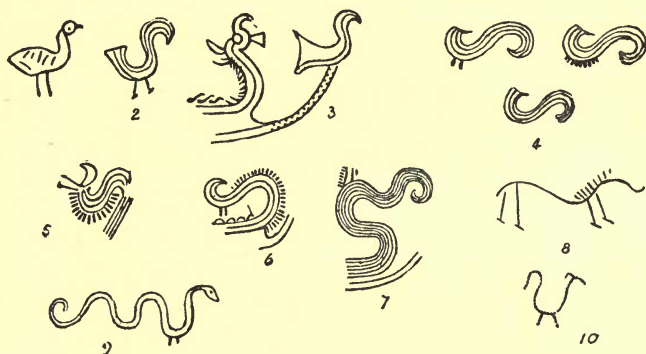


Fig. 73.

are illustrated.² No. 1 is a natural representation of a bird. In No. 2 it has been modified to an S-form, but the square ending of the tail is marked. In No. 3 this modified bird is perched on the projecting keel of one of the long ships so frequently represented in this period of the Bronze Age of Scandinavia. The high prow is finished as the head and neck of a horse, a common form with these ships. The conventionalised bird form is often confused with the horse. In No. 6 we see the prow terminating in a bird form, and the mane of the horse is transferred to what would be the breast of the bird. What appear to be the survivals of the bird's legs are attached at the other side. When isolated,

¹ Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, "Worsaae's Industrial Arts of Denmark," figs. 129, 128, 127, 132, 126, 125. Nos. 3 and 10; "Månadsblad," 1891, p. 177; 1880, p. 107 (bronze ring). No. 8, "Cong. Préhist. Stockholm," i., p. 521.

² Reproduced (also fig. 77) from Worsaae's "Industrial Arts of Denmark," by permission of the Committee of Council on Education.



Fig. 74.

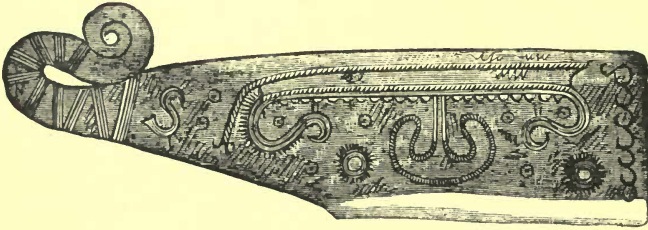


Fig. 75.

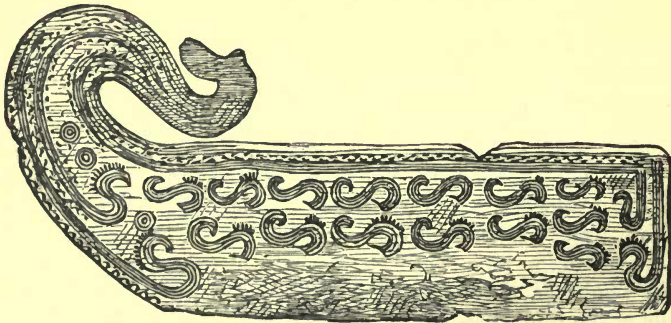


Fig. 76.

Bronze Knives, Scandinavia.

this bird form, modified beyond recognition, frequently takes two or more attached strokes, the survival of the legs or mane, or both. In No. 7 we see the legs surviving as two strokes, and in this case one of them has taken a mane to it. No. 8 is introduced to show a conventional representation of a horse, and No. 9, the manner in which the two conventional strokes for legs may be attached to even a snake. No. 10 is a much simplified representation of a bird, in the same method as the horse.

It is interesting to notice that whilst the original form may be modified beyond recognition, yet particular features persist even in remote stages. Thus, in this S-shaped modification of the motive, the pointed form of one end and square termination of the other is retained with remarkable persistency. It is most characteristic of these curious forms, hitherto supposed to be sun-snakes. On the sword-blade, fig. 77, we see six of these objects in which the contrast of the curved and pointed end with the square base of the other end is well shown. In the majority of instances the bird motive and the horse motive are inextricably mingled. The S-curve of the ship's prow is probably the ruling factor. It is difficult to say, therefore, whether the straight end is to be considered as the head or the tail, or whether it is to be regarded as a bird derivative or a horse derivative. A further explanation is suggested by the examples fig. 77, namely,



Fig. 77.



Fig. 78.—Loughcrew, Cairn T. (From a Photograph).

that these square ends represent the straight lines of the body of the ship

from which the prow springs, and that these examples are to be regarded as ship-symbols.

Look now at stone *oo*, fig. 78. The reader cannot fail to be struck by the resemblance one of the devices on this stone bears to the preceding Scandinavian examples. We see the same S-lines springing from a strongly marked straight line struck across the base of the figure. A little to the right of this is an S-shaped mark, with two short strokes proceeding from it, which recalls the Scandinavian outline form.¹ If these were

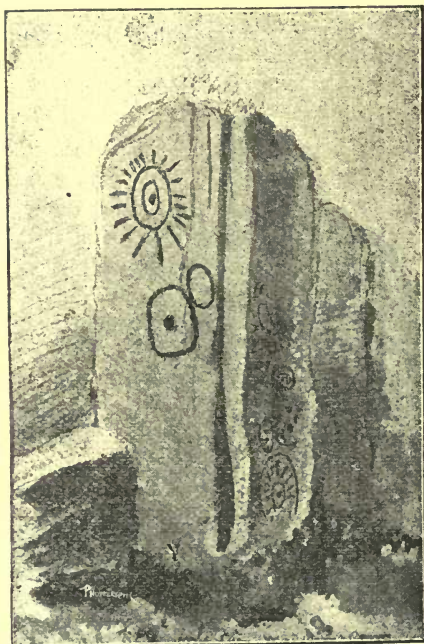


Fig. 79.—Loughcrew, Cairn s.

isolated examples I should hesitate to attach importance to them in the present argument. But they are consistent with the general reference to Scandinavia, of the forms already discussed; and, moreover, fall into place in the particular reference of the Loughcrew markings to the later Scandinavian Bronze Age.

In this latter period the wheel form came into prominence.

¹ This figure does not appear in the reproduction of Du Noyer's drawing in Dr. Frazer's Paper. It is shown, however, in the cut given by Conwell in "Ollamh Fodhla." On referring to the original drawing in Dr. Frazer's possession, I find that the figure is penciled-in, but Du Noyer appears to have been doubtful about the exact position of the marking, and left the drawing unfinished, no doubt for further inspection of the stone.

It may be instanced on bronze vessels (Worsaae's *Industrial Arts of Denmark*, figs. 139, 140, and 142), also on rock surfaces (Holmberg, *Skandnaviens Hällristningar*, Pls. 35-36, and 42-43). The cross in circle, surrounded by a spiral turn, Holmberg Pl. 42-43, fig. 153, may likewise be compared with a similar figure on stone *d*, Cairn *s* (fig. 70), and with similar figures at Dowth. Furthermore, it is in

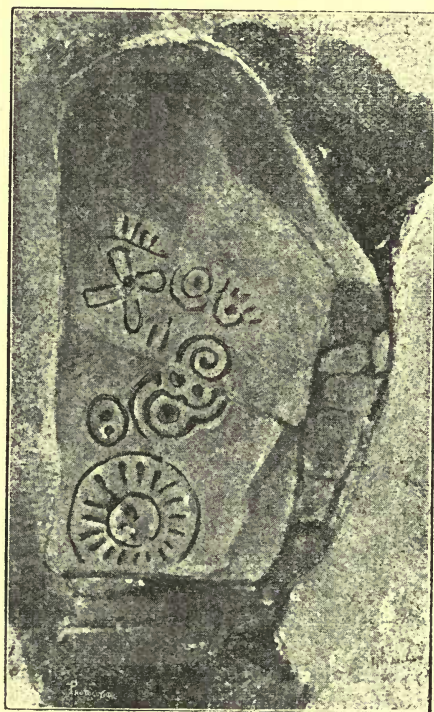


Fig. 80.—Loughcrew, Cairn *s*.

this later period of Bronze in Scandinavia that we find a tendency to add rays to concentric circles, and to employ ray-like manes or motives in the treatment of ships, possibly with solar significance. This rayed treatment of concentric circles and other devices is a prominent feature in the Loughcrew markings. With the rayed concentric circles, and rayed circle within a circle, on the Scandinavian knives, figs. 74 and 75, may be compared similar forms on stones *a* and *b*, Cairn *r*, stones *a* and *e*, Cairn *s* (figs. 79 and 80), and stone *l*, Cairn *l*. The use of rays, in a somewhat more general manner, is seen on *e*, Cairn *r*, and *b*, Cairn *r*.

Several examples of what appear to be rosettes are found at Loughcrew, chiefly in Cairn *r*. These are possibly local modifications of wheel and ray types. But it may be noted that rosette-like forms occur

on some objects of the later Bronze Period in Scandinavia (Madsen, Pl. 29, fig. 14; Holmberg, Pl. 42-43). The curious oval figures, divided by a central line and numerous cross bars on *o*, Cairn *r*, are met with also at Dowth. I have not so far found any clue to this figure.

Whilst I have not found it possible to trace the history of the Loughcrew types in all cases, enough has been said to show the predominance of Scandinavian influence. The consistency of the series is remarkable and important as evidence. Thus, returning spirals and triangles (forms of ornament which represent the severe tradition of the earlier period of the Scandinavian Bronze Age) are sparingly represented, but debased forms, single spirals and concentric circles, are numerous. Consistently with the disappearance of the earlier forms, later types are abundant at Loughcrew. Thus, we find there concentric half-circles, wheel, and cross-in-circle, and rayed circle forms. Types which, without pressing the debased bird motive, appear at the close of the earlier period in Scandinavia, and become numerous as the older spiral motive gives way to the more varied forms of the later period.

Summarising the results of the preceding investigation, we can draw the following conclusions respecting the chronology of the New Grange, Dowth, and Loughcrew tumuli. New Grange must be regarded as the earliest. Its ornamental relations are with the early Bronze Period of Scandinavia. But it is probably to be placed towards the close of that period. The *x* pattern on the stone over the entrance, also the ship form with circle above it, and the scalloped figure with lozenge centre on the roofing stone of the east recess, suggest this.

Dowth and the Loughcrew tumuli are probably much of the same period. They represent the influence of the later Scandinavian Bronze Age. I am inclined to think, however, that no great gap in time separates them from New Grange. The partial picking of some of the stones at Dowth, a class of treatment which forms so marked a feature at New Grange, and the use of large stone basins at New Grange, Dowth, and Loughcrew implies a certain continuity of tradition, and links the monuments of these three localities in series.

A difficulty will perhaps have occurred to the reader, namely, that the examples of spiral ornament brought forward from Scandinavia are from bronze antiquities, whereas the Irish examples are in stone. No example of the spiral of the period with which we are dealing has been found on a metal object in Ireland. This difficulty is, I think, more apparent than real. The gold fibulæ, called by Wilde mammillary fibulæ, are almost always plain. Vallancey has figured two examples, one of which is engraved with triangle, and the other with lozenge ornaments, and one example with cross hatch ornament has been figured by Pococke.¹ Save for a few fillets, in some instances, all the

¹ "Collectanea," vol. vi., p. 240. Dubourdieu's "Statistical Survey of Antrim," p. 585. "Archæologia," vol. ii., p. 40.

examples in the Academy's collection are plain. The general plainness of these objects, and the sparing use of ornament in the examples above referred to, renders the rich decoration of an example in the possession of Trinity College, Dublin, quite surprising. It is figured by Wilde in the catalogue of the Academy's collection, p. 60. In this example the surfaces of the cups are completely covered with concentric circle ornament, the inside rims of the cups are decorated with hatched triangles, and the neckings of what may be called the handle with chevron and herringbone pattern; along the back of the handle is an ornament of lozenges, not shown in the illustration. We may judge from this exceptional example how imperfect the record may be in other cases.

With the exception of simple punched ornaments of chevron and herringbone patterns on flat and flanged celts, ornament is comparatively rare on objects of metal from the Bronze Age in Ireland. On a few dagger blades and spear heads engraved ornament is found. These latter examples are confined to the straight line patterns of triangles, lozenges, and saltires.

The patterns on these examples furnish a general relation for the patterns at New Grange to the Bronze Period in Ireland, as distinguished from the particular reference of the spiral patterns. Similar patterns are engraved on several of our gold lunettes. But even in this class of objects, where the softness of the metal offers a facility for engraving, and its richness may be said to invite ornament, the majority are sparingly decorated, and several are quite plain.

Skill in metal working fell far short in Ireland, in the Bronze Age, of the excellence reached in Scandinavia. But whilst the engraving of a spiral on metal requires considerable technical skill, it is quite easy to incise it on stone. The spirals on the stones at New Grange and elsewhere in Ireland are not cut as with a graver, side-driven as a plough: they are punched by a number of blows struck perpendicularly on the surface of the stone. Any hard-pointed instrument, a pointed stone, will do to punch a line in the fairly soft surfaces of the stones usually selected. Standing in front of, or over the surface of the stone to be incised, it will be found that the arm is quite free in its movements, and by repeated blows with a pointed instrument a more or less continuous line of punched marks can be easily made to follow a required form. When thus sunk, the tool may be run in the line to clear it.

Therefore, while we cannot, with the Trinity College fibula before us, exclude the possibility that spiral patterns in metal may yet be found in Ireland, it may be said that the general character of the engraved ornaments on gold and bronze, hitherto found, seems to show that a degree of skill in the engraving of metals had not been reached, at which we should expect spiral patterns; but a different technique in the incising of stone imposed no corresponding limitations on patterns in that material.

The rock inscribings of Scandinavia appear to be mostly of the nature of pictographs, recording incidents of expeditions of one kind or another, and can hardly be ascribed to skilled craftsmen. But even amongst these we find an example of three connected spirals (Holmberg, Pl. 8), and cross and circle and wheel symbols are numerous. A characteristic example of concentric circles from Halland, Sweden, is figured by Simpson in "Archaic Sculpturings" (pl. xxxi.). Again, the remarkable carvings of the well known Kivik stones show that forms, which, as far as numerical examples are concerned, may be said to belong to metal, were occasionally transferred to stone. Moreover, we must always bear in mind that the wood carving of the period has perished. No doubt it would be possible to close many gaps in the record if this were not so.



Fig. 81.—Gavrinis.



Fig. 82.—Gavrinis.

Mention has been made incidentally of the incised stones of the Tumulus of Gavrinis, Morbihan, in Brittany. The general resemblance of these to the Irish examples has been frequently noticed, and relations have been conjectured. If now the pattern motives of the Irish stones are brought from Scandinavia, it may be asked what place is to be assigned to the Brittany examples in the general scheme of the subject. This is a difficult question, and I do not pretend to be able to answer it.

Out of twenty-three incised stones in the passage and chambers of the Tumulus of Gavrinis, only two stones are inscribed with spirals. One, No. 12 (*Dictionnaire Archéologique de la Gaule*, Pls.), has on it two rude examples of the double spiral; the other, No. 5, bears a single spiral. These appear to be the only examples of spirals known from Brittany (figs. 81 and 82).

The wedge-like figures which occur on several of the stones of Gavrinis, believed to be representations of celts, have been frequently figured. In addition to these, chevron, zigzags, and indeterminate markings occur. But the dominant motive is the concentric half-circle. In many instances the groups of concentric half-circles spring from each other, forming a sort of scale pattern. In a few cases they are placed base to base, giving an effect of concentric ovals (figs. 83 and 84).

The following questions arise in regard to the markings on the Gavrinis stones. Are they to be ascribed to (1) A drift of early influence from the Mediterranean? (2) A drift of influence from the Baltic, escaping through the Channel? (3) Influence from Ireland, or (4) an independent origin with a life history of their own?

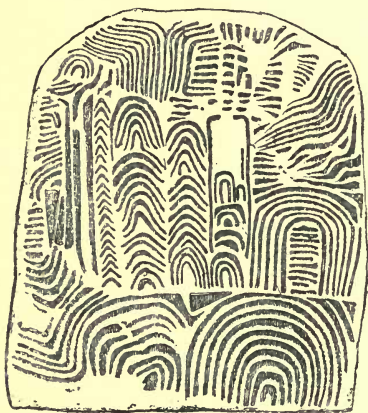


Fig. 83.—Gavrinis.

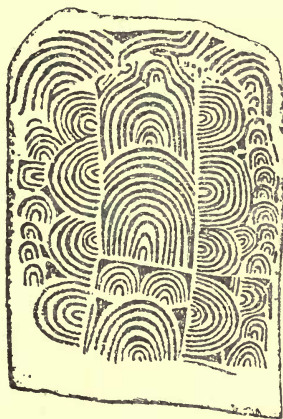


Fig. 84.—Gavrinis.

On the question of a possible Irish origin, it will be remembered that Nantes was a port of departure for Ireland in historical times.

A strong general resemblance exists between the Gavrinis markings and those at New Grange, and also some of those at Lougherew. Especially is this so in case of the boundary stone at New Grange, fig. 62. The splaying of the concentric curves in groups from one another, and the wedge-shaped cuttings of latter stone suggest at sight a reference to Gavrinis.

It should be noted that not only is the spiral rare at Gavrinis (only three examples) but that the type is debased. Apart, therefore, from the abundance of evidence for the Scandinavian source of the Irish incised markings, we are precluded from looking on Gavrinis in the light of a stepping stone the other way, namely, to Ireland, though possibly the

concentric half-circle motive, so strongly represented at that station, may indicate some interchange of influence.

The tumulus of Gavrinis is ascribed to the Neolithic period. I do not know that there is any definite evidence on this point. M. Adrien de Mortillet, referring generally to the incised figures on the megalithic monuments of France, states that they appertain to the Neolithic period, probably the end of that period, perhaps, he adds, despite the absence of metal, to the commencement of the Age of Bronze.¹ In addition to the



Fig. 85.—Gavrinis.

spiral and general feeling of the patterns at Gavrinis, two patterns, discovered by M. de Closmadeuc, strongly suggest Bronze Age influence (figs. 85 and 86).² One of these is compared to a band of eight lozenges. The lines do not cross, and it really consists of two rows of triangle ornament, point to point. This example recalls the row of lozenges on the stone at the right-hand side of the east recess at New Grange. The other consists of a chevron pattern, and strongly resembles the chevron pattern on the stone at the back of the east recess at New Grange.



Fig. 86.—Gavrinis.

I have thought it right to present these considerations, but I do not desire to press any of the preceding points. The evidence is, as yet, too slender to build a bridge with. Some thirty-six megalithic monuments are at present known in France with incised or sculptured stones. Of these, no less than twenty-seven are in Brittany (twenty in Morbihan).³ In the number and the richness of the carvings, Gavrinis has no competitors. And, with the exception of the neighbouring dolmen La Table-des-Marchands, the concentric half-circle figures, which form so marked a feature at Gavrinis, appear to be confined to that monument. In general, the figures on other monuments are of a different class,

¹ "Revue Mensuelle de l'École d'Anthropologie de Paris," 1894, p. 276.

² "Revue Archéologique," N.S., vol. iv., p. 326.

³ Mortillet, *loc. cit.*

consisting of representations of a female divinity, partly in relief, axes with handles, ships, etc. Until the problems of these monuments have been more fully worked out by French archæologists it is premature to attempt to draw conclusions.

IX.

Having now brought the main line of our argument to a conclusion in Ireland, we may consider the question of the approximate dates which can be assigned to the Boyne and Loughcrew tumuli. New Grange has been referred to the period of the close of the early Bronze Age of Scandinavia. The early Bronze Age of Scandinavia, characterised by spiral ornaments, is dated by Montelius at about 1500 to 1000 B.C.¹ These dates are based on the Mycenæ dates. The main reference of the northern spirals appears to me to look rather towards the middle period of Mycenæ, and I hesitate to accept so early a date as 1500 B.C. Allowing, therefore, a margin of a couple of centuries at the close of the period, we can, I think, say that New Grange may be put down as certainly as old as 500 B.C., and may with probability be put back to 800 B.C.

The Loughcrew tumuli have been referred to the period of the later Age of Bronze in Scandinavia, the close of which is estimated by Montelius to have occurred about 500 B.C. The cemetery at Loughcrew was in use probably during a considerable length of time. Some thirty cairns may still be counted. But it does not appear that any of these cairns were erected in the Late Celtic times. We can thus put an approximate limit to the lower end of the period within which they are to be placed. In cairn H, an immense quantity (including fragments, upwards of 5000 pieces) of curiously worked bones, resembling in form the blade of a paper-knife, were found; also the fragments of 13 bone combs. Seven of the combs and 91 of the flat pieces of bone were engraved with Late Celtic patterns. The evidence of this find, which seems to conflict with that of incised stones, is explained by the number of the exceptional features of this cairn, which point to secondary interments, or a secondary use of the cairn, at a period subsequent to its erection. No trace of Late Celtic ornament occurs on any of the stones of Cairn H. In respect to the incised markings, its stones present no features of divergence from those of the other cairns of the cemetery. With the exception of two plain examples found in the neighbouring Cairn L, and one since found in Cairn R 2, no similar pieces of worked bone or combs were found in any of the other cairns. Above the walling slabs, at the backs of the northern and southern chambers of Cairn H, are several courses of dry

¹ "Les Temps Préhistoriques en Suède."

walling. This feature arrested the attention of Conwell when he dug out the cairn in 1865. He writes:—"Some curious attempts at dry masonry will be found at the northern and southern extremities of the chambers." This form of construction is not found in any of the other cairns. It appears to indicate a partial reconstruction of the cairn. In conformity with the exceptional features of the construction, and Late Celtic patterns of the principal find, is the further fact that in this cairn alone were found objects of amber, glass, and iron.¹

In the absence of evidence that the erection of cairns in the Loughcrew cemetery continued into the Late Celtic period, and taking into account the disturbance of Cairn H, it is, I think, reasonable to assume the existence of a gap between the erection of the cairns and the latter period. The influence of the Late Celtic patterns was probably felt in Ireland as early as the second century B.C. On the other hand, although Loughcrew must be regarded as later than New Grange, there is continuity of tradition throughout the series of the tumuli of New Grange, Dowth, and Loughcrew. From these considerations we may place the cemetery of Loughcrew approximately between 300 and 800 B.C.

In the preceding attempt to fix the periods of these monuments I have leant towards minimum dates. An assumption of a closer sequence to the Scandinavian dates might be pressed in favour of a more remote antiquity.

Mention has been made of legends of invasions (or emigrations to Ireland, as they are usually called) preserved in our ancient manuscripts. These are generally consigned to the region of Mythology. It is not my intention to venture on that doubtful ground; but certain parallels between the legends and the archæological evidence seem worthy to be noted for further inquiry.

From the coming of Parthalon to the coming of the Milesians, inclusive, five invasions or emigrations are counted: the emigration to Ireland of (1) Parthalon; (2) Nemid; (3) the Firbolgs; (4) the Tuatha Dé Danann; (5) the Milesians.

Parthalon and Nemid had successively to encounter a mysterious race called Fomorians, who are represented as rovers on the seas between Ireland and Scandinavia, but also sometimes referred to Africa. Subsequently they appear in alliance with the Firbolgs against the Tuatha Dé Danann, by whom they were finally defeated in the great battle, or battles, of Mag Tured or Moytura.

¹ The finds in the other cairns have not been numerous. They include fragments of urns, bone pins, flint flakes, flint arrow-heads (2), stone balls, stone pendants and beads, and a diminutive stone celt about one inch in length. With the exception of a bronze pin found among the loose stones in Cairn T, no object of metal is recorded (Conwell, "Ollamh Fodhla": Rotherham, *Journal*, R.S.A.I., 5th ser., vol. v., p. 305). The state of the cairns when dug out by Conwell showed that they had been already rifled. The comparative richness of the finds in Cairn H suggests the question: did this rifling take place prior to the secondary occupation of that cairn?

There is no reason to doubt that these legends are based on the Celtic mythology of gods and heroes, as the investigations of D'Arbois de Jubainville, and Rhys have shown.¹ According to these writers the Fomorians are gods of death, of darkness; the Tuatha Dé Danann, gods of life, of light. Subjected to a process of Christian euhemerism, in or before the tenth century, these legends were fitted to Biblical chronology, and set forth as historical narratives. The country of the dead (the Hades of the Celts), a land across the ocean, was then given concrete form and figures, as Greece or Spain, in the tenth-twelfth century redactions.

But whilst we may accept this, I would suggest that the euhemerism, to have been plausible, must have conformed to the race traditions of the peoples in Ireland concerning the countries from whence they had come. It is difficult to believe that peoples who had reached the social stage of development before migration (as we may believe was the case with the early migrants to Ireland) would ever wholly forget, however they might distort, the story of their origin. It would seem to me more difficult to account for the absence of such traditions, than their presence. And if they be not incorporated in these legends of colonizations, where are they?

From this point of view the legends of the Tuatha Dé Danann have an especial interest for us. Two somewhat different accounts are given of this people, but both agree in bringing them to Ireland from the North. According to one account, after the overthrow of the people of Nemid by the Fomorians, one branch of the survivors emigrated from Ireland to the north of Europe, where they became proficient in Druidic arts, and subsequently returned to Ireland as the Tuatha Dé Danann. According to another and more detailed account, preferred by Keating, they were first located in Greece. Expelled from Greece they settled in Lochlinn (Scandinavia), where they obtained possession of four cities—Falias, Gorias, Finias, and Murias. After they had remained a long time in these cities, they passed over to the north of Scotland, where they continued seven years, then crossed to Ireland, landing in the north of the country.²

It is true that in a poem quoted by Keating from the "Book of Invasions," the Tuatha Dé Danann are represented as reaching the north by sea, but one cannot help thinking that in the stations mentioned in the legend—Greece, Scandinavia, Scotland, Ireland—we have an echo of the ancient culture route from the Ægean to the Baltic, and thence to Ireland, which we have traced in the preceding pages.³

¹ D'Arbois de Jubainville, "Le Cycle Mythologique Irlandais," 1884. Rhys, "Celtic Heathendom"—*Hibbert Lectures*, 1886.

² Keating; and see O'Curry, "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish," vol. ii., p. 110; also De Jubainville and Rhys.

³ The geography in the legends is very vague. Thus, Nemid is represented as sailing from the Caspian Sea to the North Sea. This error may be traced to the notion which prevailed amongst the Greek geographers from the time of Alexander,

In support of the incorporation of historical traditions in these legends, may be instanced the fact that the introduction into Ireland of a new form of weapon is ascribed to the Tuatha Dé Danann.

In the story of the first battle of Mag Tured we are told that on the arrival of the Tuatha Dé Danann, the Firbolgs sent forth a champion *Sreng* to ascertain the intentions of the strangers, the latter likewise sent forward a warrior *Breas* to parley. The two champions, we are told, wondered each at the peculiar weapons of the other. Those of *Breas* are described as "thin, sharp spears," while *Sreng's* are "great, pointless, heavy, thick, sharp-edged arms." On separating they exchanged weapons, that the hosts on each side might thus form an opinion of the other from the specimens of their arms.¹ Independently of this tale, the tradition that pointed spears were first introduced into Ireland by the Tuatha Dé Danann was a common belief of our ancient writers. For instance, in a poem in the "Book of Leinster," a manuscript of the twelfth century, occurs a passage rendered by the Rev. Dr. MacCarthy, thus²:—

"Until grew Rinnal, there was not a point
Upon a weapon at all in Eriu,
Upon spears rough, without perfect finish,
But the whole run of them was unpointed wood.

Brought the diligent Tuath-de-Donnand
[Pointed] spears with them in their hands:
With these was slain Eochaid,
By the seed of Nemid the severe-judging."

This tradition of the introduction of spears into Ireland by the Tuatha Dé Danann does not bear the aspect of myth. It would look as if we had here an historical tradition embedded or inserted in the legend.

The remarkable parallel which is disclosed, between the culture line of the archæological evidence and the legend of the wanderings of the Tuatha Dé Danann, is carried a step further by the fact that the monuments in which we traced Scandinavian influence are ascribed by Irish tradition to that people. Thus, as it were from the other end, the historical traditions, which, for the purpose of the argument, I have assumed to have been incorporated in the mythical account of the Tuatha Dé Danann, are confirmed by the particular traditions of the monuments. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader of the association of the Dagda and Aengus with the Brugh of the Boyne (New

supposed to be founded on observation (Ptolemy), that the Caspian Sea was an inlet of the Northern Ocean, like the Red Sea on the south. This error was adopted by Strabo and Pliny, and lasted down to the time of Ptolemy.

¹ O'Curry, vol. ii., p. 235.

² "Todd Lecture Series," R.I.A., vol. iii., p. 153. See also O'Curry, vol. ii., p. 237.

Grange), of Bodan, shepherd of Elemar, with Dowth, and Bui with Knowth.

The *Senchus na Relic*, or history of the pre-Christian cemeteries of Ireland, in the *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, a compilation of the eleventh century, is very precise on this point. It tells us that "the nobles of the *Tuatha Dé Danann* were used to bury at Brugh," and that this cemetery was not adopted by the race of Heremon, the Milesian Kings of Tara, till the time of Crimhthann, "who was the first king of them who was interred at Brugh." The reason why Crimhthann adopted Brugh is stated to be "because his wife Nar was of the *Tuatha Dea*, and it was she solicited him that he should adopt Brugh as a burial-place for himself and his descendants, and this was the cause that they did not bury at Cruachan."

In my memoir on the Boyne Tumuli, from which the above extracts are taken, arguing on the assumption of the comparatively late date of these monuments, I was led to suggest an explanation of the association of the divinities and heroes of the *Tuatha Dé Danann* with the cemetery, by the supposition that the mythical ancestors of the kings and heroes interred at Brugh had subsequently over-shadowed in tradition the actual persons interred there. This I felt at the time was but a conjecture thrown out to avoid a difficulty. Mr. Alfred Nutt, reviewing the memoir in *Folk-Lore* (September, 1893), saw the weakness of the point, and suggested that future archæological investigation might "tell us if there are in the Brugh district traces of older burial than that of the first century Irish kings, or of an overlapping or mixture of races such as would seem to be implied by the historical tradition."

We now see that tradition had been a safer guide than conjecture, and that a fuller investigation of the archæological evidence confirms the justice of Mr. Nutt's criticism.

The identification of the Loughcrew tumuli with the ancient cemetery of Tailtin is not considered certain. If it were, the association of that cemetery with the *Tuatha Dé Danann* might be instanced. In any case, the presence of Scandinavian influence there is an additional point in the argument for the identification of the cemetery.

It is not within the purpose of the present Paper to pursue this obscure portion of the subject further. Enough has been said to fix attention on the striking nature of the parallel between the historical tradition (if the term may be allowed) and the archæological evidence, and on the general question to suggest that the last word cannot be said on the legends until they have been subjected to archæological criticism, as well as literary criticism, for which, however, sufficient materials are not yet available.

THE WARDENS OF GALWAY.

By RICHARD J. KELLY, B.L., Hon. SECRETARY, GALWAY.

THAT peculiar ecclesiastical institution of a quasi-episcopal character, known as the Wardenship of Galway, which existed for 347 years, owed its creation to an act of the Archbishop of Tuam, Donatus O'Murray. Of his own authority, and for no adequate reason that we can clearly understand, he erected and constituted the parish of St. Nicholas in Galway, then attached to his see since 1324, on the disruption of the old see of Enachdune (now known as Annaghdown)¹, into the collegiate church of St. Nicholas of "exempt jurisdiction." This was solemnly done under his seal by letters dated the 28th of February, 1484. To it, subsequently, he attached the parish of St. James at Balenclear (or Clare Galway). From that origin sprang up an authority which in later times disputed power with, and called into question, the jurisdiction of his successors in the see of Tuam, and which by gradual accretions of territory came ultimately to extend over a district almost conterminous with the boundaries of what became afterwards the diocese of Galway. This act of the archbishop received in the year following, upon the sixth of the Ides of February, 1485, its effectuating sanction and vitalising validity from Pope Innocent VIII. From this latter year, therefore, the institution of the wardenship of Galway properly dates. Under the Papal rescript, which embodied the archiepiscopal decree, the mayor, bailiffs, and council of the town of Galway were empowered annually to elect one warden and eight vicars.

In the Papal Bull it is stated that Galway was originally part of the diocese of Annaghdown, but that it was then perpetually united to Tuam. It quaintly informs us that "the parishioners of the said church of St. Nicholas were modest and civil people, and that they lived in the said town surrounded with walls, not following the customs of the mountainous and wild people of those parts, and that by reason of the incursions and forays of the said mountainous and wild people to the vicarage of St. Nicholas (before commonly governed by vicars), they were so much disturbed that they could not assist at divine service, nor receive the Holy Sacraments according to the English decency, rite, and custom, which the aforesaid inhabitants and their ancestors always used; that they were much disquieted therein, and sometimes

¹ In Harris's edition of "Ware" is an interesting account of the fusion of Annaghdown diocese in the archdiocese of Tuam.

robbed of their goods and killed by those unlearned men, and also that they were obliged to sustain many other damages and inconveniences both in person and substance from them, and feared to suffer more for the future if not speedily succoured, &c." The creation and constitution of the collegiate church is then mentioned. It was to consist of one warden, "guardianus sive custos," and eight priests, "octo presbyteros sive vicarios." For their support "were to be applied the fruits, rents, and incomes of the said vicarage, and the half quarter which the said incumbents of the said church of St. Nicholas had been for a long time accustomed to have from the monastery of Knoekmoy of the Cistercian Order and diocese of Tuam." There were also appropriated "the capitular mensal of the said church, other goods, rents, lands, tithes, rights, and services, then expressed by the said archbishop, and by some of the said parishioners bestowed; providentially considering that the said premises were scarcely sufficient to support decently four of the said priests, it was his will that whatever any of the said parishioners might chance to bestow for the future should belong in full right to the said church of St. Nicholas." The incorporation and annexation of the parish church of St. James at Balenclear (Clare Galway), by consent of its vicar, is then noticed and ratified. The new collegiate church was to be governed and ruled for the future, not by one vicar, but by the warden and eight vicars, who were to be "virtuous, learned, and well-bred men (*morigerosos, virtuosos, et doctos homines*"), who should rightly observe the English rite or custom. The college was to have and enjoy the rights, liberties, and immunities of a privileged college. The priests were to be presented by the mayor, bailiffs, and aldermen of the town to the warden, and by him should be confirmed in their appointment as vicars having the care of souls. The warden held office for but one year (*singulis annis removibilis*), was to be elected by the mayor and council, and so presented was to have the power and care of souls over all the vicars and the parishioners.

The Bull of Innocent VIII. (entitled "*Bulla sive Diploma Innocentii VIII. guardianatum galviensem constituens seu potius jam constitutum stabiliens*"), 1484, confirms the "aforesaid erection, donation, application, union, annexation, and incorporation of our venerable brother, Donatus O'Murray, canon regular of St. Augustine, Archbishop of Tuam," and erects the said church of St. Nicholas into a collegiate church, and thereto appoints "one wardenship for one warden, and eight perpetual vicarages, for so many priests, who, as head and members of the said college, shall constitute a chapter, having privilege of a common seal, a chest or burse, a table, and other collegiate ornaments." The revenue of Clare Galway, not exceeding six marks, was to be annexed, though the said vicarage of St. James be for so long a time vacant as that the collation thereof should lawfully devolve to the

apostolical see according to the statutes of the Lateran Council, and though it be specially reserved to the disposal of the see. The mayors and bailiffs of the town were granted the right of patronage, and of presenting the eight priests, and "on their presentation they were to be instituted by the said warden, perpetual priests or vicars of the said college." And "if any attempt contrary to these," says the Bull, "shall happen to be made, knowingly or ignorantly, by any person or by any authority whatsoever, we from this time forth decree it to be void, and of no force notwithstanding any other former will, or any other apostolical constitutions or ordinations to the contrary." The Bull thus ends:—"Let it not be lawful for any person to break, or by a rash boldness oppose these our letters of confirmation, approbation, conjunction, application, union, annexation, incorporation, ordination, constitution, concession, decree, and will, and if any one shall presume to attempt it, let him know that he incurs the indignation of Almighty God, and of His Blessed apostles Peter and Paul."

It does not appear that there was any equivalent or consideration received by the Archbishop of Tuam for surrendering his authority over the revenues from these parishes, nor any sufficient reason for his despoiling the diocese thereof.

Thus united and enjoying a kind of peculiar prerogative of election, the college grew in extent and power at the expense of the parent see. Generous donations from pious citizens added to the interior beauty as well as to the income of the church. In 1486, William Joyce (himself a Galway man), as Archbishop of Tuam confirmed all his predecessor's former grants to the college, and in 1487 united to it the outlying parishes of Furanmore, Oranmore, and Meary. In 1488 the same self-sacrificing prelate joined to St. Nicholas the vicarage of the parish church of St. Mary of Rathuan (Rahoon) being then vacant by the death of Donat y Donail, the vicar thereof. On the 8th June, 1489, Theobald de Burgo, "chief of his nation," by virtue of apostolical letters of the Holy See, granted all his right of patronage to these rectories to the collegiate church in free and perpetual alms for ever, provided prayers were said for him. These unions of the parishes were often questioned and contested: complaint was made of the annexation of Skryne, which was annexed in 1491, and of Moycullen, so that by a Bull, dated June 4th, 1492, the Pope had specifically and expressly to confirm these changes. Although Richard de Burgo, clerk of Annaghdown, obtained letters from Rome for the creation of a new prebend and rectory for Furanmore and Meary, the Archbishop of Tuam, of his own authority, by letters dated at Galway, the 12th November, 1492, prevented that new arrangement from being carried out, thus in the most practical manner protecting the interests of the collegiate church from re-adjustment and re-arrangement.

One beneficial effect of the foundation of the college was to stimulate

and encourage practically the charity of the wealthy Catholic traders and commercial gentry of the town. From this out they commenced generously to endow the church. Thus, in 1486, Dominick Lynch, as mayor, partly built the college house and left it good legacies.

In 1493 James Lynch Fitz Stephen was mayor, concerning whose alleged stern and unbending virtue and sense of justice, deaf to paternal promptings, a story is told which is now believed to be apocryphal. One thing undoubted about him, however, is that he was a liberal benefactor to the church, and gave it beautiful stained glass windows. One Peter Lynch some years after erected the side chapel to St. Catherine, and by his will "left his principal stone tenement in Galway, and ten acres of arable land in Athenry, for ever, for the perpetual sustenance of one good and proper priest who should daily celebrate mass for the souls of himself, Ellen Blake his wife, their ancestors, friends, and all the faithful departed."

Thus from this period grew the endowments of the church, side by side with its territorial expansion and extension. The college however, all through its career, seemed destined not to remain long in the free unquestioned enjoyment of its property. It had continual disputes, controversies, and contests, now with the surrounding parish clergy resenting its encroachments, now with the Archbishop of Tuam asserting his authority. Pope Alexander VI. was appealed to, to determine a claim of one Maurice O'Flaherty who as rector claimed Moycullen, and also in the case of Roderick O'Kennawayn and Owen O'Flaherty, who as such rectors questioned the right and jurisdiction of the collegiate church in respect to Kilcommon and Kilrowan parishes; while Richard de Burgo and others asserted rectorial rights over Oranmore and Meary. To settle these disputes, a rescript was issued from Rome in 1497 to the Bishop of Clonfert and David de Burgho, a canon of Clonfert, to hear and determine the case. They held their Court at Ballinapatrik in their own diocese, and pronounced judgment against the plaintiff priests, and in favour of the college claim. In 1501 another Papal rescript had to issue, this time to the Archbishop of Tuam, to admonish and reprove "all sons of iniquity" who in any way should invade or usurp the rights and privileges of the college, and authorising excommunication in case of disobedience. A commission was, later on, in 1502, issued to Florence O'Canavan to decide some issue raised on this vexed point of jurisdiction by Richard de Burgo, Canon of Annaghdown, and judgment went against him. In 1526 Meyler and Thomas MacShoyn appealed to Rome against the union of their vicarages to the college. The Archbishop of Tuam decreed that the clergy who had succeeded in their claims to Rome in respect to the livings of Kinlaghan and Scrower, as against the college, were not thereto entitled, the warden and vicars in defence alleging fraud in the petition to the Pope. Subsequently, when the rectory of Roscam was united to Galway, the incumbent, Edmund de Burgo, protested,

and on the petition of the warden, John O'Dermody, Cardinal Wolsey as Papal legate issued a commission to the Dean of Kilfenora to investigate and determine the claim, and he duly confirmed the title of the college. Greater religious troubles outside swallowed up these relatively petty parochial differences, and Rome was henceforth to be untroubled about such matters.

The warden and vicars had their civic and urban as well as rural and ecclesiastical disputes, and there was a serious conflict of authority with the corporation and college, and the Archbishop of Tuam was appealed to as judge of the merits of the controversy. In 1497 he called a meeting of both parties in the Town Hall (a building Galway then could boast of possessing, though without one to-day). All sides were heard, and a full investigation held, when an arrangement was come to on this basis, and in these words recorded:—"In the honour of Almighty God and furtherance of His Divine Service, the mayor and council being assembled, together with Sir Henry Brannigan, warden, and the rest of the college of this town, it was consented and agreed—1. That the warden and vicars shall daily say or sing in the choir the 'tyes' or hours, as tercio, sexto, and nono; (2) That they shall live together continually; (3) That no prelate or vicar be found out of their chambers or college house at night time without lawful business; (4) That four boys should be assisting and helping to sing daily in the choir, especially at Mary mass, at the expense of the vicars and college; (5) That the mayor and council shall henceforth control, correct, and punish the wardens and vicars, without any complaint to be made by them or any of them to the bishop or archbishop, save only to the mayor and council; (6) That the mayor and council shall have the election of the warden yearly, and all priests and clerks or anyone else to serve in the church or college" (*Corp. Book A*). To Hardiman I am indebted for this quaint entry, and much more valuable information which he gleaned from the original records, and published in his "History of Galway."

Twice, while the Catholic Archbishop of Tuam held a qualified episcopal sway over the wardenship of Galway, the college was confirmed in its privileges and rights; once by William Joyce, and again by Christopher Bodkin; both curiously enough natives of the town, and therefore, perhaps, more partial than others to the place of their nativity. Whether it is so or not, it is curious that it should have been found necessary so frequently to confirm the original grants; and this interposition leads to the supposition that some serious question of the authority occasionally occurred, while it also strengthens the belief that a kind of overlordship or superiority remained over the institution, and continued to be exercised by the See of Tuam. There is no documentary proof of such right, nor does the Bull of Pope Innocent VIII. reciting the grant of Donatus O'Murray make any reference to Tuam's overlordship.

The wardens seem occasionally to have been guilty of alienating by long leases, and for nominal rents, the lands acquired by them for pious purposes, for we find that in 1546 the Town Council ordered that the warden and vicars should not set any lands, tithes, or other revenues of the college for more than one year. In 1514 John Bermingham when warden leased to one John Fernando a tenement and garden at Fisher's-lane for 13s. 4d. a year, "and two capons with their feathers." The abuse of alienation continued, for there is on record subsequently a letting to one Thomas Porte of a house and lands at 6s. 8d., and two capons. It was found necessary in 1607 to re-enact the law against ecclesiastical alienation, and to provide that the transgressor be expelled from the college house as an unworthy member, and fined £20 if found guilty of such practices.

With the Reformation came a change in the institution. From that period it was shorn of its pomp and power. For the remaining years of the existence of the institution there was a divided authority, with the usual results that follow division. Henry VIII.'s reign was in Galway, as everywhere else in his dominions, signalised by suppression and confiscation of religious establishments. Three of the institutions in Galway came under his baneful ban, and the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas feared danger to its establishment. The Corporation of Galway, however, as patrons of the church, were preparing to yield to the king's newly-assumed authority, when death removed him, and delayed their action until the next reign. They petitioned Edward VI.'s Lord Deputy St. Leger, praying confirmation of their original charter from the Archbishop of Tuam and the Pope, and which never received any previous State sanction, nor needed it. They asked that the church might continue to be governed, as from its institution, by the mayor and his co-burgesses—with exemption from diocesan and any other Ordinary jurisdiction, that the vicars and warden be elected as before, and punished, removed, and corrected by the mayor, bailiff, and co-burgesses, an extension of the doctrine of Erastianism that must have delighted the hearts of the Secularists of that day. They by this submission sought to free themselves from any ecclesiastical control, and were content instead to submit their liberties to corporate control. They also claim the union of the rectory of the Collegiate Church of Abbeyknockmoy, with its appurtenant benefices, and the *quarta episcopalis pars*, or episcopal fourth, which was the right and revenue of the Archbishop. They feel it necessary to ask the State confirmation for the rectories of Rahoon, Moycullen, Oranmore, Roscam, Clare, Kilcomen, Meary, and Skryne, which, we may take it, was the extent of their territory and jurisdiction at that time, when it certainly had attained its fullest strength. They also requested that the historic Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas, under which title and patronage they acquired and enjoyed their privileges, be changed and known

henceforth as the King's College of Galway. These requests were in the main granted.

By authority of the Parliament of Westminster of the 27th of April, 1551, after two years' delay, the King, as requested, changed the name of the church into "The Royal College of Galway." He authorised and ordained that Patrick Blake, merchant, one of the priests there, be warden, and that Patrick Kirwan, Thomas French, Darby O'Hession, John Talman, Darby O'Rowan, John Dermot, John O'Brangan, and Edmund O'Flaherty, be vicars choral; that as heretofore, the college consist of one warden and eight vicars, who were to be a body corporate, with right of perpetual succession, a common seal, and power of making bye-laws. This edict practically secularised the establishment, as the power over it of the mayor and corporation sought for was confirmed. The cemeteries of the three disused monasteries in Galway were granted to the college, and it enjoyed the revenues from all future interments therein. This charter, with slight modifications of no essential character, continued to be that under which the Protestant institution as such was governed.

Although in constitution and organisation made Protestant, still, during Mary's reign and for some time during the early part of Elizabeth's, the college continued to be governed by Catholic priests. Then, however, Sir Patrick Blake being warden, he was called upon to come and appear before Queen Elizabeth's commissioners and report himself, which he duly and submissively did. The last substantial lay improvement to the fabric of the church attempted was completed at this time—the construction of what is known as Lynch's Aisle by a pious citizen of that name. The college was now surrendered to the Established Church, but, it would appear, considerably shorn of its possessions, and from its new Protestant congregation it never acquired any of those gifts, aids, grants, and bequests it was accustomed to receive in the old Catholic days. Nay, more, bit by bit, its vicarial possessions were alienated from its enjoyment and control.

There is on record, in 1561, a demise by Sir Clement Skerrett (warden) to James Lynch, of a parcel of ground called Gortkeoyne for twenty-one years, at fourpence, a curious proof of alienation. The Queen by letters patent of 20th September, 1578, in consideration that the warden and vicars and their successors "should continue together and entertain a godly and learned preacher amongst them from time to time at their own charges," granted them the late dissolved monasteries of Annaghdown, and Ballintubber, in Mayo, with all their appurtenances. In 1585, Sir Henry Burke, then warden, was arrested by the order of the Archbishop of Tuam, and detained in prison for a sum of fifteen marks due for small benefices. Petitioning Sir Nicholas Malby for his release, he said "the benefices were waste and in a desert country, otherwise they should be obliged to sell such livings as they had for their sus-

tenance, and also for the support of many poor children whom they kept in the college."—*Orig. MS.*

There remained apparently from this period down a dual succession of Catholic and Protestant wardens independent and separate. The State control of the latter was vigorously exercised. In 1639 Strafford interfered, as was his habit, and compelled the corporation (under the form of recommendation) to elect John Harding, Vice-Provost of Trinity College as their warden, which they did, further undertaking annually to elect him during his life, "he demeaning himself well." The Catholic wardens were elected under the old system as prescribed by the Bull of Innocent, while the charter of Edward regulated the Protestant mode. This system of dual colleges was in a sense unique.

In secret the Catholics assembled every year regularly, chose their mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses, as if an existing corporation, and they in return, as the electorate, chose the warden and vicars. The Archbishop of Tuam claimed and exercised a right of veto. In 1620 John Fallon, being mayor, wrote a strong declaration of independence to Tuam, adding "that the people of the town are so steadfast in the matter, that for all the clergy in Ireland they would not lose one atom of their privileges." A confirmation of the old powers was obtained from Pope Urban VIII. in 1637, but notwithstanding its silence on the subject, the Archbishop claimed the evidently inherent right of an ordinary visitation and the payment of a synodicum. The warden, on his side, insisted that the collegiate church was "*ecclesia insignis collegiata et exempta ab ordinaria jurisdictione.*" The Archbishop denied its freedom from episcopal control, and traversed the claim that the warden possessed "*jurisdictio episcopalis vel quasi episcopalis.*" In 1643 the Catholics repossessed themselves for a brief period of their old church of St. Nicholas, and for the first time for many years, and for the last time, mass was solemnly said there, and a sermon preached by John Keegan, of the Society of Jesus.

The disciplinary disputes with Tuam, however, seemed chronic. Clare parish being vacant, the Archbishop refused to recognise one Walter Lynch presented by the warden, unless the college should agree to the following conditions, which being submitted to may be taken as defining their separate rights and his jurisdiction:—(1) That the Archbishop should approve of him; (2) That he should be obedient to the provincial and diocesan synods and statutes; (3) That he should give no contradiction to the Archbishop's visitation, correction, procuration, &c.; and (4) That he should give an undertaking under his hands to be obedient to his lordship's sentence touching the controversy between them. The Bishops of Elphin and Clonfert, the Vicar-Apostolic of Kilmaeduaigh, Sir Lucas Dillon, one of the Supreme Council, and Richard Martin, Mayor of Galway, were appointed arbitrators, and a settlement was arrived at on this basis.

Cromwell's soldiery incurably destroyed the monuments and interior ornamentation of the church, and they left their indelible, destructive mark there, as elsewhere.

In 1663 one Dr. James Vaughan was appointed Protestant warden for life, and this by letters patent, an innovation on the annual practice; and the corporation granted three parts in eight of the tithes to the college for repairing the church and college house, &c., paying £40 a-year to one of the body for preaching every Sunday in the church. Dr. Vesey, Protestant Archbishop of Tuam, after Dr. Vaughan's death, got letters patent from Charles II., in 1684, reciting that the wardenship was vacant and in the King's gift and disposal *pleno jure* (an innovation and untruth, for it was never in the gift of the Crown), and uniting it perpetually to Tuam, giving the vicars and their successors the several parishes, and allowing them the *quarta pars episcopalis*. Dr. Vesey retained the wardenship for thirty-four years.

James II. re-granted the short-lived Catholic Corporation its old power of openly electing the warden and vicars as they used to do secretly, and Henry Brown was publicly chosen warden accordingly, while Henry Joyce, Michael Lynch, James Fallon, John Rodin, Gerome Martin, Nicholas Nolan, and Thomas Lynch were chosen vicars. Dr. Vesey, the Protestant prelate, however, held the church against them, and refused to submit to or acknowledge the new arrangement. In 1689 they petitioned the King for leave to take possession of their own church as, said they, "its college house was absolutely in ruin, and its church fast going to decay." The so-called arbitrary king referred the petition to the going judges of assize to determine according to law. Some delay occurring, another petition went forth stating that for two years previously service was not held in the church. Lord Clanricarde thereupon gave up the church to the vicars and warden, but Ginckle coming there in 1691, it was restored to the Protestant clergy, in whose hands it has since remained undisturbed.

Dr. Vesey before mentioned got the Irish Parliament to give him power to remove the historic See from Tuam to Galway, thus destroying the continuity his co-religionists claimed for it from the days of Jarlath. The State agreed to this change, as later on it did to the abolition of the Tuam archbishopric after Dr. Trench's death, but strange to add, the Galway Corporation resisted the removal, and the scheme was abandoned, never to be revived.

In 1734 the Rev. Samuel Simcocks was elected warden, and the annual income of the post was then estimated at £500. In 1820 the Very Rev. James Daly was the last Protestant warden, and there were two resident vicars elected annually, under charter, receiving £75 a-year, and ranking as king's chaplains. The warden's perquisites were the tithes and emoluments of the parish of St. Nicholas, and three-fourths of the tithes of the other parishes of Ballinacourt, Clare Galway,

Kilcommon, Moycullen, Oranmore, Rahoon, and Shrule, with 11 acres at Roscam, 17 acres at Royallen, 40 acres at Cappanareagh, 5 acres at Ross, 10 acres at Kilcummin, and the college house—all supposed to produce about £254 annually, and, all told, making the income of the warden, at the beginning of the century, as equivalent to £1000 a-year.

At the Reform Act, the peculiar privileges of the corporation, long fallen into disuse, were abolished, and the Protestant wardenship became a rectory under the archdiocese of Tuam.

With the Catholic wardens and vicars a different arrangement was pursued. Persecution and proscription rendered it difficult and risky to openly carry on the elections annually after the old custom, yet the succession was kept up unbroken up to 1831, when the last warden died. We may incidentally mention a few. In 1691 John Bodkin was Catholic warden, and after him came Edmund Lynch, in whose time in consequence of the insecurity of their property, the possessions, plate, and valuables of the college were sent over to France and converted into money, the interest thereof being regularly sent over to Galway for the support of the clergy. The college income and sacred vessels were confiscated by the French Government at the time of the Revolution, and no compensation was ever made to the despoiled owners. The Catholic Corporation, although only the shadow of a name, continued annually to meet and elect its warden and vicars as of old, and this in fear and trembling, until 1725, when a kind of chapel was allowed to be fitted up in Middle-street and divine service openly carried on there until 1731, when Walter Taylor, being mayor, was ordered by the Irish House of Lords to apprehend and commit all Popish priests in town and country. Patrick Birmingham was warden in those days, chosen by the tribes, as distinguished from the natives who were not of these fourteen select names. He had disputes with the Catholic Archbishop of Tuam concerning his jurisdiction, and ultimately they were composed by a compromise allowing the Archbishop a triennial visitation *in capite et membris*, and a right of appeal to him from the decision of the warden. In return he granted the right of election of warden to the lay patrons as before, but fixed the election as triennial not annual. In 1733 Pope Clement XII. confirmed that arrangement.

Some of the successors of Warden Birmingham were, as he was, erudite and celebrated men. We find among them Hyacinth Bodkin, who died in 1749; Marcus Kirwan; Anthony Blake, of Dunmacreena, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland. Then came Francis Kirwan, and John Joyce who continued until 1783, when he was succeeded by Valentine Kirwan, who founded a school for the education of poor children. Dying in 1791, John Joyce succeeded him, and in his time the old dispute between the tribal and non-tribal families waxed so warm, that an appeal was made to Rome to settle the differences, which was decided in favour of the old fourteen families in 1792, and the old

custom of election by them continued. An attempt was made by the Archbishop of Tuam to abolish the Collegiate Church, which was evidently becoming an anomaly and unworkable, but for the moment it failed. In 1805 Valentine Bodkin was warden, and no vicars being elected, he obtained a dispensation from Rome to render eligible three Regulars of the Dominican Order named John Fallon, Charles and Edmund French. The latter succeeded as warden, and much religious commotion was the consequence; but Rome confirmed on appeal his election, and an excellent and worthy man he proved himself. He erected the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas in 1816, and established the Presentation Convent. His powers and jurisdiction were really those of a quasi bishop in many respects. He possessed visitorial privileges over every institution in the district, and could send two students to Maynooth. He was entitled to a chair and vote at a synod; could wear mitre, crosier, and pontificals, but could not ordain, confirm, or consecrate the holy oils.

In the nature of things it was to be expected this curious power would cease, and so on the death of Dr. French, the last Catholic warden, in 1831, Galway was elevated to a See, and Dr. Brown was consecrated in Tuam its first bishop by Dr. Oliver Kelly, Archbishop of Tuam. Dr. O'Donnell was his successor; then Dr. M'Evilly, now Archbishop of Tuam; and after him Dr. Carr, now Archbishop of Melbourne; while after him came the present equally worthy prelate, Dr. M'Cormack. Thus after a continuous uninterrupted existence for 347 years, from 1484 to 1831, ended the Wardenship of Galway.

Miscellanea.

A Curious Description of Ireland and its Inhabitants (from an ancient Spanish manuscript in the National Library of Naples).—In a Spanish manuscript of the sixteenth century, belonging to the National Library in Naples, and which appears to be copied from an older one, I have found the following strange description of Ireland and its people. The text runs so:—

... “Esta tierra (el Reyno de Ybernia) es isla maritima, y dizen estar fuera de las siete climas y la gente della es de muy larga vida, que algunos dellos viven dozientos años, y à aquellos que nacen alli y se crian, nunca pueden morir mientras que alli restan, y quando son muy flacos de vejez sacan los de la Isla y luego mueren y en esta Isla no ay pan empero son muy abundantes de ganados. Son gente simple y muy hermosos y a los jubileos de S. Jago vienen muchos dellos y el Rey trae por armas un escudo amarillo con un leon negro râmpante.”

TRANSLATION.

“This country (the Kingdom of Ireland) is a maritime island, and it is said that it is out of the seven climates, and the people there have a very long life, some of them live up to two hundred years, and those who are born and live there can never die while they stay there, so that when they are very feeble for old age they put them out of the island, and they immediately die; and in this island there is no bread, but there is much cattle. The people are simple and very handsome, and many of them come to the feasts of St. James; and their king's arms are a golden shield with a black lion rampant.”—L. S. SALAZAR.

The Killeen Cormaic Stones.—In answer to Mr. FitzGerald, I write to say that I have a cast of the ill-fated ogham, Killeen Cormaic II.; an item in the collection of paper-casts formed by my dear and honoured friend the late Sir Samuel Ferguson, and, in accordance with his desire, presented to me by Lady Ferguson. This I have recently re-examined, and find that it corroborates the published reading—MAQIDDECCEDA MAQI MARIN—throughout. As soon as my scanty leisure will allow me, I hope to photograph this cast; the photograph, when I am satisfied with it, will be at the disposal of the Society for publication, if desired, as it is important that the inscription should be put on record in a better form than a mere ms. copy.

But cannot something be done to rescue the stone itself? The state of the other monuments in the cemetery shows that it is visited by mischievous persons as well as by antiquaries, so that it is hopeless to expect to reconstruct it *in situ*. And may I point out one very serious danger to which it is exposed? If the omnivorous curiosity hunters

hear that an ogham stone is lying in a deserted cemetery, broken into a number of portable pieces, they may leave off purchasing forged arrow-heads at the Giant's Causeway for a while and infest the Killeen; and we shall have the inscription disseminated over the European and American continents. Cannot the fragments be brought together to some museum or other? Both historically and philologically this text is an extremely precious one. Historically, because this Macdecedd seems in some way to be a link between his brethren in Munster and those in England and Wales: philologically, because of the doubled *n* in the principal name. When we have discovered whether the duplication of consonants in ogham inscriptions means anything or nothing,¹ this (and the Dunloe MAQIDDUMILEAS) will be of special interest.

Perhaps Mr. FitzGerald would kindly let us have light on another point. In his description of the stone, now lying alongside the bilingual, Father Shearman describes the bust cut upon it as "barely traceable" (I quote from memory, but that is certainly his *meaning*). Now (*a*) the bust is cut fresh and sharp, and yields an excellent rubbing, as I have found; and (*b*) there are several divergencies between Shearman's cut of the figure, and the figure itself as it at present exists. Is Shearman in error, or has someone been meddling with the stone in the meanwhile?

As to the bilingual, the more I think over it the more I am disposed to regard "IVVENE DRVV-IDES"—"Iuvene son of Druadh," as the most satisfactory solution of the puzzle. I take *Druuides* as = to the Manx MAQI DROATA and the Pictish MEQQDDRROIANN; a proper name in each case. I don't know if anyone has ever suggested this reading before, and I am not aware of any parallel instance of *-ides* patronymic on British soil: but identical constructions are found in oghams, where we have *-agni* or *-igni* patronymic: as at Kilbonane, Castletimon, Whitefield I., and possibly Lewannick II. (where (?) ULCAgni ULCAgni = "of Ulcán son of Ulehu"); IVVENE, of course, answers to the UVANOS of the ogham, and in form is echoed by the OGTENE of the Trefgarne inscription. If this identification be maintained, III of course must be *v* at Killeen Cormaic; but I cannot enter into the III question at present.

I have read with the greatest interest the Rev. E. Barry's anxiously expected Paper on the Kilkenny oghams, and am delighted to find him giving his authority to the conclusion arrived at independently by Lord Southesk and myself, that X, when consonantal, is *guttural*, not *labial*. To his list of *xoi* oghams may be tentatively added that at Donard; but the reading of this cannot be satisfactorily determined till the lichen is cleaned off the stone: as far as I could make it out it runs IA(q)INI (x)OI MA(qI) M (^a/_o b ? [or *mucoi*?])

¹ I am rather inclined to think that it means nothing; else why should we have *Maqi-ddecedda*, *-deceddas*, *-decedda*, and *-deceda* coëxistent?

By an unfortunate printer's slip, "F.S.A." crept in after my name on p. 379 of Vol. v. May I close this note by disclaiming the honour, to which I have no title?—R. A. STEWART MACALISTER.

Antiquities in France.—The following appeared in the *Graphic* of Feb. 1 last:—"Antiquities are not treated with much respect in France, when one of the curious Breton dolmens can be bought by any private individual to serve as a tombstone. A resident in Meudon is now bringing from Brittany the huge dolmen of Ker-Han, in the district of St. Philibert, consisting of thirteen solid blocks of granite, and will erect the monument over his family grave."

The "Annals of Clonmacnoise."—The first published edition of these interesting, and often quoted Annals of Ireland, has been issued to the Fellows as one of the Society's Extra Volume Series. Copies may be obtained by Members at Ten Shillings, from Messrs. Hodges, Figgis & Co., Grafton-street, Dublin. The volume is edited by the Rev. Dr. Murphy, S.J., Vice-President of the Society.

New Grange, Co. Meath.—I lately met with, in Volume I. of the *Hibernian Magazine* (1771, p. 257), a letter written to that journal by "A. Walker, Great George's-street, June, 1771," referring to what the writer called "a remarkable cavern" at New Grange, and which he says had only been opened a few years previously. He had personally visited the place, and gives a description of it, with apparent accuracy, and also supplies a diagram or ground plan to enable the readers to follow his description. According to this diagram there was then the full complement of standing stones encircling the mound. The passage and triple recessed chamber with the stone receptacle of each is shown plainly, and he draws attention to the shape of the cross formed by it. He gives the opinions and traditions he learned, and also expresses his own views with some soundness and modesty.

The substance of the letter is as follows:—He admits the much greater antiquity of conical mounds than the descent of the Danes into Ireland. Those with ranges of intrenchments or ditches were probably places of defence, and built by the Danes; but those composed chiefly of stone were certainly sepulchres of chiefs or leading men. The mount at New Grange (with many others which he had examined) was composed chiefly of stones about the size of one's two hands. By chance, a few years before, an horizontal opening was found in the side of the hill, and on clearing out rubbish a road wide enough to admit one man at a time was discovered. The sides and roof were formed of flat stones. He estimates the hill to be fifty yards in diameter and twenty in height. Then he gives a diagram, lettered for reference. In each recess of

the chamber was a hollow round stone vessel about four feet in diameter, like saucers. A ring of prodigious stones more ponderous than those of Stonehenge surrounded the hill. He knew of no machinery, though actuated by 1,000 horses, that could move some of them. No tool marked any of them, and no quarry near was capable of producing such. He describes them as freestone, of a gritty nature, and thinks the place was built on a plain surface and covered over. He also thinks the stone vessels might be altars to Woden, Thor, and Friga. He adds, that one might think it had been piled up since Christianity had been introduced owing to the entrance and vault being in the shape of a cross. There were no local traditions about it, but he thinks it was the burial place of some remarkable chief, and of greater antiquity than Christianity. He remarks that the arch was formed by the overlapping of flat stones. The round altars had no marks of tool on them. He notices ornaments upon the flat stones forming the roof, but from their rudeness he thinks they must have been cut by flints or some hard stone.

I have followed the writer's words generally. He makes no mention of anything having been found in the "Mount," save the rubbish in the entrance or passage.—E. R. M'C. DIX.

A Bundoran Legend.—When on a recent visit to Bundoran, we heard a legend concerning a tombstone in the graveyard of Caldwell, which induced us to visit the place. The story is as follows:—A young married woman went to wash her clothes in a stream near the house, and an animal called by the natives a dhuraghoo (that is spelled as pronounced, but I have never seen the word written), came out of the river and attacked her. Her husband (or brother according to some accounts) missing her went to look for her, and found her dead and the beast sucking her blood. The dhuraghoo attacked the horse; for the husband seems to have been on horseback. The horse being frightened, ran away, but became exhausted at a village called from this circumstance Garronard (*garron*, a bad horse; *ard*, a high place). The dhuraghoo is said to have gone "through" the horse and to have killed it. It was then speared by the husband who at the same time killed its young one. The dhuraghoo is said by some to have been an animal half wolf-dog half fish, by others an enormous sea-otter. The enclosed sketch of the tombstone was made on the spot by Miss Jefferson. Unfortunately she had not time quite to finish it. There was a Maltese cross below the letters. Two other tombstones are shown in connexion with the story, one bearing an image of the horse, and said to be that of the husband. Perhaps some antiquary may be able to throw light on the legend and on the nature of the dhuraghoo.—MISS L. A. WALKINGTON.

St. Patrick's Bells.—The following communication has been made to the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral, in connexion with the proposal to recast the ancient bells to form a new peal:—

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.

COUNCIL ROOM, 7 ST. STEPHEN'S-GREEN, DUBLIN,
11th March, 1896.

VERY REV. DEAR SIR,

The attention of the Council of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland has been drawn to the announcement that a new peal of bells has been offered to St. Patrick's Cathedral.

The Council desires to express a hope that a course which has—lamentably for Archæologists—obtained throughout the Kingdom at many English and Irish Churches in past centuries, will not be followed in Dublin: namely, that the provision of a new and finer peal should of necessity be signalised by the sacrifice of older and perhaps historic bells in the melting-pot.

The Council does not deprecate the idea that the year 1896 should be signalised by the gift of a heavier and finer peal to St. Patrick's, which would be more worthy of it than a preceding one, but this should not involve the destruction of old bells of great interest to the Archæologist, and hallowed by many memories.

Dublin has suffered too often in the past in the disappearance of many ancient bells from its belfries, owing to the sordid economy of turning the mere metal into money, to afford the loss of any bell from the ancient peal of St. Patrick's, whether of those dating from 1670, with their quaint inscriptions and historic value, or even those, historic in their epoch of 1864, being a record of the notable restoration of the Cathedral by a citizen of Dublin at that time.

The Council earnestly desires to enlist the good offices of the Dean in this matter, and would pray him to plead with the Chapter and Cathedral Board for the preservation of these old bells, and to retain them in their ancient home.

The Council is advised that the great Tower would be capable of hanging both a greater and finer peal and the ancient one; and the latter not as a silent peal, but to be heard at times by those who may attach great interest to their historic survival and associations; and desire that they should remain as an abiding record of the past.

I am, Very Rev. Sir,

Your obedient servant,

ROBERT COCHRANE,

Hon. Sec. Royal Soc. Ant., Ireland.

TO THE VERY REV.

THE DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL, DUBLIN.

To this letter the Dean has made the following reply:—

THE DEANERY, ST. PATRICK'S,
March 13th, 1896.

DEAR SIR,

In reply to your letter of March 11th, I have much pleasure in informing you that it is not now contemplated to destroy the present bells.

When we proposed to appeal to the public for the means of providing a new peal, we thought that we should be obliged to give the old bells to the founder in part payment of his account. The necessity for doing this has been obviated by the generous offer of Lord Iveagh to pay the whole cost of the new peal, so as to enable us to preserve the old bells in the Cathedral, which I hope we may be able to do.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

HENRY JELLETT.

Notices of Books.

[NOTE.—Those Works marked * are by Members of the Society.]

- * *Rambles and Studies in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia: with an account of the Proceedings of the Congress of Archæologists and Anthropologists at Sarajevo in 1894.* By Robert Munro, M.D., Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; Hon. Fellow, Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, &c. (Edinburgh: William Blackie & Sons.)

To fully review this instructive and interesting work would require the reproduction of several of its pages, and even its chapters, with finally a recommendation for our members to obtain the volume itself and study it carefully; instead of doing so our notice must be restricted to a brief *résumé* of a limited number of those leading points that appear to bear most on Irish antiquities. Its learned author has enjoyed exceptional opportunities for studying the remains of earlier ages in foreign lands, and of comparing them with those most familiar to ourselves in our own country, hence his writings rise beyond the mere records of local investigations, and aid to correlate the history of mankind in prehistoric and primitive ages throughout the Continent with the accumulated experience of our own students of antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland.

In the present work, interspersed with graphic descriptions of the various places visited during his travels, and remarks on scenery, men, and manners, he brings vividly before us the rude remains of the prehistoric and neolithic stations of Butmir, which he recognised as constituting the debris of an early Pile settlement, similar to those he is familiar with in Scotland and Ireland, and elsewhere on the Continent—structures he has amply illustrated in his well-known works on this subject, respecting which he is admitted to be the highest living authority.¹ In other chapters descriptions are found regarding successive phases of civilisation during the ages of Bronze and of early Iron manufacture, illustrated by numerous plates especially bearing on the extension of Roman culture and colonisation. Here we must notice, as deserving of careful perusal, the remarks concerning the Emperor Diocletian's palace at Spalato, a complete city in itself, constructed after the manner of a Roman camp, having four sides and four gates, and including quarters for soldiers and officials, built by the Emperor at his birth-place, and designed

¹ Our own *Journal* contains a valuable Paper by him, descriptive of the "Structural Features of Lake-Dwellings," which appeared in vol. iv., 5th Series.

to form a peaceful retreat where he might spend his later years. Dr. Munro gives a detailed map of this structure with several illustrations such as the peristyle door, the north gate of the palace, and also one of the two sphinxes brought from Egypt, and placed as decorative figures in front of the Mausoleum. Throughout the districts that Dr. Munro visited the Roman race left indelible marks of their presence and power, as they also did in Britain, and when in the progress of time they accepted the Christian faith, this change of thought brought with it abiding evidences of the fact, for even their domestic utensils, such as the oil lamp in daily use, became decorated with distinctive symbols, many examples of which are figured in this book for our advantage.

Chapter No. 8 has its claims on Irish students of Celtic ornamentation. The description of an excursion to Knin and the surrounding district should be perused by all who wish for wide views of the possible origin and modifications interlaced patterns have undergone, when investigated in their relations with other lands besides our own, where they are found alike decorating early manuscripts and sacred stone monuments. The following passages are selected as specially instructive:—

“Interlaced ornamentations.”—“Of the many interesting memorials of the past met with on this part of the Balkan Peninsula, not the least important are those interlaced slabs from the early churches of Knim. They belong to a style of decorative art once common among Christian communities throughout Europe and some parts of Asia and Africa. In the course of the distribution of this style over such an extensive area its details naturally underwent various modifications in the hands of different artists, especially those inhabiting countries far from the centre of its primary development, such as the Saxons, the Celts, and the Scandinavians. Nowhere has this divergence been more marked than within the British Isles; so much so that at one time it was the current belief that interlacements were a creation of the Celtic mind. But wider observation has proved that interlaced patterns were introduced from the East by the same channel which gave access to Christianity. At the same time it is not denied that in the hands of the Celts these designs, especially in combination with the pre-existing spirals and trumpet shaped spaces, have been manipulated in such a manner as to give their productions a remarkable individuality of character.” Then follows a quotation from Dr. Joseph Anderson’s “Scotland in Early Christian Times,” 2 Ser., p. 113, and a detail of the numerous materials in which these elaborate patterns were employed in stone and metal work, in book covers, and manuscripts, chalices, reliquaries, and fonts, and in carvings of bone and wood.

“There is now a consensus of opinion ‘that this form of ornamentation’ originated in the Byzantine school and thence spread throughout Europe, acquiring greater intricacy and significance as it reached the outward limits of Christendom. The Continental specimens on stone-

work are broadly characterised by a division of the interlacing bands into three ridges, a feature which is extremely rare in the Celtic area, the band, in the latter case, being either plain or divided into two ridges. There is reason to believe that this simplification of the band, though in point of ornamentation it may be regarded as a backward step, was due to necessities imposed upon the artist in his efforts at greater elaboration."

Dr. Munro enters, with much detail, into this subject so full of interest to students of our Celtic ornamentation, and states that in the illumination of the Gospel of St. Mark in the "Book of Deer," which has an interlaced border composed of three plain bands on each side, the artist commenced at the top by dividing the bands into three ridges, but discontinued the operation after a plait or two had been executed. Some good illustrative examples are figured from a font in the baptistery of Spalato, from a sculptured cross now in the Church of St. Petronio, Bologna, and from the end of a sarcophagus in a church at Ravenna.

To such as are unable personally to visit these distant lands, Dr. Munro's writings will afford the best possible substitute, and for those who can, it will prove an indispensable guide. All must agree in his statement, "From the current opinion that archæology is a dry, uninteresting study and incompatible with the gay and pleasurable side of life I dissent *in toto*," and will join in hoping he may yet afford us further pleasure and instruction by writing and publishing many similar books of travel combined with archæologic investigations.—W. F.

The Evil Eye: an account of this Ancient and widespread Superstition.

By Frederick Thomas Elworthy, with 100 illustrations; 471 pages.
(London: John Murray, 1895.)

THE title of this work does not fully convey an idea of the extent and variety of the subjects of superstitious regard investigated in its pages. It is a collection of very curious lore, compiled with great care, evidencing a good deal of study, and it forms a comprehensive record of the various typical practices and beliefs of all countries and times regarding the almost universal superstition of the evil eye, or personal evil influence.

The chapter on "Sympathetic Magic" treats of enchantment; witchcraft; Egyptian *ushebtii* or little figures of wood or stone; deceiving the dead; the *fattura della morte* or death-maker of Southern Italy; sympathetic medicine; sun worship; orientation; the *wuulon* of Australia; the name, a part of the body; human beings walled up alive; and substitution in sacrifice. Totems, portents, and tree worship are dealt with in another chapter, and here, as in many other portions of the work, the various superstitions are not directly connected with the belief in the evil eye, but are not less interesting on that account.

As regards "Symbols and Amulets" the writer says, after referring to symbolism as occupying as large a space now in Christian art, as in the Pagan mythology of old:—

"This love of symbol and the eagerness for its artistic use are said to be rapidly reviving, a fact which does but prove how history repeats itself; and that the primitive notions of mankind are constantly reasserting themselves; that we are but now re-adopting the methods which have prevailed intermittently throughout all human time."

The mystic eye, and the eye used in decoration, especially by the Etruscans, who ornamented their vases and furniture with eyes very conspicuously depicted, which are said to have an analogy to those so often painted in the Hellenic vases, and have probably the same symbolic meaning; and by the ancient Egyptians who were accustomed to adorn their pottery with the eye as a special feature of the design; are instances of the use of this emblem as a talisman against its own influence—the fertile source, it was thought, of every evil to mankind.

The heads and horns of animals, used to decorate halls, are said to have been originally placed there to avert evil influences, and this is traced to the cult of the horned Isis and Diana; and the horse-shoe nailed to doors, and used in other positions, is another form of the same emblem.

Numerous illustrations are given of the shields of warriors of the legions of ancient Rome, following the practice of the Greeks and other earlier nations. The suggestion is that the original custom of emblazoning strange devices upon warriors' shields was to catch the eye of the enemy and absorb the poison of the first glance. The form and history of these devices are traced, until at last a systematic combination becomes developed into a quasi-science which we now call heraldry.

The subject is treated in a masterly and fascinating style, and is a most interesting record of many different phases of human superstition. The illustrations add greatly to the value of the work.

**An Account of the Parliament House, Dublin. With Notices of Parliaments held there, 1661-1800. By John T. Gilbert, LL.D., M.B.I.A. (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, & Co.)*

THIS work is a new edition of portion of Dr. Gilbert's well-known, but now scarce, *History of the City of Dublin*. Fresh and original matter has been added, no doubt the result of the researches of the author in recent years. Many views and portraits have also been added from authentic originals which add to the interest of the work. The ground covered in the book is of exceptional interest, not only locally to citizens of Dublin, but to all students of Irish history. It enters fully into all matters relating to the history of Irish Parliaments in the period named, gives

most interesting details of the old Chichester House in "Hoggen Green," and the erection of the new Parliament House on its site, the original designer being Captain Edward Lovet Pearce. The information is of a varied character, including notices of the trials of Lord Santry, Viscount Netterville, and the Earl of Kingston, and many interesting particulars of the celebrated characters who figured in the last great struggle for, and against, the Union.

Full descriptions from contemporary accounts are given of the Old House of Commons; a beautiful chamber, before its destruction in 1792. We would like to have had a fuller architectural description of the building as a whole, and mention made of the work of Gandon, from whose design the entrance to the House of Lords was built, and of the entrance to the House of Commons, from a design by Robert Parke.

* *Evolution in Art, as illustrated by the Life-Histories of Designs.* By Alfred C. Haddon. Contemporary Science Series. (London: Walter Scott & Co.)

It is a pleasure to read a book such as this, written on a system. Notwithstanding the extent of the field covered and host of references, the facts are marshalled in clear order, and the succession of the sections proceeds without confusion. The aim of the book is, in Professor Haddon's words, "to deal with the arts of design from a biological or natural history point of view." The life-histories of a few artistic ideas, as moulded by suggestion and expectancy, are traced along the lines of four needs—Art, Information, Wealth, and Magic and Religion. Professor Haddon introduces his subject to the reader by a detailed examination of patterns from British New Guinea, in which field he is himself an original worker. This section is, indeed, condensed from the author's important Memoir on the Decorative Art of British New Guinea, lately published by the Royal Irish Academy. He then proceeds to the general consideration of the subject, in which he ably summarises the results of the leading workers in this as yet little known field of anthropology. The industry here displayed cannot be too highly praised. The book is not only a complete text-book, but also an exhaustive index of the literature of the subject. It will be found of especial interest to archæologists, particularly the sections on symbolism and the religious and talismanic use of patterns. It is impossible to investigate adequately the remains of ancient peoples without taking into account their art. And the point of view suggested by Professor Haddon's book will, we are confident, prove fruitful in opening up many unexpected lines of inquiry in antiquarian subjects.

The Book-Plate Annual and Armorial Year Book for 1896. Edited and Illustrated by John Leighton, F.S.A. Royal 4to. Price 2s. 6d. (London: A. & C. Black, Soho-square, W.)

THIS is the third yearly issue of this publication, which contains matter relating to libraries, and subjects connected with books generally, and much useful information for book buyers and lovers of old time literature; the illustrations are fifty in number.

The fifth article in the present issue treats of the book-plates of the learned societies, and deals with those of the Royal Society, and of the Society of Antiquaries; it is followed by a Paper on the dispersion of the treasures collected by Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill, in which an interesting account is given of the Library, with an illustration of its printing house erected there in 1757, and a notice of the volumes issued therefrom. In the obituary notices for 1895, reference is made to the death of that enthusiastic collector of *Ex-Libris*, the late Rev. T. W. Carson, Dublin, and a copy of his book plate, by John Leighton, is given.

The Annual for 1896 is well up to the high standard of former years, and is a handsome and interesting publication.

The Voyage of Bran. By Kuno Meyer and Alfred Nutt. Grimm Library. (London: D. Nutt, 1895.)

THE fourth publication in the Grimm Library Series is a volume which will prove of absorbing interest to lovers of ancient Irish legendary literature and to students of comparative Mythology. In Part I. of this book Professor Kuno Meyer has edited for us an ancient legendary story, *The Voyage of Bran*, in which the prose narrative is broken by long poetic passages. The Irish text and a translation are given, and a scholarly preface deals with the seven mss. of the story existing. Professor Kuno Meyer concludes from a philological analysis of these mss.: that they are all derived from a tenth century document, which in its turn was a copy of a seventh century ms.; and that at that era the story was first composed and written down. The story deals with a subject which was a favourite one with ancient writers, giving free scope to the exercise of the imagination and descriptive powers. The hero Bran is summoned to the "other world" of Irish fable, and a gorgeous description is given of its beauties and wonders.

Mr. Nutt's portion of the volume will be of more interest to the general reader. He summarises all the chief Irish legends dealing with this subject of the other world; whether it be a happy island over sea, ruled by Mananaan Mac Lir, or the under hill country inhabited by the invisible *Sidh*—the fairies of popular superstition. Amongst these tales

the best known are the Sick Bed of Cuchulain; the Wooing of Edain; Connla; Oisín's Voyage to Timanoge; and the Voyage of Maeldune, on which Tennyson founded a poem. Mr. Nutt then investigates the early Irish Christian ideas of heaven as shown in such writings as "Adamnan's Vision" and "St. Patrick's Purgatory." A comparison is instituted between these descriptions and those found in the Apocalypse, in the Apocryphal Revelation of St. Peter, and in the visionary writings of the early fathers. The subject is pursued into the realm of classic literature, where we find it dealt with by Homer, Virgil, and Lucian. An investigation of Indian and Scandinavian myths concludes this masterly treatise.

It is interesting to note that this idea of the mysterious other-world is not confined in Irish literature to legend merely; but occurs in such a serious matter-of-fact historical chronicle as "The Wars of the Gaedhil and the Gaill," in connexion with the sudden appearance of Dunlaing O'Hartigan by the side of Murrogh at Clontarf; and even as late as the 17th century, in a contemporary history of the wars of Owen Roe O'Neill, the chronicle expresses a surmise that the hero had not died, but was translated to some happy island of the world, there to wait till summoned by God to rise and arm for war. This passage gains a hundred-fold interest, when we take up this treatise of Mr. Nutt's, and discover that it but embodies an idea amounting to a belief, which the Celtic imagination has clung to since the pre-Christian era, with which the legend of Cuchullin's sick-bed deals, and which Dr. Kuno Meyer proves for us has existed in written story since the seventh century.—A. L. M.

* *The Actions of the Enniskillen Men* (1688-9). By Captain William M'Carmick. Edited by W. T. Latimer, B.A. (Dungannon: Richardson & Sons, 1896.)

THE position of Enniskillen gave it a peculiar importance in the Civil War in 1688-89. The long extent of Lough Erne, when defended at Enniskillen and Ballyshannon, made it a very important strategical barrier. The attitude taken by the townsmen in the face of great discouragement, and the valour with which they maintained their position, form a story of much interest.

The pamphlet, which Mr. Latimer has edited, is a reprint of a rare account by an officer who took a prominent part in the events he describes. The writer was of necessity a strong partisan. But who was not a partisan in those days? He tells his story with simple vigour, which cannot fail to interest the reader. The narrative though unknown to some historians, is quoted by Macaulay. It is a useful contribution to general as well as local history.

Proceedings.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the Society, for the year 1896, was held (by permission) in the Royal Dublin Society's House, Kildarestreet, Dublin, on Tuesday, 14th January, 1896, at 4 o'clock, p.m.;

THOMAS DREW, R.H.A., F.R.I.A.I., F.R.I.B.A., *President*, in the Chair.

The following were present :—

Fellows:—Lord Walter Fitz Gerald, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*; Wm. Frazer, F.R.C.S.I., M.R.I.A., HON. F.S.A. (Scot.), *Vice-President*; Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*; the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., LL.D., M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*; Colonel Philip D. Vigors, *Vice-President*; Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Hon. General Secretary and Treasurer*; G. D. Burtchaell, M.A., M.R.I.A.; George Coffey, B.A.I., M.R.I.A.; John Cooke, M.A.; R. S. Longworth-Dames, B.A., M.R.I.A.; P. J. Donnelly; the Rev. J. F. M. French, M.R.I.A.; George A. P. Kelly, M.A.; G. H. Kinahan, M.R.I.A.; Deputy Surgeon-General King, M.B., M.R.I.A.; James Mills, M.R.I.A.; William R. Molloy, M.R.I.A.; Count Plunkett, M.R.I.A.; W. F. Wakeman, *Hon. Fellow*; Thomas J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A.; Robert Lloyd Woolcombe, LL.D., M.R.I.A.; E. P. Wright, M.A., M.D., *Secretary*, R.I.A.

Members:—The Rev. Arthur W. Ardagh, M.A.; T. Arnold, M.A., F.R.U.I.; Henry F. Baker; the Rev. John Woods Ballard; Deputy Surgeon-General Beaumont, M.D.; H. F. Berry, M.A.; J. B. Cassin Bray; James Brennan, R.H.A., M.R.I.A.; Miss Brown; the Rev. R. A. Burnett, M.A.; the Rev. W. W. Campbell, M.A., R.N.; John Carolan, J.P.; the Rev. William Carrigan, C.C.; Anthony R. Carroll; M. Edward Conway; H. A. Cosgrave, M.A.; the Rev. George W. S. Coulter, M.A.; E. R. M'C. Dix; M. Dorey; George Duncan; the Rev. A. L. Elliott, M.A.; the Rev. William Falkiner, M.A.; Major G. F. Gamble, J.P.; Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Greene, M.B.; the Rev. John Healy, LL.D.; H. Hitchins; Miss Hughes; the Rev. Canon Keene, M.A.; the Rev. Thomas Lyle, M.A.; B. Mac Sheehy, LL.D.; the Rev. J. M'Inerney, P.P.; John P. M'Knight; Miss Manders; Thomas Mason; the Rev. H. Kingsmill Moore, M.A.; Joseph H. Moore, M.A.; Miss Oldham; J. E. Palmer; Miss Peter; S. A. Quan-Smith; Miss Reynell; Miss Rowan; Mrs. J. F. Shackleton; Miss M. J. Small; John Francis Small; V. E. Smyth; Bedell Stanford; Mrs. Stoker; the Rev. John W. Stubbs, D.D., S.F.T.C.D.; William C. Stubbs, M.A.; the Rev. Thomas Warren; the Rev. George R. Wedgwood; W. Grove White, LL.B.; Robert White; John Wardell.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Candidates, recommended by the Council, were declared duly elected. (The name of Miss Hickson, who had been proposed as a Fellow, was withdrawn at her own request):—

FELLOWS.

George E. J. Greene, F.L.S., M.R.I.A., J.P. (*Member*, 1889), *Hon. Secretary for North Wexford*, Monte Vista, Ferns: proposed by Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Hon. General Secretary*.

Richard Linn, 229, Hereford-street, Christchurch, New Zealand: proposed by Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Hon. General Secretary*.

Bertram C. A. Windle, M.A., M.D., D. sc. (Dubl.), Dean of the Medical Faculty, Mason College, Birmingham: proposed by G. D. Burtchaell, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

MEMBERS.

Colonel Charles M. Alexander, J.P., Termon, Carrickmore: proposed by Charles Mullin.

John Barr, *Tyrone Constitution*, Omagh: proposed by Charles Mullin.

Mrs. Bennet, Northern Bank, Kilrea: proposed by the Rev. Canon C. Moore, M.A.

R. G. J. J. Berry, Army Service Corps, The Barracks, Dundalk: proposed by Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

Frederic Charles Bigger, Trim, Co. Meath: proposed by Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Hon. General Secretary*.

Chetwood H. Bowen, Bangor, Co. Down: proposed by S. W. P. Cowan, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

William A. Browne, Town Clerk of Wexford, Westland, Wexford: proposed by J. J. Perceval, *Fellow*.

The Very Rev. Philip Callary, P.P., V.F., Trim, Co. Meath: proposed by M. M. Murphy, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

Miss Jane Clark, The Villas, Kilrea, Co. Londonderry: proposed by W. J. Knowles, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

The Rev. Robert Cleary, M.A., Galbally Rectory, Tipperary: proposed by the Rev. Denis Hanan, D.D.

The Rev. William Colquhoun, B.A., Eglinton-avenue, Belfast: proposed by the Rev. W. T. Latimer, B.A.

William Cockman, M.D., J.P., Kiltrea House, Enniscorthy: proposed by Dr. N. Furlong, M.R.I.A.

The Rev. John Corish, c.c., Kilmysall, Newtownbarry: proposed by Francis Guilbride, J.P.

Robert T. Crawford, Estate Office, Ballinrobe: proposed by W. W. Wilson, *Fellow*.

T. W. Cullen, Manager, National Bank, Dingle: proposed by P. J. Lynch, *Fellow*.

The Rev. Patrick J. Diamond, 64, Orbel-street, Battersea, London, W.: proposed by D. Carolan Rushe, B.A., *Fellow*.

George Doherty, J.P., Dromore, Co. Tyrone: proposed by Charles Mullin.

William Downes, M.B., &c. (R.U.I.), Kidsgröve, Staffordshire: proposed by William Patrick O'Neill, M.R.I.A.

The Rev. Luke Doyle, P.P., Tagcoat, Wexford: proposed by J. J. Perceval, *Fellow*.

John Duncan, Fontainbleau, Ballynafeagh, Belfast: proposed by Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

The Rev. John G. Hamilton, B.A., Dromore, Co. Tyrone: proposed by Charles Mullin.

George Holmes, C.I., R.I.C., Cromwell's Fort, Wexford: proposed by J. J. Perceval, *Fellow*.

The Rev. J. D. Craig Houston, B.D., Hydepark Manse, Belfast: proposed by Robert M. Young, B.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

William Ireland, 44, Arthur-street, Belfast: proposed by William Gray, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

J. F. S. Jackson, Clifden Lodge, Strand-road, Merriion: proposed by George Weldrick.

Gilbert Kirker, M.D., Staff-Surgeon R.N., H.M.S. "Clyde," Aberdeen: proposed by S. K. Kirker, *Fellow*.

William Ross Lewin Lowe, Middlewych, St. Albans: proposed by T. J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

F. J. Lynam, C.E., County Surveyor, Omagh: proposed by Charles Mullin.

The Rev. Arthur Neeson, C.C., Whitehouse, Belfast: proposed by Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

The Rev. J. A. Nowlan, O.S.A., St. John-street, West, Dublin: proposed by J. Carolan, J.P.

James O'Reilly, Dromore, Co. Tyrone: proposed by Charles Mullin.

The Rev. John O'Sullivan, P.P., Templebredin, Pallas, Co. Limerick: proposed by William Patrick O'Neill, M.R.I.A.

Arthur Donn Piatt, Vice-Consul, U.S.A., 204, Great Brunswick-street, Dublin: proposed by William Patrick O'Neill, M.R.I.A.

The Rev. William Purcell, C.C., Bansha, Co. Tipperary: proposed by William Patrick O'Neill, M.R.I.A.

Lindley H. Roberts, Downshire N.S., Dundrum, Co. Down: proposed by the Rev. H. Kingsmill Moore, M.R.I.A.

Bernard Herron Roice, Churchtown House, Tagcoat: proposed by J. J. Perceval, *Fellow*.

John Russell, C.E., Waring-street, Belfast: proposed by William Gray, M.R.I.A.

George Shackleton, Anna Liffey House, Lucan: proposed by Mrs. J. F. Shackleton.

The Rev. N. T. Sheridan, President, St. Peter's College, Wexford: proposed by J. J. Perceval, *Fellow*.

William J. Sheridan, Solicitor, Castlebar, Co. Mayo: proposed by Joseph M. M'Bride.

Colonel the Hon. Frederick Shore, R.A., Ballyduff, Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny: proposed by the Rev. Canon Hewson, B.A.

The Hon. Mrs. Shore, Ballyduff, Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny: proposed by the Rev. Canon Hewson, B.A.

The Rev. Thomas A. Smyth, Clogherney Manse, Beragh, Co. Tyrone: proposed by the Rev. W. T. Latimer, B.A.

George C. Townsend, Cordangan Manor, Tipperary: proposed by the Rev. Denis Hanan, D.D.

Robert Turner, English-street, Armagh: proposed by James Deady.

H. Somerset Ward, 6, Carlisle-terrace, Malahide: proposed by W. W. Wilson, *Fellow*.

John Wardell, 4, Woodville, Sandford-road, Dublin, proposed by George J. Hewson, M.A., *Fellow*.

Henry Crichton Weir, LL.B. (Dubl.), Solicitor, Downpatrick: proposed by Samuel Hastings.

Miss F. Westropp, 1, Raglan-road, Dublin: proposed by T. J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

On the motion of the Rev. Denis Murphy, *s.j.*, *Vice-President*, seconded by Colonel Vigors, *Vice-President*, the Report of the Council was taken as read, and adopted, as follows:—

THE REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1895.

The Council have to report the continued satisfactory progress of the Society. At the close of the year 1895 the total number of names upon the Roll is 1310, viz. 195 Fellows, and 1115 Members—being 45 more names than at the close of the year 1894.

During the year five Fellows were removed by death—Dr. Purefoy Colles, Edward Fisher, Sir John Maclean, Sir John S. Robinson, Bart., and Henry Villiers-Stuart. Sir John Maclean was among the oldest surviving Members of the Society, having been elected in 1856; Sir John S. Robinson, Bart., had been a Member since 1865; and Mr. Villiers-Stuart, who was elected a Member in 1884, had been a Vice-President of the Society since 1888.

The deaths of seventeen Members have been reported. Of these the Earl of Bessborough was, at the time of his death, the senior ordinary Member of the Society on the Roll, his election having taken place in 1852. Professor Babington, of Cambridge, was elected in 1855; Professor Stephens, of Copenhagen, in 1862; Viscount Clifden in 1868; and the Most Rev. Bishop Comerford in 1888. The Rev. Dr. Carter, although for a comparatively short time a Member, was an active and efficient Hon. Secretary for East Tyrone.

The resignations of four Fellows and twelve Members have been accepted. The Council regret that twenty names must be struck off the Roll in consequence of being upwards of two years in arrear.

Details of the Quarterly Meetings have been fully reported in the *Journal*. For the first time Meetings were held in Galway and Wexford, and were well attended. The sea-trip from Belfast, in connexion with the Galway Meeting, was successfully carried out by the Local Committee. During the Excursion from Galway, the Society was hospitably entertained by the Right Hon. The O'Connor Don, *Vice-President*, and the Rev. Martin Cummins, *p.p.*; and by Sir T. H. Grattan Esmonde, Bart., *m.p.*, at the conclusion of the Wexford Excursion. The Society also enjoyed the hospitality of Mr. Richard Donovan, *d.l.*, at Ferns Castle, and that of the Enniscorthy Members at Enniscorthy. A day Excursion was made from Dublin to Loughcrew, where the Society was entertained by Mr. J. L. Naper, *d.l.*

For the coming year the Meetings have been fixed as follows:—The Annual General Meeting, as usual, in Dublin, on the 14th of January, and the Second General Meeting in Kilkenny on the 7th of April. It being the turn of Ulster to have a Meeting in that province in 1896, it has been decided to hold the Third General Meeting in Omagh in June, with Excursions to Ballyshannon, Bundoran, Sligo, and Enniskillen. The Fourth General Meeting will be held in Dublin on Tuesday, the 8th of September, with an Excursion.

A summer one-day Excursion will be made to King's County on Monday, the 3rd of August, taking in Tullamore, Templekeran, Durrow, Rahan, and Killeigh.

As Honorary President for 1896, the Duke of Abercorn, *k.g.*, has been nominated by the Council, and his name will now be submitted for election.

In place of the Vice-Presidents who retire by rotation, in accordance with the Rules now in force, the following have been nominated:—For Leinster, the Most Rev. Dr. Brownrigg, Bishop of Ossory; for Ulster, the Rev. James O'Laverty, *p.p.*, *m.r.i.a.*; for Munster, the Most Rev. Dr. Sheehan, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore; and for Connaught, Lieut.-Colonel Cooper, *k.m.l.*, *m.r.i.a.*

During the year the Council met eleven times, and the Members attended as follows:—Mr. Cochrane, 11; Mr. Mills, 9; Mr. Cooke, 9; Mr. Franklin, 8; Dr. King, 8; Mr. Westropp, 8; the Rev. Dr. Healy, 7; Dr. Joyce, 5; Mr. Drew (*President*), 5; Dr. La Touche, 5; Mr. Coffey, 5; the Rev. Mr. French, 5; and Mr. Langrishe, 4.

The three senior Members who retire are—Mr. Franklin, Dr. King, and Dr. La Touche. Mr. Garstin has resigned his seat. For the four vacancies thus created the following nominations have been received:—Dr. Edward Perceval Wright, M.A., *Fellow*, M.R.I.A.; the Rev. Canon Courtenay Moore, M.A., *Hon. Provincial Secretary for Munster*; Mr. Joseph H. Moore, M.A., *Hon. Secretary for South Meath*; and Mr. George A. P. Kelly, M.A., *Fellow*, *Hon. Secretary for Roscommon*. As the number of nominations does not exceed the number of vacancies, it will not be necessary to proceed to a Ballot.

In accordance with notice given at the last General Meeting, an Amendment in the Rules will be proposed, making provision for taking a Ballot of the Society whenever the necessity for doing so arises.

The Auditors of the Treasurer's Accounts—Messrs. Robertson and Cooke—have been nominated for re-election.

The financial condition of the Society continues to be satisfactory. The Capital sum of £1000 is now invested in the names of the Trustees in 2½ per cent. Consolidated Government Stock. The Report of the Auditors will be laid before the Second General Meeting.

Owing to the illness of the Assistant-Secretary, the publication of the "Index" has been unavoidably delayed. The "Annals of Clonmacnois," edited by the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., LL.D., M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*, with Index, is now printed off as one of the Extra Volumes published by the Society, and is in the binder's hands, and will be ready for distribution to Fellows immediately.

Names removed from the Roll in 1895:—

Deceased (24).

FELLOWS (5).—The Rev. G. R. Purefoy Colles, LL.D., *Fellow*, 1870; Edward Fisher, F.S.A. (Scot.), *Member*, 1889; *Fellow*, 1891; Sir John Maclean, F.S.A., &c., *Member*, 1856; *Fellow*, 1890; Sir John S. Robinson, Bart., C.B., *Member*, 1865; *Fellow*, 1888; H. Villiers-Stuart, M.A., *Member*, 1884; *Fellow*, 1888; *Vice-President*, 1885.

MEMBERS (19).—Professor Charles Cardale Babington, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., 1855; Valentine Ball, LL.D., C.B., F.R.S., 1893; Thomas J. Bennett, 1889; The Earl of Bessborough, M.A., 1852; the Rev. H. B. Carter, D.D., 1890; The Viscount Clifden, 1868; Daniel Kennedy Coates, 1892; the Most Rev. M. Comerford, D.D., M.R.I.A., 1888; John Egan, 1879; Edward M. Gleeson, M.R.C.S., 1891; the Rev. Robert Jeffrey, M.A., 1895; the Rev. Canon Lloyd, M.A., 1885; Charles Desmond MacCarthy, 1873; Alexander Goodman More, F.L.S., M.R.I.A., 1892; Captain Charles George O'Callaghan, 1890; Dixon C. O'Keeffe, M.A., M.R.I.A., 1889; George Shee, LL.B., 1893; Professor George Stephens, F.R.S., 1862; Dr. W. Dudley White, 1894.

Resigned (39).

FELLOWS (5).—George Anderson, *Member*, 1864; *Fellow*, 1888; Edward Glover, M.A., *Member*, 1881; *Fellow*, 1886; Arthur Hill, B.E., M.R.I.A., *Member*, 1869; *Fellow*, 1888; Sir Herbert E. Maxwell, Bart., M.P., *Member*, 1885; *Fellow*, 1888; Thomas F. Rahilly, *Fellow*, 1892.

MEMBERS (34).—The Rev. William Baillie, M.A., 1890; the Rev. J. K. Barklie, M.A., 1891; Miss M. J. Bennett, 1895; Henry B. Burton, 1894; the Rev. E. A. Cooper, B.D., 1892; the Rev. A. E. Crotty, M.A., 1895; the Very Rev. Archdeacon

D'Arcy, 1890; Arthur F. Dobbs, M.B., 1890; the Very Rev. C. J. Flavin, P.P., 1893; Miss Forsyth, 1894; Edward Garnett, 1885; W. H. Gater, Mus. Doc., 1894; the Rev. J. A. Jennings, B.D., 1891; P. King Joyce, M.B., 1890; Miss Keogh, 1893; W. H. Langhorne, D.L., R.I.C., 1890; Mrs. Lindsay, 1893; Brigade-Surgeon Mac Farland, 1892; the Rev. F. W. Macran, B.A., 1892; Colonel John M'Cance, 1892; the Rev. John M'Shane, P.P., 1894; John J. Meldon, 1891; Walter Nolan, 1893; Philip O'Connell, 1889; the Rev. Michael O'Neill, c.c., 1894; William J. O'Neill, c.e., 1884; John O. Overend, 1892; Robert A. Rutherford, L.R.C.P. & s., 1892; Francis Shields, 1894; James Thompson, 1892; the Rev. R. O. Thompson, 1892; Miss Tisdall, 1891; Thomas Walpole, 1895; Professor Whitla, M.D., 1892.

The following (36), being upwards of two years in arrear, have been struck off the Roll. They may become eligible for re-election on payment of the amount due at the time of being struck off:—

FELLOW (1).						£ s. d.		
Elected								
1893	Weir, The Rev. George, B.A.,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	2	0	0
MEMBERS (35).								
1891	Benner, John,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1889	Bowker, James,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1892	Breslan, The Rev. Patrick, c.c.,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1891	Crane, C. Paston, B.A.,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1892	Donaghy, The Rev. J. Lyle,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1891	Doolin, Walter G., M.A.,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1890	Downey, The Rev. Wm., c.c.,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1889	Flynn, James,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1891	Flynn, Mrs.	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1890	Fogerty, William A., M.D.,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1890	Harvey, W. J., F.S.A. (SCOT.)	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1891	Hill, William,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1892	Hurly, John C. D.,	..	..	1893-1895	..	1	10	0
1893	Lalor, Nicholas J.,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1892	Langford, R. Coplen,	..	..	1893-1895	..	1	10	0
1890	Lilley, Frederic,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1892	Maccassey, Luke L., B.E.,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1890	Maginn, The Rev. C. A., M.A.,	..	..	1893-1895	..	1	10	0
1893	Mallaghan, James,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1891	Mallins, John,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1892	Millen, Samuel S., B.A.,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1892	Mooney, The Rev. Joseph, c.c.,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1890	O'Connell, John,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1889	O'Grady, The Rev. J. J., c.c.,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1891	O'Meara, The Rev. C. P., B.A.,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1890	O'Sullivan, John J.,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1892	Pilkington, William H.,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1893	Purcell, Walter J.,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1893	Reade, John,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1890	Reilly, James,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1893	Reilly, John,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1891	Revington, John,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1889	Smyth, R. Woods,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1890	Sproule, Alexander H. R.,	..	..	1894, 1895	..	1	0	0
1891	Westropp, Lionel E.,	..	..	1893-1895	..	1	10	0

Mr. Burtchaell, *Fellow*, proposed, and the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., *Vice-President*, seconded, *pro forma*, the Motion (of which notice was given at the last General Meeting):—

“That Rule 16 be amended by adding certain words after the words ‘if elected.’”

An Amendment was moved (on the part of the Council) by Mr. Cochrane, *Hon. General Secretary and Treasurer*, and seconded by Dr. Frazer, *Vice-President*, which was accepted, and the Motion, as amended, was passed as follows:—

“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 Secretaries on or before the day preceding the election in an addressed envelope, which is to 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 following were declared duly elected Honorary Officers and Members of the Council:—

HONORARY PRESIDENT FOR 1896:

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ABERCORN, K.G., C.B.

VICE-PRESIDENTS (to retire by rotation):

Leinster, . . . THE MOST REV. ABRAHAM BROWNRIGG, D.D., Bishop of Ossory.

Ulster, . . . THE REV. JAMES O’LAVERY, M.R.I.A., P.P.

Munster, . . . THE MOST REV. RICHARD A. SHEEHAN, D.D., Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.

Connaught, . . . LIEUT.-COLONEL E. H. COOPER, M.R.I.A.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL (to retire by rotation):

JOSEPH H. MOORE, M.A.

EDWARD PERCEVAL WRIGHT, M.A., M.D., Sec. R.I.A., *Fellow*.

THE REV. CANON COURTENAY MOORE, M.A.

GEORGE A. P. KELLY, M.A., *Fellow*.

AUDITORS OF THE TREASURER’S ACCOUNTS FOR 1895:

JAMES G. ROBERTSON, *Hon. Fellow*.

JOHN COOKE, M.A., *Fellow*.

The following Paper was read, and referred to the Council :—

“Prehistoric Stone Forts of Northern Clare” (Part II.), by T. J. Westropp, M.A.,
M.R.I.A., *Fellow, Hon. Provincial Secretary for Leinster.*

The Society then adjourned till 8 o'clock p.m.

EVENING MEETING.

The Society again met in the Library of the Royal Dublin Society's House at 8 o'clock p.m. ;

THOMAS DREW, R.H.A., P.R.I.A.I., F.R.I.B.A., *President*, in the Chair.

The following Paper was read, and referred to the Council :—

“Maréchal de Camp Baron de Warren of Corduff,” by the Rev. Thomas Warren.

Mr. Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*, exhibited, by lantern slides, a series of Photographs illustrating the Excursion of the Society from Belfast.

A vote of Thanks to Mr. Milligan was, on the motion of Dr. Frazer, *Vice-President*, seconded by the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., *Vice-President*, passed unanimously.

The remaining Papers on the list, viz.—

“The Vartry,” by the Rev. James Manning, P.P., *Hon. Secretary for North Wicklow.*

“The Journal of Peter Lewys, Proctor of Christ Church Cathedral, A.D. 1564,” by James Mills, M.R.I.A., *Fellow.*

“An Ancient Boat recently found in Cloonbo Lough, Co. Leitrim,” by G. A. P. Kelly, M.A., *Fellow.*

were taken as read, and referred to the Council.

The Society then adjourned.

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND,
FOR THE YEAR 1896.

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART II. SECOND QUARTER, 1896.

Papers.

CRUACH MAC DARA, OFF THE COAST OF CONNAMARA:
WITH A NOTICE OF ITS CHURCH, CROSSES, AND
ANTIQUITIES.

By FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER, M.R.I.A.

I AM indebted to Charles Elcock, of Belfast, for the advice given to me on the occasion of the visit of the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club to Galway last July, to try, if possible, and visit Cruach Mac Dara, a small island lying out in the western Atlantic Ocean, a few miles south from Roundstone, in the parish of Moyrus. I acted upon the advice, and was in nowise disappointed. My visit served a dual purpose—it gave me an excellent holiday in the company of congenial friends, and afforded an antiquarian treat for which I was scarcely prepared.

At an early hour of the day, in a specially chartered, roomy, but odoriferous twenty-five ton hooker, "The Lily," in charge of Martin Toole, a worthy old Iar Connacht fisherman, we hoisted sail in the pretty little harbour of Roundstone, and made out into the open waters of the Atlantic, with a pleasant wind upon our port, which soon bore us past the island of Inishnee, and the barren promontory of Tawnrawer Cartron. Our party consisted of the Rev. Canon M'Cormick, D.D., Rector of Moyrus (than whom there is no more worthy companion and excellent guide); his son Frank, a youth whose heroism has been

rewarded by the Royal Humane Society's Medal; my comrade, R. L. Praeger, naturalist; two antiquarian friends, Dr. D'Evelyn, of Ballymena, and R. J. Welch, of Belfast, to whom I am much indebted for the excellent photographs illustrating this Paper; my brother Fred, and myself. A little over two hours tacking in a fair breeze brought us through the long Atlantic rollers to our destination. Arriving off Inis Mac Dara, we cast anchor near the shore, and rowed in our ship's boat to the rocks, landing close to the Saint's Church, and the adjoining antiquities.

The island comprises about sixty acres, mostly bare; the rock a reddish granite, with a coast strewn with huge blocks; there is a little grass land towards the centre affording food for a few sheep. There are no inhabitants on the island, and very few of the people of the district visit it unless on the Saint's two festivals, while strangers scarcely ever do so. The church is situated on the edge of the east shore of the island, in a gentle hollow sloping to the south, and close to the natural landing place, overlooking a low reef of rock called Illaunnamorlagh.

The island lies west of Ard Bay, with the small intervening islands of Fraghan, Wherroon, Librace, Avery, Carriekaher More and Beg, Carrickagun, and Mason Island, on which are the ruins of a church and an ancient cross; and south of Roundstone Bay, Bertraghboy Bay, Inislaekan, and Freaghillaun, and, what may seem a curious coincidence, Inisbigger, a small island, shaped like a flint arrow-head, of whose existence I was not previously aware; to the west lie Croaghnaakeela, now a deer park of 140 acres, with the ruins of St. Keelan's church and well, and the small islands of Illaunnaerogh More and Beg. Of all these islands, Cruach Mac Dara bears away the palm for antiquarian remains and general interest.

Of the Saint himself little is known, and that little is obscure. He is supposed to have flourished in the sixth century, and the ruins of his oratory have certainly a very early appearance. Sinach was his proper name; but he is always called after his father, Dara; his proper name, Sinach, being never used. Whether the meaning of that word (a fox) had anything to do with its non-application or not we can only infer; anyhow the fact remains that this name was dropped, and the Saint was one of the first to have a surname, for reasons best known to those who applied it.

In O'Donovan's "MS. Letters" (p. 116), it is stated that there is "a most extraordinary superstition still deep-rooted in the minds of all the fishermen in Galway, Aran, and Connamara: they cannot bear to hear the name of a fox, hare, or rabbit pronounced, and should they chance to see either of those animals living or dead, or hear the name of either expressed before setting out to fish in the morning, they would not venture out that day. This is a most unaccountable superstition! and still the name of their great patron is *Sionnach*, a fox! They never,

however, mention that name for they know it not, but always style the Saint by his patronym of Mac Dará."

The Saint's festivals are celebrated on the 16th July and 28th September, on which occasions many of the inhabitants of the mainland pay their devotions to the Saint. A festival had been held two days previous to our visit last July, on which occasion, the day being stormy, only about 100 pilgrims had visited Cruach Mac Dará. The beaten tracks around the "stations" were traceable, whilst little piles of stones, evidently counters, were to be seen at the corners. The well was dry, and its basin contained a few odd personal trifles.

Hardiman's edition of O'Flaherty's "H-Iar Connacht" gives the following description:—"Over against Mason Head, southward in the same country, lies Cruagh Mhic Dará, a small high island and harbour for ships. This island is an inviolable sanctuary, dedicated to Mac Dará, a miraculous saint, whose chappell is within it, where his statue of wood for many ages stood, till Malachias Queleus, the Archbishops of Tuam,¹ caused it to be buried under ground, for speciall weighty reasons." [I cannot find out exactly what these "weighty reasons" were; so can only surmise that they indicated abuses perhaps worse than those which still occur in other similar places.]

"On the shore of this island is the captives' stone, where women, at low water, use to gather duleasg for a friend's sake in captivity, whereby they believe he will soon get succour by the intercession of the Saint.

"The boats that pass between Mason Head and this island have a custome to bow down their sailes three times in reverence to the Saint. A certain captain of the garrison of Galway, Anno 1672, passing this way and neglecting that custome, was so tossed with sea and storme, that he vowed he would never pass there again without paying his obeysance to the Saint; but he never returned home till he was cast away by shipwrack soon after. A few years after, one Gill, a fisherman of Galway, who would not strike saile, in contempt of the Saint, went not a mile beyond that road, when, sitting on the pup of the boat, the mast, by a contrary blast of wind, broke, and struck him on the pate dead, the day being fair weather both before and after.

"The parish church of Moyrus, by the seashore, just opposite to the island in the continent of Irrosainhagh, is dedicated to his name, where is kept his altar stone by the name of Leac Sinach. His festival day is kept as patron of Moyrus parish, the 16th of July."

Hardiman, in his notes, refers to the custom of children being called MacDará, after the Saint. The inhabitants also called their boats after

¹ Malachy O'Queely, a native of Clare, appointed Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, 1631, in succession to Florence Conroy. In 1641 he raised a regiment, and was appointed President of Connacht by the Confederate Council. When marching to attack Sligo his army was defeated by the Parliamentarians at Ballysadare, 17th October, 1645, and the Archbishop slain.

him, and to sail in such was considered a guarantee of safety. At present the name is still a common one in the immediate district, and is also frequently met with on the Aran Islands.

The Saint's name does not appear in any of the Calendars or Martyrologies at present known, that I can discover, but he has found a place in the Rev. Canon O'Hanlon's "Lives of the Saints."

In the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy, 1868, p. 555, G. H. Kinahan refers to the crosses and holed stones on Illaun MacDara, and gives small drawings of two of the crosses. Petrie, in his "Ecclesiastical Architecture" (p. 199), makes a short reference to the church, and quotes the passage I have given from O'Flaherty; he also gives a drawing of the church, which is not quite correct in detail. So much for the references. I will now, as concisely as possible, detail the principal features of these remarkable ruins, as I found them.

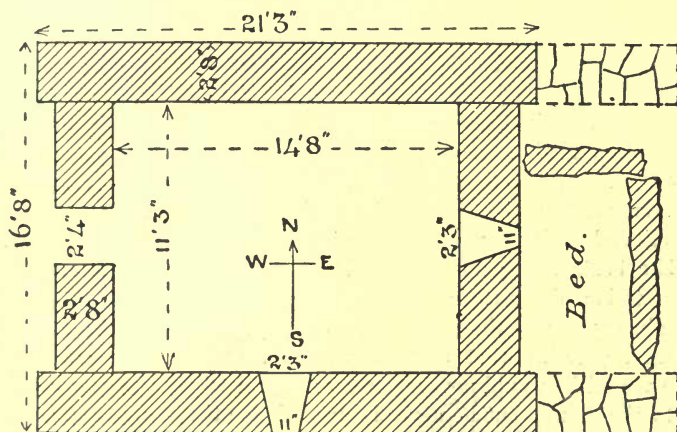


Fig. 1.—Mac Dara's Oratory. Plan.

The Oratory (see Plate) first attracts our attention, its beautiful shape affording an excellent example of a sixth or seventh century building, not surpassed by any now remaining. It is one of the most typical of the ancient ecclesiastical structures we possess, and in some respects has no fellow. It is cyclopean; many of the stones being of immense bulk, some measuring 53, by 32, by 28 inches; others 54 and 60 inches long, by 32 inches thick; while others, from their irregular shapes, are difficult to measure, but are equally massive. It has one chamber, one door, and two windows.

In one respect it surpasses all the ecclesiastical structures of Aran, in that a considerable portion of the original stone roof remains, which is not so with them. This want in the Aran churches leads some archaeologists to doubt that they ever had stone roofs at all. The



THE ORATORY OF SAINT SINACH MAC DARA.

View from North-west. (Photograph by R. Welch.)

measurements of Saint MacDara's Oratory are given in the annexed plan (see Plan, fig. 1). The building is duly orientated, and besides the east window possesses a small square window in the centre of the south wall. The doorway in the west gable has slightly inclined jambs, is square-headed, and is a fine example of its class, being 62 inches high, 28 wide at the sill, and 26 inches at the lintel (see detailed measurements, fig. 2). The lintel on the inside immediately over the opening has a projecting band, the breadth of the door, about 4 inches deep, but it bears no socket holes. The north and south side walls project about a foot beyond the east and west gables, and bear the roof directly upon them, apparently using the gables (which have the appearance of being built independently of the walls) as supports, they not being bonded into each other. Every second course of the gables has, however, a stone slightly inserted into the side walls. The roof-stones have been laid in regular courses, seven-

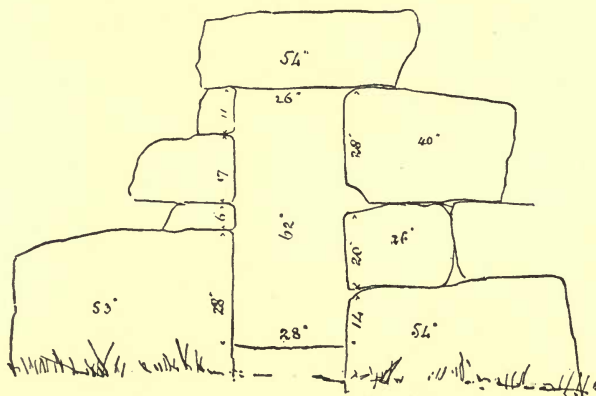


Fig. 2.—Detailed Measurements of Door.

teen being counted on one side. In each case the higher row projects slightly over that beneath it, thus forming pleasing bead lines along the roof. Unfortunately much of the roof has fallen in, a large part having been pulled down by throwing a rope over a projecting stone, and a number of men then hauling at it until it fell; but it is still capable of restoration, all the stones still lying about inside. The removal of a large stone from the outside of the south wall, close to the window, has caused a very dangerous bulging of that side, which may at any time be followed by a collapse. A very stout buttress of some considerable age has been built against the east gable, thus preventing it from falling. A very little outlay would put the whole structure in a sound state, and, doubtless, preserve it for another 1200 years.

Along the east gable, as shown on the plan, is a stone enclosure, heaped with stones, known as the Saint's Bed. Near the surface of this

grave was found a fine stone celt, well shaped and polished; also a portion of a small circular slate-stone with rude ornament, the use of which is not known. It would be interesting to know if the Saint's wooden effigy was here interred by Malachias Queleus. No mortar is visible in the walls of the church; huge and well cut granite quoins are used, the joints being well filled with spawls, or small broken stones, as seen in the sketch of the door and the general view of the church (see Plate). The east window has deeply splayed jambs and head, with a sloping sill, the head being cut circular, with one stone inside, and a second outside, also cut circular, with two stones in between them



Fig. 3.—East Window—Inside View.

(see figs. 3 and 4). Its dimensions are 55 inches high, by 26 inches wide inside, and 27 inches high and 11 inches wide outside. Near the outside edges, upon the insides, are cut bar sockets. The south window is square headed, with sides splayed inward and sill downwards, with a one stone lintel. It is $28\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, by $27\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide inside (see fig. 5), and 19 inches high, by $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches outside. The different features of this church point strongly to a seventh-century erection; its size and cyclopean masonry, its stone roof, narrow door, its one chamber, and small windows, all point it out as one of the earliest and most perfect Christian oratories now remaining to us.

Figure 6 depicts one of the most remarkable stones I have ever seen,

and it is one of undoubted interest to every archæologist. This stone was found in two pieces, lying face downwards, a little south of the church, by Charles Elcock, on his visit in 1884. At the time of its

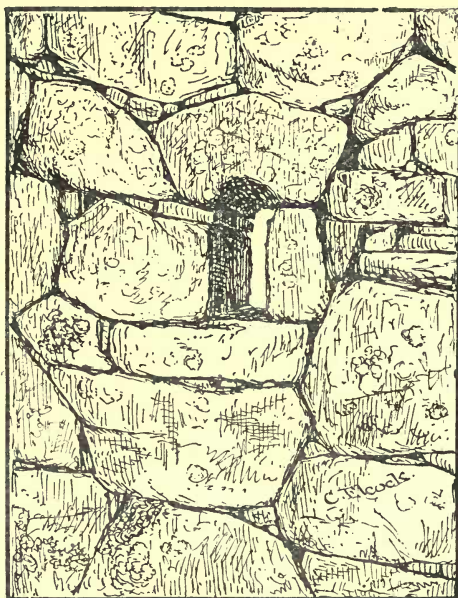


Fig. 4—East Window—Outside View.

discovery by him, perhaps one hundred people were there collecting seaweed, and on his picking up the stone and showing it, they raised the cry, in Irish and English, "He's found the Saint, he's found the Saint

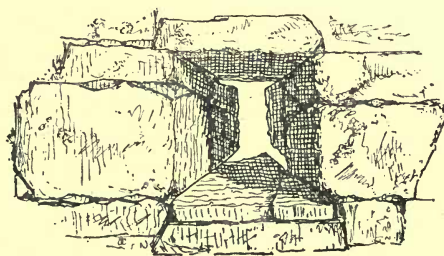


Fig. 5.—South Window—Inside View.

hisself," whereupon everyone rushed to see the Saint's head. They thought it a wonderful thing that he should go to the very spot, and find

the Saint himself, at once, never having been there before; while some of them had been coming and going "nigh fifty years," and had never seen "him" before. I found the stone lying face downwards, just where Charles Eleock had left it eleven years before, as if it had never been disturbed, clearly proving that but little attention has ever been paid to these memorials of the very Saint whose festivals they are so careful to observe. Nor do I understand why there was so much interest manifested by those who were on the island when it was found, when any one of them might have found it for themselves, merely by observing its colour and shape, as distinct from the stones around. The natives consider the head in the centre of the stone as being that of Saint MacDara.

This stone, and all the crosses, except one of granite, are cut out of blue limestone, none of which is found on the island, and so must have been brought from the mainland. The size of this remarkable stone is $28\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at its head, and $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches at its base, by about 20 inches in height; it is broken into two pieces. The Rev. James



Fig. 6.—The "Saint's Stone."

Graves, eleven years ago, in reply to a letter from Charles Eleock, enclosing a sketch and rubbing of this stone, wrote, "Similar stones have been found in or near, and in one case *in situ* in, very early churches, but I do not know of another instance of their being sculptured. I know of one with mouldings round it [probably referring to the one

at Freshford, county Kilkenny]. That peculiar shaped stone originally surmounted one of the gables." A similarly shaped stone is at Molaga's Bed, county Cork. As no socket stone now remains upon the corners of the roof, we have no evidence proving this stone ever stood there. Such a socket may be found amongst the stones lying about; indeed, one socket stone found may possibly have served such a purpose, although the dimensions would not now suit; but it will be observed that the "finial stone" has had a piece broken from its base, which might have tapered down so as to fit this socket. Could such a stone be used as a finial at the time of the erection of the Oratory, or is it likely that the Saint would have his own effigy erected on his own oratory during his lifetime? Tradition tells us the head on this stone is that of the Saint himself. Then again the stone is blue limestone, and the Oratory is built of a reddish granite. True, the erection of the stone may have taken place at a later date; but it could not, in my opinion, be contemporaneous with the Oratory, the style is so different, there being no carving on any portion of the building. But what may this remarkable stone have

been, if not a finial? That I cannot answer. The reverse of the stone is plain, the base having the appearance of being broken. The details of



Fig. 7.—Cross and Altar on Inis Mac Dara. (Photograph by R. Welch.)

the carvings I need not describe, as they are faithfully delineated in the accompanying sketch (see fig. 6).

Several stone altars are in the vicinity of the church, all surmounted by crosses, or fragments of crosses, the most perfect being that to the north-east, standing out picturesquely against the Twelve Bens and the Maamturk mountains, in Connamara, some 12 or 15 miles away (see fig. 7). On this altar, as may be observed in the view, are several spherical praying or "cursing" stones; none of them are carved. I would like to know the meaning of the curious cut on the centre of the cross? It is not weathering. At the side of this altar is the small hollowed stone, previously referred to, that may have served as a socket; the hole in it measures 11 inches by 3 inches, its outside measurement being 16 inches by 7 inches.



Fig. 8.—Sculptured Cross.

To the south of the church, close to the shore and standing on the level ground, are two crosses near to each other facing the east, as do all the other crosses. One is plain limestone measuring 34 inches high by 22½ inches at the arms and 4 inches thick; the other is of granite, the only one of that rock,

and is carved as delineated in the accompanying sketch (see fig. 8, page 109). The peculiar feature of this cross, which is evidently very ancient, is the introduction of the serpent on the two lower quarters of the cross. The cross is 30 inches high, 17 inches wide at the arms, and 4 inches thick. Another sculptured cross bears the serpent ornament. Its height is 33 inches by 17 inches wide (see fig. 9). There are no other whole crosses on the island, but the fragments of several could be gathered together, for even in the short time of my visit we collected several portions. The shaft of one cross is erected in a station whilst four portions of the head lie upon the altar, having been previously taken from the adjacent wall. These pieces when put together form a very fine cross, only one little piece being absent, and it doubtless is not far away.

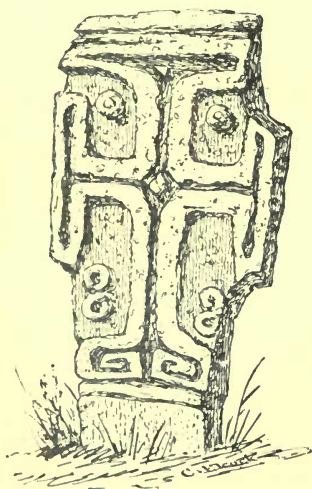


Fig. 9.—Sculptured Cross.

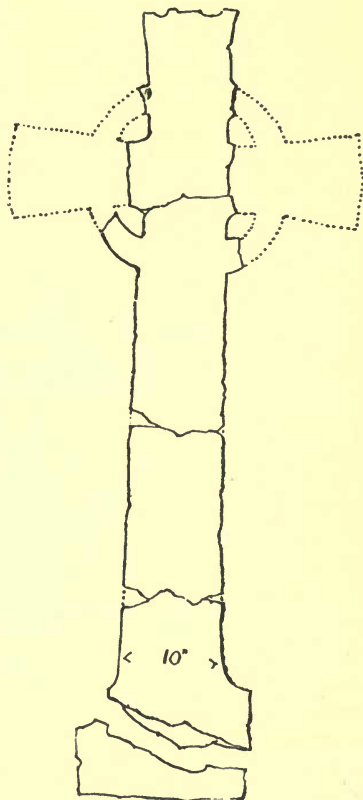


Fig. 10.—Fragments of Great Cross.

The several portions of another cross, the highest we observed, were found upon the altar to the south of the church. These pieces were also picked from the same wall as that previously mentioned, the arms alone being missing, but I would not despair of finding them also if time allowed the search. Its height is 78 inches by 10 inches across the shaft (see fig. 10). The head of another fine cross in two pieces we found in the fence close to the church; it has been a fine Celtic cross

having a circle with openings and arms. Its greatest breadth is $28\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and its height 21 inches; the breadth of the head is 12 inches, and the thickness 3 inches. The openings are 4 inches by 3 inches.

Fragments of other crosses we found, some of them beautifully carved with rich *opus hibernicum* (see fig. 11). No modern graves were observed, although the ground near the church was marked with large stones that may point to former interments.

Some distance from the church to the north, and overhanging the shore, are the remains of what may have been clochauns or circular stone dwelling-houses. The walls of one stand 4 feet high on one side, and 2 feet on the other, the diameter being 19 feet. The stones are large and well cut, and carefully built. To the east of this are the remains of another circular stone structure, but the building is not so apparent. These may have been the residences of Sinach and his followers.

These are all the evidences observed by me of what must formerly have been an important religious settlement. The life on Illaun Mac Dara must have been, for at least six months of the year, rigorous in the extreme; a few sheep or goats could exist on the island, and a few herbs be grown, but the principal food must have been fish and seaweed, unless the inhabitants of the mainland systematically contributed food for the maintenance of the religious on this barren rock.



Fig. 11.—Fragments of Sculptured Cross.

Charles Elcock, of Belfast, visited Cruach Mac Dara eleven years ago, and I have gone carefully through his notes and the beautiful drawings he then made, and the accurate measurements taken, and have verified them with my own. In all respects I found the different features described by me to have been observed and noted by him, no changes having taken place. To him I am much indebted for the illustrations to this Paper, carefully made from his drawings and measurements, and my own, and from the very excellent photographs taken by Robert J. Welch, two of which also are here reproduced.

I have also to express my indebtedness to others who cheerfully assisted me, and more especially to the Rev. Canon M'Cormick, D.D., of Roundstone, who arranged for our passage to this most interesting island in his semi-aquatic parish.

I shall not soon forget the coming home from Illaun Mac Dara. I cannot describe it as a sail, there being no wind whatever. For hours

we lay there in the long Atlantic swell, our huge sail flapping with the roll of the ship, the island of the Saint behind us, and the great range of the Twelve Bens along the northern horizon, decked out in the most gorgeous colouring of a western sunset. Crimson, violet, and purple vied with each other amongst the peaks of the Connamara Alps, whilst all around the warm glow of a July evening impressed upon us the thought that we had indeed been amongst the Isles of the Blest, though not on Hy Brasil itself.

In conclusion, I would like to press upon the Members of this Society the desirability of taking some immediate action in order to put into safety the numerous and interesting relics of Inis Mac Dara. A little money, with some time and skill, would make this island a perfect gem, showing what an early Irish religious settlement really was. I would cheerfully assist in the work, and gladly co-operate with any who desire to see these relics of Saint Sinach Mac Dara gilded with the rays of the Atlantic sun in a state to recall to mind their early beauty and symmetry.

DEAN SWIFT'S LIBRARY.

By T. P. LE FANU, B.A.

EVERYTHING that concerns the great Dean must be of interest to his fellow-citizens. A few notes on his library may therefore be acceptable. These notes are based on an autograph catalogue, dated 15th August, 1715. This catalogue may have been given to Dr. Thomas Sheridan by the Dean, or it may, perhaps, have come into the hands of his godson, Mr. Thomas Sheridan, when collecting and editing his works. From Mr. Thomas Sheridan it must have passed to his elder daughter, whose descendants are now in possession of it. It is neatly written in the Dean's unmistakable hand on a few sheets of letter paper, roughly stitched together. Blanks were left on several pages, presumably for future acquisitions, and in these spaces there are a few hasty entries apparently of later date than the rest.

The reference in these entries to the quarto edition of Gay's works shows that the catalogue remained in use till 1720. But either the later additions to the library were very few, or the catalogue was not fully written up. It may be that its compilation was one of the trifling amusements by which the Dean, in his own words, sought "to divert the vexation of former thoughts" during the period of enforced leisure following the death of Queen Anne, and that it was thrown aside on the resumption of political, or semi-political, work in Ireland.

In addition to these later entries the catalogue contains marginal notes as to the prices given for some of the books, and the names of the friends on whom others were bestowed. There is also a list appended, which looks as if it had been part of a rough draft.

Dean Swift always felt melancholy in a great library, but he was nevertheless a great reader (one of his friends styles him *helluo librorum*), and had a good many books, some six hundred in all. By his will he directed that all his worldly substance, not particularly devised, should be turned into ready money to be laid out in building an hospital for the reception of lunatics and idiots, to be called St. Patrick's Hospital. The only books specifically devised were his Plato, in three folio volumes (so great a favourite with him that "may the worms eat your Plato" was the most forcible malediction his friend, Sir Andrew Fountaine, could think of); Clarendon's History, also in three volumes folio, now in Marsh's library; and his best Bible. These were left to the Rev. Francis Wilson, D.D., Prebendary of Kilmactalway, but the legacy lapsed as Dr. Wilson died before Swift.

The will was made in 1740. In the years of misery which followed,

it is said that Dr. Wilson sought to take advantage of the Dean's impaired intellect to get himself appointed Sub-Dean and that he also borrowed freely from the Dean's library. Whether this practice caused some confusion, or for other reasons, the two libraries (the Dean's and Dr. Wilson's) were sold together by auction and fetched £270. A Catalogue was published for the purpose of this sale by George Faulkner, in Essex-street, in 1745, in which the books containing remarks and observations in the Dean's hand were distinguished by an asterisk. A list of these works has been reproduced by Sir Walter Scott, and bears out the idea already suggested that the Dean's additions to the library in his later years were few. Indeed there is reason to believe that a good many of his favourite books were purchased during his early days at Moor Park. Schrevelius' "Lexicon" may have been even an earlier acquisition, as Theophilus Swift, in his *Animadversions on the Fellows of Trinity College*, mentions this as a stock work on the undergraduate's bookshelf. But probably the greatest additions to the library were made during the Dean's residence in England in the years 1710-1713.

It may be gathered from the catalogue now under notice that the parsimony with which Swift has been charged did not extend to his library. He had been, till his appointment to the Deanery of St. Patrick's, in 1713, a man of very limited means. According to Mr. Monck-Mason, his net income, prior to that appointment, including his prebend of Dunlavin, which Scott greatly overvalues, never exceeded £200 a-year, while Lord Orrery values the two livings of Laracor and Rathbeggan at £260 per annum, from which the Crown rent and curate's stipend must be deducted.

Swift had, nevertheless, been able by careful living to lay by some hundreds of pounds; and, in spite of that love of a shilling alluded to by Dr. Johnson, had not hesitated to spend considerable sums on books, acquiring both experience and reputation as a book buyer, so that he could undertake to lay out £50 or £100 for his predecessor at St. Patrick's, Dean Sterne, whose books were subsequently added to Marsh's library.

During his stay in London, from 1710 to 1713, though living very carefully, he added considerably to his library. At the auction of the library of his friend, the celebrated surgeon, Charles Bernard, he laid out £5, and itched to spend £9 or £10 on some "fine editions of fine authors." On another occasion, during the same period, he paid £4 to Bateman, the well-known bookseller in Little Britain, purchasing among other books a Plutarch in two volumes (Paris, 1624) at 30s. each. He was even prepared to offer £120 for a library, intending, however, to recoup himself in part by the sale of some of the books.

The most expensive and noticeable works in the Dean's library, those of Gronovius and Graevius on Greek and Roman Antiquities, which cost £40, were a present from Lord Bolingbroke and were valued accordingly, notwithstanding the low estimate of the former writer expressed by the

Dean in his *ms.* notes on Aulus Gellius, quoted by Scott. His Baronius, in twelve folio volumes, and his Polyglot Bible in six, cost him £6 each; the Plato bequeathed to Dr. Wilson, and Père Daniel's History of France also in three volumes folio, £4 10s. each; a Corpus Poetarum Latinorum, £4 6s.; Dr. John Hudson's Dionysius of Halicarnassus, £4; Clarendon's History, Purchas' Pilgrims, Cicero (in Charles Stephens' edition), and others, £3 each; while his copy of Lipsius, which though identified by his autograph, recently changed hands for a few shillings, cost him £1 1s. 6d. It is clear that the luxury of good books was one which he allowed himself. It is equally clear from the catalogue that he was open-handed in lending and giving as well as in buying books.

He appears at one period of his life to have taken an interest in medicine and quackery, though he passed by the "Books of Physic" at Charles Bernard's sale as without interest for him. In addition to Hippocrates who, in those days, as Lord Orrery points out to his son, was not only studied as a physician, but also read as a classic, his library contained works by Avicenna, Cardan, Celsus, Fernel, Galen (to whose precepts his practice of running up and down hill for exercise has been attributed), Nostradamus, Paracelsus, and Cornelius Agrippa, besides works on Astrology and more modern books on Pharmacy and Anatomy.

The works of Hippocrates and Cardan in the editions published by two other famous physicians, Girolamo Mercuriale and Charles Spon, with the works of Avicenna and Fernel, comprising in all thirteen folios and two smaller volumes, he gave to his friend and intended executor, Dr. Richard Helsham, who was also his colleague on the Board of Steevens' Hospital, and Regius Professor of Physic in the University of Dublin; a welcome addition, no doubt, to the Doctor's valuable medical library. In those days, while science still suffered from an undue respect for authority, the ancient and mediæval writers on medicine were diligently studied by the leading physicians, such as Dr. Mead and Dr. John Freind, who believed a thorough acquaintance with those writers to be the surest way to fit a man for the practice of their art; while a physician of an earlier day, Sir Thomas Browne, recommends Cardan as "of singular use unto a prudent reader."

Nor were these gifts bestowed by the Dean out of his abundance. He does not appear to have possessed a second copy of any of the authors in question.

A classical scholar like Dr. Thomas Sheridan would fully appreciate the works of Xenophon and Xiphilinus in the folio editions of Henry Stephens. One can imagine him bearing them off in triumph to his school in the quaint old two-storied house in Capel-street, with garret windows peeping from its high-pitched roof, where, some five-and-twenty years before, the presses of King James' mint had been busy striking off his notorious brass money. The school was long famous for the scholarship ("pro scholastica nave" as Sheridan translates it) there imparted. Sheridan

also received a small volume of Archbishop Ussher's letters, published in Dublin, which Swift had picked up for 6*d*. The intimate connexion of the Doctor's ancestor, the Rev. Denis Sheridan, with Ussher's friend and correspondent Bedell gave additional interest to the gift.

Opposite the entry of the first edition of Appian's History there is an almost illegible note in the catalogue which may be read "G. Jinny." The letter G, as elsewhere in these entries, standing for *given*. Jinny is probably Dr. Henry Jenny of Armagh, whose name is thus spelled and made to rhyme to *ninny* in the poem on Hamilton's Bawn; though Swift must also have been acquainted with Dr. Christopher Jenny, who had only recently resigned his stall in St. Patrick's, as Prebendary of Rathmichael, and had been succeeded by Dr. Philip Chamberlaine, a scholar whom Swift consulted with regard to his epitaph on the Duke of Schomberg. Dr. Chamberlaine's daughter Frances subsequently married Swift's godson, Thomas Sheridan, and became the mother of Richard Brinsley Sheridan.

For the Rev. Daniel Jackson, better known to his friends as little Dan Jackson, the Dean appears to have selected books more suitable to his small stature than the ponderous folios given to "that great fat joker friend Helsham," and the two other learned doctors, not sparing even a dainty collection of some two dozen Elzevirs. One quarto, an odd volume of a Hamburg edition of Spinoza, is noted as given to this friend; the remaining half dozen books put down to him are Latin works in octavo or duodecimo. He does not seem to have cared for Greek. A Caesar and a Cicero were also intended for him, but the design was abandoned and the note in the catalogue struck out.

Dan Jackson was only allowed authors of whose works there were more copies than one in the library, a fact which seems to emphasize his position in Swift's circle as indicated by the tone of the poems addressed to him. The position in this circle of the different recipients of the Dean's gifts may also be gathered from the way in which their names appear. Books are noted as given to Sheridan, Jinny, or D. Jackson, but to Dr. Helsham and Mr. Ludlow. Swift was particular as to the use of such titles—witness his indignation at Lord Orrery's addressing him as "my dear Swift."

Mr. Peter Ludlow was presented with a Livy and a Tacitus, edited by Gruter and Lipsius, respectively. These authors were favourites of the Dean's, their works being among those especially noted in Faulkner's list. Mr. Ludlow was a gentleman of wealth and position, and was grand-nephew to Edmund Ludlow, the regicide. By his marriage with Mary, only daughter and heiress of John Preston, M.P. for Meath, as mentioned by Dr. Stokes in a recent Paper in the *Journal* (vol. iii., 5th series, p. 347), he had become the possessor of the estate of Ardsallagh, which was the scene of the Mock Trial described by Scott on the somewhat doubtful authority of Theophilus Swift. This last-mentioned gentleman, who was

the son of the Dean's cousin and biographer, Dean Swift, deserves to be remembered (if the claim put forward in his "Touchstone of Truth" may be admitted) as the "old bard of an old magazine," who gave to Miss Trefusis the title of the tenth Muse, and thus, perhaps, suggested Mr. Austin Dobson's quaint and charming lines.

The only other person named in the catalogue as honoured by a gift is the Dean of Down, who received a copy of Goltzius' Julius Caesar. The friend thus referred to, Dr. Benjamin Pratt, formerly Provost of Trinity College, was appointed to the Deanery of Down in 1716, and is noted in the Dean's cynical list of friends as ungrateful.

Besides the gifts thus noted in the catalogue, the Dean gave several books, which he left behind at Kilroot, to his successor in that parish.

Friends were also allowed to borrow from the library. Sarpi's History of the Council of Trent, which the Dean had read and analysed during his second period of residence at Moor Park, with another work on the same subject, are marked "stollen or lent," and Chillingworth's Works are noted as "lost by Mr. Curtis," who was, however, forgiven and subsequently nominated by the Dean as a Petit Canon of St. Patrick's, an appointment which several Members of the Chapter protested against as *ultra vires*. It is satisfactory to find that Mr. Curtis is noted in the list already referred to as a grateful friend.

The catalogue affords no information as to the number of books the Dean received in his turn from other authors. Only one book, "Tallents of Schism," is noted as a gift, but besides friendly interchanges with Pope, Prior, and Gay, the Dean's copy of Addison's Travels still bears on its title-page the author's emphatic tribute to the worth and genius of his friend; Rowe's and Wycherley's Plays also were presentation copies. Lord Bolingbroke's gift has already been mentioned, and it appears from a letter from Arbuthnot that the revised edition of his "Tables of Grecian, Roman, and Jewish Measures, Weights, and Coins" was sent as a present, while the twice read Aulus Gellius, bearing the inscription, "Beneficium dando accepit qui merito dedit," was given by Erasmus Lewis.

Turning to the contents of the library, the first point which strikes one is the great change which has taken place in the prevailing form of books. The folio and quarto sizes, said to have been originally adopted because of the largeness of type in the infancy of printing, having been almost entirely superseded, except in the case of books of reference, by the more handy octavos or duodecimos.

In the Dean's library, more than a third of the books were folios, and nearly a seventh quartos, while the smaller sizes were little more than half the total number. Among the folios were many of his favourite works, carefully read and annotated. It is obvious that his reading was not done in an arm-chair; the scanty light of a pair of "long sixes" was not favourable to such a habit.

In point of language, too, there has been a great change. Latin had hardly ceased to be the general language of the learned. More than half the Dean's library consisted of books in the learned languages, while, with the exception of French, the modern languages were only represented by three or four Italian books, and a Spanish Dictionary and Common Prayer Book.

The Theological portion of the library indicates more strictly professional reading than might have been expected. Swift had made abstracts of Cyprian and Irenæus while at Moor Park, and had studied the History of the Council of Trent. The works of Tertullian, Aquinas, and other early and mediæval Christian writers also appear in the catalogue, which, besides including such Continental authors as Calvin, Melancthon, Baronius, and the Centuriators of Magdeburg, contains the works of a large number of the English Divines of the 17th century.

The study of History was one of the Dean's favourite pursuits. His observations on Burnet and Clarendon are well known, and he read Tacitus and Commynes with wonderful delight. Among Greek Historians he read Herodotus and Xenophon carefully, and his copy of the former author, containing notes in his hand, was presented, in 1766, by Lord Clanricarde to the library of Winchester College.

Strabo's Geography (Paris, 1620), purchased at Bateman's for £1 in 1711, was similarly annotated.

This practice of making marginal annotations was one to which the Dean was much addicted, being sensible of its value. His copy of Dr. Prideaux's work on the Arundel Marbles is noted as corrected in the hand of Dr. Mills, the learned Editor of the Greek Testament, who was principal of St. Edmund's Hall, and one of the notabilities of Oxford at the time when Swift went up to take his Master's degree. These corrections were so highly valued that when a new edition of the work, presumably that issued a few years later by Maittaire, was in contemplation in 1727, Lord Oxford, the celebrated collector of the Harleian mss., wrote to ask Swift to lend this copy.

Two curious omissions from the list of classical authors in the library deserve notice: Aristophanes, as might have been expected, appears to have been a favourite, as the Dean possessed two editions of his works, but he had only one copy of Aeschylus and none of Sophocles or Euripides, though in a letter to Lord Bolingbroke he refers to a passage in the *Phoenissæ*. Dr. Sheridan, who translated the *Philoctetes* into English verse, and made his pupils perform the *Hippolytus* and other Greek plays, an example followed by Dr. Parr at Harrow, had clearly not been able to impart his enthusiasm to his friend. Pope, in like manner, omits the Greek Dramatists from his *Temple of Fame*.

The absence of these authors from the library, whether due to personal distaste or to the literary fashions of the day, forms a curious parallel to the fact noted by Scott and confirmed by the catalogue now under notice

that the Dean did not possess a Shakespeare. Scott is, however, incorrect in stating that Swift never once alludes to the writings of Shakespeare. It is strange that he should have overlooked the Dean's application to his own case of Wolsey's words :

“ An old man, broken with the storms of state,
Is come to lay his weary bones among ye ”;

and this is not, by any means, his only reference to Shakespeare.

Scott would also appear to have drawn too sweeping a conclusion as to the Dean's indifference to the Drama. The only English Dramatists whose works he possessed in 1715, were Ben Jonson, Rowe, Wycherley, Steele, and Congreve, but the last-named had sufficient attraction to rivet his attention on one occasion from seven to twelve at night, as he tells Stella, after a busy day. His French books included the works of Racine, Corneille, and Molière, and he also had a *Théâtre Italienne* in six volumes. In Latin the dramatists stood high in his favour. Terence is the only author represented by five editions, while Plautus, with four copies, one a present from Prior, is only equalled by Cæsar, Sallust, and Seneca, one of the copies of the last-mentioned author being an edition of his Tragedies. In addition to these, and of course Virgil and Horace, the Dean had read Lucretius three times through in his earlier days; the letters of Cicero and Pliny afforded him entertainment, and Boethius, now scarce read, was a favourite with him, as with many great men before him, and is represented by four copies; otherwise his reading in Latin as well as in Greek appears to have lain chiefly in the direction of history.

The Horace, evidently a folio or octavo, shown in the later impressions of the engraving in the National Portrait Gallery, is not mentioned in the catalogue. The Dean's favourite Horace was a copy of the Cambridge quarto edition, printed by the celebrated Jacob Tonson in 1699. His only other copy, as shown by the Catalogue, was a duodecimo.¹

The legacy of his best Bible to Dr. Wilson has already been mentioned. Had the legatee survived, the number and variety of the Bibles and Testaments in the library might have made the selection a matter of some difficulty. The choice would probably have fallen on Walton's Polyglot, but a disciple of the Dean might have hoped to gather wisdom from his interleaved Bible in three volumes; little Dan Jackson, but for his lack of Greek, would have wished to add to his Elzevirs the Testament of 1633, and a book-fancier might have coveted an early edition in Latin, French, or English. Indeed some such collector did apparently appropriate

¹ The first volume of Pine's "Horace" (8vo) was, however, presented to the Dean in 1734, with a copy of verses by a youthful admirer named Sican.

the Dean's copy of Diodati's Bible without the sanction of a bequest; it is marked "Lost, stolen out of the Church."

As regards the French Works in the library, Morland and Leger's Histories of the Vaudois, Davila's Civil Wars of France, Maimbourg's History of Calvinism, a French Common Prayer Book, and a Rochelle Testament bear witness to the Dean's interest in the French Reformation, which, with the consequent emigration, must have appealed to him alike as a divine and a promoter of Irish Industries; while, though not over friendly to the Huguenots, he must have been officially brought into contact with such leading refugees as Elie Bouhereau, D.D., Precentor of St. Patrick's, and first Keeper of Marsh's Library, Pascal Ducasse, Dean of Ferns, and Minister of the Conformed French Churches, the services of which were held in St. Mary's Chapel of St. Patrick's Cathedral, and two more brother deans, Peter Maturin and Louis Saurin, who also occasionally officiated at the French services.

Voiture, as a master of style, had won the Dean's admiration in his early days, and he has expressed himself forcibly on the subject. It is therefore natural that the works of this author and other recent French writers, including his friend and champion, Costar, should be well represented, among the most valued being La Bruyère, Boileau, La Fontaine, and Fénelon, whose Dialogues des Morts are contrasted by Orrery with Gulliver's experiences in Glubdubdrib. Balzac, the Dean also read, but found him more stiff and less diverting.

A recent writer in *The Spectator* refers to Marvell's Rehearsal Transposed, which is mentioned in the Tale of a Tub, as one of the models from which Swift derived his style, and, in confirmation of this theory, there is a copy of the work in the library, but on the other hand, many books which are supposed to have furnished materials to the Dean do not appear in the catalogue. The omission of Rabelais is probably a mistake, as his works are among the annotated volumes mentioned in Faulkner's Catalogue, and the Dean also refers to them in his letters. Don Quixote, which Lady Mary Wortley Montagu coupled with the works of Rabelais as the source of the Dean's humour, appears in the catalogue, as does also Dedekind's Ludus Satyricus, but the Voyages Imaginaires of Cyrano de Bergerac, to which Lord Orrery attributes so much, are not to be found in it, nor yet Godwin's "Man in the Moon," which has been mentioned as a probable source of inspiration, nor that rare work of Contray which Scott indicates as the model for the Battle of the Books. The Pigmoid of Moreau and the Gigantomachie of Scarron, alluded to by Dr. Warton, are also wanting, as well as the Visions of Quevedo referred to by Theophilus Swift. These visions certainly contain passages recalling the Dean's satirical writings, and their translator L'Estrange is represented in the library by some of his numerous pamphlets.

The fact appears to be that long before the Dean thought of describing

the wanderings of Gulliver through the states of Lilliput and Brobdingnag and among the wise men of Laputa, he had acquired a wide knowledge of the speculations of philosophers and charlatans, had studied the political theories of Aristotle, Plato, Bodin, Grotius, Hobbes, Harrington, Lipsius, Macchiavelli, More, Neville, and Puffendorf, and was well versed in the travellers' tales told by Bernier, de Busbecq, Nieuhoff, Dampier, Thomas Herbert, Le Blanc, Wafer and others, or repeated in the *Africa* of Leo Africanus, the *Novus Orbis* of Grynæus, and the works of Olaus Magnus and Purchas, so that he was able to rely for his materials on the general knowledge he had already acquired and assimilated, rather than on special reading.

A more detailed examination of the Dean's reading by a capable hand might throw some additional light on the history of a great mind, but would be entirely beyond the scope of these notes.

ON OGHAM-STONES SEEN IN KILKENNY COUNTY.

BY THE REV. E. BARRY, P.P., M.R.I.A., FELLOW.

(Continued from page 368, Vol. V., 1895.)

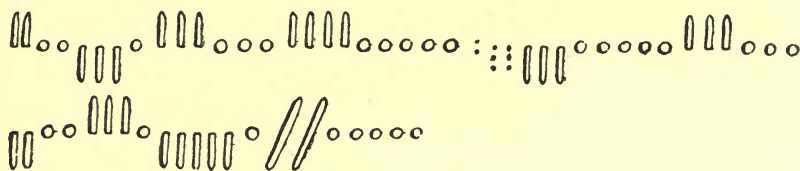
LAMOGUE.

FIFTEEN miles S.S.E. of Kilkenny are two Ogham-stones in the graveyard of Lamogue, in the parish of Tullahought, in the barony of Kells. In August, 1891, I heard of these from the late Rev. Denis Murphy, s.j., at the Killarney meeting of the Antiquaries of Wales and Ireland. In August, 1892, my attention was again directed to them by a letter from Mr. John Cummins, Desert National School, Cuffe's Grange, county Kilkenny, saying: "It might, perhaps, interest you to know that I discovered an Ogham stone a couple of years ago in the old churchyard of Lamogue, nearly midway between Carrick-on-Suir and Callan. A number of members of the Royal Society of Antiquaries visited Callan last year, and I had the attention of some of them directed to the matter by the Chairman of the Town Commissioners with a view to their visiting the place, and inspecting the stone. The day, however, became wet. I have been informed that another Ogham-stone has since been found near the one I discovered." On the 29th September, 1892, I saw both stones. The Ogham stone, recognised as such by Mr. Cummins, lay in the grass, and the other served as a headstone to a modern grave. Mr. John Commerford, whose farm surrounds the graveyard, told me that from his childhood he had seen the marks on Mr. Cummins's stone, but had taken them to be ploughmarks until told by Mr. Cummins that they form an inscription in the language and characters of ancient Ireland. Having learned so much, Mr. Commerford one day asked a passing neighbour, named Laurence Lee, to look at the inscription, whereupon Mr. Lee remarked, "if that be writing, here is more of it," uncovering at the same time scores on the lower part of stone No. 2. In April, 1893, I again saw these stones, being then accompanied by Mr. V. E. Smyth, whose photographs of them are here reproduced.

Both stones are of the greenish sandstone found in the neighbourhood, and particularly on the hill of Carrigaun (Reade), distant an English mile from Lamogue graveyard. Neither stone has a cross.

No. 1 stone, Mr. Cummins's, is 4 feet 4 inches long, 1 foot 4 inches broad, and 11½ inches thick, and has an inscription 5 feet 4 inches long, beginning on the arris to the left and ending on that to the right. The

inscription is not exactly continuous, but on the head of the stone the end of the second word overlaps for five inches the beginning of the third word.

DOFATUCI [AF]¹FI TULOTANAGI

The first word, DOFATUCI, is perfect, except that a fresh made groove to the left, and a natural depression to the right, make the last notch of I look like an M character; and that a depression, seemingly a first q-score, meets the edge between the second and the third u-notches. That depression, however, cannot be Ogmie, for the third u-notch being perfect cannot be ignored, and no change of arris is here, warranting u and q to overlap. Besides, the quasi q-score is preceded by a similar but shallower depression, completing, as it were, a six-score character, which is an impossibility in the Ogham system. The second word was [AF]FI. The last two characters are in fair condition; and for the first two there is just room. The r-notches on the sloping head of the stone are cup-shaped, and overlap the following word's first character.

The third word evidently is TULOTANAGI. Only the first score of the first t is faint, and only the first notch of the o character is imperfect. After the t character, just where another vowel character might have commenced, there is a shallow notch followed by a very deep one, but the first is a chance abrasion, and the second is the deep end of a long natural scar. The inscription, therefore, is DOFATUCI [AF]FI TULOTANAGI, "of Dubthach, grandson of Toltanach."

DOFATUCI. This name, or one derived from it, is found in Ogham and in Latin characters in the "Dugod Bilingual." Mr. Brash's plate has in Ogham DUFATAQIS, but as Rhys, Hubner, and Ferguson have c instead of q, and as there is space for two vowel notches after t, and as the four scores read as s may be a notch and three scores = AF, the beginning of AFI, "grandson," this inscription may have been, either DOFATUCI AF[I & c.], or DUFATOCIS = DOBATOCIUS = DOBATTACI. In Latin are DOB, the ligature [II], for ATTA, a faint c, according to Hubner, and a horizontal I, and, on a lower line, ILIUS EVOLENGI, in all, if it be all, DOBATTACI [F]ILIUS EVOLENGI.

Other Ogham names beginning with DOF = Middle-Irish dub, and Modern Irish dubh, "black," are DOFALUSCI, Glannawillin; DOFATAGNI,

¹ A third dotted line has been accidentally omitted here in the plate.

Dunloe; and DOFETI, Ballintaggart. In Old- and in Middle-Irish, gen. sg.



No. 1.—Lamogue.

DOFATUCI would be Dubthaich or Dubthaigi, according as it came from nom. sg. *DOFATUCA, or *DOFATUCIA. The Book of Leinster has nom. Dubthach, gen. -aig, over one hundred times, and gen. masc. Dubthaige, three times. The usual Old-Irish form is nom. Dubthach, gen. Dubthaich, as nom. Dubthach maccu Lugil, LA., fol. 4, b 2; gen. Dubthaich maccu Lugir, fol. 4, b 1, and fol. 20, a 1; but also nom. Dubthoch maccu Lugil, fol. 4, b 2. In Modern-Irish the name is written nom. Dubhthach, gen. Dubhthaigh, as in the family name O'Dubhthaigh, usually

Anglicised Duffy, or O'Duffy, but Anglicised Duhig in the county Cork in the case of native county Cork families. The Book of Leinster mentions, *in globo*, thirty Dubthachs slain at Dungeirg, 259^a, and four slain at Athliac-find, 163^b. It mentions over forty Dubthachs singly, and amongst them D. Doel Tenga, an Ulster hero of Conchobar Mac Nessa's time, 79^{a,b,c}, &c.; Cuchulind's grandfather, 332^a; St. Bridget's father, 347^a, 368^c; a King of Munster, 277^b, 278^c; a King of Dal Araide, 41^e; a King of Déise Breg, 153^{a,b}; an Abbot of Armagh, 24^b, 42^c; a son and a grandson of Fothad Mac Droida of the Ossorian pedigree, 339^{a,b}.

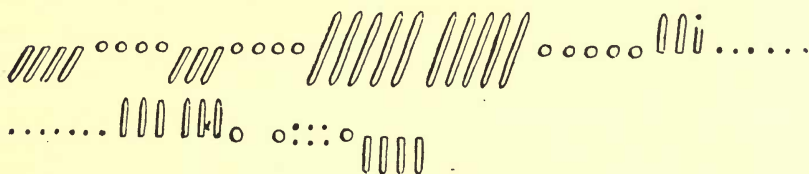
In the Book of Leinster the only Toltanach is Toltanach, son of Congal Mac Aeda of the Dál Cais, 332^c. As an adjective toltanach is given from Old-Irish texts in Windisch's "Woerterbuch"; toiltionach is the form in O'Reilly's "Dictionary"; and toiltneanach is heard in



No. 2.—Lamogue.

common speech in the county Cork. Toltanach, "willing," comes from nom. *tol*, gen. *tuile*, "will," cognate, perhaps, with Gr. *θελω*, *εθελω*.

No. 2 stone, a pyramid mutilated at the top, is 4 feet 9 inches long, and tapers in width from 2 feet 4 in. at the bottom to 1 foot at the top of the inscribed face. Both its side arrises are inscribed, that to the left (of the onlooker) for 32 inches, and that to the right for 14½ inches.



SEFERRIT[RO]TTAIS

All the scores of SEFERRIT . . are perfect except the fifth *r*-notch and the third *r*-score, of each of which only one-half remains. In TTAIS only the middle three *r*-notches are defective, but their former presence is evident from the space they occupied and the traces they have left. The one other Ogham-inscription that ends in TTAIS is BIR MAQI MUCOI ROTTAIS, Drumloghan.

Viewed as a pure Irish name SEFERRIT[*Tos*] should be of one class with BRANITTOS, SAGARETTOS, &c. In Old- and in Middle-Irish it should be nom. *Siabraid, gen. *Siabrada, and be a derivative of what in Middle-Irish is nom. *siabrae*, gen. *siabrai*, and in Modern-Irish is nom. sg. *siabhra*, nom. pl. *siabhraidhe*, a "ghost," and is Anglicised *sheefra*, as a term of contempt for a diminutive child. The Book of Leinster has gen. *Siabair*, 313^b, 352^a, the name of the father of St. Diarmait, *alias* Modimma; *Siabarchend*, son of Sulremar, 254^b, and *Siabarchend*, son of Slisremar, 255^b, the names of a foreign mercenary, or two, on the side of Conchobar Mac Nessa at the sack of Dungerig. It is not, however, nom. *Siabraid, or *Siabhraidh, gen. *Siabrada, or *Siabhradha, but nom. *Sefraid*, *Seafraidh*, and *Seaffraidh*, gen. *Seafrada* and *Seaffrada*, that meets us in Irish Books and Manuscripts, wherein it is equivalent to Geoffrey, or Jeffrey, in England, and to Sefred in Anglo-Saxon.

The "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" mentions, at A.D. 1123, Sefred, Abbot of Glaestonbyrig. The "War of the Gaedhil and the Gaill" mentions Sefraid mac Suinin, slain on the side of the Danes at Clontarf, A.D. 1014. The Book of Ballymote mentions Seafraid, son of Mac Gilla-Christ Meg-Ragnaill, 163^{b,c}; Seafrada, son of Gilla-na-Naem Mor O'Fergail, 163^b. The Four Masters mention two Reynolds, five O'Farrells, one O'Reilly, and two Fitzpatrick's, whose Christian name each was Seafraidh; of all of these, the earliest was one of the

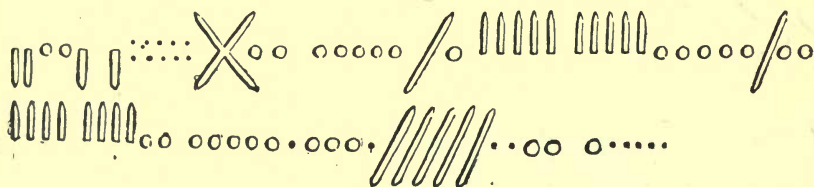
Fitzpatrick, who died A.D. 1269. Evidently the form Sefraid is from the Anglo-Saxon Sefred.

The ending []TTAIS is also found in the Drumlohan inscription, BIR MAQI MUCCI ROTAIS, from which inscription Lamogue No. 2 may provisionally be restored thus: SEFERRIT[A MAQI MUCCI RO]TTAIS. Gen. mas. ROTAIS from nom. *ROTTAS by internal inflection should for uniformity sake be preceded not only by BIR, not *BERI, but also by Maic Maic, not MAQI MUCCI; but these two inscriptions appear to belong to the period of transition from externally to internally inflected masculine genitives singular of the o and a declensions, a period whose end overlaps the beginning of the Old-Irish period. *Rottas may be a derivative of poth, "a wheel," or of puob, "red," but is not found in any form in the Book of Leinster. An Ogham-stone at Ballynahunt has DUGUNNGU[]MAQI RODDOS. One of two at Garranmillion seems to have MOELAGNI MAQI ERCAGNI MUCCI ROTAQI. On the whole, this inscription cannot be much later or much earlier than the sixth century of our era.

LEGAN.

The Ogham-stone on Mr. James Holohan's farm at Legan, in the parish of Ballylinch, a mile from Thomastown, is the sixth found in the barony of Gowran. Standing perhaps on its original site, it projected in relief from a wall at Legan Castle, until the fall of that wall a few years ago. Then Mr. Holohan's son, Thomas, struck by the regularity of the scores, and suspecting them to be an Ogham inscription, showed them to the discoverer of the Clara inscription, Mr. John Moore, of Columbkille, who verified the suspicion, and reported the discovery to Canon Hewson, who promptly made it public.

The stone is a gray, gritty sandstone pillar, 6 feet 8 inches long, 1 foot 6 inches broad, and 1 foot 3 inches thick. At the upper end of the front face of the stone is incised or scraped a plain cross, 1 foot 2 inches long, and 8 inches broad, and much too rude and irregular to be by the same hand as the inscription, which begins 2 feet 6 inches from the bottom at the left, and ended at the right, not far from the top. It is:—



LOBB[I] XOI MAQI MOCCOI I REI

In LOBBi a double interval forbids the B-grooves to be read as L; the second o-notch is imperfect; and an I or an AI is lost, where seven or eight

inches of the arris are lost, together with hardly as much of the left side as could completely carry away a D. *xoi* is perfect. *maqqi* has only its last two notches imperfect. In *moccor* the o-notches are hard to discern; and of the r-notches only the third is complete. In the last word a knob or possibly a notch is lost before a perfect vowel notch, which is followed by two imperfect notches rather than scores, with space for a third. Next is distinctly an *x*, after which all is uncertain; whether we read *ei* of which the first *e*-notch is faint, the second broken off, the third irregularly shaped, and only the fourth unobjectionable, the first *r*-notch perfect, and the rest faint and uncertain; or read *amoi* with an *m*, faint and uncertain to the left, broken at the arris, and deep but rough to the right; or speculate on the former presence of characters after that *m* to the right, where a flake seems missing.

Irei is a name found at Seskinan and Kilgrovan by the present writer, and discussed by him in *The Academy*, March 9th, 1895. *Erei* would have the same relation to *Er* that *Irei* has to *Ir*. *Eramoi* suggests thoughts of *Herimon* and *Airem*; and *Iramoi* suggests *Irramo* in *meic Ailella Ippamo meic Pīpīōb*, LL. 324^a = *Meic Ailella hīp-pamoā*, *vel Meic ahui Pīpīōb*, BB. 139^a; but *Irramo* or *hirramoa* most probably is equivalent to *īpmua*, "great-grandson," as also is *mac hui*, and was meant to distinguish from a later *Ailill* in the Ernean pedigree the *Ailill* who was great-grandson of *Oengus Turbech*, the stirps of that pedigree.

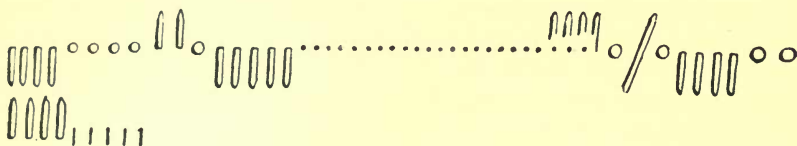
For comparison with *LOBBAI*, the "Book of Leinster" has what seems to be a different name, *nom. Lubha*, *gen. Lubhai*, 381^b; and what seems to be the same name, *Loppae*, in the family name of *St. Mochua Mac Hui Loppae* (*Lopae*, BB. 227^c), 367^e. It also mentions *Bishop Loppa*, 365^e; *Loppa*, seventh from *Cathair Mor*, 313^c; and the *Hui Loppini*, 313^b. *LOBACON* is in Ogham at *Ballyvooney*, and *LOBACCONA* at *Dromore*.

MAQI MUCOI, of which *MAQQI MOCCOI* is a variant, is explained in treating of the *Gowran* stone; and *xoi* in treating of the *Ballyboodan* stone.

HOOK POINT.

At Hook Point, the south-western extremity of the county Wexford, Mr. Hugh Nevins, in 1845, found an Ogham-stone on the sea-beach at the foot of a cliff, whereon were the ruins of *St. Bricane's* ancient church and a remnant of its graveyard. Shortly after its discovery the stone was exhibited by him at a meeting of the Royal Irish Academy, and on September 20, 1854, it was presented by him to the Museum of the Kilkenney Archæological Society, where I examined it in July, 1885, and with more care in April, 1893. It is 2 feet 3 inches long, and 1 foot 1 inch wide towards the bottom, and 11 inches at the top. It is a flattish oval in section, being the lower two-thirds of a clay-slate, rolled, sea-beach stone, with rounded ends, like the *Ballintaggart*, *Minard*, and

Lugnacapple Ogham-stones, and like them has an inscription on the rounded edge without raised or incised stem-line. The inscription commences $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the bottom, and went around the head, and ends 12 inches from the bottom.



SEDAN[I

DER]CAMASOCI

After SEDAN is a vowel notch, the first, no doubt, of an *i* character. At the opposite side, reading down, are the left extremities of a *c* character followed distinctly by AMASOC and traces of five *i*-notches, of which the first, the second, and the fifth are the most distinct.

SETANI is in Ogham at Seskinan, and SEDANI at Ballinvoher, and SEDAN[I] here. The Seduni, an Alpine tribe, are mentioned by Cæsar, "*De Bello Gallico*," L. iii. SETANI and SEDANI become Sétnai in Middle-Irish, just as FEQONAI becomes Fiachnai, and LUGONI and LUGUNI become Lugnai. The Book of Leinster has nom. Setan, 336^c; Setne, 336^d; Sétna, 336^d, and in all twenty-eight times; gen. Setani, 364^d; Setnai, 162^a, and forty-four other times; Setnae, 369^a; and Setna, 347^e, and thirteen other times; dat. Setnu, 162^a; Setna, 127^b; acc. Setna, 127^b, and five other times. By this name it mentions from fifty to sixty different men, the chief among them being Sétna, son of Art; Sétna, son of Breisse; and Sétna Sithbacc, very ancient kings of Ireland; Sétna, father of Anmire, King of Ireland, and twelve St. Sétnas. In the Leinster pedigrees are: S. Sithbacc, 311^a, &c.; S., son of Cainnech, 312^c; S., son of Emre, 312^b, &c.; S., son of Corpre, 313^c; S., son of Feidlimid, 314^b, &c.; S., son of Conondail, 315^b; S. son of Oengus, 315^b; S., son of Mane, 317^e; and S. Mor, 315^c; and in the Ossorian pedigrees, S., son of Ailill, 339^a, &c.; and S., son of Niad Chorb, 339^a.

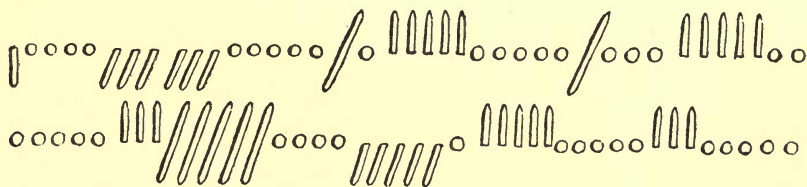
CAMASOCI looks like a complete word, but is not found as such; rather it is part of [DER]CAMASOCI, which is found as Derce Mossaig, Derc Mosaig, Derc Mossaig, Derc Maisech, and Derg Mosach. Derc Mossach mac Cathair a quo Hui Derce Mossaig oc Áth Chliath, LL. 315^b. Derc Mosach mac Cathair a quo Hui Derc Mossaig ig Ath Cliath, BB. 125^b. Dearc Mossach mac Cathair Mair a quo Hui Derc Mosaig oec Ath Cl[i]ath, BB. 131^b. Derc Maisech a quo Hui Derc Maisig ic Ath Cliath, LL. 385^b. Derg Mosach, LL. 394, "Derc Mosach, son of Cathair Mor, from whom [descended] the Hui Derc Mosaig at Dublin."

Cathair Mor, of the Leinster line, was sovereign of Ireland, A.D. 120-122, Four Masters, A.D. 174-177, O'Flaherty. According to the above extract, his son Derc Mosach's descendants at one time possessed

Dublin, but that their pedigree is not given in detail points to their early extermination by the Danes, probably at the capture of Dublin, A.D. 837. On the other hand the Hui Derc Mosaig may not have settled at Dublin for centuries after the death of their eponymous ancestor; and in the meantime, from one cause or other, about the middle of the third century, Sedan, a grandson probably of Derc Mosach, may have had to face death at Hookpoint, the farthest point in Leinster from Dublin. Derc may mean "red," or an "eye"; Maisech, "beautiful," and Derc Maisech, "eye-beautiful." Windisch's Woerterbuch has *derc F. auge*; but Glasderc (Grey-eye) a quo Hui Glasdeire, LL. 313^a, BB. 124^b, shows that it is not feminine; and Dercnarggit (Eye-of-silver) Mac Bard-dine, LL. 313^c, = Derc naigid mac Bradeni, BB. 126^a, shows that it is neuter.

KILBEG STONE.

An Ogham-stone, dug up at Kilbeg, in the parish of Kilbarrymeaden, in the barony of Decies-without-Drum, in the county of Waterford, was given to Dr. Martin, of Portlaw, and in October, 1875, was by him presented to this Society's Museum at Kilkenny, where it was seen by me in July, 1885, and in April, 1893. The stone is 4 feet 7½ inches long, and, in the middle, is 14 inches wide diagonally one way, and 10 inches the other way; and, from the middle, tapers to a point at the top, and diminishes in bulk towards the bottom. The inscription, which is 7 feet long, begins about 26 inches from the bottom, breaks off 2½ inches from the top, is resumed on the next arris to the right, 27 inches from the bottom, crosses diagonally the top of the stone, and ends on a third arris, about 26 inches from the bottom.



BEFFI MAQI MUCOI TRENAQITI

The inscription, though faint in parts, is complete. A scrape at the end is the initial s of Mr. Brash's reading of Dr. Martin's copy of the inscription.

BEFFI. This name in Ogham, and in Latin letters, is in the Llanwinio bilingual inscription, variously read thus :—

Professor Rhys :

Lat. BLADI FILI BODI BEVE ; Og. left, AWWI BODDIB ; right, BEWW.

Mr. Brash :

Lat. BIADI AFI BOGI BEVE ; Og. left, AFFI BOCI B ; right, BEFF . . .

Sir S. Ferguson :

Lat. SILVANI AVI BOGI BEVE ; Og. left, AFFI BOCI ; right, BEFFE.

A. Hübner :

Lat. BIAD-ACI BOGI BEVE ; Og. left, AFFI BOCI B . . . ; right, BEFF . . .

To me, not having seen the original, the Latin is simply a transliteration of the Ogham, and the whole was: Lat. BEVV- AVI BOCI BEVE ; Og. BEFF[1] AFFI BOCI B[EFAS].

Trans. "Of Beffa, grandson of Boc, son of Befā." Here Befā is Beffa's great-grandmother. A derivative of BEFFI may be BIFFI, Rockfield.

"In the Irish language," says Zeuss, "nothing retained primitive *v* after vowels, not only at the end of words, where scarcely is it retained in any language, but even in the middle"¹ (*Grammatica Celtica*, 2nd ed., 55). As, therefore, *AFFA, AFFI have become *oa* or *o*, and *ui* or *i*; so *BEFFA, BEFFI have become *beo*, *beu*, or *biu*, and *bii* or *bí*, in Old-Irish, and *beo* and *bí* in Modern-Irish; are cognate with Latin, *viv-us*; Greek, *βί-ος*; Walsh, *byw*; and Breton, *beo*; and mean "alive" or "lively."

In the Book of Leinster this word is not found alone as a proper name, but only in its diminutives, derivatives, and compounds, in which last it is found as *Beo-* at the beginning, but as *-be* at the end: Beoani, 314^b, &c.; Beuani, 373^c; Beoan, 311^c, &c.; Beoain, 314^b, &c.; Beoc, 371^d = Beo occ, "Martyrology of Donegal"; Beogen, 365^e (the *Vita Sancti Columbae* has Beognai); Beo-Aed, 350^e, &c.; Beo-Caimine, 317^c; Beo-Chraidhe, 391^a; Beo-Chride, 314^a, &c.; Beo-Slain, 389^a, &c.; Cailbe,² "that is, Caelbeo," 373, footnote; and some or all of the following: Aidbe, Ailtbhe, Altbi, Bedbi, Ceilbi, Coilbe, Colbe, Cuilbe, Erebe, Erobi, Etarbai, Failbe, Fairtbe, Fothairbe, Fothirbe, Laithbi, Lugbi, Railbi, Roichbi, Sithbe, &c.

TRENAQITI is a compound, such as TRENACATLO in the Llanfechan bilingual; TRENAGUSO in the Cilgerran bilingual: Og. TRENAGUSO MAQI MAQI-TRENI; Lat. TRENAGUSSI FILI MACU-TRENI HIC IACIT; and NETA-TTRENALUGOS in the Monastagart Ogham inscription, BROINIENAS XOI NETA-TTRENALUGOS.

¹ See, however, DOF- in DOFATUCI = Dubthaich, &c.

² Nem Mac Hui Birn. Nem tribus nominibus vocabatur, id est, Nem, et Pápu, et Cailbe. Nem primum nomen ejus a parentibus. Pupu apud Scottos, id est, Papa, eo quod Cathedram Petri petivit. Cailbe, id est Cael béo, eo quod homines mirabantur eum vivere. LL. 373, footnote.

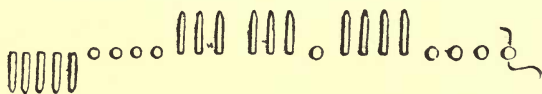
LUGOS. The Llywell bilingual is said to have Og. MAQI TRENI SALICIDNI; Lat. MACCUTRENI MAQI SALIGIDUNI; at Ballyknock is CLIUCOANAS MAQI MAQI-TRENI.

Tren in Welsh, *trén* in Old- and in Middle-Irish, and *tréan* or *treun* in Modern-Irish, means "impetuous," and has to be distinguished from nom. *trian* or *trien*, gen. *treno* or *trena*, a "third part." Nom. Trén, gen. Tréin, Treoin, and Triuin, is found separate and compounded in the Book of Leinster: Trén, 316^c, 322^b; Tréin, 324^c, 335^c; Triuin, 350^g; Trenfer, 378^a; Trenfir, 101^c, 334, 338^d; Trenmhor, 379^{a-b}; Trenmoir, 311^b; Traigtrein, 261^a; gen. Trenai, of itself, is an older form of Tréin, but may be intended for Trena, gen. of Trian, at 322^d, 347^h.

As a separate name, QITI is found in Ogham at Stradbally, as QIT, and at Drumconwell as QITAI. Its feminine is found in composition at Ballinrannig: MAQI-QETTIA MAQI CV^NITTI. The Book of Leinster has nom. *Cet*, gen. *Ceit* or *Chit*, 31^b, 48^b, 113^b, and twenty other places.

TOPPED MOUNTAIN.

This fragment was discovered in 1875 beside the great cairn at the summit of Topped Mountain, near Enniskillen. Mr. W. F. Wakeman wrote about it in this *Journal* for October, 1875, and for October, 1882, and in 1885 presented it to this Society's Museum at Kilkenny, where I examined it in 1885. It is a fragment of a light-red sandstone flag, 1 foot 6 inches long, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide, and from 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick, and is inscribed for its whole length. The inscription consists of one compound name that ends imperfectly, and that may have been the first, or the last, or the middle name of the complete inscription.



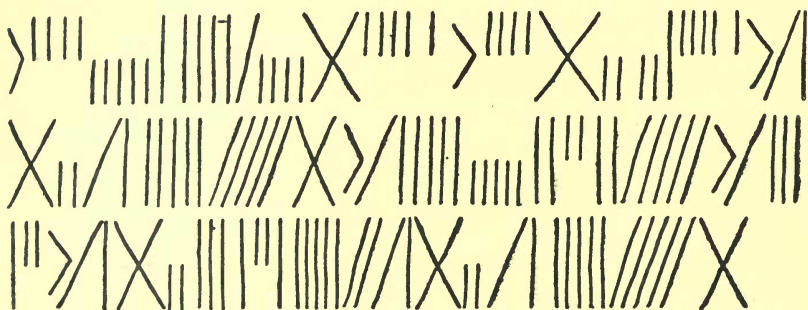
]NETTACE[

All is perfect up to the last notch, of which only half is left. What follows NETTA- is CE now, but at first was CI or some word beginning with CE or CI. In Ogham inscriptions the other names of which NET forms part are, NETA-CAGNI, NETA-CARI, NETA-FROQI, NETA-SEGAMONAS, NETA-TALAMINACCA, NETA-TTRENA-LUGOS, NETTA-SAGRU, NIOTTFRUCC, CUNA-NETAS, CONUNETT, and NIOTTACOBANORA (?). Middle-Irish nom. *nia*, gen. *niad* or *niath*, and dat. *niaid*, or *niath*, means a "champion." The fullest Ogham genitive is NETAS, at Island, County Waterford. In the Book of Leinster nom. *Nia*, gen. *Niad*, is found as a proper name separately, and in

composition with Bec-, Cath-, Caul-, Coe-, Com-, Corp-, Corpse-, Druth-, Enna-, Fal-, Fer-, Fír-, Flaith-, Mac-, Sar-, Tren-, Uath-, -angle, -ba, -brain, -corb, -cuillend, -fer, -Nair, -Segamain. In the county Cork, O'Niadh is Anglicised Neville.

BALLYSPELLAN BROOCH.

To the foregoing inscriptions on stone in the county Kilkenny may be appended the Ogham inscription on a silver brooch found in 1806 at Ballyspellan, in the barony of Galmoy, in the county of Kilkenny :



CNAEMSECH CELLACH MAELMAIRE MINODOR MUAD MAELUADAIG MAELMAIRE

Of these names the first is that of a female, and all are proper names except possibly MUAD. Apparently the first is that of the owner of the brooch; and the rest form her pedigree. As fifth or sixth in descent from one named Maelmaire, that is Devotee of Mary, this lady could not have flourished earlier than A.D. 600. Nor, as the *v*'s, *e*, and certain *m*'s are unaspirated, can the inscription be of much later date than A.D. 1300. Time and place considered, she may well have been Cnaimsech, the mother of the "Flannacan *mac* Cnamsíge, *mac* Gussain" of an Ossorian pedigree, LL. 340^d, 27. As that Flannacan was tenth in descent from Colman Mor, a king of Ossory, or at least of East Ossory, who died A.D. 575, that Flannacan's mother should have flourished in the ninth century. King Cellach, ninth from Colman Mor, was slain in 903.

The name Cnaimsech is feminine, being a derivative in nom. -sech, gen. -sige. In the Book of Leinster the name Cellach appears over two hundred times. There are seven different Cellachs in the Ossorian pedigrees, 339-341. The name Maelmaire, Mailmaire, and Maelmuire, appears at least ten times in the Book of Leinster; where are : Uadag, but not Maeluadaig; Muadan and Maelmuaid, but not Muad; Mincloth, Minclu, Minchu, Mingor, Minloscan, Odur, Odran, Odornat, Odrocan, Odorchu, Cuodor, Maelodur, and Maelodran, but not Minodor.

SUMMARY.

It may be well for comparison sake, here, beside our own, to put Mr. Brash's and Sir S. Ferguson's transliterated readings of such of the above inscriptions as were known to those two eminent authorities on Oghams, who, had they lived till now, would naturally have improved their readings and explanations.

Gowran, Brash :	D QO MUCO IERACO S AQ G.
Ferguson :	MAQI MUCOI LASICAREIGNI.
Barry :	D[AL]O MAQA MUCO[I] M[A]QI-ERACIAS MAQI LI.
Dunbell, No. 1, Brash :	BRANITOS MAQI DECQEDDA.
Ferguson :	BRAN ^F TT ^A S MAQI D ^O CR ^F DDA.
Barry :	BRAN[I]TTOS MAQI DECAR[I]DD[ALOS].
Dunbell, No. 2, Brash :	SAFFIQEGI M[A]QI DDATTAC.
Ferguson :	SAFFIQEGI TTU ^{DP} CATTAC.
Barry :	NAFFALLO AFFI GENITTAC[CI].
Clara, Ferguson :	TASEGAGNI MUCOI MAQR * * *.
Barry :	TASIGAGNI MAQI MUCOI MACORA.
Tullaherin, Brash :	FAUAHG.
Barry :	FIR[.
Ballyboodan, Brash :	CORBEDO MAQI LABRIDD.
Ferguson :	CORBI POI MAQI LABRIDD[A].
Barry :	CORBI XOI MAQI LABRIATT[.].
Hook Point, Brash :	SEDAN SOCAMS.
Barry :	SEDAN[I . . . DER]CAMASOCI.
Kilbeg, Brash :	BIFODON MUCOI ATAR.
Barry :	BEFFI MAQI MUCOI TRENAQITI.
Topped Mountain, Brash	
and Ferguson :	NETTACU.
Barry :	]NETTACE[.

At page 529 of this *Journal* for 1891, the present writer pointed out that DOFINIAS, or DOFFINIAS, the final name in four Ogham inscriptions in the Barony of Corkaguiny, and Duibhne, the name of the eponymous ancestress of the Corcodhuibhne race, anglicised Corkaguiny, are an earlier and a later form of the same name, and designate the same person, Duibhne, granddaughter of Conaire I., ob. A.D. 60, or rather of Conaire II., ob. A.D. 220 (according to O'Flaherty's computation). The inscription in memory of her great-grandson cannot be earlier than

A.D. 150, or later than A.D. 300; and creates a presumption that genitives singular feminine, without a final *s*, are later than A.D. 300.

Of the twenty-three persons named in the twelve inscriptions here directly discussed, five or more may be identified:—

1. The Dunbell NAFFALLO, grandson of Gentech, in all probability, was one of those “grandsons of Gentech,” from whom was named Tir On Gentich, the “Territory of the grandsons of Gentech,” close to, or around, Dunbell. As those “grandsons of Gentech” were third cousins of Fercorbb, in the pedigree of Lord Castletown of Upper Ossory, and as that Fercorbb was tenth in ascent from Cucherea, a king of Ossory, who died *circ.* A.D. 710, Naffallo (= Nuall) with Fercorbb must have died *circ.* A.D. 400. Further, as the inscription at Dunbell may be assumed to have been contemporaneous with the death and burial of Naffallo, the name NAFFALLO, instead of *NAFFALLOS, in that inscription is an instance of a final *s* of the genitive singular of the consonantal declension having been dropped in Gaelic as early as A.D. 400; and leads to a presumption that the Ogham inscriptions wherein that final *s* is retained are of an older date than A.D. 400.

Tried by that test, the Llanfallteg inscription, lately deciphered by Prof. Rhys of Oxford, Og. VOTECORIGAS, Lat. MEMORIA VOTEPORIGIS PROTICTORIS, cannot commemorate Vortipore, a sixth-century king of Demetia. Professor Mommsen, too, argues from the use of the title “protector” that the Llanfallteg inscription cannot belong to that post-Roman period in Britain.

2. The Tullaherin inscription, beginning with FIR . . ., may have commemorated Lord Castletown’s ancestor Fercorbb.

3. The Hui Deccair Dala, an ancient Leinster family, of dubious origin according to the Book of Leinster, were, no doubt, the progeny of DECAR[*I*] DD[ALOS] of Dunbell inscription No. 1, and so were a branch of the Royal family of Ossory.

4 and 5. It will hardly be doubted that the Hui Thoisechain, from Druim Laidgil, were the progeny of TASIGAGNA of the Clara inscription, and that the Hui Chuirre were descendants of MACOR, Tasigagna’s grandfather, which Hui Chuirre, with their kinsmen the Hui Gobbain of Tech Laidgille, were the sole surviving descendants of Gentech in Tir On Gentich, that were known to the compiler of the Book of Leinster.

6. For comparison with [DER]CAMASOCI of the Hook Point inscription there is only Dere Mossach, the name of a son of Cathair Mor, a king of Leinster and sovereign of Ireland, who died at latest *circ.* A.D. 177. Sedana, traced to [DER]CAMASOCA, in the Hook Point inscription, was most probably a great-grandson of Cathair Mor, and as such should have died *circ.* A.D. 270.

7. That CORBA, buried at Ballyboodan, in what anciently was the territory of Cliach, was King Corb Cliach out of Munster, who was slain

by Oengus Ollam, A.C. 235 (O'Flaherty's computation), is a remote possibility, or rather is not impossible. Similarly it is not impossible that NETASEGAMON of the Old Island inscription CUNANETAS MA[Q]I MUC[o]I NETASEGAMONAS, and of the Ardmore inscription LUGUDECCAS MAQI DOLATI BIGAIS GOBA . . . M[u]COI NETASEGAMONAS was the Nia Segamain, who was king of Munster and sovereign of Ireland, A.C. 125-118 (O'Flaherty's computation).

Ancient Irish histories and pedigrees help to identify the persons mentioned in Ogham inscriptions, and ancient Ogham inscriptions, thus interpreted, confirm ancient Irish history.

It may be noted that it is not the case, as assumed at p. 365 (*Journal*, 1895), that from time immemorial the inscribed arris of the Ballyboodan stone was turned down, and in contact with the ground until disturbed by Mr. Hitchcock in 1849. A very interesting letter from R. Langrishe, Esq., *Vice-President, R.S.A.I.*, to the writer of this Paper, reveals the fact that in 1841, and for some years later, the Ballyboodan stone "stood erect, the inscription being on the upper portion, and ending at the top angle, and all exposed to view."

THE JOURNAL OF SIR PETER LEWYS, 1564-1565.

BY JAMES MILLS, M.R.I.A., FELLOW.

PETER LEWYS, whose Journal for one year is preserved in Trinity College Library, is said to have been an English regular. About 1540 he was appointed, by the Crown, rector of Kilkeel, county Down, and afterwards held some small benefices in Dublin and Kildare. Lewys was presented, in 1562, to the Precentorship of Christ Church in succession to Christopher More, who had shortly before succeeded Christopher Rathe, removed for refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy.

Though by profession a Churchman, he will be best known as a builder, architect, and engineer. Though not an historical figure, he is one of the few Irish worthies of his day of whom we possess a reliable portrait. His full-length figure, boldly and cleverly cut in high relief, may be seen in the Science and Art Museum. It formerly adorned the bridge of Athlone, which he was commissioned by Government to build in 1566-1567. It has been figured in "The Old Bridge of Athlone" by Rev. J. S. Joly. In thus acting as a surveyor of public works, and especially at Athlone, we may feel a further interest in him as a worthy predecessor of our esteemed Hon. Secretary.

It was not in his capacity as Precentor that Lewys kept this diary. When the Cathedral was changed under Henry VIII. from a priory of regular canons into an ordinary chapter, its possessions were divided into a number of separate endowments and prebends. One part was allotted to the building and repairs of the Church, and the Refectory. This fund was placed in charge of a steward or proctor, who was elected annually about Michaelmas. Lewys was chosen Proctor in October, 1564, and held office until the October following, and for this period the Journal extends. The duties consisted in receiving the rents of such parts of the Cathedral property as were appropriated to the fund with which he was charged, and disbursing the money for the necessary expenses of the Church. Many other Proctors' accounts are still preserved in the Cathedral. They contain much curious and interesting matter, but they lack the quaintness, and in many respects the minuteness, of Lewys' Journal.

It is probable that during his year of office the Proctor was relieved of his ordinary clerical duties. Certainly the work undertaken by Lewys must have occupied his whole time. There is only one entry in the Journal which seems in any way to relate to his office of Precentor, and even this evidently appears only because money had to be expended. It

was the purchase of 6*d.* worth of paper to make books for the choir, "for they lacked books" (p. 34).

Lewys had been preferred, we may assume, as a maintainer of the new religion. He had been appointed to an office from which, two years previously, a predecessor had been expelled for refusing the Oath of Supremacy. We look for any indication of his own religious views, but without any definite result. His principles were probably not very strongly marked. During the year of office his non-juring predecessor, Christopher Rathe, died, and Lewys was quite ready to meet the wishes of his sympathising friends in the way he was to be commemorated. Thus:—"Note that Mr. Richard Fyan gave me half a beef for Sir Christopher Rathe's soul, for the masons, the 16 day of September, and I must ring his mind with the bells 5 peal (Sept. 17)."

Lewys seems disposed to do faithfully and well what lay before him as duty, but he had no mind to share in the disputes, religious or political, which disturbed his neighbours. The notes which diversify the pages of his Journal are often interesting, but they find no place there unless they affected his work or his spendings. A great storm is mentioned only because it broke a window of the church, or interrupted the work of the slaters; a snow-fall, because men had to be employed to clear the roofs; a heavy rain, because it raised the Dodder, and interfered with quarry work; a council meeting, because it brought many strangers to the church, and entailed the expenditure of a few pence for candles; the Shrove Tuesday city games, because they induced the workmen to take a half holiday.

Almost the only way in which we hear anything of the church services is in the supply of candles for the evening services in winter. In this way we learn that there was evening service on Sundays, on Saints' days and their eves. In January, 1565, the evening service is mentioned daily. Some further detail as to the church services may be gathered from a contemporary document in the Christ Church collection (No. 1305). It is an appointment of one of the "singing-men" He is required to serve as a vicar in the choir at matins, evensong, and all other services. In return he is dieted at the common table, occupies a chamber in the dormitory, and receives £9 a-year. The choirmen were also clothed out of the common fund. At 23rd May, in the Journal, we find a payment to "Richard Donoghe, for ten yards of new coloured cloth to make the choristers their livery gowns against Trinity Sunday, whereof made only five gowns. There was not cloth enough to make Rede a gown; but to be remembered other ways in his clothing." Certain regulations, in the second part of the book in which Lewys' Journal is contained, deal with the appointment and conduct of the vicars. The effect of these was to require a residence and table in common, and a complete devotion to the services of the church. While not requiring a vow of celibacy, the conditions imposed seem to contemplate and require a celibate state.

A curious custom seems to have existed of a special treat to the Vicars' table on Good Friday, "I paid for manchet and loaf bread for the Vicars, to them by custom, as they sayes, of old time, upon the house cost by the proctor for the year being." In addition there were at the same time three loaves for the "chyltring" or choir boys. Also at same time two gallons of ale, and three quarts of sack wine.

One service is specially, though briefly, mentioned—June 26, "This day, Mr. Sarswell, was buried in Christ Church. My Lord Primate, preached at the burial. The day was so much past we had no communion, nor light." Mr. Sarswell was Patrick Sarsfield, alderman and ex-mayor of the city. The Lord Primate was Adam Loftus.

In connexion with the church services it is of interest to note the days which were observed as holidays from work by the masons and others employed. The days so kept were St. Katherine, Our Lady Day (8th Dec.), Christmas Day to 1st January, Epiphany, St. Bride's Day, St. Patrick, Monday to Wednesday in Easter week, St. Peter, St. Laurence, The Assumption, St. Bartholomew, St. Michan (25th Aug.), St. Matthew, Michaelmas, Nativity of our Lady (Sept. 7).

Besides these, Shrove Tuesday, which he calls "Corpernant Day," was a half holiday, not, however, for religious reasons, but for that the masons "play all the afternoon, seeth the riding and the balls about the town."

Some of the other holidays indicate a conflicting feeling on the subject between the workmen and the authorities. Thus, on 3rd May, "Hollyrode Day," or the festival of the Finding of the Holy Cross, no masons worked, yet Lewys hired workmen to fill carts. Corpus Christi (June 21), the Lord Justice sent to the Mayor and "to all the parish churches in Dublin that they should not keep Corpus Christi Day hollyday, but that every man and woman should work as they did every other working day in the week upon a great penalty and displeasure of trouble." Notwithstanding this warning all the men stayed away except the slater and his helpers, who were engaged on a contract job. On Lammas Day, also, the masons kept holiday, while the carters, slaters, and labourers worked. On St. Nicholas' Day (6th Dec.) it is specially noted that all worked; it being stated that it was commanded not to be kept holiday. On St. Luke's Day the masons would not do their usual work at the quarry; although, unpaid, they helped the workmen to select stones for the work. For this service they got their food.

Only at Christmas do we get any peep at what passed in church, and this only in so far as it caused expenditure. Christmas Day fell this year on Monday. Great was the stir on the preceding Saturday. Six men worked at cleaning out the church and porches. They cleared cart-loads of filth out of the courtyard, and even gravelled the path across the churchyard from the east gate in Fishamble-street. Their work was prolonged after dark, for an extra 1 lb. of candles had to be provided to

light them at it. It was probably only at Christmas and Easter that the full peal of bells was rung, for there was great preparation of them, too. No less than 2 lbs. of grease was provided "to grease the bells against Chrystyne mase hallydayes." It was found that the "baberkyns" of the great and second bells were broken; and Giles the saddler had to make new ones of double leather, and Thomas Frenchman the smith made a new great buckle for them.¹ Then on Christmas Eve was great setting out of candles; 3 lbs. of them were placed round, stuck in balls of clay, apparently to the walls. These were "put about the Choir and the Church as custom is, in every side of the Choir and the Rood loft, and the Holy Ghost's Chapel, and the north side of the Choir, set in balls of clay." On Christmas Day the tallow candles in the choir were, for this occasion only, replaced by wax candles specially made in the house for the occasion. In addition two great candles were erected, one at the Dean's and the other at the Precentor's side of the choir. "I spend in the church in candle light for the Dean's stall one great light, and for my stall a great light 3 lbs., 2 candles; and 14 candles about the church as by old custom have been, Matho Hamlyng's order, and wax light with all the choir and master of the children." Matthew Hamlyng mentioned appears to have been the sexton. He is described in one of the leases as a Mary-clerk.

The candles were renewed daily until New Year's Day, as the 1st of January is called, although the legal year did not begin until the 25th of March. The whole of this week was holiday.

The flickering dipt candles scattered round the walls were, no doubt, considered in those days a brilliant illumination; but the effect was greatly marred by a storm which broke some of the choir windows "that skant a candle could keep light in the choir."

I find one other note illustrating the service of the church. It is 3½*d.* expended on the 5th December for "hossling" (house) bread for the Communion.

As a dignitary of the cathedral, Lewys resided in the Close, in a separate house or "lodging" of his own. The vicars and choirmen lived at a common table, and probably still occupied the old canons' dormitory. But dignitaries appear to have lived in separate residences, most of which grouped round the churchyard east of the Chapter-House.

The Precentor's chamber or lodging we can learn from the series of Christ Church leases so admirably preserved, stood immediately east of the common apartment called Colfabias, and so, nearly on the site of the large gate now at the east end of the modern Christ Church Place. This lodging, or manse as it was later called, consisted of a "hall" which was a reception and dining-room, a kitchen, a bed-chamber, with a study or

¹ Only one other reference to the bells occurs, and that the repair of the wheel of the Mary bell. This was on Easter Eve.

closet, a garret for his serving-man, and a small—it must have been very small—courtyard. This manse looked out on the churchyard, round which stood three or four similar residences for the other dignitaries. The churchyard was not yet encumbered by shops and lay residences as it had become a century later. Access to the street might be gained by a castellated gateway on the east, leading into Fishamble-street; or westward through the dark passage south of the Chapter House (one side of which may still be seen), across the cloister, and through the great gate opposite St. Michael's Church.

These are but accidental side-lights. The proctor's duties, consisting first of collecting the rents allocated to general church purposes, and then of their disbursement in the necessary works for its care and maintenance, make his Journal in the main an account book. In the accounts of other proctors are numerous items relative to the church ornaments and furniture, but the needs of the church in Lewys' time left little to spare for anything but necessities.

The condition of the church when he entered on office was deplorable. Two years previously in 1562 the south side of the nave had fallen. Its place, it is true, had been taken by the plain wall which stood until the recent restoration, but the nave was still roofless. The south aisle of the nave was tottering and threatening the buildings in the Close; the tower was in a very unsafe condition; "the wall was rent very sore, and I was in great doubt of it." Nor was he alone in doubt: less than two years previously the lessee of an adjoining house covenanted that his clause for repair was not to be enforced if his premises should "fall down by reason of the church walls or steeple bruising or knocking them." The roof of the choir, too, was very defective; and other defects met him in many quarters.

With the church in such a state he must have felt much difficulty in deciding where to begin his task. Having begun, the increasing urgency of one or other part of the building caused several interruptions. Most of the money in hand was spent on buildings and workmen. These payments are both interesting and valuable as illustrating the condition of the working men of the time. But some minor incidental entries are sometimes of even more interest.

Thus, we meet notices of the windows of the Chapter House which have recently come to light some feet below the surface. In Lewys' day they must have been about level with Christ Church yard which lay immediately to the east of them. We gather this for Lewys had twice to get these windows mended because the dogs had broken them and were in the habit of running through (June 2 and Aug. 30). Windows in such a position should have been protected by bars, and so they had been, but the bars were stolen by thieves at night; and it was only after the glass had been twice broken that iron was bought to erect new bars (3 Sept.).

Other glass needed repair, as we learn (Aug. 30), "this day I made a bargain with an English boy, a glazier, for the Chapter-House that the dogs had broken. A great storm had broken the great gable of the high altar, three panes, and had cast down Plunket's arms, and Mr. Justice Plunket chafed at it, and was very angry for it; and there were four windows, the panes of glass were broken and loosed with the great winds and storms this year."

At another time we find the French smith putting up two small bars of iron "to stay two panes of glass whereat Saint Laurens picture is in one of them in the south side."

The purchase of "this Quyer of paper to make this book 7½*d.*" is interesting. Later, "I paid for one quire of paper to write my necessities and to make a little book to bear abroad with me when I pay money, and to make quittances to them that I should receive money from at any time."

The most interesting entry in this line is the following:—"Note, I paid to Henry Powell, stationer, the printer, for the binding of the old bybyle that was broken, and must mend the backs of the quires to bind it anew, 16*s.*" This may have been the same Humphrey Powell who, Dr. Gilbert tells us, was the first Dublin typographer of whom we have any record, who lived near by, in St. Nicholas-street, and who in the following year issued the first known Irish printed book.

On 28th July we find, "This day I set up in the choir a short coffer for the poor, by the church door a box, with a key for every of them, and made it fast with 4 sperres of iron."

Lewys imported some of his building requisites. Thus he paid to a man of Clontarf 26*s.* 8*d.* "to go to Beaumaris to bring a load of slates the next wind" (June 2). Then again we find him importing coal. "July 6, This day my boat of culm came to Dublin from Milford and brought 163 barrels, and discharged at the Quay, Dublin."

The record of Lewys' dealings with his masons and workmen supplies many interesting illustrations of the condition of the fabric of the church, the way in which quarrying and building work was carried on, and the customs, food, and wages of the men. This would furnish ample material for another Paper, or if the project of printing the Journal as an extra volume is carried out, the subject will receive yet fuller attention.

PREHISTORIC STONE FORTS OF NORTHERN CLARE.

BY THOMAS J. WESTROPP, M.A., M.R.I.A., FELLOW.

PART I.—INCHQUIN BARONY.

PREHISTORIC¹ events in Ireland have too often been treated in an extreme spirit of acceptance or negation. Some speak of our pre-Christian kings with a certainty scarcely suitable to the reigns of Brian or Roderic; others write of Laoghair's predecessors as if all were as mythic as the heroes of the Nibelungs Lay. In all probability the centuries preceding St. Patrick handed down not a little real history² to his scribes, whose successors passed it on, but possibly with added errors, to the compilers of the earlier encyclopædias of Irish literature. In the earliest of these we meet a legend versified by Mac Liag, Brian's bard, who died 1016, and ascribed to Amergin mac Amalgaidh, *circa* 550, on which an unreasonable stress has been laid to make it support a popular theory. On its supposed authority most of our antiquaries, begging the question, attribute the great forts of Aran and Clare to the Huamorian Firbolgs in the first century. Now the "lay of Carn Chonoill" certainly connects Oengus with Dun Oengus, but names no other western fort, nor does it even state³ that the fugitives entrenched themselves. Even if it did so, a writer, as far removed from the period of his legend as we are from the time of Alfred the Great, cannot be taken as an unimpeachable authority, and, where the old poem, "the taking of Dun Oengusa," is lost, we have practically no earlier legend than that in Roderic O'Flaherty's "HÍar Connaught," 1686, which attributes the building of two only of the Aran forts to the Firbolgs, no fort in Clare being mentioned.

The original story so often alluded to, and so little known, is thus translated by Dr. Whitley Stokes⁴:—

"Conall, the slender, son of Oengus, son of Umor, fell there (at Carn

¹ This Paper forms a continuation of "Prehistoric Stone Forts in Central Clare" in our *Journal*, 1893, pp. 281 and 432. By the terms "prehistoric" and "fort," I only imply that the origin of the cahers is unrecorded, and their use more or less defensive, few being forts in the modern sense.

² The commencement of St. Patrick's mission was probably nearer to the death of Cormac mac Airt than the present year is to the accession of George II. This leaves abundant room, however, for a plentiful growth of myths, had we even fifth-century manuscripts to aid us, without the added errors of seven more centuries, a period as long as that which separates us from the reign of Richard I.

³ Another manuscript, however, says, "They dwelt thus in fortresses."—"Revue Celtique," 1894, p. 481.

⁴ "Dindseanchas," in "Revue Celtique," 1894, pp. 478, 480. Professor Rhys goes so far as to consider the legend a solar myth, the Firbolgs seeking refuge from the heroes of Tara in the isles of the Western Ocean, as darkness flies before the rising

Conoill). Once upon a time, when the sons of Umor made a flitting over sea out of the province of the Piets (of Scotland), they come to the plain of Meath to Cairbre Nia-fer, the Lord of Tara, and of him they sought land, the best in Meath, to wit, Rath Cennaig, Rath Commair, Cnogba, Brug Mna Elemair, Taltiu, Cermna, Tlachtga, Ath Sige, Bri-dam Dile. Cairpre required them (to perform the) base service of Tara, like everyone whom he permitted to dwell in Banba (Ireland) and (especially) Bregia. So for this (performance) the children of Umor gave four sureties, namely, Cet mac Magach, Ross, son of Deda, Conall Cernach, and Cuchulainn. Afterwards Cairpre imposed on the children of Umor a rent which could not be endured: so they decamped from him, with their possessions, westward to Ailill and Medb, and set up beside the sea. Oengus in Dun Oengusa in Ara; Cutra to Lough Cutra; Cimbe Fourheads¹ at Lough Cimli; Adar at Mag Adair; Mil at Muirbech Mil; Daelach on Dail and Ennach, from whom is Ennach's house (Tech nEnnaich); Bir at Rind Bera Sirraim; Mod at Insi Mod (the Clew Bay Islands); Irgus at Rind Boirne²; Cingid at Cruach Aigli; Bairnech Barannbel at Laiglinni; Conchiurn at Inis Medon (Middle Island Aran); Lathrach at Lathrach's Hill (Tulaich Lathraich); Taman at Taman's Point (Rind Tamain); Conall the slender at Aidne; Mesc on Lough Mask.

"So then the four sureties and guarantors are summoned by (the creditor) Cairpre, Conall comes with his (comrade) Cuchulainn from the Ulaid; Ross, son of Deda, from the Ernai; and Cet went out of Connaught to Cairpre's house. Cairpre demanded their honour or their soul (life). So then, under Cet's safeguard, the sureties repaired to Cruachan, and there, on the green of the fortress, they commenced their fasting. Cet's wife entreated the respite of a single night (that the children of Umor might consider what was to be done). On the morrow Oengus comes, and said that his son, with his three brothers, would fight on his behalf with the sureties. Cing against Ross, Cimbe Fourheaded against Conall Cernach, Irgus against Cet mac Magach, and Conall, son of Oengus, against Cuchulainn. So the sons of Umor were killed, and the sureties brought their four heads to Cairbre to boast of them. Then Oengus was buried, with his son Conall, under this cairn."

sun ("Hibbert Lectures," 1886). For the lost poem, "Togail Duine Oengusa" (taking of Dun Oengus), see M. Darbois de Jubainville's "Catalogue of Epic Literature of Ireland," p. 244.

¹ As he and his three relatives only afforded four heads as trophies, the epithet is not so ogre-like as some imagine. Lough Cime is Lough Hackett, near Headford, Galway, round which, within a few square miles, are ninety-one forts, of which over a dozen cahers have names. (Sheet 42, 6-inch Survey of Galway.) Magh Adhair, the district north of Quin Clare; the name survives in Moy Eir, near Corbally, and the mound in the adjoining Toonagh (Tuanamoyre, 1584). Muirbech Mil, probably Kilmurvey, Aran, Aidne, is Hy Fiacra Aidne, barony of Kiltartan. In it and the adjoining parishes in Dunkellin, we have no less than fifty-eight caher names. Dail, the river Daelach, near Ennistymon, Clare, Taman, Tawin Island, south of Galway.

² Perhaps Black Head, "Ceann Boirne," still crowned with the fort of Fergus, query Irgus?

Elsewhere, in the *Dindseanchas*,¹ we learn that Maistiú, sister of Conall the slender, and Maer, who was twin with him, died of sorrow at his death.

Every passage of the story is excessively improbable, from the Firbolgs getting the royal forts of Taltiu and Tlactga, and the royal cemeteries of Knowth (Cnogba) and Newgrange (Bru), down to the death of Oengus and his daughters; and a tribe that could find space among the Milesians in nine raths in Meath must have been very small, so we can give this story little weight in any question relating to the forts. We are left equally in the dark by the early records and legends of possible historic value. Ptolemy places the Ganganói near the Shannon estuary, there the Firbolgs Gann, Genann, and Sengan² appear. Cormac mac Airt wages war on the inhabitants of the Burren, defeating them on Slieve Elva in the third century, while in the fifth the Dalcassian kings have their palaces in Co. Limerick, and do not yet hold Aughty or Elva, and the king of Aran seeks refuge with the pagans of Corcomroe. If the smith legend of Glasgeivnagh is ancient,³ the Celtic warriors of the third century found the hills behind the Fergus at Corofin garrisoned by Tuatha De Danann. This may represent, in outline, an early fact of the Dalcassian conquest,⁴ and that proud tribe boasted to the king of Cashel, about 840, that they had won the land by their own swords; yet many of the fort-names and legends are of Celts alone.⁵

It cannot be sufficiently emphasised that our forts are not a unique and isolated class of structures, as several seem to have considered them. Ours may be some of the finest and best preserved, but they are only the latest and most remote of a series extending across all Europe, wherever the Celtic race held sway. This people attained the summit of their power between 450 B.C. and 220 B.C. The Phœnicians were over-lords of Spain, under Hiram of Tyre, 537 B.C.; but by the time of Herodotus, 450 B.C.,

¹ "Revue Celtique," 1894, page 334. The curious legend states that Maistiú embroidered a cross on the tunic of her father Oengus, in Mullaghmast, which place derives its name from her. Asal (Tory Hill), near Croom, Co. Limerick, was named from another son of Umor. Mend, son of Umor, a poet, is also given.—*Ib.*, p. 481.

² For these tribes, see our *Journal*, 1879-1882, pp. 469, 475. It may be a mere coincidence, but we find the Ganganói round the Shannon mouth in Clare, and the Ganganon Akron in Carnarvonshire, both districts having these stone forts. Gan and Sengann's cupbearer wooed Echtge "the awful," from whom Slieve Aughty is named ("Revue Celtique," 1894, p. 458). This connects their legend with Clare.

³ See our *Journal*, 1895, page 227.

⁴ The Dalcassians under Lughad Menn engaged in the conquest of Thomond from the King of Connaught soon after King Crimthann's death, *circa* 378, well within the limit of reliable tradition: see *inter alia* "Silva Gadelica," p. 377, from Book of Ballymote.

⁵ It is just possible that the legend of Crochan and Dolv, son of Dal, two of the Tuatha De Danann of Slieve Echtge, found its counterpart at Cahererochain and Lisdundalheen, at Loop Head (see O'Donovan, Ordnance Survey Letters, Galway II., p. 36, on Ceanncrochain and Drumcrochain). Petrie, in "Military Architecture of Ireland," page 122, points out that dry stone forts in parts of Western Scotland are called "Dun na Firbolg."

the Gauls had gained the upper hand. About 390, the Celts overran Etruria, and destroyed Rome. In 280, they invaded Thrace and Macedonia, defeated Ptolemy Keraunos, raided up the very glen of Delphi, and formed a colony in Galatia, giving that country its name. Internecine feuds and lack of writers crippled their power and obscured their fame. Their "empire" was 2000 miles from east to west, from the mouth of the Danube to the Tagus and Shannon, from Etruria to Northern Scotland; all across the district the names and remains of "duns" occur, from Singidunum (Belgrade), on the Danube, to the uttermost verge of the old world, as a well-known antiquary writes¹: "The names of Gaulish villages handed down the ages the living remembrance of the dominion exercised by a people which preceded the Romans in empire, the Germans in civilization." The fall of this many-headed "empire" was speedy. It began historically in Spain, Hamilcar Barca, 238 B.C., Hasdrubal, 230, and Hannibal, 219, drove back the Celts and Iberians from the Mediterranean; the resistless hordes of the Germans pressed the Eastern Gael over the Rhine. The arms of Cæsar broke their power in Gaul, and it may well have been that many a dislodged tribe, whose traditions may have descended from those who saw the hill-forts of Greece and Asia Minor,² fled into this island during the two centuries before our era, bringing knowledge of fort-building. We find forts of dry stone or earth, very similar in plan, construction, and features to ours, scattered across Europe, almost from the borders of Thrace, the traditional starting-point of the Firbolgs. In Bosnia Herzegovina³ they are oval, or with several concentric walls, and sometimes have stone huts near them. A triple concentric fort near Cserevics and a "hring" of three semicircles, on the edge of a steep hill at Bény, occur in Hungary⁴: they are called "Poganvyar" (or pagan forts), Földvár (or earth forts), and "Devils' ditches" in that country. Still northward, in Bohemia, we find many forts, notably the Hraditsch, near Strakonitz, Ginetz, and the Knezihora, near Katovic.⁵

¹ M. de Jubainville in "Revue Archéologique," xxix., 1875, p. 53; also see same on Celts, Galatians, and Gauls, xxx., 1875, p. 4.

² "Les Gaulois eurent pour maîtres les Phocéens ou Marseillais."—Soc. Ant. Normandy, 1835, p. 228. For Celtic Conquest of Spain, see "Early Man in Britain," p. 320.

³ "Rambles and Studies in Bosnia Herzegovina," by Dr. Robert Munro. Debelobrd is an oval fort about 330 feet x 110 feet, with stone huts near it. Ograc (see p. 147, fig. 21) is an oval "caher," surrounded by a long irregular enclosure; Kicin and Pleschiwetz; also "L'Anthropologie," 1894, v., pp. 563-568—Notice of Ringwalls, Tumuli, and Circles of Bronze Age at Glasinac and Rusanovic. See page 147, figs. 9, 21, and 25.

⁴ "Congrès Internationale d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistoriques" at Buda Pesth, 1876, vol. viii., pp. 62, 79. "Hring de Bény" measures about 1500 feet x 1300 feet, slightly larger than Moghane. Sixty-six of these forts are given, some are still named "duna." See also "Revue Archéologique," 1879, p. 158; "La Dominion Celtique en Hongrie." For plans, see p. 147, figs. 3 and 10.

⁵ Proc. Soc. Ant., Scotland, 1868-1870, pp. 158-161. The Bohemian forts are of dry stones, vitrified in some cases. See page 147, figs. 19 and 22.

In Baden we find examples (possibly Celtic, though attributed to the Ubii), probably earlier than 100 B.C. Their great stone "Wallburgs" and "Ringwalls" gird the Altkönig in the Taunus and the wooded crests of the beautiful Heiligenburg¹ overhanging Heidelberg. Dry stone ramparts sometimes semicircular, called "Heydenmauer" (or heathen walls) exist in the Vosges Mountains²; others are found in Oldenburgh and in Switzerland on the Jura,³ and in Zurich; several occur in Alsace Lorraine⁴ as the "Altschloss" (old fort) of Haspelscheidt, an elliptical ring 980 feet across, of rude stones with a side enclosure to the north as at Dun Conor. In France along the bank of the Seine⁵ in Normandy and between that river and the Loire⁶ there are many forts like our Irish ones, and the series runs out to the sea in Brittany, especially in Côtes du Nord and Finistere,⁷ scattered examples occurring as far south as the Pyrenees, and in Great Britain, in Cornwall, and Wales, with numerous examples in Scotland.⁸ They are of every period from the Flint Age to the Roman Conquest, while in Scotland they undoubtedly date to the legendary period of the sons of Huamora. Flint weapons have been found in Dun

¹ Mons Pirus. I have examined this fort since writing the present Paper. It is of small sandstone blocks, and much dilapidated and overgrown with oak and beech. It consists of a round fort, about 650 feet in diameter on the higher peak, with a crescent-shaped annexe to the south, whence a long loop of wall surrounds the southern peak. It measures over all about 2640 feet x 440 feet, a lesser area than Moghane. See plan, p. 147, fig. 23.

² The Vosges forts: see "Mémoires de la Soc. Royale des Ant. de France," vol. v., p. 106. Masonry like Langough, county Clare. Also *Ibid.*, vol. xii., p. 8.

³ "Dictionnaire Archéologique de Gaule époque Celtique," 1875. Deveher (Jura), p. 339. Cheteley, p. 284. Chateau Chalon, p. 271. Siesberg, p. 93. Also in Zurich, Birchweil, p. 162. Bassersdorf, p. 122. The Swiss forts are usually curved entrenchments across the necks of spurs.

⁴ "Mémoires de la Soc. Arch. et Hist. de la Moselle," 1859, p. 58; 1862, p. 275. "Dictionnaire Archéologique de la Gaule," Haspelscheidt, p. 5; Hommert, "ring" on isolated rock, p. 26. Laguille's "History of Alsace," vol. vii., and Soc. Ant., Normandy, 1835, p. 247, describe the great dry stone fort of Mont St. Odille.

⁵ "Dictionnaire Archéologique de la Gaule." La Cheppe (Marne), p. 283. Bar Sur Aube, p. 121. Baillu sur l'érain (Oise), p. 114. Arces (Yonne), p. 73. Champ Cevrais (same), p. 259.

⁶ "Société des Antiquaires de la Normandie," 1835, pp. 188, &c. "Entrenched enclosures on the banks of the Seine" (plates vi. and vii.). The fort of Bourdeville, 150 acres in extent, a great semicircle on the edge of a cliff, with radiating enclosures and great curved trenches, forming a second ring. A "Druidic" stone stands in the inner enclosure (plan, p. 147, fig. 26). Of somewhat similar plan is the great fort above Caudebec. On the opposite hill a large circular "rath" enclosed a Roman villa. M. Fallue, the author, does not consider the remains to be early Gaulish work, but as he does not take into account similar, though smaller forts, in places never held by Romans, or threatened by Saxons, we may hesitate to accept all his conclusions.

⁷ Henansal (Côte du Nord), p. 18 ("Dict. Arch.," as quoted). Langast (same), p. 66. Laz (Finistère), p. 78. Cléden (same), p. 291. Cléguère (Morbihan), p. 292.

⁸ For the British forts—Borlase's "Antiquities of Cornwall," pp. 346, 347. Mac Arthur's "Arran: Its Antiquities," &c., pp. 80-83. Roy's "Military Antiquities," plate xlviii. Martin's "Western Isles," 1703, pp. 34, 152. Proc. Soc. Ant., Scotland, 1886 to 1895; and our *Journal*, 1894, pp. 408, 416. George Chalmers' "Caledonia," vol. i., pp. 88, 92, 131. "Archæologia Cambrensis." "Archæological Journal." Pennant's "Tour in Wales," vol. ii. For Celtic invasion of the British Isles, see "Early Man in Britain" (Mr. W. B. Dawkins), p. 342.



Foreign, British, and Irish Forts.

Aenghus,¹ but iron objects were found in the walls of Cahercalla, Clare, and iron axes in Caherspeenaun on Lough Corrib. There are forts in France, Scotland, and in this island, as at Moytura-Cong, Deerpark, Co. Sligo, Ballykinvarga, and Tullycommene, Clare, and elsewhere associated with stone circles, cromlechs, and primitive burials,² while the furrowed and weatherworn tops of the pillars of the *chevaux-de-frise* of Dun Aenghus and Ballykinvarga testify to the long period which has passed since their erection.

On the other hand the Clare cahers are manifestly of very different periods, many are residential rather than defensive, resembling our enclosed yards rather than castles; others are not the hurried entrenchments of a small and hunted tribe, but the deliberately built citadels of a settled and powerful nation, fearing assault rather than siege. Antiquities found in their enclosures may have lain there long before the fort was built. If a great caher were erected in our day from the crag blocks, it would look venerable and antique even in the lifetime of its builders, for its materials would be already fretted with more ages of storms than have lashed the ramparts of Aenghus and Conor, while some of the churches of the eighth and ninth centuries³ are of more massive masonry and even more weatherbeaten than some of our forts. There is no hint that the buildings were regarded as unusual or non-Milesian; some bear Celtic proper names, even later than the eleventh century, and were used for ordinary residence through the Middle Ages to recent years.

In 1317 Donchad O'Brien, before the fatal battle of Coreomroe, did not leave "a man dwelling in an 'ooan'"⁴ (caher's souterrain) unsummoned to his army. Dromore Caher was inhabited 1569; Cahernacnaughten in 1675, and Caherballiny to 1839. As a result one is driven first to merely negative conclusions: (1), it is more than questionable whether any of these cahers are the work of Firbolgs who built none in their undisturbed settlements⁵ and had hardly leisure or resources to build the huge fortresses of Aran and Clare; (2), nor can they be the work of sea-rovers for the same reason, and the occurrence of many important cahers on mountains difficult of access from the sea;⁶ (3), nor by the Dal-cassian kings who never settled in the districts where they most abound,

¹ "Age of Dun Aenghus," by Dr. Colley March. Proc. Soc. Ant., London, vol. xv., 1894, p. 222; and our *Journal*, 1895, p. 257. "Early Man in Britain," p. 336.

² See Petrie's "Military Architecture," mss. R.I.A.; Dr. Fergusson's "Rude Stone Monuments," chap. v.; and Mr. Milligan on Sligo Forts, in our *Journal*, 1890-1891.

³ One Scotch dry stone fort is attributed to a certain Tuathal, who died 865.

⁴ Mr. Standish Hayes O'Grady first called my attention to the true meaning of this passage in the "Triumphs of Torlough." Cahers are still "Uamhs," "Ooans," and "Nooans" in Burren and Inchiquin.

⁵ In eastern Galway and Roscommon and around Emly. They rather figure as builders of earthen forts, e.g. Talti and Rath Croaghan.

⁶ In Mayo fifteen out of twenty-two are inland. We shall see how inaccessible were many forts in Clare.

and built none in the neighbourhood of their own residences¹; (4), nor by the Danes² for similar reasons; (5), nor by the monks, who in this district seldom attempted even a slight mound and ditch and left their chief monasteries unfenced in the open fields; (6), nor as cattlepens, to which such ramparts, terraces, and steps are unsuitable; (7), nor *primarily* as fortresses, for overhanging hills and want of water seem to have been matters of indifference to their builders.³ Where unquarried stone was so easily procured and in such suitable blocks⁴ it is probable that a series of cahers, necessarily in one nearly invariable style, were built, rebuilt, and repaired from early pagan times down perhaps to the fourteenth century, when they were superseded by square towers; the straight-sided cahers and mortar-built gateways in circular forts being transitional. The more elaborate forts are not necessarily the latest; they only imply better organisation and greater population. Moghane required the collection and laying of some 1,177,000 cubic feet of blocks, the average fort of at least 40,000 cubic feet. A group of six or more cahers (we shall examine several such groups) implies a much denser population than in the thirteenth century or even now; but it may equally imply that the country being overgrown and wild, men congregated into the cleared districts. O'Donovan⁵ noticed this in 1839, though he was a firm believer in the pagan origin of the Aran cahers and attributed Dubh Caher to 1000 B.C. "The Firbolgs were never more than a handful of men in Ireland, and it must have required a dense population and several centuries to erect all these cahirs."

The stone forts of Clare lie mainly in Burren and the adjoining parishes: most of the others in eastern Clare lie on two lines running more or less from the N.W.⁶ from the hills of Glasgeivnagh and Inchiquin to Cratloe Hill, all three being noted in pre-Christian tradition.⁷ The

¹ The Grianan Lachtna is of earth, though convenient slate blocks lay loose to hand, and indeed were used for the base of the inner building. Balboruma is entirely of earth (see our *Journal*, 1893, p. 191). In face of this fact, it is more probable that the great cahers in Tradree were dismantled and useless before the Danish wars, in which they played no recorded part, than that Brian, or his successors, undertook such vast works to the neglect of their own residences.

² See, first, Giraldus Cambrensis, "Topog. Hib.," III. 37, who states that the Danes made "entrenchments both deep and circular, for the most part triple"; also Martin's "Western Islands," 1703, p. 34; Lady Chatterton's "Rambles in South of Ireland," vol. i., p. 280; Borlase, "Cornwall," &c.

³ I must allude to the strange theory that they were places for games or combats. We find it in White's "Tour in Scotland," 1769, p. 273; Vallancey's "Tract on Staig Fort"; Scott's "Marmion"; the "Legend of Moghane" in our *Journal*, 1893, p. 281, and in Bohemia, in Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot., 1868-70, p. 158.

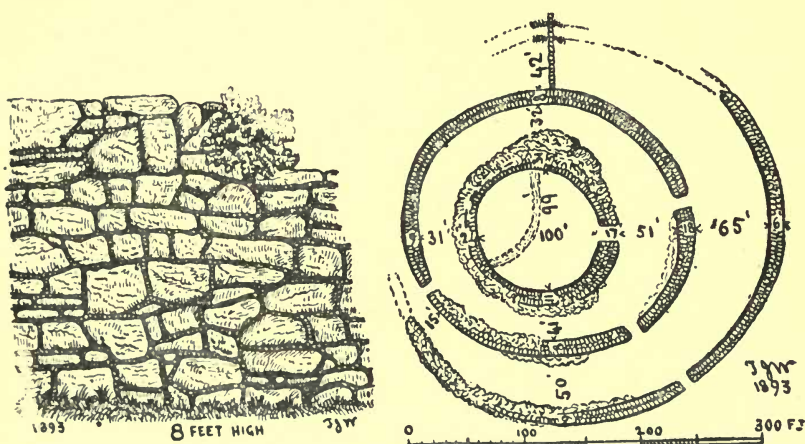
⁴ Too much stress is often laid on style of masonry or questions of material; both depended on the facilities of getting stone and the natural cleavage of the blocks.

⁵ "Ordnance Survey Letters, Clare," p. 187.

⁶ This also occurs in Scotland (see "Forts and Camps of Dumfries," by Dr. D. Christison). "Two broad lines of forts appear to cross Annandale from east to west, and nearly half of the Eskdale forts occur in a band running N.E. and S.W."—Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland, 1890-1891, p. 203.

⁷ On the more northern line are Cahereen, Caherlough, Cahernavillare, Cahermacrea, Cahershaughnessy, and Cahercalla; also the mounds of Inauguration of Magh

only noteworthy group in the S.W. is that of Loop Head. Though excelled by the Duns in Aran (which, however, belonged to Clare till the later part of the sixteenth century, and were evidently built by the same race as those in the Burren) their number enables us to form a more accurate notion as to what is exceptional and what commonplace in the former and in others of our cahers. The traces of structures in their enclosures, if we except the oval cloghans and the souterrains, are probably fences round wooden houses. Cahermacnaughten and, perhaps, Ballyallavan have foundations of late mediæval buildings. The older residences must have been groups of huts with cup-shaped roofs of wicker and thatch, such as we see in the Gaulish huts on the Antonine



Cahercalla, near Quin.

column. The walls were of wood and clay, decorated at times with carved yew posts, bronze studs, and designs in colours and lime; the outer rampart was often whitewashed,¹ lime being used for the purpose before being used for mortar. We find round pits perhaps the bases of wooden huts (the Germans made wooden souterrains, possibly the Irish

Adhair: see for these our *Journal*, 1890–1891, p. 463; 1893, pp. 287, 432. On the second line lie Caheragaleagh, Cahergurraun, Moghane, and Langough (see our *Journal*, 1893, pp. 281, 284); for the other forts see *infra*. As I did not then illustrate the interesting triple fort of Cahercalla, I give here its plan and masonry; it needs little other explanation, its steps and terraces, if it ever had any, being defaced. If triple walls mark a royal fort, its nearness to the place of inauguration implies its importance, and the comparative preservation of its rudely-built and small masonry suggests a rebuilding in later times. It may be safely asserted that it was never a permanent royal residence since A.D. 840. The finding of iron objects in its walls has been already noticed. In the adjoining townland of Creevaghbeg is a very perfect but featureless caher, 84 feet internal diameter; walls, 7 and 8 feet thick; door, E.N.E.

¹ Introduction to O'Curry's "Manners and Customs," pp. 298, 303, and vol. iii., p. 11.

occasionally did the same), for timber was more plentiful even on the heights of Burren when such names as Ardross, Behagh, Feenagh, and Killoghil were first adopted than in 1652 when Ludlow made his grim joke, "There is not wood enough to hang a man."

This Paper is intended to collect facts rather than to advance theories. Baffled in our search into the records, lost in the mazes of tradition, and getting no certain answer from the forts, we must lay up careful descriptions for that future scholar who can answer the riddle of the ruins. For the rabbit-catcher and road-contractor are overthrowing the walls, and even where conserved they have too often been rashly modernized; "palaces and castles," it has been said, "are more attractive objects in ruins than in complete repair." I cannot pretend to describe even the most interesting of some 400 forts, nor to give popular accounts of bardic glories, "duns, snow white, with roofs striped crimson and blue, chariots . . . bearing the warrior and his charioteer," for such fall as little as landscape-drawing within the scope of this Paper; but I hope to help better antiquaries than myself in their libraries, and to save them on their journeys from the disappointment of taking a long and weary drive to find some fort attractive and conspicuous on the map reduced to mere heaps of featureless moss-grown stones.

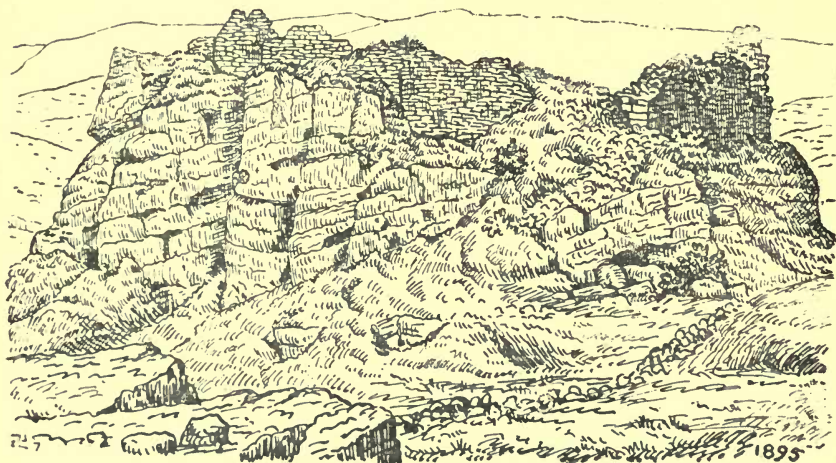
INCHIQVIN BARONY.—KILNABOY PARISH.

TULLYCOMMANE¹ (Ord. Sheet 10).—Turning off from the main road to Kilfenora, on the rising ground north of Kilnaboy Church, we enter a very wild district, and ascending, in zigzags, a steep hill, a bastion of the great Glasgeivnagh rampart, the true edge of Burren, we reach a plateau, with a glorious view over Inchiquin Lake to Moghane fort and Cratloe. The road turns northward, at one time through low bushes and mossy rocks, at another, unenclosed, through sheets of shining grey crags, like the waves of some vast lake of stone; past the cromlechs and cairns of Leanna, till we drop sharply from the table-land into the deep rugged gorge of Glencurraun. We may conjecture this to be the "blind valley of Burren," Caechan Boirne—"constant the road of the king"—named in the Book of Rights. Perhaps "the road of the king" is Boher namie righ (of the king's sons), running to the foot of these hills. No other valley suits the term Caechan, and possesses a triple (or royal) fort to meet the requirement of the venerable record. It is a curious coincidence that Dermot O'Brien's army, in 1317, took this very route, up the Boher, over the white crags of Mullachgall, through "Leanna's dairy land," and "along the fastness-begirt tracks," on their way to the battle

¹ The map form "Tullycommon" is deceptive, "Chuman" appearing both in the local form and the "Tulach Chumann" of the "Four Masters." Lord Dunraven vaguely locates the two great forts "between Clifden and Termon" ("Notes," vol. i., p. 17). The 6-inch Map only gives "Glencrawne cave."

of Corcomroe Abbey. The probability is increased when we find in the same poem with "Caechan Boirne," the fort of Kilfenora and Inchiquin hill (Ceann Nathrach).

CASHLAUN GAR.—At the entrance of Glencurraun rise two great natural domes of limestone, and on the nearer,¹ towering over the road, we see the broken walls of Cashlaun Gar like the acropolis of some lost city. Climbing, with some difficulty, up the steep slope, over heaps of stone that are slipping down the hill, we stand in the interior in deep grass and moss covering rough crags and treacherous fissures. To the N.W. side are the remains of three cloghauns, so ruined that we cannot trace the entire face of their walls; a fourth stands in the very centre of the enclosure opposite the eastern gate. They were probably thatched and not vaulted, as

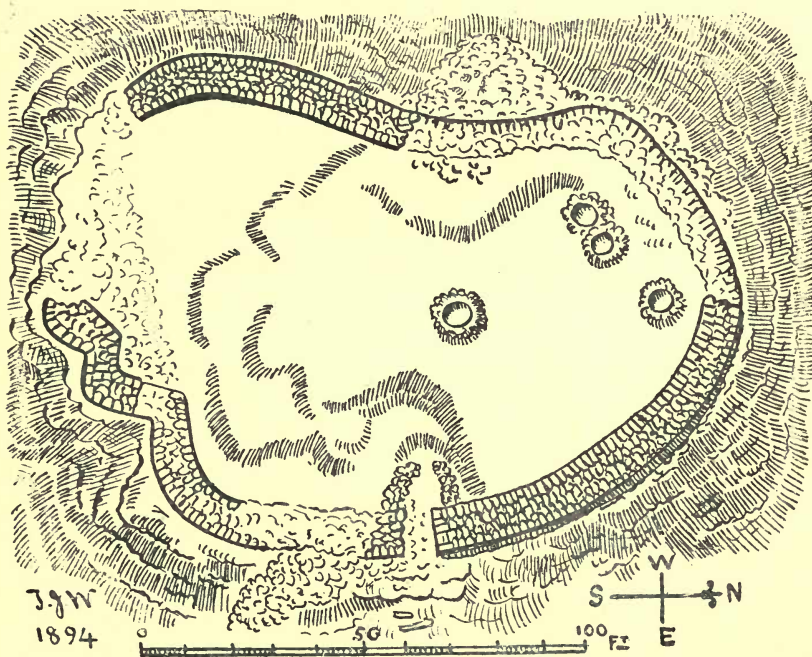


Cashlaun Gar, from S.E.

the walls are slight, and no great quantity of stones appear. The ramparts are well built of long blocks, with upright joints at intervals, attaining their greatest height of 13 feet 6 inches to the north, and from 9 feet to 10 feet thick, increasing at the gateway to 11 feet 8 inches, with two faces and large blocks for filling. A long reach to the N.E. is 8 feet high. It ends in the well-built north pier of the gate, the south pier being much injured. The gate faces E.N.E., and opens on the edge of a precipitous slope and a rock 10 feet high, sheltering a badger's den. The inhabitants must have entered the fort by ladders, which suggests the theory that some cahers with no gates were entered

¹ The Proceedings, Soc. Ant., Scotland, 1888-1889, p. 400, gives several forts in Lorne in similar positions.

by similar means; and if the ancient builders¹ used wooden scaffolds, the construction of a ladder would have been easy. At the foot of the slope lie long fragments of stone, probably the broken lintels of the gate. The fort is very irregular, being 133 feet 6 inches north and south, and 76 feet east and west internally. The south wall has two re-entrant angles, dipping in 5 feet, in 19 feet, and 6 feet 9 inches, in 29 feet. They are beautifully constructed to cling, with unnecessary accuracy, to the edge of the perpendicular cliff. There is a similar but more shallow dip, in the west rampart, much of which has fallen.

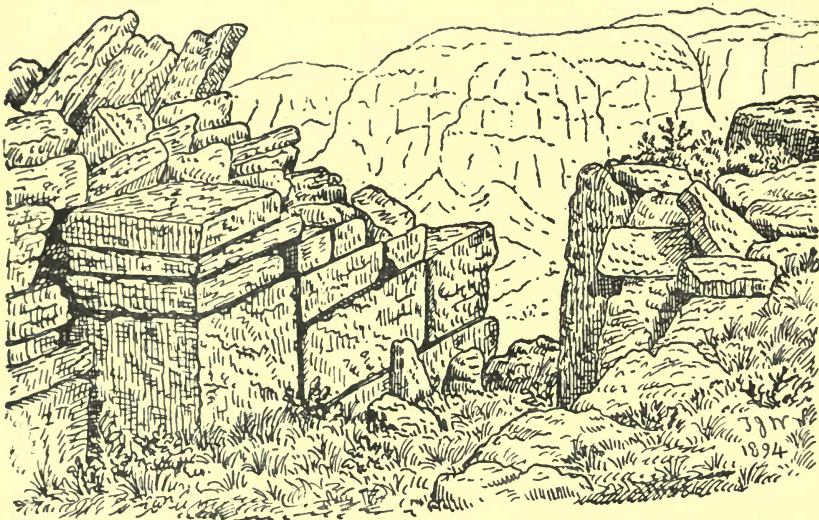


Plan of Cashlaun Gar.

LOWER FORT.—On the opposite edge of the table-land, and across the valley, about 300 feet from Cashlaun Gar, is a straight-sided enclosure, irregular, and somewhat diamond-shaped, 153 feet north and south, and 135 feet east and west internally. It is much defaced, the walls only 3 feet 6 inches thick, and about 5 feet at the highest part, being built of long “stretchers,” several 8 feet 6 inches long, and in parts cyclopean in

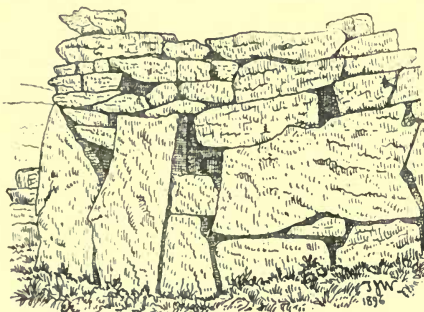
¹ Book of Lecan: “Active Garvan proceeded to work with art [on Grianan Aileach] and to chip. Imcheall placed a scaffold.”—Ordnance Survey, Templemore.

character. The S.W. corner is rounded, and constructed with a facing of large stones set on end. It may have been a cattle enclosure.



Gateway, Cashlaun Gar.

CAHERCOMMANE TRIPLE FORT.—Following the windings of the glen for about half a mile, we find on the edge of a lofty and steep cliff, opposite which another huge dome rises, a large and very interesting fort, remarkably like Dun Aenghus, though its cliff overhangs a narrow gorge instead of the vast swirling abyss of foam-flecked sea beneath the Aran fortress.¹



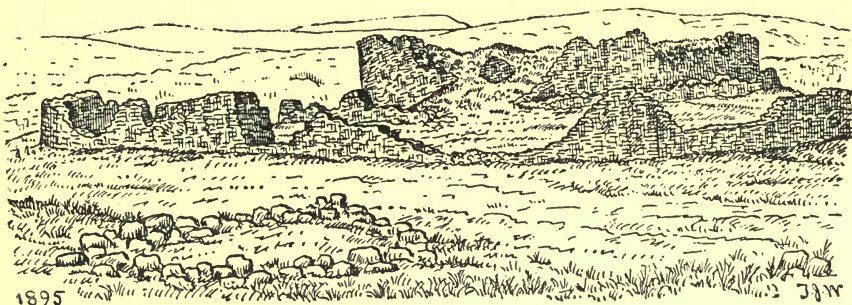
Masonry in Lower Fort.

The outer wall is entirely destroyed for 24 feet from the cliff, both on the east and west sides, much of it is 7 feet or 8 feet high, and 8 feet thick. It has two faces, well bonded, with several

upright joints. Near one of these, to the south, the inner face has been

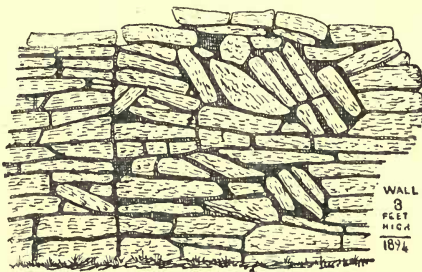
¹ We find forts of similar plan at Dunriachy ("Archæol. Scot.," iv., p. 199); Dalmakeddar and Erickstane, Dumfries, and Twyholm, Kircudbright (Proc. Soc. Ant., Scotland, 1890-1891, p. 234; 1892-1893, p. 136), in Scotland; Bourdeville and Caudebec, though vastly larger (Soc. Ant. Normandy), in France; and at Bény ("Congrès Internat., Buda-Pesth," 1876, pp. 62, 63), in Hungary. See plans, p. 147, figs. 1 to 5 and 26.

rebuilt, the stones being laid slope-wise, with flat blocks here and there to prevent their slipping. The wedge-shape of many of the stones helps this



Cahercommane Triple Fort.

arrangement. Similarly we see a course like a flat arch in the inner caher, and in some of the other Clare forts.¹ Against the wall were built several small huts of uncertain date; and the foundations of an oval cloghaun,² 27 feet \times 18 feet, lie 54 feet outside, and S.E. of the fort. The enclosure between the outer and second wall varies, being 54 feet west, 50 feet south, and 60 feet east.³ It is crossed by several radiating walls much overthrown. The southern runs from the central caher to the outer wall, where is a very small hut or kennel.



Masonry, Cahercommane.

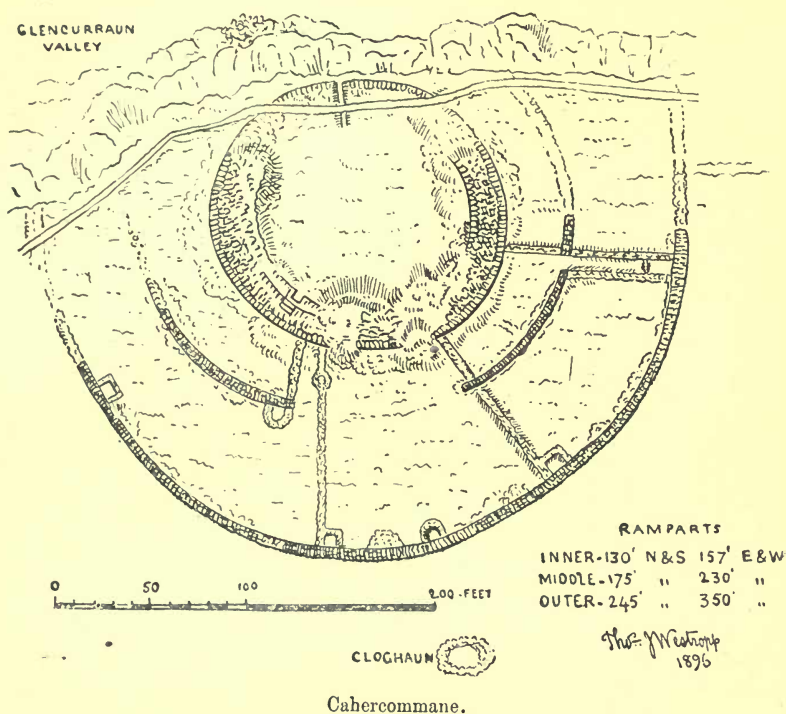
It enclosed a round hut in the second enclosure. A parallel wall forms a passage with it across the latter space only, and a second hut is built to the left of the opening against the outer face of the second rampart. The second radiating wall runs across both enclosures; the third and fourth are parallel, forming a passage 6 ft. wide from the second to the outer rampart,

¹ See illustration of Caherscrebeen, *infra*. As a clue to the origin of upright joints we find provision made in the "Seachas Mor," iv., p. 123, for the employment of joint labour on the enclosure round a dwelling. Evidently each section of the wall was entrusted to a different gang.

² Mr. Seaton Milligan, in our *Journal*, 1890-1891, p. 579, describes a small "fort," 29 feet in diameter, lying 25 feet outside the second cashel of Deerpark.

³ In the "Leabhar Breac" there is a curious description of the Heavenly City, evidently founded on the recollection of a triple caher. It is surrounded by three ramparts, each $\frac{1}{3}$ rd larger than the next inner enclosure. Within is the square city, with four gates, and a flowering lawn in front of each.—"Todd Lecture Series," R.I.A., vol. iii., No. 830.

the more northern crossing the second enclosure to the caher, and in every case the walls are sufficiently perfect to show that no gate existed at either end of either passage. Lord Dunraven suggests that the northern one was covered; but it only ran along the surface, and there are no traces of flags or corbelling, so it remains a problem. Perhaps these huts and cross-walls may represent the work of herdsmen long after the caher was deserted. The district for five hundred years¹ has been much used for grazing. The outer rampart runs for 60 feet north of the passage,



about 18 feet from which the ground sinks into a regular area from the inner caher for at least 100 feet outside of the fort.

The second rampart is 5 feet thick, and 3 feet or 4 feet high; it lies 30 feet from the caher, is better built, and seems to have been disused and partly demolished when the outer rampart was constructed. The central caher is massive and imposing, whether seen from the road or from the depth of the glen, rising like a great knoll of rock against the sky. It is 12 feet high at the east, and 14 feet to the south, being

¹ "Leanna's dairy lands." "Burren's hilly, grey expanse of jagged points and slippery steeps, flowing with milk, and yielding luscious grass."—(Magrath's "Triumphs of Torlough," 1317, and the cattle tributes in the "Book of Rights").

there fairly perfect, but leaning out. It is of rude masonry, from 20 feet to 22 feet thick, and had at least one terrace, which has a recess, probably for a ladder, whence shallow steps built of flags led to a second platform, or to the summit. The north side has fallen down the cliff, but a rock-cut passage, 3 feet wide, crosses its base, and probably formed the only gate of the caher. The enclosures measure respectively—the inner, 85 feet north and south; 113 feet 4 inches east and west internally; 130 feet¹ and 157 feet externally. The second 175 feet × 230 feet externally, the outer about 350 feet along the cliff × 245 feet deep.

On the opposite ridge lie two circular enclosures, one coarsely built and nearly overthrown, the second, of very regular masonry, called Cahereenmoyle, its wall only a few feet high. It is scarcely possible to conceive surroundings more desolate and melancholy than those of Glencurraun. The pale flat ridges shutting out the more distant view; the dark glen and ghastly sheets of grey rock, rendering more dismal the storm-worn ruins—homes of tribes, forgotten with the kings and rulers of the earth—"Qui ædificant sibi solitudines."

(To be continued.)

¹ By later examination, I find that it probably extended to a ridge 8 feet in advance of the present remains, *i.e.* up to 138 feet north and south.

ON "HOLED" AND PERFORATED STONES IN IRELAND.

BY W. FRAZER, F.R.C.S.I.; VICE-PRESIDENT;
HONORARY FELLOW, SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND.

THE Pillar Stones of Ireland appear to fulfil all the important functions they are alleged to be applied to in other lands. They serve for boundaries to separate neighbouring tribes and districts; to commemorate the sites of long-forgotten battle-fields, and the tombs of departed heroes; to symbolize revered spiritual existences once worshipped or dreaded, such as that group of pillar-stones on the plains of Magh Sleaght in the present county of Cavan, which were overthrown by St. Patrick and his disciples, and alleged to be devoted to Crom-cruach and his twelve subordinate deities. They are also still popularly considered to exemplify that worship of generative power which prevails to the present day in India and many other lands; and the traditional legendary belief regarding their influence over women for obtaining favourable results during their confinements, and over men in securing progeny, is, if not widespread amongst us, at least far from extinct or altogether disbelieved. Their benefits in curing infantile diseases, and the maladies from which cattle suffer, are no less firmly accepted in many districts. That some of these stones are "lucky" is considered an indisputable fact, for, in this city of Dublin, at the Church of St. Audöen's, one of our earlier ecclesiastical structures, was such a "lucky stone," itself an ancient tomb-stone, which many of the humbler class of traders would reverently kiss before venturing to engage in their daily occupations, being firmly convinced that it was endowed with supernatural properties, until it disappeared not many years since, being removed by a Catholic clergyman.

The frequency with which Christian emblems and inscriptions were placed on such pillar-stones, when missionaries first began to instruct the Irish people, must be ascribed to the belief that by so doing they were not alone symbolizing the triumph of their new and better faith over older superstitions, but also to the mystic influence they exercised in neutralising any remaining powers for evil which might be present in the stones themselves. One of the numerous Irish names they bore, that of "Ailethri," is an evidence of their distinctive religious character, for it signifies a pilgrimage or special ceremony performed for penance, derived from the words "Ail," a great upright stone or Dallon, and "Triallim" to go round or perform the "Desuil" or sacred turn following the sun's course, once observed in the sacred rights paid to idols and consecrated

places in pagan times, and still practised in pilgrimages to many places up to the present time.

There is a special class of our Irish Dallans or pillar-stones distinguished by having perforations of larger or smaller size, which are considered to be endowed, in a marked degree, with such supernatural and sacred influences, and as a contribution to their more successful future investigation, it appears desirable to obtain a list more or less perfect of such as are best known to us, trusting that future observers will aid in extending and perfecting this record. Careful measurements are needed, and compass bearings of their positions, even respecting many of these stones already known to us; and all traditions or "folk-lore" tales relating to their past history should be collected. The number known to me is disappointing, being so few; for I hoped and expected to obtain information about many others. There are two distinct varieties or classes of our Irish perforated stones which appear to require separate consideration. One of these is distinguished by the apertures being of large size; they appear to belong to a far earlier and prehistoric age; and it is to such that sacred and medicinal properties are principally to be ascribed. The other series is that with smaller perforations, perhaps passing through the adjacent edges of the stone, not from surface to surface; and there are strong reasons for surmising that such are the work of a later period, and referable to Christian times. How far such a division is correct must be decided by future investigations.

No. 1. CLOGH-A-PHOILL, two miles south of Tullow, parish of Aghade, is a pillar of granite about twelve feet high and four broad, having an aperture near the top. Ryan, in his "History of Carlow," in 1833, says the stone is now thrown from its perpendicular, and up to twenty years previous it was a practice with the peasantry to pass ill-thriven children through the aperture to cure them; his informant was a woman who had passed one of her infants through the opening, the measurements of which are not given. A legend is connected with it of Eochaid, son of Enna, King of Leinster, who escaped from Tara from Niall of the Nine Hostages. He fled homewards, and being refused refuge by Laidgrinn, a poet, he burned the man's house. King Niall demanding his surrender he was brought to his camp at Ath Fadat near Tullow, and fastened by chains to this stone. Attacked by nine of Niall's soldiers, he broke the chain and killed his assailants, whereupon being joined by the Leinster men they defeated Niall's forces. This story is related in the "Book of Ballymote"; and, in 1841, Eugene O'Curry, visiting the alleged site of these events, found there a small field with several small graves formed of flag-stones which he considered confirmatory of the old historic legend. See Royal Irish Academy's *Proceedings*, vol. v., p. 359.

No. 2. THE "DOAGH STONE" (County Antrim).—About one mile distant from the village of Doagh, Kilbride Parish, on the townland of

Ballyvernish. It is a slab of whinstone standing 5 feet above ground, 2 feet 6 inches wide at base, and about 2 inches thick. The perforation is small, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, central, and situated about 3 feet from the ground.

It is figured in *Dublin Penny Journal* for 1832-3, and in *Gentleman's Magazine*, December, 1864. A recent photograph differs in some details from these woodcuts.

No. 3. AT CASTLEDERMOT (Co. Kildare).—This church is termed Disert Diarmada or St. Dermot's Hermitage. The holed stone stands at head of a modern grave on south-east side of the graveyard. It is a granite pillar (a common stone in the district), 3 feet high, 1 foot 2 inches wide and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. The opening is 5 inches in diameter, placed about the junction of upper and middle third of stone. On its eastern side, from the top, reaching nearly to its lower border, is a Latin cross, the transverse arms extending to the edges of the stone; there is a circular ring joining the arms, and surrounding the perforation; the opposite or western side of the stone is plain. Lord Walter Fitzgerald recorded its history and gave a figure of it in this *Journal*, vol. ii., 5th Series, p. 69. Vallancey mistook some of the lines of the cross on it for Ogham markings, and his errors were copied into subsequent descriptions. Of such Lord Walter mentions *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1864; Marcus Keane's misleading work on the "Towers and Temples of Ireland"; J. B. Waring's "Monuments, Tumuli, and Ornaments of Remote Ages"; and the *Dublin Penny Journal*, 1831-2.

Similar inaccurate and misleading statements about Irish Holed Stones are of too common occurrence; even the representations of them are often seriously erroneous. Lord W. Fitzgerald's Paper is so complete and accessible that I refer to it for further details. At present this stone is imbedded about 6 inches in the earth. It is locally termed "The Swearing Stone," but any use implied by the name appears now obsolete.

No. 4. LACKENDARRAGH (Parish of Kilcolman, Cork) (Ordnance Map, Sheet 41).—"About one mile south of the stage of the Kanturk Car, at west side of road, standing within the entrance of an ancient square keel (or grave enclosure), at the side of a low fence now destroyed, and a few feet north of it, having a cave such as is common in old forts. The fort also destroyed." (From Mr. Windele's ms. Papers in Library, Royal Irish Academy.)

This stone is 4 feet 5 inches high, 2 feet 3 inches broad and 1 foot thick; at its upper part it tapers to a ridge; the aperture is about 1 inch in diameter, and passes through an angle of the stone at the base of the ridge about 1 foot from the top of the monolith. Mr. Windele gives a sketch that differs in details from the woodcut published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1864, which purports to be copied from his drawing. I find Mr. Windele's sketches are to be relied on.

This appears to belong to a class of small perforations made in stones, differing from those of large size which extend through the entire thickness of the slab; they are referable to more recent times and are probably of Christian origin.

No. 5. LARAGHBRYAN (near Maynooth).—I am indebted to Lord Walter Fitzgerald for photograph and description of this stone. It is used as a headstone, and the upper part appears cut to adapt it to the usual appearance of modern gravestones. Its material is granite, full length 4 feet 4 inches, breadth 2 feet 6 inches, and in thickness $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The aperture is central, diameter 8 inches across; from the base and sides of the stone run straight incised lines, apparently made by sharpening some metal implement. Above the perforation is I.H.S., with initials W.H., and date, 1769, the year it may have been appropriated as a headstone. The back is plain. Lord Walter unearthed this stone in 1892, previous to which it was imbedded up to the date, and the perforation invisible.

A woodcut in *Dublin Penny Journal*, ascribed to "Castledermot," was intended to represent this Laraghbryan stone, but neither the stone itself or the locality are correctly given.

No. 6. GLENDALOUGH.—The late G. V. Du Noyer made two drawings of this stone—one is preserved in the first volume of his folio sketches in the Royal Irish Academy and the other in volume vi. of the series belonging to the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. When he drew it the stone stood at the base of the Round Tower in the graveyard of the Cathedral. It was said to have been removed to the chancel of the Church of the Trinity or the "Ivy Church." I understand that a couple of years ago it was no longer there, and a stone of a quern is now in the place indicated.

It measured 3 feet 3 inches above ground, was 1 foot 5 inches broad; the aperture central at the junction of the upper third of the stone with the lower two-thirds, and from the drawing appears about 2 inches in diameter.

No. 7. INISCALTRA (Holy Island), situated in Lough Derg above Killaloe.—In the principal church, Tempul Caimin, used for interments, is a holed stone, 3 feet 6 inches high and 15 inches wide. It is perforated in the centre of the upper part by a small hole. The top of the stone is broken off and a rude attempt at representing a cross, scratched round the aperture. (See *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1864.)

No. 8. MANISTER KIERAN (Island of Aran).—I obtained from Mr. T. J. Westropp an accurate drawing of this stone, of which 3 feet 6 inches are above ground; it measures nearly 15 inches wide. The aperture is at its upper part, 2 inches in diameter; beneath is a circle of double lines, 1 foot across, reaching nearly to the sides of the slab; below this is a cross, its

centre about 2 feet 6 inches from the upper edge of stem, its arms contracted and surrounded by a small incised double circle seven inches in diameter, so that it resembles the earlier Irish Cross, but beyond the circle its arms are expanded, the shorter reaching to the edges of the stone and the longer downwards to the ground and above to the larger circle; as it approaches this circle it expands into a small square and terminates in small volutes, inside of which the larger upper circle also ends in similar volutes, thus forming a peculiar distinctive ornamentation.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wood-Martin states that it stands 5 feet above ground, and gives a woodcut of it in his "Rude Stone Monuments" which differs from Mr. Westropp's figure in some details, but the later drawing was taken with special accuracy and care. O'Donovan mentions that superstitious rites were held in connexion with this stone; he gives no particulars. In 1878, a fisherman said he knew of clothes being drawn through the aperture for curing sore limbs. See "Visit of Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland in June, 1895," in *Journal*, 1895, p. 262.

No. 9. CUSHENDAL (Antrim).—I can ascertain nothing of this stone, which is reported to have been destroyed sometime since.

No. 10. KILMALKEDAR (Co. Kerry).—Du Noyer has figured a stone with an Ogham inscription in his first folio volume of drawings in the Royal Irish Academy. This monolith stands in the churchyard, is 5 feet 6 inches high, its sides measure respectively 5, 9, 8 and 6 inches in width. It has inscribed Ogham on three of its vertical angles. (See Paper by J. Romilly Allen, Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, vol. ii., 5th Series, p. 255, for description and representation of this stone.) The perforation is near the top of the pillar; no measurements are given, but from the drawing it appears rather more than 2 inches in diameter.

No. 11. ROSCAM (Oranmore, Co. Galway).—This stone is in the churchyard. Du Noyer has given a drawing of it in Petrie's "Ordnance Series of Drawings," vol. ii., in the Royal Irish Academy, of which I have made a copy, and I am much indebted to Mr. T. J. Westropp for his careful sketch and measurements. It is a fine example of a true "Holed Stone," standing 2 feet 4 inches above ground; there is no record how much remains concealed in the earth. Its width varies from 12 to 16 inches, broadest above; the slab is 4 inches thick. The aperture measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches across, it is not placed centrally; on the left side it is distant 4 inches from the side of the stone, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the right side. It is also $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the top of the slab.

No. 12. KILCANANAGH (Inishmaan, South Isles of Aran).—I am also indebted to Mr. Westropp for a drawing of this stone, a rude, irregularly-shaped slab, 3 feet high, and at base 3 feet 6 inches wide. As drawn, the opening, which is nearly central, would appear to be about 4 inches in diameter—measurement not given.

No. 13. DEVENISH ISLAND (Lough Erne).—Mr. Wakeman gives a drawing on a small scale of this stone in our *Journal*, vol. iii., 4th Series, page 82. It is remarkable that the stone is not mentioned in any of the usual descriptions of this island. The description is that of a stone about as broad as it is high, and the opening of considerable size, tapering to a small aperture, which is not a common feature. Mr. Wakeman has omitted to mention its exact location amongst the ruins.

No. 14. CLOC-NA-PEACAIB.—The Sinners' Stone, *Kilquhane*, Co. Cork, described by Mr. Windele, and figured by him in a ms. "Topography of Desmond," in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. He records his journey to see this stone from Cork through Blarney, Garrycloyne, Newcastle, and Ballymorisheen, to Kilquhane Church. The monolith is situated in part of a field, dissevered by a road from the church-field, and to the north of it, on the ascent of the hill. A man who lived near stated it was formerly located a little higher up the ascent, and that "women used to draw clothes through the hole," when approaching their confinement, to secure a favourable result. Mr. Windele states a similar practice is followed in some districts of drawing clothes through the perforated arms of ancient stone-crosses.

Mr. Windele describes it as about 6 feet high, 2 feet 4 inches across, and "of inconsiderable thickness." From his drawing, which is carefully sketched, one side would appear from approximate measurement to be nearly 1 foot wide; this is on the left side of the stone, and on it is the opening placed, nearly centrally, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the ground. The edges are much worn, so that it occupies about half the surface of the slab, but decreases to a diameter of 3 or 4 inches. It appears to pass obliquely through the stone to its posterior surface, and Mr. Windele states that in the direction of the hole the stone slopes off. I understand it consists of dark-reddish sandstone. The drawing of it in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1864, differs in details from Mr. Windele's drawing.

In Du Noyer's drawings, Royal Irish Academy, first volume, is a stone similarly named and described as being at Kilquhane: see also *Proceedings*, Royal Irish Academy, vol. vii., page 261, which states it is a slab of dark-red grit, 4 feet 6 inches high, standing in the graveyard of the old church of Kilquain, near Mallow, county Cork. It is called by the people "the Sinners' Stone, and is perforated on one side by a large hole. I cannot help thinking that this and other similarly pierced pillar stones were simply whipping-posts, and not so much for secular as for ecclesiastical offenders." He adds: "I should like to know if the discipline or punishment of Public Whipping was recognised by the early Irish Church either before or after the Synod of Thurles." Du Noyer's sketches, I believe, are usually very accurate; so it would appear from measuring the slab that it is about 1 foot 9 inches wide, and

the aperture 6 inches across. It is represented somewhat above the middle of the stone and close to its right side.

No. 15. REASK (Co. Kerry).—In a Calluragh burying-ground, a place considered to date from pagan times, unconsecrated and still used for burying unbaptized infants, one mile east of Ballyferriter, is a pillar stone about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and upwards of 1 foot broad. It has a cross inscribed on it of the modified Græco-Irish type; that is, the perpendicular limbs are twice and a-half as long as those disposed transversely. This cross measures 1 foot 4 inches in length, and above the cross “is a quaint and unintelligible ornament, which may be likened to a crown.” In the centre of this is a round perforation measuring about an inch in diameter.

See a drawing by Du Noyer, in vol. i., folio sketches, Royal Irish Academy.

No. 16. BALLYFERRITER, on the Dingle Road, Kerry. Figured in Du Noyer's drawings, vol. i., in the Royal Irish Academy; there is a woodcut of it in vol. ii., 5th Series of the *Journal of Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, page 269, where it is described, “Inscribed Stone at Reask, Co. Kerry.” I retain Du Noyer's description of the locality as the earlier record. He gives a brief account in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. vii., page 253 :—

“The ornamental Pillar Slab, 5 feet high, is perfectly unique and striking from the classic elegance of design in its carvings. It stands in a ‘calluragh’ burying-ground, one mile east of Ballyferriter, on the Dingle Road. The upper ornament is a Greek Cross, brought out in slight depresso and enclosed in a circle, the space between the arms being ornamented with quaint crook-like devices. The lowest member of the cross has a long slender shaft leading from it, and terminating in a simple right-and-left scroll. At either side of this shaft, S-shaped scrolls of purely Greek design pass downwards, and terminate in a straight line, which cuts the base of the shaft at right angles. On the left side of the stone there are three letters D.N.E. carved in a bold manner, and in the *uncial character*, doubtless a contraction of the word *Domine*. The top left-hand corner is pierced with a small hole. I believe this carving to be the work of the seventh or eighth century.”

The orifice of the perforation is about 2 inches in diameter close to upper edge of the stone on left-hand side. There is a lithograph of this stone made for Mr. Windele, in Cork, which does not show the perforation, and is marked—INSCRIBED STONE AT REASK, NEAR DINGLE.

No. 17. AGHACORRIBLE.—A small hamlet of three or four houses in the townland of Ardmore near Dingle.

The drawing of this stone is due to Mr. J. Windele: see vol. ii. of his Supplement MS., p. 358, in the Royal Irish Academy. He figures

it lying prostrate in a gap; it measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by 2 feet 9 inches wide, and 1 foot thick, narrowing to an edge of about 2 or 3 inches at the side where the perforation is found, which is close to where the stone rests on the ground, about the junction of the upper three-fourths of the stone with its lower part; to judge from the drawing, some part of the stone appears sunk below the surface of the soil. The hole is 5 inches in diameter, diminishing to 1 inch at its narrowest part.

No. 18. KINNEIGH (Co. Cork).—Also described by Mr. Windele: see vol. xv., MS. on Cork West and North-West, Royal Irish Academy. It is placed over a gully bridge at Kinneigh; the hole is carried through the stone, and is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. It was removed from some place which Mr. Windele failed to discover to its present situation, and he adds, "The man who removed it had no great luck."

No. 19. KILFOUNTAIN (Cill Fintain, Co. Cork).—Mentioned by Mr. Wakeman in his work on Inismurray, page 75, but not described. Can this be a place of the same name, Parish of Kildrum, Corkaguiny, Kerry? I cannot find a locality so termed in Co. Cork or any account of a holed stone such as referred to.

No. 20. KILBARRY (Termon-Barry on the Shannon).—Mr. Wakeman has given this as the locality of a holed stone which I have failed to identify.

No. 21. INISKEEN (Co. Monaghan).—Also mentioned by Mr. Wakeman. I have not succeeded in getting any description of a holed stone here.

No. 22. SLIGO.—A remarkable stone called Cloc Breac, 'the speckled stone,' and Cloc Lia, 'the grey stone,' which appears to be a primitive boundary mark of the junction of three old parishes, St. John's, Killaspugbrone, and Kilnacowen.

Petrie, in a MS., in Royal Irish Academy, on Sligo and its Archæological remains, describes it as follows:—"A remarkable pierced pillar-stone which may have been monumental and of contemporaneous erection [with the Sligo stone circles, &c.]. It is a flag of limestone set on edge 9 feet broad and 9 feet above the earth, perforated artificially to present a square hole *measuring about a foot*. It is popularly termed Cloc-breac, 'the speckled stone,' and is at the mearing of three townlands as a boundary mark. A little to its south is a well, Tober na Fian, 'the well of the warriors.' It is not resorted to as a Holy Well, and has no Christian traditions."

Lieut.-Colonel Wood-Martin, in his work on "Rude Stone Monuments," states that "the district where three parishes join was designated Cuil-irra; the stone is 9 feet in height and 10 feet broad above the ground." Towards the east end this flagstone is pierced by a squarish or rather oblong perforation *three feet in length by two feet in breadth*. On

inquiry from Lieut.-Colonel Wood-Martin he informs me that his measurements are accurate, such as might be assumed from an officer of artillery accustomed to strict observation, but he regretted to say those recorded by Petrie respecting many of the Sligo monuments were only approximations, not the result of strict linear surveying. Even so, the difference between 3 feet of an aperture and 1 foot only of transverse measure is difficult to understand, unless some amateur archæologist had enlarged the opening after Mr. Petrie's visit.

There is a woodcut representing this stone in Lieut.-Colonel Wood-Martin's work. It was visited recently by the Society, and many of its Members passed through the aperture, which is 3 feet long, by 2 feet to 2½ feet in height: this is its latest measurement.

No. 23. DOONBEG FORT, Dingle.—Described by Mr. Windele. A holed stone of coarse sandstone of irregular shape, 4 feet 4 inches in length at base, and somewhat above half this measurement at top; its height 2 feet 5 inches; a perforation 4½ inches in diameter is seen about midway from its base, at the junction of one-fourth of the stone with its other three-fourths measured transversely, and situated towards its right side. This stone was found thrown into the fosse of Doonbeg fort, and is figured by Mr. Windele in his ms. He incidentally states it may have been intended for the pivot of a door to turn upon, but merely offers this as a conjecture.

The description is not sufficiently definite as to whether the opening perforates the stone, but I think it better to place the statement on record, hoping for more information hereafter.

No. 24. CLOCH-NA-NARM.—“The stone on which, yearly, at Samhain-tide the Fianna used to grind their arms.” See Standish O'Grady's “*Silva Gadelica*,” page 209. On this stone “was exposed the best official test of peace [prevailing in the land], that during the reigns of Con, of Art, of Cormac, and of Cairbre Lifechair was in either Ireland or Scotland, an arm-ring of red gold, which, there being a hole in the pillar-stone, was passed through the same, and so excellent was the rule of these kings that none dared to take it away.”

This is one of the few references to “Holed Stones” in Irish histories. It would be interesting if some Irish scholar identified this stone and gave it a local habitation.

No. 25 and 26. INISMURRAY.—The extra volume of this Society, “On the Island of Inismurray,” by Mr. Wakeman, contains descriptions and woodcuts of two stones with perforations.

The first is within the sacred enclosure or cashel, copied from a photograph by Mr. R. Welch of Belfast, taken in 1892. It is at the south side of Teampul-na-bfear, Teampul Molaise, or Teampul Mor,

the principal church, and is specially resorted to by the female inhabitants of the island. It measures 4 feet high, $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad at top, and 1 foot 1 inch at base, and is about 7 inches thick. A Latin cross is inscribed on its face having the lower limb of the cross elongated, the upper and lateral limbs terminating in curved lines or spirals. The outline of the cross is represented by lines parallel to each other, and its centre expands into a small-sized circle, such as often occurs on early Irish crosses. The cross measures rather more than half the vertical height of the stone, and its lateral arms are somewhat greater than half its transverse measurement. It faces east and west, and its edges and eastern side are plain, the cross being inscribed on its western side. On its eastern face are two holes large enough to admit the entrance of a thumb into each, and extending through the adjoining sides of the stone, where they expand into openings sufficient to admit the rest of the figures of the hand.

In praying at the stone, which is practised by women approaching their confinement, in the hope of securing a favourable result, they kneel, and, inserting their thumbs into the smaller apertures, firmly grasp the stone with the rest of the fingers placed in the corresponding side openings. The natives of the island assert as a proof of its efficacy that death resulting from childbirth is unknown amongst them.

The second stone is situated near Teampul-na-mban, or the Church of the Women, outside the precincts of the cashel or boundary wall. It is 5 feet high, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at base, and $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches across at top, and measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. It is likewise held in veneration by the inhabitants. It is perforated by apertures similar to those of the previously described pillar-stone; and on the surface, between the openings for receiving the thumbs, is carved a representation of the cross, having its limbs of nearly equal length.

Neither of these pillars belong to the class of monoliths entitled in strict accuracy to be termed "Holed Stones," a distinctive appellation that should be restricted to those rude stone monuments possessing a single rounded aperture of considerable size passing through the entire depth of the stone from front to back. Should Christian emblems occur upon the surface of such perforated stones, they appear to be comparatively recent additions made subsequent to the original erection of the stones which belong to remote ages and prehistoric times—these signs of Christian faith denoting its triumph over earlier forms of worship and belief.

No. 27. OGHAM PILLAR FROM MONATAGGART (Parish of Donoughmore, Co. Cork).—This fine monolith was obtained by Sir Samuel Ferguson, with two other smaller sized Ogham stones, from the same locality, for the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. They were part of the boundaries of a subterranean sepulchral chamber 5 feet long, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, and

3 feet deep, formed of two flags placed at either sides and ends, and covered over by three slabs. When first opened it was found partially filled with loam, and when this was removed, the workmen came upon some black earth and charcoal, and, as they stated, some pieces of "an old crock." One of the covering stones was this large pillar.

It is a tall tapering monolith composed of hard clay-slate, 8 feet 7 inches in length, measuring at its lower part 19 inches across by 10 inches in depth and diminishing upwards, so that near the top it is 10 inches wide by 7 inches deep. The inscription commences 3 feet from the base, and occupies 5 feet 1 inch of the left edge of the stone, terminating near its upper end. The Ogham legend as read by Sir Samuel Ferguson is—FEQREQ MOQUI GLUNLEGGET, explained to mean Fiachra, son of Glunlegget.

The farmer on whose land those Ogham stones were discovered when ploughing, required a gate-post for the entrance to his farm-yard, so he had this, the larger pillar, removed, and fixed an iron spike in it, to render it suitable for his purpose, either utilizing an old perforation already present, that ran through the stone from front to back, or having a new aperture made. This opening is funnel-shaped about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide on the surface, gradually tapering to little above 1 inch in diameter at a depth of about three-fourths of its course. The narrow part of the opening still retains some traces of iron rust, due to its employment for supporting the gate. It is impossible to assert that this perforation may not be of recent origin, but after a careful examination I am disposed to consider it a genuine example of the "Holed Stone" of early date. Its external openings are decidedly tapering and funnel-shaped, unlike what a workman in the present day would make if he intended it to be employed for hanging a gate. This aperture is placed centrally in the surface of the stone at a distance of $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches from the highest part of the monolith. The lines composing the Ogham inscription extend downwards to about $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the top of the pillar, and are erroneously represented by Mr. Brash in his work, where it appears as if reaching almost to the bottom of the stone. It would appear as if about 3 feet of its lower end was formerly imbedded underneath the surface of the ground, and the inscription confined to that portion which was visible to the spectator. (See Brash's "Ogham Inscribed Monuments," plate xv., and page 160, &c., for description of this stone.)

Pillars, such as those in Inismurray and elsewhere, with comparatively small apertures passing through the edges of the slab, have usually symbols indicative of Christian teaching as an integral part of the monument, and seem to be intended either for prayer or discipline; as suggested by Du Noyer. It is possible their formation, and that of the hollows on stones, called "Bullauns," often found near sacred wells and shrines, were the result of penitents or ascetics either visiting or residing at these wells and shrines. As for the belief in healing, and

other beneficial results, from special observances at the earlier holed stones, whether with or without added Christian emblems, it seems to be a survival of those lingering ideas derived from tradition, which finds its corresponding illustration in that continued belief in the miraculous properties of certain wells, sometimes not consecrated by Christian use, which subsists to the present day. Thus, holed stones and wells alike have obtained persistent credit for special efficacy in removing diseases affecting men and cattle, and for securing favourable results in critical periods of human existence, and their sanctity has rendered promises made before them binding in a peculiar manner upon all invoking their protection, and appealing to them as witnesses of their sincerity and good faith.

This list of Irish "Holed Stones" is, I believe imperfect; it is given in the hope of eliciting more accurate and extensive observations from the Members of the Society, which I will gladly receive. Even the correction of errors in description and measurements are desirable. It is remarkable how many misstatements required to be rectified when compiling the list—mistakes not restricted to Ireland—for many writers speak of the Stennis' Stone, described by Sir Walter Scott in his novel of the "Pirate," as if still remaining, although it was destroyed upwards of eighty years ago, in 1814, by an ignorant farmer, along with two stones belonging to the adjacent stone circles. All zealous antiquaries must hope there is some truth in the tradition that ill-fortune always follows such criminal doings as the destruction of a "holed stone," and wish the retribution will not only be certain, but speedy.

Miscellanea.

Old Dublin (Notes by Austin Cooper, F.S.A.)—I enclose extracts taken from the ms. "Journal of Antiquarian Rambles," by Austin Cooper, F.S.A.; and as his name has already appeared in the publications of the Society, perhaps the Council might consider this contribution worth a place in the *Journal*.—AUSTIN DAMER COOPER.

EUSTACE-ST.

9 Dec., 1782.—This day they began to pull down the old House here at the corner of Dame-st.

The front was ornamented with regular Pilasters, between the windows, from the capitals of which an arch was carried over each window. This House was built by the Eustaces, as a city mansion, and the ground whereon Eustace-st. now stands was all laid out in gardens before the house, and from hence that street got its name. It is also said to have been inhabited by the Kildare family, and is now the first house taken down by Act of Parliament for widening Dame-st.—A. C.

WOODEN HOUSE, DUBLIN.

17 April, 1803.—I observed this day the old wooden house opposite end of Wintavern-st., adjoining the Leather Crane, and corner of Pudding Lane, has been just pulled down.

STAYON STONE.

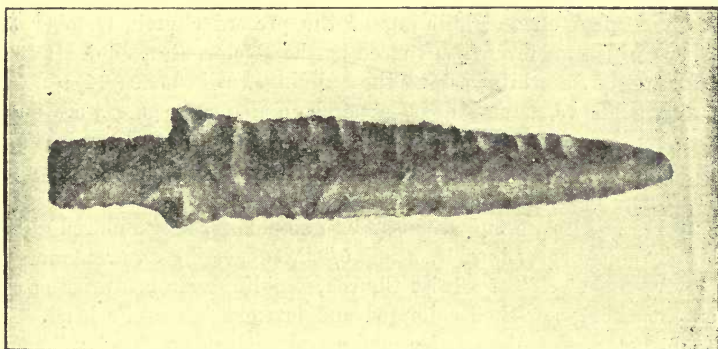
28 Mar., 1811.—I observed that all the Houses on the South side of Townsend-st. next to College-st. as far as Carters alley, including the late Fleet market, are taken down for the purpose of running a new street (Great Buckingham) in a direct line by St. Mark's Church, on to the Drawbridge at the Docks. The old stone of the Stayon, as I have always supposed it, has also been removed.

PLAY HOUSE, SMOCK ALLEY.

Oct., 1811.—I observed the old Play house in Smock alley was nearly pulled down—and that part of Boot Lane, on the W. side, at the rere of the old Bank of Ireland, where formerly Mr. Marland had a sugar house, which since the rebellion of 1798 was turned into a temporary barrack, had been taken down for the purpose of widening that part of the street. I since find that the large old House on the Blind Quay adjoining the Play House where formerly Ryder the player lived, when manager of Smock alley Theatre, is also taken down, and on the site a large Roman Catholic Chapel is erecting.

Remarkable Stone Spear-head.—In my collection is a stone spear-head, found many years ago in a field near Oldcastle, county Meath, by a friend. Its type is unusual, and I send a drawing of it, as being worth publishing.

Search among several museums failed to discover one of similar shape; but I at last came upon about a dozen specimens in the Ethnographical Saloon of the British Museum.



Stone Spear-head found near Oldcastle, Co. Meath.

These Mr. Franks kindly allowed me to examine, and he told me that they had been brought from Behring Straits by some Arctic explorer, I think Nares.

The stone is very dark grey and dull, showing diagonal stratification in some lights. It would be interesting to know if similar weapons have been found in other parts of Ireland.—E. CROFTON ROTHERAM.

Vestry Book of Slane, Co. Meath.—In our *Journal* of the year 1892, on p. 430, will be found a curious record of a ruthless and sanguinary persecution of certain erratic pigs by the Church authorities of Slane, headed by Rev. Mervyn Archdall, author of the "Monasticon," in 1788. On looking again over the curious old Vestry Book, with consent of the Rev. John Westropp Brady, I found another entry which I venture to send to the *Journal* showing the further course of the above merciless decree—

22nd April, 1794—"Resolved that the constable has for the last year grossly neglected his duty in suffering Piggs to range about the streets of this town to the great annoyance of the Inhabitants and land holders of this Parish—Resolved therefore that the said Constable be fined the sum of 5/- for each Pig seen ranging the streets from the day of the confirmation of this Vestery (*sic*), the fines to be levied off the goods of said Constable by sale thereof, by warrant under the hand and

seal of a magistrate one half of the above fine to go to the informant (*sic*) the other to the poor of this parish, and as an encouragement to said constable, he shall receive a premium for every pig he kills the sum of 2/8½, the same to be paid by the churchwardens on producing the dead pigs." It will be noted that this reward is equivalent to the expense of a parochial funeral recorded below.

Many items may be culled from this volume throwing light on the life, both ecclesiastical and secular, of this ancient centre of piety. The book commences on the building of the present church, October 3rd, 1738, for which money was advanced by the Rector, Rev. John Maxwell. The first entry for whitewashing the building was in 1768 (£4); in 1770 four new windows, a new door, a porch, and a new gate were added. Three years later the vestry was built "at the west end." Very extensive repairs were made in the summer of 1784; the belfry was pulled down, at a cost of 6/6, and the old roof removed, and sold for £7. During the repairs we find an entry "to be paid for half hundred of meal for J. Jarret Labourer hurt by a fall 5/3", suggesting an event noted in the "Account Roll" of Christ Church, Dublin, four centuries earlier, when the abbey cow-shed collapsed and broke a labourer's head. The graveyard wall was raised twice, and coped with stones from "the quay of Slane"; despite of which, the windows were "broke by some villains" on "the night of the 30th of June last (1791), by throwing stones from the street." The date of the present tower, cut on a tablet in front, is 1797, but its erection is not recorded in the Vestry Book.

In 1752 the messengers' "expences going to Dublin" for books were 8/7. The washing of the surplice cost 1/7½ a year, and the cleaning of the church 1/- a year, for many years. The sacrament seems to have been administered only four times a year, between 1760 and 1780; and similarly, in the Vestry-book of Rathkenny, only three or four celebrations are recorded each year during the same period.

The parish, however, was abundant in charity. Numbers of widows and old men were clothed in "gownes," "pitticoats," brogues, &c. Blankets cost 7/- each; "Linsey-woolsey" 1/1 a yard; striped flannel 1/1; frieze 2/4; linen 10d.; shoes were 3/3 a pair; stockings 1/1; and coals 18/- a ton. The prices scarcely changed from 1785 to 1792.

The few foundling children gave the parish more trouble. I only select two cases—April 1774, "a child taken to poor-house 4/4; Two yards of Flannen, Pipes, tobacc, candles for a foundling 3/11½. Paid a woman for nursing and burying ditto 5/5." March 24th, 1799, "Paid Ann Martin on account of taking a childe to the foundlin (*sic*) Hospital which she did not do 5/5. Paid for one yard of Flanel for said childe 1/1."

Several funerals of poor people occur, costing the parish 12/4, 8/-, 6/6, while a child's burial cost 2/8½. I shall close with some curious miscellanea—1787, "a fine levied on a farmer at Slane Mill by a confis-

cation of his wheel £2 8 4½." "1790, a cushion for Mr. Archdall" (the antiquary—"oh, a stool and cushion for the Sexton"), and lastly a touching, if feeble, attempt at loyal poetry, 1775—

"King George, our Royal King, may he long reign,
And never be Dismayed at France or Spain;
May he, like Earthquakes, make their Iland shake,
And all his Enemies their Heels to Take;
And fly from him that they so justly rong,
That he may Put to flight their Bloody throng."

T. JOHNSON WESTROPP.

The River Lee of Kerry: its true course, and its identity with the Dur of Ptolemy.—When writing on the above-mentioned subjects in the *Journal* for September, 1894, I noticed the errors into which Dr. Smith, in his history of Kerry, fell concerning them. But at that time I was not aware that no less authorities than John O'Donovan and Dr. Joyce had been even more mistaken than Smith in their account of the course of the river Lee. O'Donovan, in his translation of the "Four Masters," published in 1842, says, in a note, that Tralee is built on the Lee, but that that river is now as "completely covered over by the streets of the town as is the river Poddle by certain streets of Dublin." And Dr. Joyce says that the original name of Tralee is *Traigh-Li*, the strand of the Lee, a "little river which runs into the sea there but is now covered over." Whether the original name was, as Dr. Joyce and O'Donovan say, *Traighli*, or as the Annals of Connaught say, *Traigh-Li-mac-Deadad*, i.e. the Strand of Li the son of Deadad, is a question only to be determined by eminent authorities on the old Irish language like Dr. Joyce. But as a native of Tralee, I must repeat that O'Donovan's statement about the course of the Lee, which seems very naturally to have misled Dr. Joyce, is a most extraordinary blunder. The Lee does *not* run through Tralee at all, but considerably to the south of the town, close to Ballyard, and it is *not* covered over in its long course from O'Brenan parish (*recte* *Uaimh* or *Uamhain Brenan*, the cave of St. Brendan) to the sea by any artificial structure, save by three small bridges, each a mile or more distant from the other. The river which runs through Tralee from north to south-west is, as I have fully shown in my paper in the *Journal* of September, 1894, the Gyle (*Gabhál*) of the survey of the town, taken in 1587, and for two hundred years at least has been popularly called for very sufficient reasons the Big River. Even now it often, in severe wintry weather, bursts up through the roads and streets covering it, and floods almost all the houses in the town.

The Desmond's Castle of Tralee, which, according to the maps of 1587, stood on the bank of the Gyle, at the north-east corner of the present Denny-street (where it joins Lower Castle-street), is called by

the surveyors of that year the "Castellanmore, *alias* the great Castle of Tralee."

The word "Castellanmore" may be the English surveyor's attempt at the Irish for *Caisleanmore*, that is the great Castle, or else the Castle on the *abhainn* (owen) *mor*, that is the big river. However this may be, it is certain that in those days, when its course was open and unconfined, it must often have made a wide and deep moat, half circling the Desmond's fortress. The ancient name of the present Blennerville, before Sir Rowland Blennerhassett (first baronet) fixed his residence there, and a village grew up around it, was *Cahirmoraun*, which certainly was the stone fort or cahir on the big or great river. But this ancient name, like so many others, dating from prehistoric or very earliest historic times, has been so encrusted with legends and myths personifying earth, water, and sky, that we are told that Moraun was a lady, wife of an Irish chief. The late W. M. Hennessy told me some amusing instances of those mythical legends. A locality in North Kerry, bearing the prosaic name of Clashmaoleon, the trench of the servant of Con or Conogher, has been changed by the imaginative people into Clashmaeleu, the trench of the cropped dog: a small black hound with close-cut ears, they tell you, haunts the locality at certain times. My first recollections of Moyder Well is hearing it called by my Irish-speaking nurse, and the many who then spoke Irish in and around Tralee sixty-six years ago, Moydhur or Moydhire Well. They never called it Moydore or Moidore, a word of which they knew nothing. But in 1848-50, a young English lady, rather remarkable in stature and size, came to reside near this suburb. She was only a passing visitor, and has not now a single relative or connexion in Kerry. In one of those annual productions called Skellig Lists, which were then always circulated anonymously, this lady was described on Shrove Tuesday, 1849, as—

"The Elephant Calf from the Well of Moidore!"

People were rather surprised at first by this novel version of the old name, Moydhur; but the more intelligent perceived it was due to the exigencies of the poetaster's rhyme, the preceding line having ended in the word "more." However, when this sensational Skellig List and the lady were utterly forgotten in Tralee, and all such Lists, mere scurrilous outbursts of "envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness," were happily abolished, many of the townspeople, who knew nothing of Irish, and like Kathleen in "Terence's Farewell," preferred speaking the "beautiful English," with a sprinkling of a Continental language, brought themselves to imagine the well had really been always the well of Moidore, and to devise a legend for it, as their imaginative neighbours had done for Clashmaoleon. So the legend arose among them that a number of gold moidores had been thrown down the little well in ancient days, when evidently Kerry folk must have had more money to

throw away than they have at present. Setting aside this foolish mushroom myth, not a half century old, the true meaning of the old Irish name was Magh-Dur, the plain of the Dur, just as Magh-Ealla, the Moyalla of the Four Masters, now Mallow, was the plain of the Allo, the ancient name of the Blackwater. (See Joyce's "Irish Names of Places," vol. i., p. 385.) The most common form of the Irish Magh, according to Dr. Joyce, is now Moy. (*Ibid.*, p. 386.) Hence Moy-nalty, in Meath, and the Moy, between the Erne and the Drowes. As regards Bunavoundur, a historical spot, noticed at length, historically and topographically, in my paper of September, 1894, it is, as one might expect, a form of the old Irish *Bun-abhann-Dur*, less corrupt than others noticed by Dr. Joyce. He says ("Irish Names of Places," vol. i., p. 468) that Cushendun, in Antrim, was originally *Bun-abhann-Duine* and *Cos-abhann-Duine*, i.e. the end, or the foot, or the mouth of the river Dun. The Rev. J. Johnson, in his interesting and valuable book on the "Place Names of Scotland," lays down three rules for students of such subjects. First, look up the spelling of the name in the earliest authentic records; secondly, examine for yourself closely and carefully the physical features of the place; thirdly, ask the oldest inhabitants to pronounce the name. I always endeavour to observe those three essential rules, and anyone who does so in traversing the district between the Magh Dur (now Moydur) of Tralee and the Bunavoundur, near Derrimore, and Kilelton, will agree with me that Camden's statement, disputed by Smith, that here was the Dur of Ptolemy, is certainly correct.—MARY HICKSON, *Hon. Local Secretary for Kerry*.

Do Ogham Inscriptions contain Latin words?—This is a very important question, affecting the whole field of Ogham research and decipherment: Canon Hewson has done well to raise it in his interesting Paper at pp. 22–28 of the present volume.

That some affectation of Latinity should be found in a number of early Christian inscriptions is only to be expected; but this expectation is amply satisfied by the three possible specimens which alone I can discover in my notebook. These are *SAGITTARI* (Burnfort) and *MARIANI* (Kinnard East I.), which are always quoted; and the seemingly unmistakable diminutive *DRUHQULI* (Ballyknock VI.), which does not seem to have attracted so much attention. But out of the remainder of our 250 Irish inscriptions nothing Latin can be extorted without an unwarrantable amount of forcing. I need hardly say that no one who knows his Zeuss will feel called upon to invoke the aid of foreign languages to explain the ordinary genitives in *-i* and *-os*, or to regard, say, *CALLITI* as formed after Latin analogies, or *SUVALLOS* after Greek.

The other alleged instances of Latinity are easily disposed of. *ANM* can scarcely = *anima*, nor yet *ainm* "a name," simply because the meaning of neither of these words will make sense in a single instance—unless we imagine such violent ellipses as (*orate pro*) *AN(i)M(a)* or *nomen (eius fuit)*. *RECI* I have not seen in any certain transcript.

So far from Latin influence being traceable on the Welsh and Dumnonian Ogham stones, the Ogham, within its own sphere, has influenced the Latin. The peculiarities of Ogham writing, caused by the exigencies of the up-and-down position and the limited length of available arris-space, are transferred bodily to the Celtic Latin inscriptions of these districts: by no other theory can we satisfactorily account for the fact that the latter legends are almost always engraved in vertical lines, give merely bald pedigrees, and present the principal name in the genitive. This points to habits formed by a long-continued use of Ogham among the Irish colonists of Wales and S.W. England, previous to their adoption of the Roman character. The Scottish inscriptions need not here be considered, as they form an entirely independent class by themselves.

My main desire in contributing this note is to help to clear the Ogham script from the unfair and unfounded charge of being cryptic. I do not claim a fabulous antiquity for its development, though I feel pretty sure that its use, to some extent, preceded the introduction of Christianity into Ireland; neither do I imagine that any true literature ever existed in it, as it was quite too clumsy for literary purposes. The perplexing phenomena displayed by Ogham case-endings are easily accounted for by assuming the illiteracy of the vast majority of the population during the greater part of the Ogham period. The rapid change of a merely spoken language is an elementary philological principle, and we need not be surprised to find, for example, LUGUDECCAS at Ardmore becoming LUGUDECA at Kilgrovane, (LU)GGODIKA at Aglish, and ultimately LUGUDUC (according to Brash's reading) at Kilcullen, in the course of four or five centuries, or even less.—R. A. S. MACALISTER.

Oghams.—Some illustrations of the Ogham inscriptions, dealt with in Mr. Hewson's Paper in March number, having been overlooked, his Paper was less complete than he intended. Mr. Hewson proposes to supply these defects in a subsequent number.

Ballyboodan Ogham-Stone.—The Rev. E. Barry communicates the following extract from a letter in reference to this stone, which he received from Mr. R. Langrishe, *Fellow*, called forth by Father Barry's study of the inscription in the December Number of the *Journal*:—

“DEAR SIR,—As I take a great interest in the stone at Ballyboodan, near Knocktopher, which is on my nephew's property, perhaps what I know of its modern history may prove of interest to you. I have a good recollection of it since 1841; at that time and for some years later, it stood erect, about north and south, the inscription being on the upper portion, and ending at the top angle, all exposed to view. I think it was in the summer of 1841, that the late Henry Monck-Mason, LL.D.,

Librarian of the King's Inns, who was married to my aunt, was staying with my father and mother at Knocktopher Abbey, as he often did; he was a clever antiquary and a fine draughtsman, and wishing to see the great stone and to make a drawing of the inscription, he proposed to walk there, and my sisters and I, then a small boy, went with him. Some of the people living near, seeing us all about the stone, came over to us, and one very old man being asked what he knew about the stone, said that he had heard that two giants had a quarrel, one was standing on Slievenaman, and that he threw the great stone at his enemy, who was standing on the hill called Kiltorecan, just above Ballyhale Station, and that the stone fell where it now is, and stuck in the ground. He said the stone was called Clogh Leacht.

"Some years after, it was thrown down by people digging under it, for a 'crook of gold.' The late Richard Holohan, of Knocktopher, father of John Holohan, the present occupier of the field, wishing to till it, dug a trench at the side, and turned the stone into it on its edge, east and west, thus burying the inscription, and so it remained till about twenty years ago, when the late Rev. James Graves asked me to get my brother Sir James Langrishe, to raise the stone, so that we might get at the inscription. Accordingly we went there one fine summer's day, and the workmen having been sent on beforehand from the Abbey, we soon had the satisfaction of unearthing the inscription, and I made a paper cast of it, which we sent to the late Sir Samuel Ferguson, Deputy Keeper of the Records.

"On this occasion we had an interview with the oldest inhabitant, this time an old woman; she did not know the story about the giants, but said she always heard it called Clogh-a-Teampull; the ruined church of Kiltcurl, or as formerly spelt Kilkerril, stands on the ridge close by. The name Ballyboodan seems to have undergone many changes, as I find it referred to in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents as Ballyhode or Ballywode, otherwise Ophan, otherwise Saphan.

"There is certainly the rudiment of a conflict between Munster and Leinster, in the quarrel between the giants. I used to think that it had reference to Fin Mac Comhal and Dermot O'Dunne, who hunted the boar in Kiltorecan, by the tooth of which Dermot met his death, and was buried in the cairn close by, since destroyed for the sake of the stones."—R. LANGRISHE.

Prehistoric Remains in Connemara.—At Easter, an excursion was made to the sea coast between Roundstone and Clifden, in order, among other scientific objects, to examine the prehistoric settlements known to exist along the sandhills by the seaside. The party consisted of twenty, about equal numbers from Belfast and Dublin, with a few from intermediate places. The antiquarians were well represented in Messrs. W. H. Patterson, W. J. Knowles, F. J. Bigger, and George Coffey. The

party stayed at the hotel at Roundstone, which is on an eminence. In front lies Roundstone Bay, a sheltered arm of the broad Atlantic, where the great waves from the west are broken by sheltering islands. The quaint old village street has to be passed before the hotel is reached, and many curious characters were there observed. The dark-red petticoat, the mantling shawl, the homespun "stockings" with the soles of the feet worn out, the boys of the place with "combined" suits made of rough cloth spun in the winter time in their own cottages, the ponies and donkeys panniered for turf or seaweed, and the slightly stronger horse with the man astride and his wife pillioned behind him, all went to make up a scene truly enjoyable to the denizen of the city, and one thoroughly characteristic of the district and the people. The prehistoric remains at Portnafeadog, have been fully described in a Paper recently read before the Academy. Nothing new was observed save what appeared to be a small iron weapon which was dug out of a deep layer of ashes by Mr. F. C. Bigger; this may go to determine the age of these remains. At the great sandhills of Bunowen, guarded by the towering lighthouses of Slyne Head, vast artificial mounds of shells, broken bones, and burnt stones were observed, and some notes and photographs taken; but nothing distinctive from Dog's Bay was recorded.

Fuller results of the excursion will appear hereafter.

Japanese Burial Customs.—I enclose some extracts from a work entitled "Wandering Words," by Sir Edwin Arnold (London: Longmans & Co., 1894). Has there been any comparison drawn between "The vast tombs of the ancient Emperors and Daimias of Japan," and the ancient cromlechs in this country, or the Druidical stones in England?—MAJOR OTWAY WHEELER CUFFE.

EXTRACTS.

Page 198.—"Until recently all funerals in Japan were conducted by Buddhist priests, even those of Shinto dignitaries themselves; but now the Shintoists bring their own dead in a coffin much like that used in Europe. The Buddhist 'casket' is small and square, and the corpse is doubled up inside it in a kneeling or squatting position, with the head bent down to the knees—some say in order that the dead man may repose in an attitude of prayer; others that he may take again, on being born into a new world, the folded-up form which he had before his mother gave him birth."

Pages 198 and 199.—"Formerly, as Mr. Chamberlain tells us in his 'Things Japanese,' the horrid custom prevailed of burying the living with the dead. It is related that in the 28th year of the Emperor Suinin (B.C. 2 of the Christian chronology) his brother died. All his attendants were buried alive round the tumulus in a standing position. For many days they died not, but day and night wept and cried. The Mikado, hearing the sound of their weeping, was sad and sorry in his heart, and commanded all his ministers to devise some plan by which this custom, ancient though it was, should be discontinued for the future. Accordingly, when the

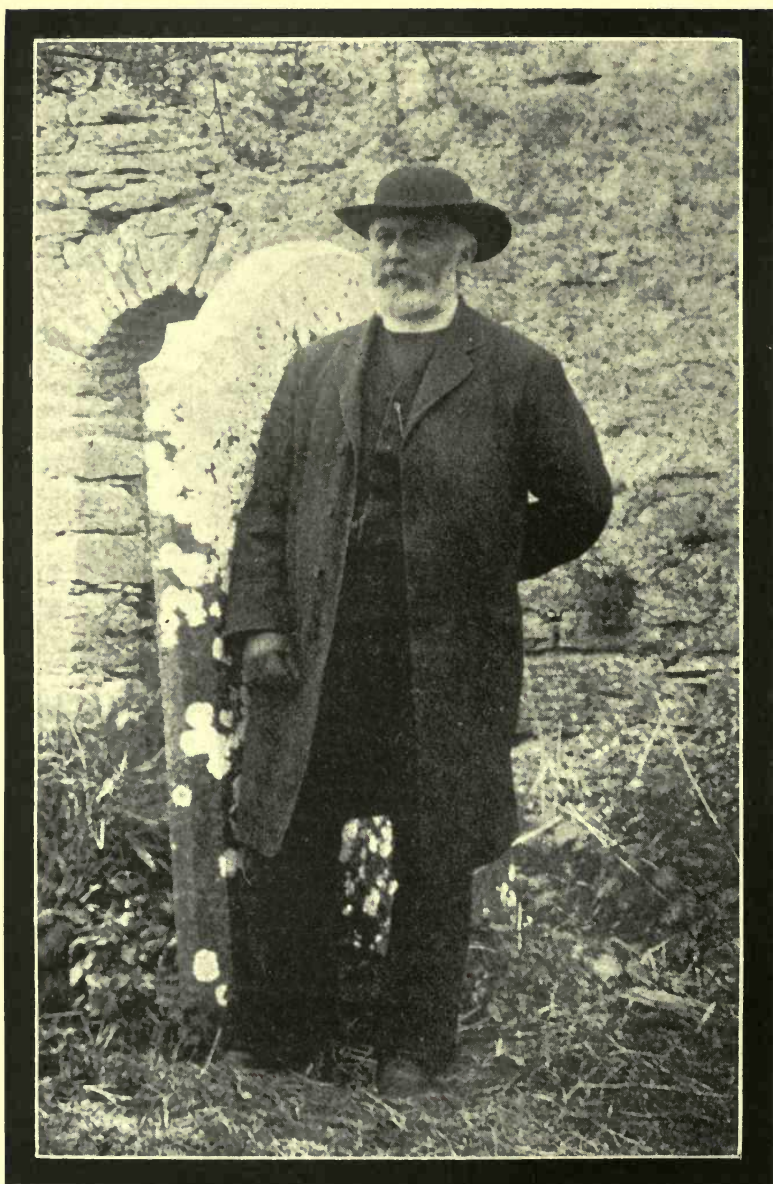
Mikado died in A.D. 3, workers in clay were sent for to Izumo, who made images of men, horses, and various other things, which were set up round the grave instead of living beings. This precedent was followed in later times, and some of these figures still exist. The Veno Museum, in Tôkyô, contains several specimens, and one (of a man) is now in the British Museum."

Page 199.—"The vast tombs of the ancient Emperors and Daimios of Japan were called Misasagi. The Misasagi vary greatly in size. One measured by Mr. Satow, in Khzuke, was 36 feet in height, 372 feet long, and 284 feet broad. But this is comparatively a small one. That of the Emperor Ôjin, at Nara, measures 2312 yards in circumference, and is 60 feet high. Huge stones were reared inside them, and the industrious inhabitants were forced to labour unpaid to pile up the rude but costly burial-places. All this gave way before Buddhism."

Page 200.—"Many of the Mikados were earnest devotees of Buddhism. Beginning with Gemmyô Tunô, in A.D. 715."

"Cremation and burial are both practised in Japan, the former most extensively."

Bundoran Legend.—In answer to Miss L. A. Walkington's query (p. 84), I have heard at Ballyshannon, a few miles from Bundoran, the following account of the "Dorragehow," as it was pronounced in that district. He was "The King of all the Lakes, and Father of all the Otters. He can run his muzzle through the rocks. He was as big as five or six otters." My informant thought he was long dead.—H. CHICHESTER HART.



THE LATE REV. DENIS MURPHY, S.J., LL.D., M.R.I.A.

IN memoriam

THE REV. DENIS MURPHY, S.J., LL.D., M.R.I.A.,

VICE-PRESIDENT.

THE REV. DR. MURPHY passed from us on the 18th May. He had retired to rest the previous evening in his usual health, but the morning found him calm in his last sleep. Death came to him in peace, as his life had been spent; and beside his now still hand lay, just finished, the last completed work of his busy life.

Dr. Murphy as an historical investigator and writer, as a popular lecturer, as a wise guide of many organisations, is a national loss. His personal friendship widely shared, leaves a blank in many a circle.

His loss to our Society is very great. His genial presence brightened most of our meetings, which indeed seemed incomplete when without him. He was always ready to smooth away difficulties, to descant on the history and association of places visited, to encourage and help the beginner in historical or antiquarian study; or gracefully to acknowledge the hospitality of our entertainers. Ever the centre of good will and good humour, yet did his pleasantry never for a moment descend to a levity unbecoming his sacred calling.

Nor did his good services to the Society end at our public meetings. He was the most regular attendant at the meetings of the Council, where his great knowledge of the country and his endless personal acquaintance with the people, made his advice of great value. Still less known though yet more valuable was his work as a member of the Revising Committee of our publications. Here his varied scholarship and wide experience were of the greatest service.

Denis Murphy¹ was born at Scarteen, near Newmarket, county Cork, in 1833. His father was Timothy Murphy, his mother an O'Connell. When Denis was 5 years old the family moved to the neighbourhood of Kahturk. He received his education at Mr. Curran's school in that town until 13 or 14 years old, when he was sent to Clongowes College. In 1848 he became a novice in the Jesuit Order, spending his noviciate at Toulouse in France. He continued his philosophical studies in Germany, at Bonn and Innsbruck. Subsequently he studied Theology from 1860 to 1864 at St. Benno's College, St. Asaph's, North Wales; and afterwards spent some time in 1866-7 at Mauresa and other houses of his Order in Spain.

¹ We are indebted for these facts to the courtesy of Rev. Matthew Russell, S.J.

Father Murphy was now engaged in teaching at the Colleges of Clongowes, Limerick, Milltown Park, and finally at the University College, St. Stephen's-green. He was all the while actively engaged in literary work. His "Cromwell in Ireland" is a careful and impartial historical study. "Triumphalia Sancti Crucis" and the "Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell" preserve in the best form interesting contemporary narratives of events. His "Handbook of the History of Ireland" followed; and the excellently edited "Annals of Clonmacnoise" was but recently issued as one of the Extra Volume series of this Society's publications. Such was Dr. Murphy's love of work that this volume had not yet been published before he set to work on a Life of St. Columba, also as extra volume, though at the same time engaged on another work which was to commemorate those persecuted for religion in Ireland.

Besides these books Dr. Murphy contributed many Papers to the pages of our *Journal* and other such publications.

Dr. Murphy joined the Society in 1878, was elected Fellow in 1890, and Vice-President in 1894. He received the honorary degree of LL.D. from the Royal University in recognition of his historical work. He was a Member of Council of the Royal Irish Academy, and Vice-President of the Kildare Archæological Society, and Editor of the *Journal* of the latter body.

The preceding Plate is reproduced from one of the Society's photographs. Though it cannot claim to be a satisfactory portrait, it is yet characteristic, and will distinctly recall Dr. Murphy's appearance to those who knew him. The view from which it is taken is one of the old church of Dunnamagan, Co. Kilkenny, the wall of the church forming the background. Surrounded thus by the remains of an old church and by the tombs of his fellow-countrymen, the picture forms a suitable memento of one whose devotion to the Church alone could vie with his love for his country.

Notices of Books.

[NOTE.—Those Works marked * are by Members of the Society.]

- * *Handbook for Travellers in Ireland.* Fifth Edition, revised and edited by John Cooke, M.A., Trinity College, Dublin. With Maps and Plans. Price 9s. (London : John Murray, Albemarle-street. 1896.)

A NEW edition of Murray's well-known Handbook was undoubtedly required in the altered conditions of travelling in Ireland. Although the Preface states that the book has been in a large measure re-written, a comparison with the former editions shows that, while keeping to the original plan, there has been a thorough revision, the routes have been re-cast, and the information as to excursions, conveyances, distances, and hotels has been brought thoroughly up to date. What we are most concerned with is the information as to the antiquities of the country. As might be expected, in the hands of Mr. Cooke, special prominence has been given to all the objects of antiquarian interest in which the country abounds. There is hardly any object of note, historic or pre-historic, lying in the course of the tourist, to which attention has not been drawn, and of which some account has not been given. An especial feature in the book is the admirable plans of the Dublin Cathedrals, St. Patrick's Cathedral, Armagh, and St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny, in which the site of all the principal monuments has been indicated, and also the map of Tara, showing all the important features of that historic spot. The amount of information given in the Index will enable the traveller to find at once almost everything he can require as to hotels, banks, and conveyances to be found at any centre in Ireland; and the list of Round Towers is especially useful to the antiquary. It is gratifying to find that the publications of this Society have been so largely drawn upon in support of the historical and antiquarian statements contained in the book. In thus drawing attention to the work of the Society, it is to be hoped that increased support may be secured from those parts of Ireland which have been hitherto somewhat apathetic in their apparent interest in promoting the study of the history of their country, and the preservation of its antiquities. Beside the numerous maps and plans of particular towns and districts, an excellent map of Ireland is appended, conveniently divided into sections, and most handy for reference.

Special mention is made of the islands, Rathlin, Tory, Achill, Aran, Skellig, and others, which shows how exhaustive the book is. Lough

Derg has been fully dealt with, and an account given of its history, and the religious ceremonies performed there. Many items of family history are given, such as the Earl of Cork, Spenser, the O'Donnells, O'Neills, Desmond, White Knights, the old Countess of Desmond, &c. Sketches of the history of all the important towns are also given.

For the general tourist or pleasure-seeker, information on angling, golf, &c., is given; and the hotel directory and index, giving all necessary information of hotels, car fares, &c., has been specially compiled with great care.

* *Historical Notices of Old Belfast and its Vicinity.* By Robert M. Young, B.A., J.P., M.B.I.A., F.R.S.A., Editor of the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*. (Belfast: Marcus Ward & Co., Limited.)

THIS volume contains an interesting record of many events not hitherto published connected with Belfast and the Province of Ulster. It embraces the period from the reign of Elizabeth up to the beginning of the present century. The Pinkerton MSS., which the author had access to, contain a good deal of original and valuable material, which he has utilised. O'Mellin's "Wars of 1641," published for the first time, throws a great deal of light on the Rebellion of 1641, particularly in Ulster. Several manuscript copies of O'Mellin's "Wars of 1641" are in existence, the one used here was translated from the original Irish by the late R. L. Macadam, one of the proprietors of the old *Ulster Journal*, from whom the author got it. O'Mellin was a Franciscan Friar and Private Secretary to Sir Phelim Roe O'Neill, who was the leader in that insurrection.

In the Life of Mary Ann M'Cracken, sister to the celebrated Henry Joy M'Cracken, the leading incidents of the rising of 1798 are given in detail. The M'Crackens were an old Belfast family; Mary M'Cracken was born in 1770, and was consequently grown up at the time of her brother's execution; all the incidents of this period she distinctly remembered. She died in Belfast in 1866.

There are several other interesting chapters in this volume, such as "Ulster Assizes, 1615." Account of John Corry, by the Earl of Belmore. Correspondence of Robert Greene, and Letters of Mrs. M'Tier, and Mr. Thomas Molyneux's Journey to y^e North, 1708, in which he visited the Giants' Causeway, and gives an interesting account of it. He says, "You go down to the Causeway by a very narrow path along the side of the hill," which path still exists, and is called the "Shepherds' Path." The volume is beautifully illustrated, and brought out in Marcus Ward & Co.'s best style, and is a monument to the painstaking industry and ability of the learned and accurate Author.

- * *A Tour through Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Sligo*, with the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, including Lough Erne and Lough Gill, to which is added a Sketch of the History of Tyrone. By Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A. Price 1*d*.

MR. SEATON F. MILLIGAN, *Vice-President*, to whom so much of the success of the Ulster Summer Meeting for 1896 is due, has kindly acceded to the request of many of the Members who were fortunate enough to take part in this Excursion, to publish, in pamphlet form, an account of the places visited during the tour, and, in the compass of 20 pages, has here condensed a most interesting description of the doings of the Society, the perusal of which cannot fail to give much pleasure to those who were there, and will also be appreciated by those Members who were unable to take advantage of the trip.

Mr. Milligan's sketch of the history of Tyrone is certain to receive a welcome in that county, as, strange to say, very little has been attempted hitherto in recording, in a convenient form, the annals of that historic country.

Mr. Milligan does not mention that the task of carrying out the details of the trip fell on his shoulders as Hon. Provincial Secretary for Ulster, nor of the appreciation which was expressed of the value of his services. At the last evening meeting of the Excursion at Sligo, several Members gave voice to the unanimous feelings of how much they all owed to his successful exertions.

The pamphlet is published at the nominal cost of 1*d*., and may be had from Mr. Milligan, Bank Buildings, Belfast (post free) for 1½*d*. All Members interested in our Excursions should possess it.

Proceedings.

THE SECOND GENERAL MEETING of the Society, for the year 1896, was held (by permission of the Mayor) in the Tholsel, Kilkenny, on Tuesday, 7th April, 1896, at 11 o'clock, a.m.;

The Most Rev. ABRAHAM BROWNRIGG, D.D., Bishop of Ossory,
Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following were present :—

Fellows :—LAVENS M. EWART, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President* ; Colonel Philip D. Vigors, *Vice-President* ; Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Hon. General Secretary and Treasurer* ; G. D. Burtchaell, M.A., M.R.I.A. ; Julian G. Wandesford Butler ; Patrick M. Egan ; Dr. G. E. J. Greene, M.R.I.A., F.L.S. ; Richard Langrishe, F.R.I.A.I. ; M. M. Murphy, M.R.I.A. ; Edward Perceval Wright, M.A., M.D., M.R.I.A.

Members :—M. J. C. Buckley ; M. Buggy ; Major J. H. Connellan ; H. A. Cosgrave, M.A. ; Major G. F. Gamble ; Thomas Greene, LL.B. ; Mrs. T. Greene ; Mrs. J. Greene ; the Very Rev. Thomas Hare, D.D., Dean of Ossory ; the Rev. Canon Hewson ; Miss Helen Hughes ; Major O'Leary, Mayor of Kilkenny ; Miss Richardson ; J. E. Palmer ; W. Tempest ; the Rev. Percival B. Wills, B.D.

The Minutes of the Annual General Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Candidates, recommended by the Council, were declared duly elected :—

FELLOWS.

The Rev. William T. Latimer, B.A. (*Member*, 1892), The Manse, Eglish, Co. Tyrone, *Hon. Secretary for East Tyrone* : proposed by G. D. Burtchaell, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

Gustavus F. Handcock (*Member*, 1893), Public Record Office, London : proposed by James Mills, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

The Countess Plunkett, 26, Upper Fitzwilliam-street, Dublin : proposed by Count Plunkett, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

The Rev. John Hammond, D.D., LL.D., 11, Church-street, Durham : proposed by the Rev. J. F. M. French, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

Ramsay Colles, M.R.I.A., J.P., 1, Wilton-terrace, Dublin : proposed by J. T. Gilbert, LL.D., F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Hon. Fellow*.

Hubert Thomas Knox, M.R.I.A., Beechen, Lyndhurst, Hants : proposed by G. D. Burtchaell, *Fellow*.

MEMBERS.

The Lady Annaly, Sion, Navan : proposed by the Rev. Canon Hewson, B.A.

Major Henry Geo. Samuel Alexander, J.P., Gosford-place, Armagh : proposed by Lieut.-Col. C. M. Alexander, J.P.

Newton B. Ashby, United States Consul, 6, Sandycove, Kingstown : proposed by the Rev. D. Mullan, M.A.

Francis Elrington Ball, M.R.I.A., J.P., Taney House, Dundrum : proposed by the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., LL.D., M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

E. J. Bannan, B.A., District Inspector of Schools, Education Office, Marlborough-street, Dublin : proposed by A. P. Morgan, B.A.

Mrs. Adelaide Blake, Temple Hill, Blackrock, Co. Dublin : proposed by Thomas Drew, R.H.A., *President*.

James Buckley, 20, Brunswick-square, London, W. C. : proposed by G. D. Burtchaell, *Fellow*.

Charles Sproule Caldwell, Solicitor, Londonderry : proposed by Charles Mullin.

John J. Clancy, M.A., M.P., Barrister-at-Law, 53, Rutland-square, Dublin : proposed by W. C. Stubbs, M.A.

The Very Rev. John Condon, O.S.A., New Ross : proposed by the Rev. Canon Hewson, B.A.

The Rev. Richard Connolly, O.S.A., New Ross : proposed by the Rev. Canon Hewson, B.A.

James P. Curran, Manager, Munster and Leinster Bank, Maryborough : proposed by M. J. C. Buckley.

Robert Donovan, B.A., 18, Belvedere-place, Dublin : proposed by John Cooke, M.A., *Fellow*.

Peter Entwistle, Free Public Museums, Liverpool : proposed by R. Welch.

James Flanagan, Central Model Schools, Marlborough-street, Dublin : proposed by the Very Rev. Canon Conlan, P.P.

J. M. Galwey Foley, C.I., R.I.C., Athlumney Lodge, Navan : proposed by G. D. Burtchaell, *Fellow*.

J. B. Hearne, Chilcomb, New Ross : proposed by the Rev. Canon Hewson, B.A.

The Very Rev. Michael Kavanagh, D.D., P.P., New Ross : proposed by the Rev. Canon Hewson, B.A.

E. W. Lovegrove, M.A., Friar's Cottage, Bangor, North Wales : proposed by D. Griffith Davies, B.A.

William Mac Arthur, 79, Talbot-street, Dublin : proposed by R. Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Hon. General Secretary and Treasurer*.

Daniel Mac Laughlin, Solicitor, Coleraine : proposed by the Rev. James O'Lavery, P.P., M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

James A. Morris, L.R.C.S.I., &c., The Square, Kilkenny : proposed by M. M. Murphy, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

The Rev. Joseph Murphy, P.P., St. Martin's, Ballycullen, Wexford : proposed by the Rev. Canon Hewson, B.A.

M. L. Murphy, Ballyboy, Ferns : proposed by Dr. Furlong, M.R.I.A.

William R. Nolan, B.A., Brookvale, Simmonscourt-avenue, Donnybrook : proposed by John Cooke, M.A., *Fellow*.

Count Edward A. O'Byrne, Cerville, Roscrea : proposed by H. C. Brett, B.A.

Major Patrick O'Leary, J.P., Mayor of Kilkenny : proposed by M. M. Murphy, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

Florence M'Carthy O'Mahony, Munster and Leinster Bank, Cork : proposed by J. H. Robinson.

The Rev. John O'Riordan, C.C., Cloyne : proposed by the Rev. J. Murphy, D.D.

Edward O'Shea, Marble Works, Kilkenny : proposed by M. J. C. Buckley.

Miss Parkinson, Westbourne, Ennis : proposed by T. J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

John A. Quinn, Solicitor, Dungannon : proposed by the Rev. W. T. Latimer, B.A.

The Rev. R. B. Rankin, B.A., All Saints, Newtown-Cunningham : proposed by Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Hon. General Secretary and Treasurer*.

John Robertson, 1, Rostrevor-terrace, Rathgar : proposed by R. Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Hon. General Secretary and Treasurer*.

Henry L. Tivy, Elmcourt, Blackrock, Cork : proposed by H. F. Berry, M.A.

John J. Todd, M.D., J.P., Chairman of Town Commissioners, Omagh : proposed by Charles Mullin.

Henry A. S. Upton, J.P., Coolatone, Moate, Co. Westmeath : proposed by Francis P. Dunne, J.P.

Walter Saunders Wall, J.P., Errislanan, Clifden, Co. Galway : proposed by W. M. Mitchell, R.H.A.

Charles John Wallace, M.A., J.P., Belfield, Booterstown : proposed by the Rev. Professor Stokes, D.D.

Alexander Ward, 35, Upper Mount-street, Dublin : proposed by Thomas Drew, R.H.A., *President*.

Thomas Henry Webb, Ardfallen, Dalkey : proposed by W. M. Mitchell, R.H.A.

The Rev. Percival B. Wills, B.D., Durrow, Queen's County : proposed by the Rev. Canon Hewson, B.A.

The Report of the Auditors of the Treasurers' Accounts for the year 1895 was brought forward, and on the motion of G. D. Burtchaell, *Fellow*, seconded by the Very Rev. the Dean of Ossory, was unanimously adopted. (For Balance Sheet, see opposite page.)

The following Paper was read and referred to the Council :—

“The Stained Glass Windows (A.D. 1649) of St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny,” by M. J. C. Buckley.

The other Papers on the list to be read during the Excursion were also referred to the Council :—

“Dunbrody Abbey,” by the Rev. J. F. M. French, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

“Inistiogue Priory,” by R. Langrishe, F.R.I.A.I., *Fellow*.

“The Antiquities of Ardoilean, Co. Galway,” by R. A. S. Macalister, B.A.

Lady Annaly presented to the Society four volumes comprising the Corporation Records of Gowran, Thomastown, and Callan, boroughs in the county of Kilkenny before the Union. The Gowran Records are in two vols., and begin on May 23rd, 1687, with an address to Tyrconnell submitting to King James II., and asking for a new Charter.

Lady Annaly also presented the Corporation Seals of Gowran and Thomastown. The Gowran Seal bears the device of a castle and the legend “Corporation of Gowran, 1695.” This Seal was engraved for the Corporation formed by William III. after the Corporation under the Charter of James II. had been ejected. The older Seal used by the Corporation of James II. is already in the Museum, having been presented by the Rev. James Gaffney, c.c., in 1872. It was stated at the time to have been found in what appeared to be the moat of an old castle near Golden in the county of Tipperary (vide *Journal* for July, 1872, vol. ii., 4th Series, page 116).

A vote of thanks was passed to the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Kilkenny for the use of the Town Hall to meet in.

The Society then adjourned until Monday, 8th June.

ACCOUNT OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND FOR THE YEAR 1895.


CHARGE.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1895.	To Balance from 1894.	134	10	0	100	5	3
Jan. 1.	" Subscriptions—Fellows.	499	2	0			
Dec. 31.	" " Members.	9	0	0	642	12	0
"	" " Associates.						
"	" " Entrance Fees—Fellows.	11	10	0			
"	" " Members.	60	10	0			
"	" " Life Compositions—Fellows.	21	0	0	78	0	0
"	" " Members.	6	10	0			
"	" " Sale of Publications.	22	12	10	27	10	0
"	" " Interest on 2½ per cent. Consols.	1	17	5	32	15	8
"	" " Current Account in Provincial Bank.				24	10	3
"	" " Donations to General Funds.				2	0	0
"	" Messrs. Burtchall and Cullinan, proportion of Rent,						
"	7, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, to 30th June,				30	0	0
"	1895.						
	Total,				£937	13	2

DISCHARGE.		£	s.	d.
1895.	By Messrs. Ponsonby & Weldrick's Account for Printing, Binding, and Distributing Four Quarterly Parts (1500 copies each) of the <i>Journal</i> in 1895.	337	14	8
Dec. 31.	" " Printing List of Members.		21	6
"	" " Miscellaneous Printing, including Illustrated Programme and Guide Books.	74	10	0
"	" " Extra Publications Account.	85	0	0
"	" " Illustrations for Quarterly <i>Journal</i> .	44	19	2
"	" " Stationery Account.	16	13	3
"	" " Postages and Incidental Expenses Account.	18	2	8
"	" " Expenses of General Meetings and Excursions in 1895.	10	13	10
"	" " Rents and Insurances, Kilkenny, and 7, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin.	94	19	1
"	" " Assistant-Secretary and Treasurer for 1895.	80	0	0
"	" " Expenses of Photographic Survey, including purchase of the collection of slides and negatives of the late Mr. John L. Robinson, R.H.A.	21	10	9
"	" " Amount invested in 2½ per Cent. Consols.	106	17	3
"	" " Subscription to Archaeological Conference, 1895.	1	2	6
"	" " " " Henry Bradshaw Society, 1895.	1	1	0
"	" " Balance, 31st December, 1895.	32	2	3
	Total,	£937	13	2

(Signed) { ROBERT COCHRANE, HON. TREASURER.
G. D. BURTCHAELL, ASSISTANT TREASURER.

We have examined this Account, with the Vouchers and Books, and find it correct, there being in the Provincial Bank to the Credit of the Society on 31st December, 1895, the sum of £32 2s. 3d., and the Capital Account now amounts to £7,000 invested in 2½ per Cent. Consols in the names of the Trustees.

(Signed) JOHN COOKE,
J. G. ROBERTSON, } *Auditors.*

Passed— ABRAHAM BROWNRIGG, April 7, 1896.

EXCURSIONS.

FIRST DAY.

TUESDAY, 7th April, 1896.

At 12.30, the party entered the train at Kilkenny which left Dublin at 9.15 a.m., and reached Thomastown at 1 p.m. Waggonettes were in waiting to convey the party to Inistiogue, five miles distant.

From Thomastown station there is a good view of Jerpoint Abbey, about three-quarters of a mile distant. At half a mile from the station the road passes through Thomastown, anciently a borough and walled town. The ruins of its beautiful early English church was visited in the Excursion of 1894, and the desire then expressed that they should be scheduled as a National Monument has been since fulfilled, some repairs having been lately executed by the Board of Works. The remainder of the road lies through the beautiful valley of the Nore, with wood, water, and mountain scenery, part of it through what remains of the old oak wood of Dangan, one of the haunts of "Freney the Robber," a noted desperado at the end of the last century, of whom many stories are told. In the hedge-schools, which have been replaced by those of the National Board, "The Life and Adventures of Freney the Robber," by a Wexford schoolmaster, was a popular reading-book in this part of the country, and Ballyduff House, where he began life as a butler, stands by the river's edge. Other gentlemen's seats passed are Dangan, Coolmore, and Brown's Barn, named not, as might be supposed, from some modern Brown, but from St. Bronus. Upon the low ground, at the further side of the river, two ruins, rugged and grey, will meet the eye. One is the massive keep of the Grenan Castle, the ancient seat of the Dens. The other is a small chapel with a tower attached. It is the remains of the little Priory of Dysert, dependent on the much larger Priory of Kells, and said to have been used as a House of Novices. It is believed to be the birthplace of the learned and ingenious George Berkeley, F.R.S., Bishop of Cloyne, famous for his Mathematical, Philosophical, and Political writings, although the honour is claimed for Kilbline Castle and Kilcreene, both in this neighbourhood. Bishop Berkeley was born in 1684, died in London, 1754, and was buried at Oxford, where his epitaph is to be seen. A short account of this and of seventeen other little ruined churches within a radius of three or four miles round Thomastown, may be found in volume i. of the "Transactions of the Ossory Archæological Society," p. 23.

Inistiogue was reached about 2 p.m. and luncheon provided on arrival. A paper on the ruins of the ancient Priory was read by R. LANGRISH, Esq., *Fellow*.

At 5 p.m., the party left Inistiogue, and drove on eight miles further to New Ross; for three miles of the way past the beautiful demesne of Woodstock, the seat of Lady Louisa Tighe. Near New Ross, the square keep of Mountgarret Castle was seen.

In passing through Thomastown, it was noticed that the head of a large Celtic Cross, similar to those at Nurney, on the Co. Carlow, had been removed from its place in the churchyard, and trundled into an obscure corner, where there was some trouble to find it, and where it is more liable to thoughtless injury than it was before. So far as is known, this stone is the only record of the existence on

this site of a Celtic church, or religious house, anterior to the Anglo-Norman ruins. It is worth preserving as a monument, by erecting it on a new base similar in pattern to the bases of the crosses at Nurney; and if the work is not authorised by the scheduling of the Anglo-Norman church, it seems worth while to have the cross scheduled, and placed on the list of National Monuments.

SECOND DAY.

WEDNESDAY, 8th April, 1896.

At 9.15, on the arrival of the train from Wexford, the party assembled at the Royal Hotel, and started in waggonettes for Dunbrody Abbey, nine English miles distant, which was reached at about 11 a.m. A Paper on the Abbey was read here by REV. J. F. M. FRENCH, M.R.I.A., Rector of Clonegal, whose short Note is now appended. Here the Members were joined by a large party of the Members of the Waterford and South-east of Ireland Archæological Society, who arrived by steamer.

DUNBRODY.—The Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul, also known as the Abbey of Dunbrody (*de portu S. Mariæ*), which lies eight miles south of New Ross, is a truly magnificent pile of ruins. Its immense mass standing out against the sky, and not dwarfed by the neighbourhood of even a rising ground, has a kind of solitary grandeur about it not to be found elsewhere; and when you look at it you at once find yourself saying, "Surely it is no wonder that men who erected such a building as that were able to carve out principalities for themselves with their broad swords," for there is strength and power depicted in every wall and tower of that splendid pile. The great central tower is still as perfect as when it proceeded from the masons' hands. It stands on arches that are magnificent in their height and noble in their proportions. The church is nearly 200 feet long and 140 in breadth. The chancel is perfect, and the nave, but for the destruction of the great western window, would be fairly so. The western entrance is perfect, and in some respects peculiar. The greater part of the building is of a severe Early English type, but in some places signs can be seen of a transition period, a proof that the old Norman style had not altogether lost its hold on those mighty builders. This noble Cistercian house was founded on the banks of the river Barrow by Hervey de Montemarisco, uncle of Strongbow, marshal of Henry II., and seneschal of all the lands acquired by the Earl of Pembroke in Ireland, "and he became the first abbot of it himself," and there ended his days at the age of seventy-five. "His nephews, Geoffroi de Marreis and Herlewin, Bishop of Leighlin, erected to his memory a mausoleum of black Kilkenny marble, ornamented with columns and surmounted by a statue of the martial abbot clothed in priest's vestments, beneath which, at the neck, was visible

the cuirass of a knight. The right hand, reposing on the breast, held a chalice, while the left grasped a baton to indicate that the abbot had once been marshal of the Anglo-Norman Army in Ireland. The abbots of this house were Lords of Parliament, and it continued to flourish until the dissolution, when the usual fate befel it."

At 12.30 a.m., the party left Dunbrody Abbey for Clonmines, nine English miles distant, which was reached at about 2.30 p.m. Here luncheon was provided on arrival. The following short Note on the place is by the Rev. J. F. M. FRENCH, *Fellow, M.R.I.A.* :—

CLONMINES.—This group of ruins is of more than ordinary interest, as it contains a church which was described by the late G. V. Du Noyer as, in his opinion, quite unique in Ireland, if not in Britain—the fortified or Castle Church of Clonmines (see *Journal*, 1864–66, page 36). This singular building stands on a rise of ground adjoining the monastery but detached from it, and when viewed from the westward quite resembles a square castle, the north-east and south-west angles of which are prolonged into small but lofty crenellated turrets. Du Noyer thinks that it is exceedingly probable that this building was erected by Nicholas the clerk at the close of the fourteenth century.

Clonmines was a parliamentary borough, and elected members of Parliament until the Union. A castle was built here by one of the family of Roger de Sutton, who accompanied Fitz Stephen to Ireland. This castle was in modern times converted into a dwelling-house. Archdall, in his "Mon. Hib.," states that "Clonmines is a borough town, in the barony of Shelburne, six miles south-east of Dunbrody. The family of Cavanagh founded a monastery here for Eremites following the rule of St. Augustine. In A.D. 1385 it was enlarged and beautified by Nicholas the clerk, son of Nicholas; and the friars of the order of St. Dominick afterwards obtained possession of it. Nicholas Woding was the last prior.

Frazer, in his Survey, tells us that the Danes had a mint at Clonmines, and we learn from the State Papers that Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queens Mary and Elizabeth, all worked the silver and lead mines here. On the 12th of January, 1552, Joachim Gunderfilgen explains to the Privy Council that he is building a workshop at Ross, and was unable to send particulars about the mines. Later on Mr. Robert, Record Surveyor of Mines for the Privy Council of England, sends an account of the silver and lead got at Clonmines and molten at Ross. In the time of Queen Elizabeth, Walter Pepparde had charge of these mines for the Queen; his son Anthony seems to have been the founder of Peppard's Castle, Co. Wexford.

At 5 p.m., the party left Clonmines, and drove back to New Ross (twelve miles).

THIRD DAY.

THURSDAY, 9th April, 1896.

At 10 a.m., the party assembled at the Royal Hotel, from whence they were conducted round the town and its vicinity under the guidance of the Rev. J. F. M. FRENCH, who pointed out the architectural and antiquarian features, and gave historical information. The following Notes are compiled by him:—

NEW ROSS.—This venerable old town, which seems in irony to be called new, is rich and abounding in objects of antiquarian interest. Looking back to such a remote period as the sixth century, Ross, under its ancient name Ros-Mic-Treoin, was famous as the site of a monastery founded by St. Abban, nephew of the celebrated Wexford bishop, St. Ibar, who was succeeded by his nephew St. Ewias, or Evin of the Bell. The bell of Evin became even better known as a sacred relic after his death than he himself was ever known during his life. Oaths were taken on it, and it is said to have been held in high esteem down to the fourteenth century. The name of the old Celtic saint is said to still linger about the town in a corrupted form of Neville-street, which in old maps is called Evin or Nevin-street.

The keen eyes of the Normans saw in the beautiful site now occupied by this town on the banks of the river Barrow a suitable place to build a town. Particularly did it commend itself to Isabella, daughter of Strongbow, and wife of William, Earl Marshal of England; and, no doubt, its proximity to one of the strongholds of her grandfather, Dermot MacMurrough's clan, helped to decide her in her choice, for she might safely trust to them for loyal co-operation in her venture. Here then did Isabella build her new town, and her husband, the Earl Marshal, his new bridge (the first that ever spanned the Barrow), and this bridge changed the name of the town altogether, for Ros-Mic-Treoin gave place to Ros-Villae Novi Pontis, or, as King John calls it, in one of his dispatches Nova Villa Pontis Whelhelmi Marscalli, and the arms of the town became the new bridge surmounted by the device of William, the Earl Marshal, which was a stag and a stag-hound. In the thirteenth century this town was surrounded by a wall with gates and bastions, the erection of which is quaintly described in a contemporary Norman-French poem. One of our greatest antiquaries has said that "perhaps no Irish town once held so many monuments of the taste and skill of our ancestors as New Ross." Within its walls there were to be found from time to time three monastic establishments—a noble Early English church with a crypt, and two minor chapels. It was represented

in the Parliaments of the land from the very earliest period, being what is called a borough by prescription. New Ross had four gates, known by different names at different periods. These were the North Gate, the South or Priory Gate, the Bishop's Gate, known also as the Maiden or Fair Gate, and Aldgate, known also as the Bewley or Three-bullet Gate. Of these the most remarkable was the Bishop's Gate, re-built in the early part of the fifteenth century by Patrick Barrett, Lord Chancellor of Ireland and Bishop of Ferns; who resided at Mountgarret Castle, near New Ross, and was in the habit of passing through this gate to officiate in St. Mary's Church. This gate, of which only fragments now remain, was, within the memory of the writer, a beautiful Early English gateway. Mr. Wakeman described it as "the most elegant and ancient structure of its class remaining in Ireland," well worthy of being called fair "from the beauty of its 'first pointed' details." Of the walls traces can be found in many places, and one of the towers that guarded the town wall is in excellent preservation.

THE ABBEY CHURCH OF ST. MARY'S, adjoining the parish church, is truly an antiquarian treat. There we find the ruins of what was once a splendid Early English church with a crypt. The chancel with the north and south transepts are still in fair preservation, and contain a number of beautifully sculptured tombs with inscriptions in black letter. In the north transept the Butler and Dormer tombs, and the unnamed figures of an earlier date, are particularly interesting. The chancel contains a perfect sedilia and piscina at the south side, and a beautiful recessed tomb at the north side. The south transept is a perfect gem, and was evidently erected by Bishop Barrett, as here you find the same graceful carvings and beautiful first pointed details that at one time so richly adorned the Fair Gate; here, also, there is a perfect Early English three-light window. There are two chapels at the east side of this transept. The first ecclesiastical occupation of this site must be sought for in remote antiquity. "A house of the cross-bearers" stood there at a very early period; but, one of the friars having killed a principal man of the town, the people arose and put the friars to death and destroyed the monastery. An old chronicle tells us how the people left the friars "goaring in their blood," and how "the Pope excommunicated the towne and the towne accursed the friers so that there was much cursing and banning of all hands."

In the thirteenth century Sir John Devereux of Ballymagir, Co. Wexford, founded on the site of the friary a Franciscan monastery. In the 17th of Elizabeth, this house, with church, cloister-hall, kitchen, churchyard, garden, &c., were granted to the Earl of Ormond. I have not been able to discover when the old monastic church became the parish church of the town. There is a very fine stone coffin in the chancel of this church.

THE AUGUSTINIAN FRIARY was founded, according to Ware, in the reign of King Edward III. for eremites following the rule of St. Augustin. John Gregory was the last prior. It was situated immediately within the walls at the south or Priory Gate; and, although no remnant of it is now to be found, some highly interesting monuments remain in the priory gardens, among them one of a soldier having on his head the iron skull-cap which enables us to say that it must be the tomb of one of the companions-in-arms of King John, who was probably buried there during that monarch's visit to the Earl Marshall's new town.

SIR JOHN IVORY'S ENDOWED SCHOOL, which is situated almost immediately within the site of the old North Gate, occupies the site of another ecclesiastical establishment, regarding which there seems to be little record. In the endowment deed Sir John Ivory describes the building he bequeathed as a mansion-house called The Abbey, and considerable remains of interments have been found from time to time.

THE TOWN HALL.—Here there are preserved a fine collection of old charters and ancient corporate records; also the maces of the Corporation, one of them a very beautiful specimen of the silversmith's work which was presented by Lord Anglesey in 1699. The other, which is much smaller, is, according to a doubtful tradition, a trophy of war taken by the men of Ross from the Corporation of Waterford during a well-contested naval fight between the two towns. The old Book of the Corporation commences in the year 1658, and contains many beautifully illuminated pages commemorating the entering upon office of the different "soveraignes." We find there the names of several families, representatives of which are still known to exist, such as Roger Drake, 1664; Captain John Cuffe, 1666; Gregory French, 1667; John Napper, 1670; Robert Doyne, 1686; Jacobus Glascott, 1687; John Cliffe, 1698. Of minor ecclesiastical foundations in New Ross there were several; notably the CHAPEL OF ST. MICHAEL, which stood on the site of the soldiers' barracks in Michael-street, and the CHAPEL OF ST. SAVIOUR, which may have stood on the site of Trinity Hospital, as it was endowed in the time of Queen Elizabeth with the lands of both these chapels. The CHURCH OF ST. STEPHEN'S was situated outside the walls.

THE CASTLE OF ROSS is stated in the Ordnance Survey field-book to have been built in the twelfth century east of the Fair Gate, and, according to Colonel Solomon Richards, to have been a "Cittadell by the Watersyde."

MONTGARRET CASTLE.—This fine old keep is situated on a hill overlooking New Ross, and was especially exempted from being included within the liberties of the town. This castle was erected by Patrick Barrett, Bishop of Ferns, in 1409. He obtained royal permission from

Henry IV. to "take latimos et cementarios, that is to say, competent quarrymen and masons, within the shires of Kilkenny, Wexford, and Waterford, to work in the construction of same for the tithes of said bishop. This castle subsequently passed into the hands of the Ormond family; and Sir Richard Butler, second son of Sir Pierce, eighth Earl of Ormond, by Lady Margaret Fitzgerald, daughter of Gerald, eighth Earl of Kildare, was created, in 1550, the first Viscount Mountgarrett, and was joined in the commission of martial law for the disturbed territories of Leinster with Sir Nicholas Devereux of Balmagir, surnamed The White Knight.

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND,
FOR THE YEAR 1896.

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART III. THIRD QUARTER, 1896.

Papers.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF ARDOILEÁN, COUNTY GALWAY.

By R. A. S. MACALISTER, M.A.

ARDOILEÁN, Ardilaun, or High Island, is an uninhabited island situated off the coast of Connemara, about 2 miles west of Aughrus Point, and about 4 miles south of Inisbofin. It is rather over 80 acres in extent, of the Cambrian formation, strewn with numerous erratic granite boulders, one at least of which is poised as a rocking-stone. At its highest point it is 208 feet above sea level: the surface is undulating, the outline very irregular; for the most part it is surrounded by lofty precipices, deeply indented by the action of the sea. The long axis of the island lies nearly N.E. and S.W.; at the northern end of the S.E. flank a landing can be effected in calm weather, a sloping portion of the rock forming here a kind of natural jetty. The island affords pasturage to numerous sheep; there are also three tarns, one on a projecting shoulder about the middle of the north side, and two close together at the southern end. About the larger and more northerly of the two latter the principal antiquities, the remains of a monastic settlement, are congregated. In the middle of the island, near its highest point, is a holy well. Two ruined cottages, the only sign of recent human occupation, are to be found at the north-easterly end; these are the remains of the abodes of

miners. The shaft of a deserted copper mine remains, in a somewhat dangerous position, at the head of the landing-place.

The present account has been compiled from notes made on the occasion of the visit of the Society's excursionists last year. It has been drawn up at the request of my fellow-visitors; but it should be explained that our visit was, from various causes, a very hurried one. The captain permitted only one boat-load of passengers (about twenty in number) to land, and as he was anxious to reach Aran before dark, he would only allow one hour for the examination of the remains. Though we surreptitiously extended this period, we were unable to exhaust the antiquities of the island, and any account based on our observations must necessarily be imperfect. I would venture to suggest that, when the Society again undertakes what is practically pioneer work, six-inch Ordnance maps be provided for consultation by visitors before arrival at the place to be explored: for want of such references, we lost much valuable time, in the first instance, in searching the island for the ruins. Fortunately I have had at my disposal three valuable sets of photographs taken on the spot by Messrs. Goddard H. Orpen, S. K. Kirker, and W. Gray, a close examination of which has enabled me to supplement my notes; and I have also referred to the accounts left by two previous visitors—that by Petrie at page 421 of the “*Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*,” and that by Mr. Kinahan, in a Paper entitled “*The Ruins of Ardillaun, County Galway*,” published in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. x. (1866–1869), p. 551. Notwithstanding these auxiliaries, there are still some unavoidable lacunæ. I endeavoured this year to revisit the island, but was prevented by stormy weather.

The above-mentioned descriptions are valuable, as they give us accounts of the remains as they appeared in 1820 and 1869. The ruins have suffered much even since the latter date. Unfortunately the sea-birds breed in and about them, and much damage has been done by boys pulling the stones about in search of the eggs and young birds.

The chief interest of the monastic remains centres round

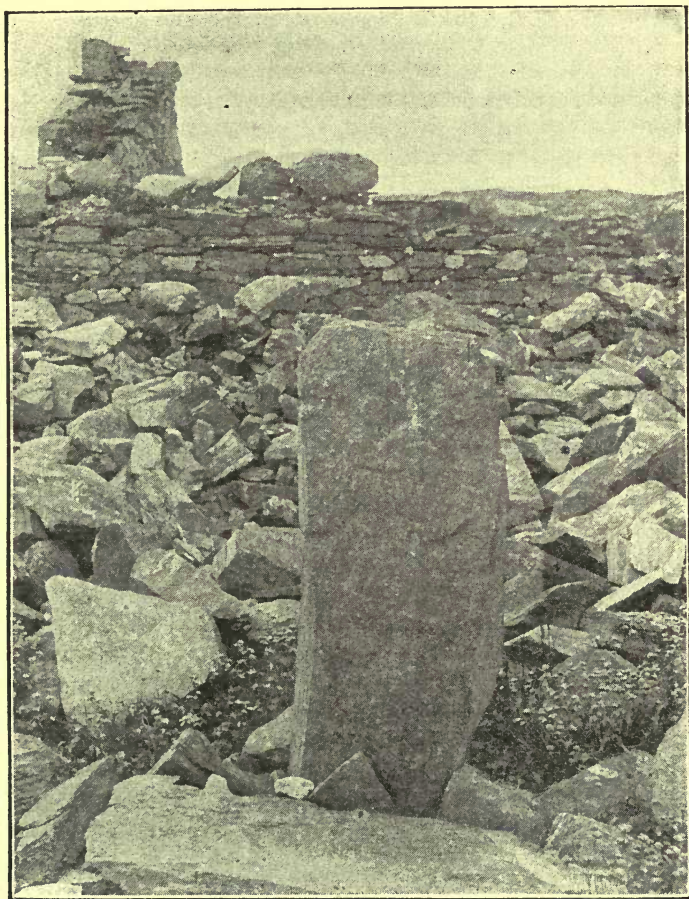
THE CHAPEL,

a small building, rectangular in plan, 12 feet long by 9 feet 6 inches internally. The masonry is not unlike that of Gallerus, though much ruder—small flattish stones, neatly fitted in rough courses, without cement. I suspect that the roof was thatched—the walls are quite too slight to have supported a stone covering.

The only apses were the usual west door and east window. The doorway is intact, 4 feet 6 inches high, 2 feet 6 inches wide at the bottom, tapering to 2 feet 2 inches at the head. The jambs are built up, and not as in later oratories, of upright stones; contrast Kilcananagh at Aran (Inismaan). The lintel in this case is a slab, and is unusually thin for

such a position ; but, as we shall see presently, it is a makeshift, and not the original lintel.

The east end of the chapel is practically destroyed, and with it the window. Petrie preserves its shape and size—semicircular-headed, height 1 foot, width 6 inches. There is a stone lying among the *débris*

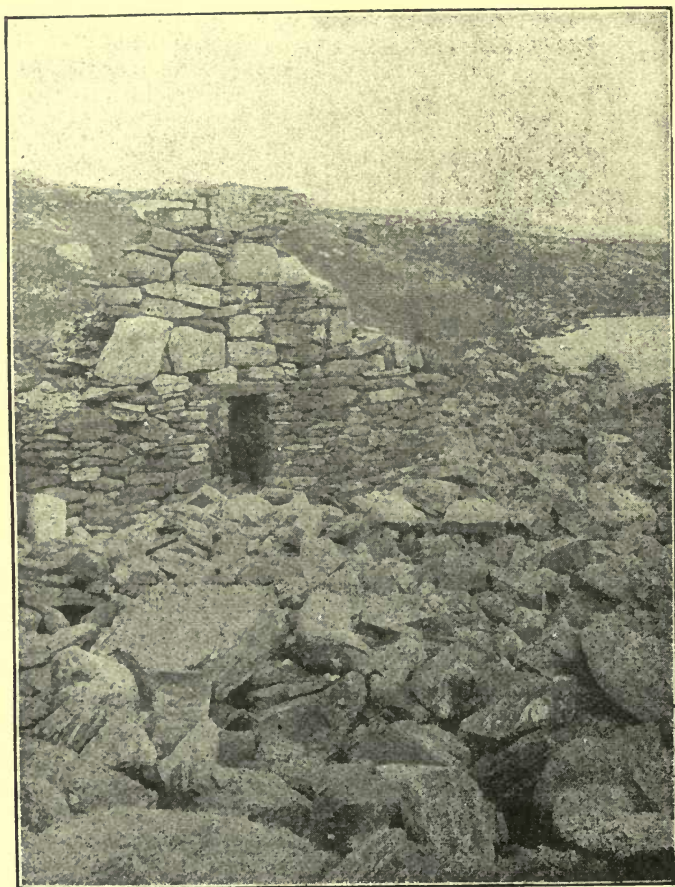


Chapel from the South, with Cross *D*.

on the south side of the chapel, a flat slab cut half through by a notch having a semicircular end, which has every appearance of having been the window-head. If this conjecture be not tenable, it is impossible to say what this stone was. We found it suspended awkwardly over the cross that stands at the south of the chapel ; it was removed in order to photograph the cross, and not replaced by us.

The side walls are standing, though much ruined towards the east. They display no architectural features.

The masonry of the western gable differs remarkably from that of the rest of the chapel. Instead of being made of neatly fitted, small-sized, carefully selected stones, it is formed of large, rough, irregular stones,



Chapel on Ardoileán. From the West.

thrown together in the clumsiest manner. Taken in connexion with the fact that the lintel, at the level of which this change of style takes place, is portion of a monumental cross, we are led to the conclusion that the building was originally erected by professional hands; that at some subsequent period an accident, or a raid, took place, whereby the gable was destroyed; and that the monks, left in their storm-bound islet to their

own devices, were compelled to make good the damage with whatever material came to hand, and what little skill they could muster. This theory is of course put forward on the assumption that the gable is old, and not a modern restoration. Petrie noticed the cross on the soffit of the doorway; but he regarded it as merely consecrative, like the cross in a similar position at Killiney. He did not notice that the design is partly concealed by the jambs, which would not be the case had it been intended to occupy this position. The lintel of Teampull na Teinidh, Inismurray, affords an exactly parallel piece of appropriation.

No observation was made of the following remarkable objects, the description of which I quote from Petrie:—"The altar still remains and is covered with offerings such as nails, buttons, and shells, but chiefly fishing-hooks, the most characteristic tribute of the calling of the votaries. On the east side of the chapel is an ancient stone sepulchre, like a pagan kistvaen, composed of large mica slates, with a cover of limestone. The stones at the ends are rudely sculptured with ornamental crosses and a human figure; and the covering slab was also carved, and probably was inscribed with the name of the saint for whom the tomb was designed; but its surface is now much effaced: and as this sepulchre appears to have been made about the same time as the chapel, it seems probable that it is the tomb of the original founder of this religious establishment." That the latter suggestion is not likely will be shown later. These objects apparently had disappeared by 1869, as Mr. Kinahan does not refer to them.

THE CLOCHÁNS.

Petrie found considerable remains of a *laura* or monastic establishment of separate cells, in 1820: there were two large-sized clocháns to the north and east of the chapel, and a number of smaller ones on the opposite sides. This portion of the monastery has suffered most from the mischievous causes alluded to. As we walked over the stones lying about, we could hear the young birds chirping beneath our feet, securely protected from injury and sight in cavities and clefts in the closely packed *débris*; and perhaps we need not be surprised that the temptations of securing an easy prey at the cost of the ruins are irresistible to boys condemned to the monotony of solitary sheep-tending. Only the two large clocháns remain, and these are sadly damaged: the others are practically disintegrated, and their stones, with those of the surrounding walls, are scattered about in the wildest confusion.

The eastern clochán is circular outside, square inside, like the well-known Clochán na Carraige on Aran Mór. The internal space is about 9 feet square and 7 feet 6 inches high. The other is circular and dome-roofed, slightly smaller. In both, the doorway was the only ope. These structures are now, so to speak, skinned; the outermost stones have been

nearly all removed, and holes are broken in the sides and the roof: this gives them a forlorn and shapeless appearance. Petrie conjectures that the former was the refectory, the latter the abbot's cell. The second theory is possible, but I hardly think the first is tenable owing to the small size of the building referred to.

A wall was found by Petrie surrounding the chapel. Of this I have no note, and, with the possible exception of a small portion near the N.W. angle of the chapel, I am unable to detect any trace in the photographs. It allowed a passage of about 4 feet round the chapel. "From this," says Petrie, "a covered passage about 15 feet long by 3 feet wide leads to the northern clochán." Mr. Kinahan found this passage in ruins: he describes the walls as of pitched flags. It is now destroyed.

The remaining clocháns are described by Petrie as having been large enough to contain each a single person only, as being but 6 feet long, and as having been found by him nearly covered with rubbish. Mr. Kinahan found the site of a structure, apparently a clochán, between the lake and the south-west doorway of the cashel, and the foundation of another building of this nature some distance to the eastward of the settlement. The latter structure, of which he gives a plan, must have been of considerable size: it was circular, 27 feet in diameter, with walls 3 feet thick; the masonry of the wall consisted of two concentric shells of well-laid flag-stones, enclosing rubble. At each side of the south-east entrance, and outside the great circular wall, Petrie found "circular buildings, probably intended for the use of pilgrims"; but, he says, "though what remains of them is of stone, they do not appear to have been roofed in with that material."

None of these remains were observed by our party.

THE WALLS.

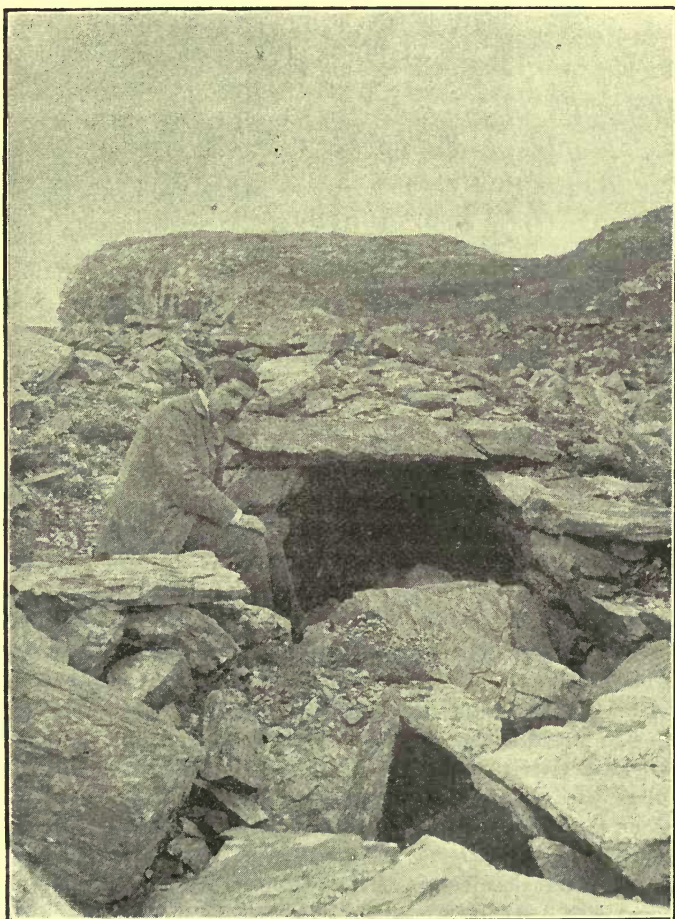
Sufficient attention was not paid to the plan of the walls by the excursionists from the "Caloric"; and the result of a drastic examination of the photographs has been to throw doubt on the accuracy of previous descriptions.

There appear to have been originally three walls to the monastery. The first surrounded the chapel, as already described; the second was the cashel wall which enclosed the principal monastic buildings; and the third cut off the whole end of the island containing the monastery from the rest.

The first wall has already been discussed. Of the second, Mr. Kinahan gives the fullest particulars; and such a survey as he has made is now practically impossible, owing to the wholesale destruction which has been wrought at the spot. It is circular, originally complete, except for a small portion of the south side which impinged on the lake. If we go round this wall from the lake side to the east, and so on, back to the lake at the west, we pass the following features in turn:—

1. S.E. doorway, about 3 feet wide. According to tradition formerly $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and roofed with flags.

2. N.E. doorway, seemingly joined to one of the clocháns by a passage.



Entrance to Souterrain.

3. Rectangular chamber or souterrain, 9 feet long, extending nearly across the thickness of the wall. The sides of this chamber are built up, and approach one another by oversailing courses; the roof consists of six or seven large, thin, broad flagstones. I lost some valuable time in a futile hunt for Ogham inscriptions among these stones.

4. Rectangular chamber, extending along the wall: construction

similar to the last. Length given as 32 feet by Kinahan ; 24 by Petrie. Locally called "the prison."

5. South-west doorway, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. One jamb of this is standing.

The above descriptions have been founded on Mr. Kinahan's accounts, as but few remains of the objects in question are now available, and only the smaller souterrain was submitted to a proper examination. The larger souterrain was entirely missed by the party—an extraordinary circumstance if it be still in existence.

The third wall runs in a curved course from an inlet in the precipitous flank of the island on the northern side to a similar inlet in the southern. It is interrupted by the larger lake in its way. There is a remarkable structure at either end : that at the northern end, of which the site is extant, was a two-chambered building : the southern chamber 19 feet by 12 feet ; the northern 21 feet by 6 feet. The walls were of pitched flags, except the partition wall which was of laid flags, 3 feet thick. Mr. Kinahan found, south-west of this, another square building, about 9 feet each way, built of flat stones, except the doorway, which was of pitched flags. Of this we saw no sign. At the south end is a building which we did not visit from want of time. Petrie describes it as an oval, 18 feet by 9 feet, with a small walled enclosure joined to it, which he thinks was probably a garden—a most unlikely hypothesis. Mr. Kinahan gives the dimensions as 13 feet by 21 feet, and says nothing about its apparent subdivision.

THE MILL.

The large lake empties itself through a little stream on the opposite side from the monastery. Petrie regarded lake as well as stream as artificial ; but we did not notice any indications to warrant this theory. Our party did not explore the locality where the mill was situated ; but, according to Mr. Kinahan, nothing but part of the dam was visible in 1869. Petrie merely records the existence of the mill, and gives no particulars.

Among the *débris* at the south side of the chapel is a smooth, evenly worked sphere of granite, about 18 inches in diameter. Mr. Kinahan makes the specious conjecture that it was employed for grinding. In connexion with it, he mentions the existence of a partially cut stone, apparently a half-formed quern, inside the cashel. This is not recorded by Petrie, and was not seen by our party. The description suggests a bullán.

THE WELL.

The well is near the highest point of the island, in its middle, and at the foot of a mass of bare rock. On three sides the well is enclosed by a low dry-stone wall : the steep side of the rock furnishes the fourth side, but the wall is not butted against the rock ; there is a narrow

passage between them. Following O'Flaherty, the Ordnance Survey names this well after Brian Boroimhe, but the reason for this ascription is not obvious. Mr. Kinahan found that its water "is said to cure colic and similar complaints." While discussing these antiquities on our return to the steamer, a suggestion was made to the effect that the early settlers in the island could not but notice that the well is in a most unlikely place for a well to be—at the foot of a dry rock, on the top of the island, where no water could either drain into it or spring up from below. It would only be natural that, in that simple age of marvels, the idea of its miraculous origin would arise in the minds of thoughtful observers.

We found the following offerings lying on the wall at the end of the northern side:—hairpins, fish-hooks, bone buttons, metal button (one only), suspender buckle, fragments of whip-cord, fragment of cloth, key of a Yale lock. They were protected from the wind by two or three pebbles, one of which was of white quartz—probably itself an offering. Of these, the hairpins may safely be regarded as the offerings of women, the fish-hooks of fishermen. The preponderance of bone over metal buttons is simply due to local fashion. The buckle is curious, so is the whip-cord; on the other hand, it is strange that there was but one piece of cloth. But as no tree is near to which to tie the cloths, it is possible that the Atlantic gales may be responsible for other fragments. One member of our party suggested that the American key may have been left by some emigrant returned from the New World. This is a long shot, but a clever one.

I would suggest that inventories similar to this be made at other places of popular devotion, as the comparison of such lists might possibly reveal interesting local peculiarities or even important pieces of folklore.

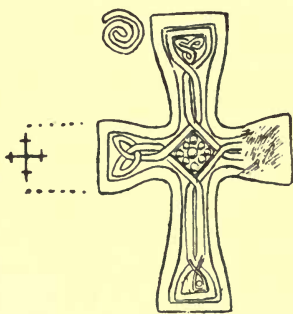
THE CROSSES.

The word "crosses" is somewhat loosely used in this connexion, though it is convenient. As a matter of fact, three out of the five examined by us are rather *cross-slabs* than *crosses*. It is possible that there are two more, which we did not see, and of which no description is forthcoming. Two "penitential stations" are marked on the Ordnance (6-inch) map: one between the well and the miners' cottages; the other at the south end of the outer boundary wall. By analogy we should expect to find crosses at both these stations, and, indeed, Petrie records a cross at the latter spot, which, however, he does not describe. Neither is recorded by Mr. Kinahan.

A is a cross-slab about 3 feet in height, slightly to the northward of the head of the landing-place. This position, combined with its comparatively elaborate character, suggests to my mind that it was intended rather for devotional than for monumental purposes. It is the only antiquity at the north end of the island.

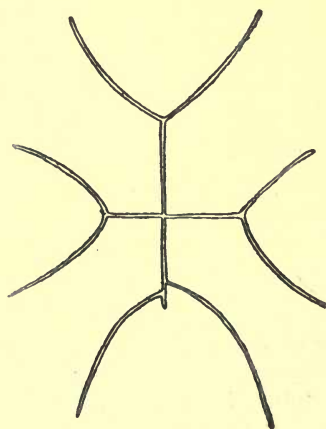
The cross is cut in rather high relief on the landward face of the slab. The keys project slightly beyond the edges of the slab—probably the effect of the weathering of the stone. The cross is pattée, the lower limb rather longer than the others: a broad margin surrounds the whole, within which is interlacing work of a pleasing though simple pattern. In the upper limb is a triquetra. I have been unable satisfactorily to make out the central knot.

The extra thickness of the stone at the points where the cross has been cut has preserved the carefully smoothed edges of its limbs from weathering: free of the cross, the stone is rounded by the action of the weather. On the edge of the left key of the cross, a small cross-crosslet is incised in single lines: what is intended by this curious feature I cannot guess. Still more worthy of notice is a little spiral in the upper left-hand corner. I would call the attention of our iconographers to the position of this ornament, and invite comparison with cross *D*. The seaward face of the stone is plain.



B is a small slab about 2 feet in height, now leaning against the wall of the holy well. It bears a rude incised cross on either face. The design of one of these is remarkable, and clearly betrays the influence of cross *D*.

C is the upper part of a rude cross with regularly disengaged keys, adopted as a lintel to the chapel doorway. It was formed by cutting two notches in each edge of a rather slender slab, so that the keys did not project beyond the sides of the limbs: compare cross *E*. A single line follows the curve of the outline of the slab: this is the only tooling traceable with certainty on the exposed face. The fracture took place across the two lower notches.

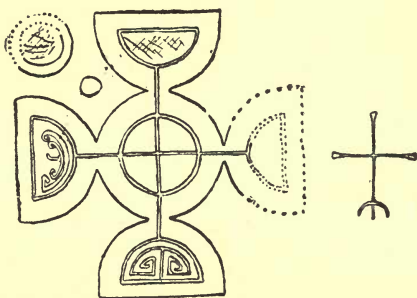


Cross *B*.

D is a very remarkable and interesting cross-slab. It was erected by Mr. Kinahan at the south side of the chapel to preserve it from injury; he found it prostrate in the cashel. On the southern face is cut in relief a cross which, in principle, consists of a central circle touched by four semicircles. A cross of two lines is drawn through the centre of the complete circles, and the

semicircles are filled up with spirals and interlacing work. I cannot decipher the ornamentation of the upper limb; the right-hand key is lost; the lower limb contains two spirals; and, so far as I can make out, the left-hand key contains a conventionalized human face. A cross very similar, but less varied in pattern, exists (according to Wilde's *Lough Corrib*, where it is figured, p. 147) at Teampull na Naomh, on Inchaguile.

In the upper left-hand corner are two circles in relief, in such a position that a line joining their centres will pass through the centre of the cross. This recalls the spiral in *A*, and suggests a similarity of purpose with it; but the only suggestion that has occurred to me is, that the circles may be intended for the sun and moon, with a possible allusion to the darkness at the crucifixion. Mr. Romilly Allen, to whom I showed photographs of these stones, told me that he did not recollect seeing a similar example elsewhere: independently he suggested the same explanation as that which had struck me. It will be noticed that the upper circle is incomplete, and is very much larger than the lower; this is an objection to the suggested exegesis, as, to the unaided vision, the sun and moon appear to be of much the same size. At Ballindhoor, near Knockboy, Dunbelloge, county Cork, is a pillar-stone, six feet in height, inscribed with two circles, one above the other—the upper in relief, the lower incised. I have not seen this stone, but think it may be worth an incidental mention in connexion with the symbolism of this cross. The circles on this stone are alleged—I know not on what authority—to represent the sun and moon.



The northern face of the stone bears a small incised cross, the upper limb and the keys expanding slightly, the lower limb crossed by a semi-circular curve.

E was also placed erect by Mr. Kinahan; it was rescued from a prostrate position in the cashel, and placed on a station a little south-east of the cashel, on the lake side. The station is simply a rude pile of stones, 2 feet high by 4 feet square. With its cross, it somewhat resembles the altars on Inismurray with their lately-added crosses.

This is a weathered slab, and the cross is defined by four notches cut in the edges converging towards a point in the middle. The most remarkable point about the cross is the fact that two of the notches, diagonally opposite, are cut into and through the stone: the other two are only indicated by depressions on each face.

HISTORICAL NOTE.

There is little to be gleaned respecting the history of the island monastery of Ardoileán. O'Flaherty, the gossiping historian of *Iar-Connacht*, gives us very little about it, but his description is worth quoting as being a terse account of the island, and a characteristic bit of this charming old writer. "It was," says he, "anciently called *Innis-hiarthuir*, *i.e.* the West Island. It is unaccessible but on calm settled weather, and so steep that it is hard after landing in it to climb to the top where there is a well called *Brian Boromy* (king of Ireland) his well, and a standing water on the brook whereof was a mill. There is extant a chappel and a large round wall, and also that kind of stone building called *cloghan*. Therein yearly an ayrie of hawkes is found."¹ O'Flaherty, by-the-way, strangely confuses *Inisheer* in the *Aran* group with this island. Here, he says, *Ardoileán* was "anciently called *Innis-hiarthuir*"; elsewhere he calls *Inisheer* "*Ardoilen*."

The foundation of the monastery is unquestionably due to that indefatigable establisher of monasteries, *St. Féichin* of *Fore*. It is needless for me to enter into particulars of this saint's life, as it has so recently been laid before the Society by the *Rev. G. T. Stokes*. His dates are approximately 600–664, and as he founded the monastery of *Omey*² before he came to *Ardoileán*, we may perhaps regard ourselves as tolerably correct if we assign 630–640 as about the date of the foundation of the latter monastery.

The megalithic character of *St. Féichin's* church at *Fore* contrasts remarkably with the masonry of his chapel at *Ardoileán*. The presence of a mill at both places is perhaps hardly worth notice. For the remarkable miraculous story about the *Fore* mill, see *Dr. Stokes's Paper*.³ Possibly the *clocháns* of *Ardoileán* were the scene of the penance of *Féichin*, described by *Cuimin Condeire*—

“Capair Féichin rial Pabhair
noéap' bé an ctabadh breccach
docuipeth a arna cruagha
le capcain cruaidh gan ébach.”⁴

Thus Englished by Stokes—

“Generous *Féichin* of *Fore* loved (this) : the devotion was not untruthful—he used to set his wretched rib on the hard prison without raiment.”

The next personage of note related to *Ardoileán* is *Gormgall*, described by the “*Four Masters*” as *ppuín anmchapa* of *Erin*. The “*Annals* of

¹ *Iar-Connacht*, ed. Hardiman, pp. 114–115.

² See a note on *Omey* contributed to “*Miscellanea*,” in the current number.

³ *Journal*, Ser. v., vol. ii. (1892), p. 1.

⁴ *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, vol. i., p. 62.

the Four Masters" record his death on the island in 1017. It is not unlikely that the tomb found by Petrie in the chapel was really St. Gormgall's; the date of the latter saint would suit the style of the monument, as described by Petrie, much better than the date of St. Féichin; and, in any case, I should suppose that Féichin was buried at his last, and most important, monastery of Fore.

The lower part of cross *A* is very obscure, but it seems as though the interlacing band bifurcated in a way much more characteristic of Scandinavian than of Celtic knotwork. Is it too far-fetched to suggest a possible connection between Gormgall and this cross? for *Gormgall* denotes "blue-eyed foreigner," that is, most probably, Scandinavian. Colgan gives an interesting list of Gormgall's companions: "Maelsuthunius, Celecharius, Dubthacus, Dunadach, Cellachus, Tressachus, Vltanus, Maelmartinus, Coromachus, Conmachus, et alii plures." It is not irrelevant to note that these names are all of a pronounced Celtic type.

Like most of our monastic institutions Ardoileán was a literary as well as a religious centre. Manuscripts were written here—the scriptorium was probably one of the buildings at either end of the third or boundary wall. It was from Ardoileán and Omey that Colgan drew the oldest documents which he used in compiling St. Féichin's life.

In conclusion I have to apologise for the fragmentary state of this Paper in places, and to express a hope that means may be found to check the wholesale devastation that is slowly, but surely destroying the remains on this most interesting island.

NOTE ADDED IN THE PRESS.

Since the above Paper was sent to the printer, I have had an opportunity of reading the account of Ardoileán in the Ordnance Survey MSS. From these I extract the following passages and notes:—

"The well is . . . unfit to be used for drink, being black stagnant water. It is surrounded by a little enclosure of loose stones, and now considered a holy well, for the marines¹ think that Brian Boroimhe was a saint and not a king" [this, however, does not explain how Brian's name has become associated with the well].

"The large round wall . . . is now very much dilapidated. . . . It is nearly an oblong, measuring in length, from north to south, 38 yards, and in breadth, from east to west, 23 yards. The wall is, in many

¹ So O'Donovan wrote: perhaps a *lapsus calami* for "natives."

places, level with the earth, especially on the north side, but a few feet of its height remain on the east, south, and west sides. Its thickness, as well as I could ascertain, from the most perfect part of it, near the N.W. corner, was about 10 feet (more or less by a few inches)".

A description of the two large clocháns follows.

Sketches are given of the west and east gables of the chapel. The former is represented much in its present condition, so that the idea of its being a modern restoration may be dismissed. The east gable represents part of the window *in situ*, built with voussoirs. If this be correct (it hardly seems probable at a date so early), some other use must be sought for the notched stone described on page 199.

THE SHAMROCK IN LITERATURE: A CRITICAL CHRONOLOGY.

BY NATHANIEL COLGAN, M.R.I.A.

WHILE engaged some years ago on an inquiry into the species of our national badge, I had occasion to consult many of the older authorities on the subject, and being led on step by step by the obscurity of some of the passages, was finally induced to set about the preparation of a chronology of the shamrock. The object in view was not to furnish material for the support of any new theory: it was simply to bring together all the scattered literature of the subject, of earlier than nineteenth century date, and cast it into such a shape as should at once make the whole available for ready reference and set in as clear a light as possible the precise value of each writer's contribution. For this purpose a chronological arrangement seemed to offer many advantages, not the least being this, that when the various references are thus drawn up in orderly sequence, what is original can be at once distinguished from what is derivative. The form of a chronology, then, was adopted as the most suitable for the mass of Shamrockiana collected from a series of authors, historical and botanical, stretching over a period of some two centuries and a half, and a running commentary was added, designed chiefly to aid in estimating the exact import and weight of the evidence afforded by each writer. Care was taken at the same time to quote, throughout, at first-hand from the various authors referred to, and from their first editions wherever accessible, while a fruitful source of error was removed by extracting with each reference its full context.¹ A somewhat exhaustive search through the works of the earlier botanists enabled me to add some fresh matter to the literature of the subject, and a further addition was made from references supplied by friends.²

The historical index thus put together will, it is hoped, be found to include a fuller body of shamrock literature than any hitherto brought together; and showing, as it does, with at least an approach to completeness, the present state of our knowledge it may, perhaps, have the effect of stimulating some trained antiquarian to further pursuit of the inquiry.

Before entering on the chronology proper, or review of our knowledge of the shamrock as it appears in literature, it may be useful to make a short survey of our ignorance of the subject.

¹ In all the longer passages quoted I have italicized the portions directly referring to the shamrock.

² I am indebted for some valuable suggestions to the Rev. T. Olden, M.R.I.A.; the late Mr. A. G. More, F.L.S.; Count Plunkett, M.R.I.A.; and Mr. James Britten, F.L.S., of the British Museum. All passages which I believe to be here quoted for the first time in connexion with this subject, are marked with an asterisk.

I.—Though popular belief assigns to the use of the shamrock as our national badge an origin in the days of Saint Patrick, it seems hardly possible to concede any great antiquity to the tradition which associates the plant with the evangelist of Ireland. Allusions to the familiar and attractive legend of Saint Patrick and the trefoil may be found in English literature early in the eighteenth century; but nowhere, perhaps, is the story told with so much circumstance as in the following note (p. 13) to the 2nd edition of the "Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards," written by Edward Jones, "Bard to the Prince of Wales," and published in 1794:—

"When St. Patrick landed near Wicklow the inhabitants were ready to stone him for attempting an innovation in the religion of their ancestors. He requested to be heard, and explained unto them that God is an omnipotent, sacred spirit, who created Heaven and Earth, and that the Trinity is contained in the Unity; but they were reluctant to give credit to his words. St. Patrick, therefore, plucked a trefoil from the ground and expostulated with the Hibernians:—'Is it not as feasible for the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as for these three leaves thus to grow upon a single stalk?' Then the Irish were immediately convinced of their error, and were solemnly baptized by St. Patrick."

This is precisely such an incident as we should expect to find chronicled in some one or other of the numerous extant "Lives of St. Patrick," had it ever taken place, or had it found its way into early tradition; yet the most competent authorities assure us that no reference to it is to be found in any of these Lives.

Irish scholars, moreover, are unable to point to the use of the word *seamroge* in any of the older Irishman uscripts, though an adjectival expression, similar in sound and undoubtedly referring to some species of clover, is found in early Irish literature. The expression *scoithshem-rach* makes its first appearance, it seems, in the fourteenth-century Irish manuscript, the "Leabhar Breac," where it occurs in the contracted form, *scoithemrach*, in a passage referring to Saint Sciuthin. I am indebted to the Rev. Thomas Olden, M.R.I.A., for a reference to this passage and for the following rendering of it:—

"One day St. Sciuthin was walking on the sea, when he met St. Barré, of Cork, who was in a ship. 'Why do you walk on the sea,' said Barré? 'It is not the sea,' answered Sciuthin, 'but a plain, flowery, shamrocked (*scoithemrach*, perhaps better rendered, clovery); and he picked up a purple flower (or, perhaps, a handsome flower), and cast it to Barré in the ship, and said: 'Why does a ship swim on the plain?' Then Barré put down his hand into the sea, and took a salmon thereout, and cast it to Sciuthin."

This episode from the "Life of Saint Sciuthin," is repeated with slight variation in the "Martyrology of Donegal," compiled by Michael O'Clery, chief of the Four Masters, and completed in 1630. In Dr. O'Donovan's translation of the "Martyrology," the words *Scothach agoithsemrach*, descriptive of the plain which was the subject of controversy, are rendered "flowery, shamrock-bearing."

However sufficient for literary purposes these renderings "sham-rocked" and "shamrock-bearing" may be, it seems clear that we cannot bring them forward as evidence of what they were never designed to prove—the antiquity of the word *Seamroge* in Irish literature. The affix *ach* in *sgoithsemrach* has a very different force and a very different sound from the affix *oge* in *Seamroge*, so that we can only adduce these passages as showing the early use of the word *Seamar*, a generic term for the clovers. The word *Seamroge*, then, a diminutive form of *Seamar*, meaning 'little clover,' is yet to be sought for by Irish scholars in the older monuments of our native literature. Whether it be ultimately found there or not, the early appearance in English literature of the word 'shamrock,' now known almost wherever the English tongue is spoken, might be held to point to the still earlier existence, at least in the spoken language of Ireland, of a parent word *Seamroge*. If we turn to Irish glossaries and vocabularies, it would almost seem as if the word could not be traced back to any earlier date than the beginning of the eighteenth century, when it appears in Lhwyd's "Irish-English Dictionary," published in 1707.¹ Lhwyd, no doubt, states that the word occurs in the ms. "Latin-Irish Dictionary" of Richard Plunkett, written in 1662; but a reference to the ms.² shows that Lhwyd has erroneously transcribed *Seamsog*³ into *Seamrog*, and that the latter word is not to be found in Plunkett.⁴

Before passing from this branch of the subject it may be well to give here the substance of a curious legend communicated to me by Dr. E. P. Wright, who first heard it, many years ago, from the lips of that distinguished antiquarian, the late Bishop Reeves. The legend, which, so far as Dr. Wright's memory serves him, was stated by the bishop to have been taken from a seventh-century manuscript, runs briefly thus:—

Two holy men of Ireland were travelling homewards from a Roman pilgrimage to their native place in northern Ulster, and as they drew near the shores of Lough Neagh, it so happened that they began to discourse of the marvellous power of faith. They spoke of all that a man might do had he true faith: how faith could move mountains, and how St. Peter, in its strength, had been able to walk on the sea. Then one of the holy men, turning to his fellow, said: "Come, brother, let us walk out on the lake and prove our own faith." So they joined hands and, lifting their eyes towards heaven, walked boldly out on the water. But when they had gone forward a little way the man of weaker faith cried out, amazed: "Can this truly be the lake I stand on?" Then the other

¹ "Archæologia Britannica," vol. i.

² In Marsh's Library, Dublin.

³ The Irish name for the wood-sorrel, and quite distinct from the word *seamroge*.

⁴ I have had no opportunity of consulting O'Clery's "Irish Vocabulary," printed at Louvain in 1643, as the work is not to be found in any of the Dublin libraries, nor, indeed, in the British Museum, as I am informed. The word *seamroge* may possibly occur in this early dictionary.

turning to him, answered: "Look down, brother; do you not see the shamrocks growing in the water at your feet?"

I have not been able to discover any manuscript or printed source of this legend, on which, it seems, Bishop Reeves was accustomed to base the opinion that the true shamrock of ancient Ireland, was the Bog Bean (*Menyanthes trifoliata*), an aquatic plant with trifoliate leaves rather common in Ireland.¹

II.—Assuming, then, for the present, as we seem fairly entitled to do after this rapid survey of the field of our ignorance, that no Irish writings of earlier than, say, seventeenth-century date contribute anything to the literature of the shamrock, let us see whether any light can be had from the learned volumes of the old herbalists of England and the Continent, enriched as they often are by polyglot plant-names and curious bits of plantlore. A careful examination of a series of the monumental works belonging to the second half of the sixteenth century, including the "Commentaries" of Leonard Fuchs (Bâle, 1542), the "Names of Herbes" (1548), and the "Herbal" (1564), of William Turner, the "Commentaries" of Mathiolus (Venice, 1583), and the "Kreuterbuch" of Tabernaemontanus (Frankfort, 1588), ends only in disappointment; for in none of them is any mention made of the shamrock or of any facts or fancies connected with the commoner species of Irish clover.²

1570.—*A Flemish Botanist records that the Irish Freebooters eat Cakes made of the Meadow Trefoil.*

But, at length, the search is rewarded by the discovery of a very interesting passage, hitherto unnoticed in connexion with this subject in the pages of **Matthias L'obel** or **Lobel**, a Flemish botanist whose memory has been kept alive for us by Linnæus in the name of the genus *Lobelia*, so familiar in modern gardens.

Settling in London in the reign of Elizabeth, Lobel published there, in the year 1570, in association with a physician named Peter Pena, or de Pena, an important botanical work dedicated to the queen, and entitled, "*Stirpium Adversaria Nova*,"³ on page 380 of which there

¹ If the source of this legend be discovered, it will probably be found that the expression rendered 'shamrocks,' in Dr. Reeves' version, is *scoithshemrach*, of the "Leabhar Breac" and "Donegal Martyrology." None of the many Irish names for the *Menyanthes* has the least resemblance to *seamroge*.

² Particular mention of the older botanical authorities consulted has been made here so that anyone tempted to carry the inquiry further may be spared the labour of travelling over the same ground.

³ As the chief share in this work is usually attributed to Lobel, I speak of it here as Lobel's "*Adversaria*." A copy, wanting the title, is in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, where there is also a fine copy with coloured plates of the Flemish version, published at Antwerp in 1581, under the title:—"Kruydtboeck oft beschrijuinghe van allerleye Ghewassen," &c., on p. 34 (Second Part) of which will be found a Flemish rendering of the passage quoted here.

appears, in Lobel's decidedly thorny Latin, a paragraph on the meadow trefoil and its varieties. In this paragraph we have what seems to be the earliest contribution to the history of the shamrock, and with this our chronology may fitly open. The English version, placed here side by side with the original text, I have endeavoured to make as faithful as possible :—

* *Trifolium pratense . . . flore purpureo purpureum et albicâte albū dicitur . . . , utraque nihil notius, frequentius aut utilius pecori veterinariae-ve saginandae. Nec aliud ab isto est quo mortales meri Hyberniae, delicias irritermentaque palati spreti, placetas, laganas et panes pinsunt exque butyro subigant quae latranti obtrudant stomacho, nonnunquam triduum fame exercito et pene rabienti. Sed haec tollerantia praedoniibus praesertim consueta itemq: militibus. Inter quos superioribus annis nobis notis generosi cum militia mererent propter defectionem latronum in Hybernia mirabantur eos probe pastos¹ cingulo arcissimo cincto circum umbilicum tamdiu esse quoad proximo triduo rursū cibum ingurgitarent. Qui, ne prae properē elaberetur, persuasi erant multum profore ad roboris et alimenti supplementum si vincti cingulo quam diutissime inibi coercerentur. Idq: natura docente potius quam Scytharū imitatione factum reor, de quibus idem prodidit gravius auctor Plutarchus. Indigenes enim insulae cū sint hi et longissime absint.³*

The Meadow Trefoil . . . with a purple flower is called Purple Trefoil, and with a whitish flower White Trefoil . . . and there is nothing better known, or more frequent than either, or more useful for the fattening, whether of kine, or of beasts of burden. *Nor is it from any other than this that the mere Irish, scorning all the delights and spurs of the palate, grind [the meal for] their cakes and loaves, which they knead with butter, and thrust into their groaning bellies, when, as sometimes happens, they are vexed and nigh maddened with a three days' hunger.* But it is chiefly with the freebooters the like endurance is used, as it is, moreover, with the soldiery. And certain gentlemen of our acquaintance being amongst them on war service some years since by reason of the revolt of the mercenaries² in Ireland, were astonished to see them, after they had well stuffed themselves with food, go most straightly girt round the navel with their belts for three days' space, till once again they might gorge themselves with victual. For they were persuaded it would much advantage their strength and nourishment if, with tight-girt belts, they should thus keep their food in durance as long as might be, lest it should too quickly digest itself. And this, it seems to me, they had rather by the teaching of nature than by imitation of the Scythians, of whom the like is related by that grave author Plutarch. For these men are both native in the island, and far removed from the Scythians.

¹ It is not quite clear whether this gorging of the mere Irish was done with trefoil cakes, or with some more ordinary food; but the whole passage occurs in a section devoted to the meadow trefoil.

² Or, perhaps, "by reason of the lack of mercenaries."

³ The curious glimpse which this passage gives us of the commissariat arrangements of the Irish Light Infantry of the period will, perhaps, justify its quotation here at full length.

We have here the first appearance in literature of the mysterious shamrock-bread, for although the name, shamrock, nowhere appears in this circumstantial account of the starvation fare of the mere Irish, and their practical application of tight-lacing, we find a famous English herbalist, some twenty-five years later, identifying Lobel's meadow trefoil with the Irish "shamrocks." And it may be fairly assumed that the plant had not taken on this Irish name in the interval. We can only surmise how Lobel came to satisfy himself that the plant thus used by the Irish as a bread-stuff was the meadow trefoil, under which name, it will be seen, he includes, as varieties, the two Linnæan species *Trifolium pratense*, the purple clover, and *T. repens*, the white or Dutch clover. From the passage quoted it would seem that the use amongst the Irish of a kind of bread made from herbs was known, or at least credited, in England at the time when Lobel wrote.

1571.—*The Shamrock appears by name for the first time in English literature, and is said to be used as food by the Irish.*

In the year after the publication of Lobel's *Adversaria*, **Edmond Campion** finished in Dublin the writing of his well-known "Historie of Ireland." In his description of the manners and customs of the Irish, we have the following passage, which contains what appears to be the first mention, by name, of the shamrock :—

"Proud are they of long, crisped glibbes and doe nourish the same with all their cunning : to crop the front thereof they take it for a notable piece of villainy. Sham-rottes, water cresses, and other herbes they feed upon: oatemele and butter they cramme together."

There is nothing here to indicate the species of the shamrock ; it is simply spoken of as a herb. In Campion's spelling of the name, the consonant *t* occupies the place of the *k* which soon afterwards appeared in English writings, yet the sound of the original Irish *seamroge* is very clearly reproduced.

1578.—*An English rhymester detests the wilde Shamrocke manners of the Irish wood kernes.*

John Derricke, in his "Image of Ireland with a Discoverie of Wood Kearne,"¹ a quaint, rhyming account of the wilde Irishe, written in 1578, and published in black-letter, in 1581, gives us our next reference to the shamrock, the plant-name now assuming almost the identical form which has to-day become fixed in the English language. In his Epistle

¹ I am indebted to Count Plunkett, M.R.I.A., for this interesting reference.

Dedicatorie, Derricke thus unburdens his conscience, on the subject of the wood-kernes:—

* “For in verie trothe my harte abhorreth their dealynges and my soule dooeth deteste their wilde shamrocke manners.”¹

It is hard, no doubt, to draw any certain conclusion from such vague language as this; but it seems to show by its very vagueness that in Derricke's time there existed in English minds a well-recognised association of the shamrock with the native, or mere Irish. The shamrock, in fact, would appear to have been one of the notes of contempt for the fleet and slippery “Irish enemy” on a par with his all-sufficient mantle and his disguising glib or forelock. The mere wearing of the plant as a badge—and there is not a shred of evidence to show that it was so worn until a century later—would hardly have been sufficient to call forth the very strong language used by Derricke in this passage. It is far more probable that the “wilde shamrocke manners” of which he expresses his detestation, was the feeding on the shamrock, already recorded as an Irish custom by Lobel and Campion, and one eminently fitted to arouse the contempt of a well-nourished Englishman.

1586.—*Stanihurst asserts that the Irish term Water Cresses, Shamrocks.*

In the second edition of Holinshed's “Chronicles,” published in 1586, is included a *Plaine and Perfect Description of Ireland*, compiled by the scholarly **Richard Stanihurst**, son of James Stanihurst, Recorder of Dublin, in the reign of Elizabeth, and dedicated to “Sir Henrie Sidnie, Lord Deputie Generall of Ireland.” Stanihurst, in his preface, refers to the earlier historical labours of his “fast friend and inward companion, Maister Edward Campion,” and states his intention of enriching his friend's work. The following passage from the eighth chapter of the *Description*, dealing with the “Disposition and Manners of the Meare Irish, commonlie called the wilde Irish,” may, perhaps, be taken as a sample of this enrichment or embellishment:—

“Proud are they of long crisped bushes of heare, which they terme glibs, and the same they nourish with all their cunning; to crop the front thereof they take it for a notable piece of villainie. *Water-cresses, which they tearme shamrocks, roots, and other herbs they feed upon, otemeale and butter they cram together.*”

In this enrichment of the passage already quoted from Campion, it will be seen that Stanihurst makes water-cresses the English equivalent for the Irish shamrotes or shamrocks, and thus for the first time, assigns what may be taken as a definite species (*Nasturtium officinale*) for the hitherto mysterious food-plant of the Irish. But the fact that

¹ See *fac-simile* reprint of the “Image,” edited by John Small. M.A. (Edinburgh · 1883), p. 8 of “Epistle Dedicatorie.

the Irish name for the common water-cress (*Nasturtium officinale*) whether in its ancient or modern shape, has not the remotest resemblance to the word 'shamrock,' prevents our accepting this identification. The water-cress is known to-day in the Irish-speaking districts of our island by the name *biolar*; we find precisely the same name applied to it, fully 230 years ago, in the manuscript Dictionary of Richard Plunkett, and so far back as the tenth century it occurs in Cormac's "Glossary" in the slightly different form, *biror*. It would seem, indeed, as if Stanihurst's identification of the water-cress with the shamrock arose simply from a misunderstanding of Campion's text.

1595 (*circa*).—*The Irish feed on Sham-rokes when reduced to starvation in the Munster Wars.*

Edmund Spenser, in his "View of the Present State of Ireland," describing the straits to which the "Irish rebels" were brought during "those late warres in Mounster" puts into the mouth of Irenæus the oft-quoted lines :—

"Ere one yeaere and a halfe they were broughte to such wretchedness as that any stonye harte would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glinnes they came creeping forth upon theyr handes, for theyr legges could not beare them; they looked like anatomyes of death, they spake like ghostes crying out of their graves; they did eate of the dead carriens . . . and yf they founde a plotte of water-cresses or sham-rokes there they flocked as to a feast for the time."

The *View*, which contains the above passage, perhaps the most familiar in all the literature of the shamrock, was written about the year 1595, though not published until 1633, and is largely a record of a state of things of which Spenser was himself an eye-witness about the year 1582, towards the close of the great Desmond rising. There is a certain ambiguity in the phrase "water-cresses or sham-rokes" here used by Spenser; for while the more obvious sense of the conjunction 'or' would make the water-cress a plant distinct from the sham-roke it is admissible to give the conjunction the force of 'that is' and thus make the writer of the *View* support Stanihurst in identifying the water-cress with the shamrock. But even admitting for Spenser's phrase a sense which would support Stanihurst's identification, the objection already made would apply, that the Irish name for the water-cress in no way resembles the word shamrock.

1597.—*An Elizabethan Herbalist records that the Meadow Trefoil is called Shamrockes by the Irish.*

In John Gerard's famous "Herball, or General Historie of Plantes," published in 1597,¹ we at length approach to a trustworthy identification

¹ There is a good copy of the first edition in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

of the shamrock. On page 1017 of the fine first edition, in a paragraph treating "Of three-leaved Grasse or Meadow Trefoile," we read thus :—

"There be divers sortes of three-leaved grasses, some greater, others lesser . . . and first, of the common meadow trefoiles, *which are called in Irish shamrockes.*"

Here coloured plates of the purple clover and of the white clover are given, and then follows a minute description, in which the characters of the two forms of trefoil, not yet discriminated into the two Linnæan species, *Trifolium pratense* and *T. repens*, are inextricably mingled :—

"Meadow trefoile bringeth forth stalkes a cubit long, round and something hairie, the greater part of which creepeth upon the ground, whereon do grow leaves consisting of 3 jointed together, one standing a little from the other, of which those that are next the ground and rootes are rounder, and they that growe on the upper parte longer, having for the most part in the midst a white spot like a half-moone. The flowers come forth on the tops of the stalkes in a tuft or short fox-tail ear of a purple colour and sweete taste. . . . the root is long, woodie, and groweth deepe. There is another of the field trefoils differing from the precedent especially in the colour of the flowers, for as these are of a bright purple, contrariwise these are very white, which maketh the difference."

It will be seen from this description that Gerard, from a modern point of view, has not absolutely fixed the botanical species of the shamrock, since he applies the Irish name indifferently to what we now recognise as two distinct species of the meadow clover. But he is no further from exact knowledge with regard to the food-plant of the wild Irish in Elizabethan times than we ourselves are to-day with regard to the national badge of modern Ireland.

Considering the strong appetite for the marvellous shown by all the earlier writers on natural history, it is hard to account for Gerard's silence concerning the use of the meadow trefoil as a bread-stuff by the Irish. Gerard must have either been ignorant of Lobel's important work, the "*Adversaria*," or, knowing it, must have rejected the story of the trefoil bread already quoted here; and it is equally difficult to assume on Gerard's behalf either such ignorance or such critical independence. Thus much is clear, however, that Gerard had access to other sources of information in Irish plant lore than those availed of by Lobel.

It would only be the pedantry of caution to hesitate at this stage of our chronology to combine the knowledge we have derived from Lobel and Gerard; so we may sum up here by asserting that the Irish about the year 1570 were accustomed to eat bread made from their shamrock, which was either the purple clover or the white clover.

1599.—*The Herbe Shamrocke being of a sharpe taste is willingly eaten by the wild Irish.*

Fynes Moryson, Secretary to the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, in his well-known work "*An Itinerary written by Fynes Moryson, Gent.,*

containing his Ten Yeeres Travels thorow Twelve Dominions," gives us the next reference to the shamrock.¹ Though the passage in which Moryson relates the Irish experiences of a certain Bohemian baron, Bohemian by taste no less than by birth, is among the most familiar in the literature of our subject it may be well to quote it here in full :—

"The foresaid wild Irish do not thresh their Oates, but burn them from the straw,² and so make cakes thereof, yet they seldome eat the bread, much lesse any better kind, especially in time of scarcitie, whereof a Bohemian Baron complained, who having seene the Courts of England and Scotland would needes out of his curiositie return through Irelande in the heate of the rebellion, and having letters from the King of Scots to the Irish lords, then in rebellion, first landed among them in the farthest north, where for eight dayes space he had found no bread, not so much as a cake of oats, till he came to eat with the Earl of Tyrone; and after obtaining the Lord Deputy's Passe to come into our army related this their want of bread to us for a miracle, who nothing wondered thereat. Yea, the wild Irish in times of greatest peace impute covetousness and base birth to him that hath any Corne after Christmas, as if it were a point of nobility to consume all within these festival days. *They willingly eat the herbe Schamrock being of a sharpe taste which as they run and are chased to and fro they snatch like beasts out of the ditches*"³

In the whole literature of the shamrock there is, perhaps, no passage more perplexing than this. The "herbe shamrock," of a sharp taste, here spoken of by Moryson as growing in ditches, cannot be the same with the meadow trefoil which Gerard assures us is the Irish shamrockes; for the trefoil does not affect ditches, and has not a sharp taste. Neither can we assume that Moryson's schamrock was the water-cress (*Nasturtium officinale*); for although this plant, when mature, has often a sharp, *i.e.* a hot or biting taste, and grows in ditches, the dissimilarity of its Irish name from the word shamrock stands in the way of this assumption here just as much as it does in the passages from Stanihurst and Spenser. Nor can we assume that two different plants, distinct in properties and habitats, were known to the Irish of Elizabethan times by the same name, shamrock, or *Seamaroge*. If an attempt must be made to get rid of the conflict between our authorities, there seems to be only one plausible way of doing so, by identifying Moryson's schamrock with the wood-sorrel (*Oxalis acetosella*) as has been done by a modern writer on the subject. The wood-sorrel, a trifoliate plant with an acid juice, abundant in Irish woodlands, has a sharp taste, in a stricter sense than the water-cress, and though

¹ I have referred Moryson's mention of the shamrock to the year 1599, when the writer first visited Ireland, as appears from the following passage in his "History of Ireland":—"At my return from Scotland about the month of September in the year 1598, I retired myself to Healing . . . where I passed an idle year. After the year spent in country solace the hopes of preferment drew me into Ireland."

² This practice was prohibited under severe penalties by the Irish Act, 10 & 11 Car. I., cap. 17 (1634-35). The preamble attributes the "unprofitable and uncivill custome" partly to a "naturall lazie disposition possessing" the Irish, and partly to their desire "to be fitting from their lands, and to deceive his Majestie of such debts as they may be owing at any time, and their landlords of their rents."

³ "Itinerary" (London: 1617), part iii., p. 163, in T.C.D. Library.

it cannot be said to be a true ditch-plant, it occurs not infrequently on shaded ditch-banks, while its native name *Seamsoge* very closely resembles the name 'schamrock' given by Moryson to the food-herb of the Irish.

It is obvious that in thus attempting to get rid of the conflict between Gerard and Moryson, the only authorities, so far, who give us any means of identifying the shamrock, we have in reality only shifted the ground of the conflict. In showing that there is no need to harmonise the descriptions of Moryson and Gerard, since they refer to distinct plants, we have unavoidably brought two rival shamrocks into the field; and between the claims of these two a decision must be made. In a matter of plant-lore, as this is, one is coerced to attach greater weight to the opinion of botanists, such as Lobel and Gerard, than to the statement of a presumably unscientific traveller, such as Moryson. We may conclude, then, that the bread-stuff of the wild Irish in times of scarcity was the meadow-trefoil or shamrockes of Gerard, and not the wood-sorrel or *seamsoge* described by Moryson. At the same time we can have no difficulty in admitting that the wood-sorrel was eaten by the Irish of Moryson's day quite as willingly as most of us have eaten it ourselves in the course of our boyhood's rambles through the now sadly shrunken Irish woodlands.

1611-1630.—*The Shamrogh or Shamroote becomes established (in English literature) as a staple food-stuff for the Irish.*

John Speed, the antiquary and chronicler, who probably drew his knowledge of Irish manners and customs solely from earlier authors, appears to be the first 17th-century writer who refers to the shamrock. On page 138, Book iv., of his "Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain," published in 1611, we have the following account of the diet of the Irish :—

"Their diet in necessity was slender, feeding upon water-cresses, roots, mushrooms, shamrogh, butter tempered with oatmeal, whey, yea and raw flesh."¹

This passage is only remarkable as showing for the first time an approach to the more correct spelling, shamroge, of the Irish plant-name, a spelling which reappears more than once in later English literature before the modern form, shamrock, finally forces itself into acceptance. Speed, it will be seen, does not follow Stanihurst in identifying the shamrock with the water-cress.

In George Wither's first volume of verse, *Abuses, Stript and Whipt, or Satirical Essayes*, published in 1613, we have another mention of the shamrock, which like Speed's, just quoted, may be said to add nothing to the evidence for its use as a food-plant, but merely

¹ I quote from the edition of 1676, of which there is a fine copy in Marsh's Library.

serves to show the rapid growth in England of a belief that the herb was an important element in Irish diet. Wither, in his eighth satire on Covetousness, expresses his contempt for rich men's sycophants in these lines :—

“ Or e're I'd coin a lye, be it ne'er so small,
For e're a bragging Thraso of them all
In hope of profit, I'de give up my play,
Begin to labour for a groat a day,
In no more clothing than a mantle goe
And feed on Sham-roots as the Irish doe.”

And, again, in his satire of Vanitie in the Second Book of this same work, we have the growing belief in the vegetarian simplicity of Irish diet emphasized in these lines :—

“ But see whereto this dainty time hath brought us,
The time hath been that if a Famine caught us
And left us neither Sheep, nor Oxe, nor Corne,
Yet unto such a diet were we borne,
Were we not in our Townes kept in by th' foe?
The woods and fields had yielded us enough
To content Nature : And then in our needs
Had we found either leaves or grasse, or weeds,
We could have liv'd as now at this day can
*Many a fellow subject Irish-man.”*¹

As Wither rarely, if ever, indulges in far-fetched illustration, these references to Irish diet may be taken as part of the then common stock of English knowledge, or ignorance, as some may prefer to call it, of Irish manners and customs.

That whimsical farrago of prose and verse, the *Workes* of John Taylor, the Water Poet, published in 1630,² gives us some further references to the eating of the shamrock, which, as regards their evidential value, stand on a similar footing with the passages just taken from Wither. The third section of Taylor's *Workes* opens with a remarkable production in blank verse, entitled :—“ Sir Gregory Nonsense, his Newes from No Place,” a precursor, *longo intervallo*, of the “ Song of the Walrus and the Carpenter.” From this effort of the “ Water Poet's ” muse, the following passage is culled of sufficient length to show the precise value of the reference with which it closes :—

“ The mold-warp all this while in white broth bathed,
Did Caroli Didoes happinesse in love,
Upon a gridiron made of whiting-mops,
Unto the tune of John Come kisse me now,

¹ These extracts are taken from a copy of one of the rare 1613 editions kindly lent me by Count Plunkett, M.R.I.A.

² “ All the Workes of John Taylor the Water Poet,” . . . collected into one volume by the Author. (London : 1630.) In T.C.D. Library.

At which Avernus' Musicke 'gan to rore,
 Inthroned upon a seat of three-leav'd grasse,
 Whilst all the Hibernian Kernes in multitudes,
 Did feast with Shamerags stew'd in Usquebagh."¹

An intrepid special pleader might, perhaps, construe the closing lines of this passage, as an early hint at the practice of drowning the shamrock, and would scarcely be daunted by the reflection that the national badge being still below the literary horizon there is really no shamrock to drown.

In another piece of Taylor's:—"The Praise, Antiquity, and Commodity of Beggarie," the shamrock is again clearly referred to, though not mentioned by name, the plant appearing this time not as a peculiarly Irish aliment, but as an ingredient in the food of the typical beggar which is thus described:—

* "And in the stead of cut-throat slaughtering shambles,
 Each hedge allows him Berries from the Brambles,
 The Bullesse, hedg-Peake, Hips and Haws and Sloes
 Attend his appetit wheree'r he goes:
As for his sallets, better never was
*Then acute sorrel and sweet three leav'd grasse."*²

1638.—*The Earl of Antrim proposes to feed with Shamrocks an Irish army of 8000 men.*

In the *Letters* of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, the famous Lord Deputy of Charles I. in Ireland, occurs a very curious passage still further illustrating the extent to which belief in the shamrock food of the Irish had grown by this time. In the year 1638, the Earl of Antrim, a grandson of the great Earl of Tyrone, laying claim to part of the estates of the Marquis of Argyle in the Western Islands of Scotland, proposed to the king that he should be empowered to raise an Irish army in Ulster, and invading the Scotch islands at once assert his personal rights, and strike a blow against the Covenanters. The king approving of the enterprise, Antrim crossed over to Ireland to confer with the Lord Deputy, who, already convinced of the utter folly and impolicy of the proposed expedition, soon discovered in the incapacity of its would-be leader sufficient grounds for advising its abandonment. Strafford in a letter to Mr. Secretary Windebank, dated "Dublin, 20th March, 1638," thus reports his interview with Antrim:—

"I desired to know what Provision of Victual, his Lordship had thought of, which for so great a Number of Men would require a great Sum of Money? His Lordship said

¹ This passage is taken from the second section of these nonsense verses (p. 4, 3rd Part of "Workes"), with the sub-title: "A most learned Lye and Illiterate oration in lame galloping Rime fustianly pronounced by Nimshag, a Gimnosophicall Phoolsopher."

² Page 97, 1st Part of "Workes."

he had not made any at all, in regard he conceived they should find sufficient in the Enemy's Country to sustain them, only his Lordship proposed to transport over with him ten thousand live Cows to furnish them with Milk, which he affirmed had been his grandfather's (Tyrone's) Play. I told his Lordship, that seemed to me a great Adventure he put himself and Friends upon: *For in case (as was most likely) the Earl of Argyle should draw all the Cattle and Corn into Places of Strength, and lay the Remainder waste how would he, in so bare a Country, feed either his Men, his Horses or his Cows? . . . To that his Lordship replied, they would do well enough, feed their Horses with Leaves of Trees and themselves with Shamrocks.*"¹

This reference to the shamrock cannot be taken as adding appreciably to the evidence in favour of its habitual or prevalent use as food by the Irish; for the Earl of Antrim was reared in the Court of Charles I., and probably knew no more of Irish manners and customs than the average educated Englishman of that day. But we may safely infer, from the passage just quoted, that the notion that the shamrock was a plant peculiar to Ireland had not yet sprung into existence, or, at least, found wide acceptance. If it had, Antrim would hardly have proposed to feed his army on Scotch shamrocks.

1654.—*An antiquarian writer makes mention of the meadow trefoil as a food of the ancient Irish.*

Sir James Ware, in his well-known work on Irish antiquities, *De Hibernia*,² published in 1654, treats at some length of the diet of the ancient Irish, without, indeed, making any direct mention of the shamrock. But there can be no doubt that in the *Trifolium pratense* of the following passage we have a rendering by Ware into the botanical language of Gerard's *Herbal* of the Irish plant-name variously written shamrock, sham-rocke or shamrogh, by Campion, Spenser, and Speed:—

Ad victum veterum Hibernorum quod attinet, vulgi victum quotidianum olim valdè tenuem fuisse certum est, plerumq; ex lacte, butyro, et herbis; unde Strabonis Epitome Hibernos vocat *Herbis vescentes*. Ex herbis utebantur præcipuè trifolio pratensi, nasturtio aquatico, oxale³ et cochlearia, nostris Scurvy-grasse, quam medicorum nonnulli eandem esse putant cum Plinii Britannica.⁴

As for the diet of the ancient Irish it is certain that the daily food of the common folk in former times was very meagre and that it consisted for the most part of milk, butter and herbs; whence Strabo in his Epitome calls the Irish, herb-eaters. Of herbs they especially made use of the meadow trefoil, the water-cress, the common sorrel, and the Cochlearia, or as we name it Scurvy-grasse, which some doctors deem to be the same with Pliny's *Britannica*.

¹ "The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches," by William Knowler, LL.D. (London: 1739.)

² *De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus ejus Disquisitiones*, p. 96. (London: 1654.)

³ We must be careful not to render *oxale* here into *Oxalis acetosella* (wood-sorrel). The names by which that plant was known to the botanists of Ware's day were *Trifolium acetosum* and *Oxys*, while the common sorrel was styled *Oxalis* or *Acetosa*.

⁴ A herb which Pliny relates to have been used with success as an anti-scorbutic by a Roman army stationed on the German coast. A vast amount of learned labour has been expended by the older botanists in an attempt to identify Pliny's "*Britannica*."

It may be noted here that Ware in this passage impliedly rejects, as Speed had done before him, Stanihurst's identification of the shamrock with the water-cress, and that he makes no mention of the use of the shamrock as food in Ireland at the time when he wrote his *Antiquities*. He speaks only of its use amongst the ancient Irish, meaning thereby, it would appear, nothing more remote than the Irish of Elizabethan times.

1680.—*An Oxford physician attributes the strength and agility of the Irish to their Shamrock diet.*

Henry Mundy, a famous Oxford doctor, published, in 1680, a curious Latin work on diet entitled : *Commentarii de Aëre vitali, Esculentis ac Potulentis*. The book appears to have excited a good deal of attention at the time, as is sufficiently shown by the numerous editions of it produced within a few years in England, and on the Continent, and is of peculiar interest in the history of the shamrock, as containing a passage which for the first time assigns, in botanical language, a definite species to the food-herb of the Irish. Mundy appears to have been an ardent vegetarian. He boldly asserts the superiority of a vegetable to a flesh diet, and maintains that experience has shown it to be more agreeable to the nature of man to live after the manner of oxen than of wolves. At the opening of his third chapter, having referred to the simple vegetable diet of primitive man, and quoted from Ovid the lines on the happy Golden Age with its food of arbutus berries, Mundy thus continues :—

* Et ita revera fuit, siquidem morbis vitiisque caruit quae nostrae politiori aetati luxuria in cibis intulit. Parum sanè esset id genus victus nisi quod aliud adhuc non noverant ; sed non erat insalubre et vescentibus alimentum benignè suppeditabat. Et homines ea solo uti coacti non minus quam alii lautè viventes vegeti esse et torosi observantur. *Sunt item Hiberni qui suo Chambroch (quod est trifolium pratense purpureum) aluntur celeres et promptissimi roboris.*

And happy in truth it was [the Golden Age] since it lacked those vices and diseases which luxury in food hath brought into our more polished age. No doubt this food would have been of small account were it not that they had known no other up to that time ; yet was it not unwholesome, and it cheerfully afforded nourishment to such as fed upon it. And men constrained to use this food alone are observed to be no less vigorous and brawny than others that fare sumptuously. *Thus the Irish that nourish themselves with their shamrock (which is the purple clover) are swift of foot and of nimble strength.*

I am indebted to Professor T. M. Fries of Upsala University for a reference to this very interesting passage, and for a transcript which he has kindly sent me from the Frankfort edition of 1685. Linnaeus was acquainted with this passage, and has quoted a portion of it from this edition in one of his earlier works. So obscure, however, is his reference

that had it not been for the courtesy of Professor Fries, I fear I should have altogether failed to discover the author quoted from by his illustrious predecessor in the Upsala Chair of Botany. What precise grounds Mundy may have had for identifying the shamrock with the purple clover, which is undoubtedly the definite Linnæan species, *Trifolium pratense*, it is hard to imagine. No previous writer quoted in this chronology had attempted to do more than attach the name shamrock to the meadow trefoil, under which name, as has been pointed out, two distinct species were included, *Trifolium pratense* and *T. repens*. Mundy, may, of course, have had access to some authorities other than those already quoted in these pages; but it seems on the whole more probable that he carelessly misinterpreted the passage in Gerard's *Herbal*. Whether Mundy is justified in attributing the strength and agility of the Irish to their shamrock diet is a question too complex for discussion here. We can either keep an open mind on the point pending fresh evidence, or set down this plea for the nutritive value of the shamrock as the argument of an intemperate vegetarian.¹

(*To be continued.*)

¹ See "Journal of Botany," vol. xxxii., p. 109 (1894), for further information about Mundy.

ARDFERT FRIARY AND THE FITZ MAURICES, LORDS OF KERRY.

BY MISS HICKSON, HON. LOCAL SECRETARY FOR KERRY.

(Continued from page 40, Vol. V., Fifth Series, 1895.)

PART II.

ALMOST all modern genealogies of the Fitz Maurices, Lords of Kerry, whose title Camden, in the early years of the seventeenth century, officially declared to be as old as the conquest of Ireland, state that they are directly descended from Raymond Le Gros, son of William Fitz Gerald, younger son of Gerald Fitz Walter by Nesta, the beautiful Welsh princess, and therefore younger brother of Maurice Fitz Gerald, ancestor of the Dukes of Leinster and the Earls of Desmond. But here at the outset there are two errors. For against the statements that Maurice was the eldest son of Gerald and Nesta, and that Raymond Le Gros left issue by his wife Basilia De Clare, the sister of Strongbow, we have the indisputably good testimony of the nephew of Maurice and the cousin-german of Raymond, Gerald De Barry, better known as Giraldus Cambrensis, Archdeacon of St. David's, the writer of several works, including a "History of the Conquest of Ireland," and a Topography of the island, which contains some truth and not a few falsehoods. But admitting that the Topography and the account of the Irish tribes in the history are full of those prejudices and idle legends which disfigure all mediæval chronicles, and that both works show a limited knowledge of the country and its natives, that surely is no reason for imagining that their author Giraldus did not know his uncles' ages, that William was the elder and Maurice the younger of them, and that William's son Raymond, the favourite cousin-german of Giraldus, had no children by his wife Basilia De Clare. On those points Giraldus was perfectly well informed, and he could have no earthly motive for misrepresenting them. Describing the arrival of Raymond Le Gros in Ireland, Giraldus says :—

"He Raymond was a brave and stout soldier, expert in the practice of arms, and nephew of both Maurice Fitz Gerald and Fitz Stephen, being the son of their elder brother, William Fitz Gerald" (*Conquest of Ireland*, Book I., chap. XIII., p. 206).

And in his last preface to his copy of his history dedicated to King John, long after the marriage and the death of Raymond, Giraldus says :—

"The first and principal invaders of Ireland, namely, Fitz Stephen, who was the first of our countrymen who landed there, and, as it were, opened the way to others, as also Raymond and Hervey de Montemarisco, John de Courcy, and Meyler Fitz Henry, never had any lawful issue" (*Ibid.*, *Preface*, p. 176).

It is a matter of small consequence whether Maurice or William Fitz Gerald (both sons of Nesta by her first husband, Gerald Fitz Walter) was the eldest son. But historical genealogy should not be spoiled by pedigree-making, for which there is assuredly no need in the case of the genealogy of those famous Anglo-Irish magnates whose "stalworthiness and valour" the old English chronicles quaintly say should "never wente out of minde," and whose praises have been sung by Irish bards and seanachies for nearly seven centuries :—

"Those Geraldines ! those Geraldines ! time wears away the rock,
And time may wear away the tribe that stood the battles' shock ;
But ever sure while one is left of all that honoured race,
In front of Ireland's chivalry is that Fitz Gerald's place.
And though the last were dead and gone, how many a field and town
From Thomas Court to Abbeyfeale would cherish their renown ;
And men would say of valour's rise, or ancient power's decline,
It never soared, it never shone, as did the Geraldine ! "

Modern pedigree-writers, not merely pedigree-makers, finding it difficult to reconcile the unquestionably true statements of Giraldus about his uncles' ages and his cousin's childless marriage, with the equally true statements in the "State Papers" between 1179 and 1300, showing that there were Fitz Maurices, De Mariscos, and De Coureys great magnates and landowners in Ireland in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, have fallen back upon an absurd attempt to contradict Giraldus, or on quite as absurd an attempt to make all those magnates illegitimate, without one particle of evidence that they were so. Common sense alone, if historical evidence were wanting (as in most cases it is not), would assure us that the first invaders of Ireland between 1171 and 1199, who, as leaders of the invasion, have found a conspicuous place in tradition and history, came here accompanied by numbers of their near or distant relatives, brothers, nephews, cousins. The names of these latter would not at first be conspicuous, but when their famous leaders, relatives, and namesakes died, leaving no male issue to inherit their newly conquered lands in Ireland, then assuredly, their said English born relatives would never allow those lands, which they had some share in conquering, to pass to illegitimate claimants. Neither is it at all likely that the Plantagenet kings, to whom the wardships and estates of legitimate heirs of Irish magnates were fruitful sources of revenue, as well as objects of jealous care, in order to strengthen their hold on an unsettled half-conquered country, would permit illegitimate claimants to succeed. If it be argued that Fitz Henry certainly, and probably Fitz Stephen, were illegitimate, and yet that both had large grants of Irish land, the answer is, that the first-mentioned was of the royal blood, and that both were soldiers of the conquest, and entitled as such, to large grants for their splendid military services. Fitz Henry outlived Giraldus, so that he may have left sons and daughters by his wife. And there is no doubt that he had a brother Robert Fitz Henry, whom Giraldus mentions as distin-

guished in the conquest, and who died comparatively young (see *Giraldus*, Book II., chap. 18, page 290). It is not said that he was unmarried. Fitz Stephen's two sons, mentioned by Giraldus, must have been illegitimate. Ralph, the eldest, was killed by the Irish, or the Ostmen of Waterford, at Lismore (*Ibid.*, p. 286) soon after he had married the daughter of Milo de Cogan, to whom Henry II. had granted half Desmond (south Munster), when he granted the other half to Robert Fitz Stephen. Meredith, the second son of the latter, died young, probably unmarried. Ralph Fitz Stephen, the elder of those two illegitimate sons of Robert, may have had a daughter by his De Cogan wife, who would of course have been entitled in her father's right, if not in her husband's, to some lands in Desmond; her uncle John de Cogan, however, succeeding to much of the royal grant made to his brother, her father. But it is clear that the grant to Robert Fitz Stephen virtually passed before his death away from his family, for Giraldus says that Dermot MacCarthy and all the Irish of Waterford rose against him, and that he was never able to recover his ascendancy. But the historian adds that "Raymond Le Gros, succeeding to the inheritance of Fitz Stephen, obtained the sole constablership of Waterford, although even then the country was not completely subdued or tranquil" (*Ibid.*, p. 286). The truth seems to be that on Fitz Stephen's death, the royal grant of half south Munster reverted to the Crown, that it was regranted to Raymond, and that, on his death childless, it was partitioned amongst Raymond's nephews and others, Bloets, De Clares, etc., Thomas Fitz-Anthony being made over lord until his death without male issue, when it ultimately passed with one of his five daughters, by a straining of law and custom and the strong hand, to her husband John Fitz Thomas Fitz-Gerald, *alias* John of Callan, killed in battle in 1261.¹

It is clear that no argument can be drawn from the fact of the royal grants to Fitz Henry and to Fitz Stephen, in support of the absurd theory that the numerous legitimately born nephews and right heirs of Raymond Le Gros, living in Munster and Leinster when he died, and long after his death, were excluded from the succession to his lands, and that those lands passed to his illegitimate son of whose existence we have not a particle of proof. Archdall, in his revised edition of Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 184, says, writing of Raymond, whose father, William, in flat contradiction of Giraldus, he makes a younger brother of Maurice Fitz Gerald:—

"By Basilia, his wife, who re-married with Geoffrey Fitz Robert, he, Raymond Le Gros, hath been generally said, from the authority of 'Giraldus Cambrensis,' to have left no issue, but to have had a natural son, Maurice Fitz Raymund" (Lineage of Earls of Kerry).

Anyone reading this sentence would be led to suppose that Giraldus

¹ v. Cal. I. S. P., by Sweetman, vol. ii., No. 1474, pp. 278, 426.

Cambrensis had said that Raymond left a natural son Maurice Fitz Raymond. Banks, in his "Extinct and Dormant Peerage," professing to correct errors in "Dugdale's Baronage," gives an account of the Carews now known to be in some respects quite incorrect, and unhesitatingly himself adopts and repeats the above incorrect statement of Archdall's Lodge. Banks writes—

"The illegitimacy of the house of Fitz Maurice, Earls of Kerry, in Ireland, is stated by Lodge to be on the authority of 'Giraldus Cambrensis'" (Banks, vol. iii.)

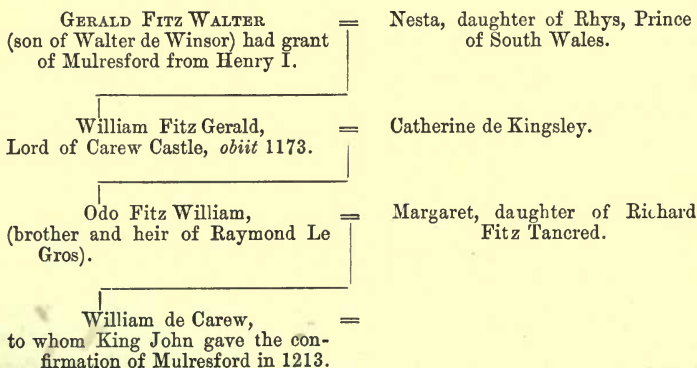
Will it be believed, after reading those extracts from three genealogists who certainly are not mere pedigree-makers, that their so-called authority Giraldus has never said one word at all about this Maurice Fitz Raymond, or any illegitimate son of Raymond? If any such son had existed, Giraldus, who says more about Raymond than any other of the conquerors, would assuredly have mentioned him, as he mentions Ralph and Meredith Fitz Stephen, the illegitimate sons of Robert. But Giraldus has never said Raymond left an illegitimate son: he merely says that Raymond and Basilia his wife had no children. And on this statement Archdall, Lodge, and Banks build up their incorrect and unscrupulous theory, worthy of the veriest pedigree-maker. This "generally said" of Archdall and Lodge is really worth no more than the "she says that she said," or "we said that they said," of a knot of old village gossips, and it is wonderful how such writers could have written as they have done on this and other points of the Geraldine genealogy, and how others should have followed them, when the State Papers relating to Ireland showed that their statements were utterly wrong.

Their statements, or rather misstatements, about the seniority of Maurice Fitz Gerald to his brother William, and the supposed sons of Raymond Le Gros being set aside, we may, however, believe that their account of William Fitz Gerald's sons is, in other respects, generally correct. They state that he left by his wife Catherine de Kingsley seven sons, and one daughter Mabel. The sons were—1. Odo (made the third son by Sir William Segar), who inherited the Castle of Carew, and lands around it in South Wales, and whose descendants adopted the surname of Carew. 2. Raymond, nicknamed Le Gros, made the eldest son by Segar. 3. Sylvester. 4. Henry. 5. William, ancestor of the Gerards in England. 6. John, ancestor of the Keatings in Ireland. 7. Griffin. We are here concerned only with the first, second, and seventh of these sons, who, in accordance with the custom of the age, signed themselves Fitz William, although all, of course, were Geraldines. Surnames were, however, in process of formation from estates, occupations, personal characteristics, and the father's baptismal name, and so while the sons of Odo Fitz William used the surname of Carew, the sons of Griffin Fitz William signed themselves Fitz Griffin. Sir John

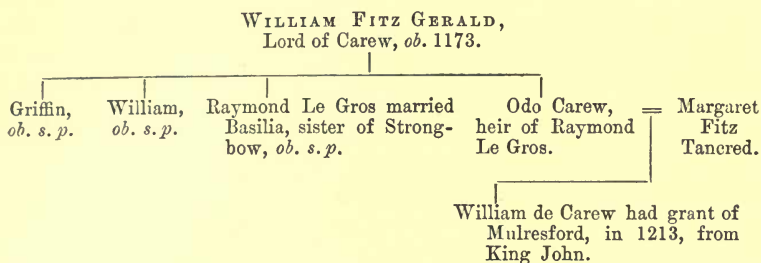
Maclean, our late Fellow, one of the most learned and accurate authorities on west of England genealogies, in his interesting *Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew of Mohuns Ottery*, in Devonshire, who, after a strange and adventurous career, died at New Ross in 1575, gives two pedigrees of the Carews. The first, based on a passage in Camden's *Britannia*, Sir George Carew's MSS. in the Lambeth Library, and MSS. in the Herald's College, makes them descend from an Eugenius de Montgomery, whose grandson William, Baron of Carew, married the heiress of Robert Fitz Stephen, assumed the surname of Carew, and had a grant of Mulresford in Devonshire from King John. *En passant*, I may note that Sweetman's *Calendars of the Irish State Papers* between 1171 and 1300 make no mention of any such heiress or marriage; neither does Giraldus, who, distinctly, as we have seen, makes Raymond Le Gros the inheritor or new grantee of Fitz Stephen's lands. And Sir John Maclean, after further research amongst the true materials of historical genealogy, found the original grant or charter of Mulresford from King John, confirming to William de Carrio, or Carew, the grant of that manor, made to his great grandfather Gerald Fitz Walter, by Henry I., which Sir John adds, "clearly proved that the Carews are descended, *not* from Adam de Montgomery, but from Walter de Windsor." (See *Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew*, Appendix 1.) The opening words of this charter, given at length by Sir John Maclean, are:—

"Know ye, that We have given and by this Our Charter have confirmed to William de Carrio, the Manor of Mulresford, with its appurtenances, which King Henry, the grandfather of King Henry Our father, gave to Gerald Fitz Walter, the grandfather of Odo, the father of the aforesaid William de Carrio."

This Charter bears date at Westminster, 25th May, 14 John (1213), and thus establishes the Geraldine descent of the Carews, obliging Sir John Maclean to cancel the earlier portion of the pedigree he had had printed, and to substitute a table of descents as follows:—



Mr. Pole Carew of Antony, in Cornwall, showed Sir John Maclean a pedigree of his ancient house, drawn up by Anstis, Garter King-of-Arms. It gave the above four descents quite correctly in accordance with the evidence in the Charter of 1213, but it added particulars which are, since the publication of Mr. Sweetman's Calendars, now known to be incorrect. Anstis gives the sons of William Fitz Gerald, Lord of Carew, who died in 1173, as follows:—



Raymond, as we know from Giraldus, died *s. p.*, and his brother William may have left no issue; but the Irish State Papers, calendared by Sweetman, the monastic registers of Leinster and Munster between 1190 and 1300, and the Irish annals, all alike indisputably prove that their brothers Odo and Griffin left sons and grandsons, magnates of Ireland, holding large estates (some of them inherited from, or granted by, Raymond) in both provinces.

I will first notice here the descendants of Odo, as the Anstis pedigree makes him the heir of Raymond, who, according to Sir William Segar, was the eldest son of William Fitz Gerald. It is very probable that Segar is right in this, and in making Griffin the youngest of the brothers, though, as we shall see, he was almost as famous in the conquest as was Raymond himself. But, as regards Odo, the heir of Raymond, it is certain that the Carew mentioned in the following passage in the Annals of Innisfallen was either himself or his eldest son William, the grantee of Mulresford, in 1213:—

“A.D. 1215.—The English were assisting them (the Mac Carthys fighting with the O'Briens) on both sides, whereupon they, the English, extended their possessions all over Munster, even to the sea shores, and seized on many territories, and gained great strength therein, which they fortified with castles and forts against the attacks of the Irish. A castle was built at Dun-na-mbare (Bantry?) by Carew, and another in Arduillighe. He also built a castle on the borders of the river of Kenmare, and another at Capanacoise (Capanacushy)” (*Annals of Innisfallen*, R.I.A. copy).

The castle on the Kenmare river was Dunkerron. The Carew MSS. in the Lambeth Library say that Macroon Castle and Ballymartyr Castle were also built by Carew, and that Lixnaw Castle was built by a Carew

who was created a peer by Richard II. Until the Inquisitions and other State Papers relating to Ireland in the London and Dublin Public Record Offices have been fully calendared by competent Irishmen like Mr. Sweetman, we shall never know the true history of the island between 1200 and 1500. Although Lynch, so far back as 1832, and many eminent authorities since, have urged on successive Governments the necessity of calendaring those MSS. for historical and genealogical purposes, nothing was done towards this work until, under Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, Mr. Sweetman began his Calendars of the Irish State Papers lying in the London Office, dated between 1171 and 1300. But in 1887 these were suspended; the State Papers in Dublin dating before 1500 were wholly neglected, and now it is no exaggeration to say that for historical students the history of Ireland between 1290 and 1500 is a blank, and of those centuries the most important of all in Ireland's history, because in them the Ireland of 1500-1895 was actually being made, we have really no trustworthy information at all, nor ever can have until all the State Papers before the former year, in both offices are calendared, on Mr. Sweetman's plan, by Irishmen. Sir George Carew's account in the Lambeth MSS. of the building of Macroom, Ballymartyr, and Lixnaw Castles by the Carews of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries may be true. He tells us he copied it out of an ancient MS. shown to him by Florence Mac Carthy Reagh in the sixteenth century. This MS. may have been a portion, now lost, of the Annals of Innisfallen.

William de Carew, son of Odo, as the heir of Raymond, would have claims not only on lands in Cork, but in Kerry. For Giraldus tells us that, after Raymond Le Gros had retaken Limerick and brought into that city hostages from Roderic O'Connor, King of Connaught, and O'Brien, King of Thomond, that Dermot Mac Carthy, King of Desmond, sent envoys to him, imploring aid against Cormac O'Liathain, his, Dermot's, eldest son, who had rebelled and threatened to drive him out of his dominions (*Conquest of Ireland*, chap. XIII., p. 271). Raymond complied, and marching westward against Cormac, subdued and made him prisoner, receiving in return a large reward from the Mac Carthy king. Lodge and Archdall quote the old Kerry tradition that part of this reward was a large tract of land in Kerry, within the present barony of Clanmaurice. What the Mac Carthy, king of Desmond, did grant was probably the tributes of this land, which he found it difficult to collect from his turbulent Irish subjects. On Raymond's death, his Carew nephews and heirs, no doubt, found the collection as difficult, until by the sword, the erection of Lixnaw, and intermarriages with the native chiefs, they converted the grant of the tributes into a possession of the soil, and also acquired a great part of Raymond's Carlow, Cork, and Waterford lands, which he had after the death of Fitz Stephen and Fitz Stephen's son Ralph.

The wife of Ralph, we must remember, was the daughter of Milo de Cogan, who, according to good authorities, was the cousin-german of Raymond. We have no account of her after her husband Ralph Fitz Stephen's premature death, but the probability, if not certainty, is that she married, secondly, her cousin William Carew, the grantee of Mulresford and heir of his uncle Raymond. The pedigree of the Carews which Sir John Maclean found himself obliged to cancel, asserted that this William married the daughter and heiress of Robert Fitz Stephen, but we have no proof, as I have already said, that any such daughter existed; while we know that Milo de Cogan's daughter, according to Giraldus and the Irish annals, did marry Ralph, son of Robert Fitz Stephen, and was, soon after her marriage, left a widow with large claims on the enormous grants made to her father, Milo, and her father-in-law Fitz Stephen, by Henry II. Milo's grant included all south-west Munster from Cork city to Brandon Hill in Kerry (see *Giraldus*, Book ii.; chap. xviii., p. 284), while Fitz Stephen's for the most part lay eastward between Cork and Lismore.

My reason for believing that the heiress of De Cogan,¹ widow of Ralph Fitz Stephen, or her daughter, became the wife of her cousin, William de Carew, is that, in the reign of Edward II., Maurice de Carew, the grandson or great-grandson of this William, petitioned the king, as the representative of the *two* original grantees of Desmond, or South Munster, Milo de Cogan and Robert Fitz Stephen, from Henry II. As their representative, he set forth in his petition that various fees in Ireland were held of him and his ancestors; that thereout were due divers services which were rendered to his said ancestors as "*Domini immediati*," they holding the same *in capite*, and performing to the Crown the services arising thereout; that amongst those fees were Kyllde held under his said ancestors by David de Barry, at the service of three knights, and Oglassyn and Carbery by Maurice Fitz Gerald at the service of eight knights; that these services with others formerly got into the hands of the Crown by minority of heirs, &c., where they were retained. On this the King ordered, that the said Maurice may distrain for the arrears of those services due to him according to law and custom. The Royal Order is in the Dublin Public Record Office, and the petition in the London one. I have had an official copy made of the former, and hope to give both hereafter. It was on this, and other State Papers, and on certain ancient records preserved at his family residence, Mohuns Ottery in Devonshire, that Sir Peter Carew whose biography by Hooker, and correspondence, has been ably edited by Sir John Maclean, based his claims, in 1568, to lands in Leinster and Munster.

Hooker was employed by Carew to search the records, charters,

¹ It is more consistent with chronology that the wife of William de Carew of 1213 was a daughter of Ralph Fitz Stephen's widow, and granddaughter of Milo de Cogan.

grants, inquisitions in Dublin Castle, and professed to have found sufficient to entitle Sir Peter to immense estates in both provinces, which had been unjustly seized by the Irish and Anglo-Irish, while his ancestors were absentees during the civil wars in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The extent of Sir Peter's claims may be judged when I say that, according to Sir George Carew, his kinsman and contemporary's MSS. at Lambeth, they included not only all the lands then, in 1568-74, enjoyed by the Mac Carthy Mor, the O'Sullivan's Mor and Bear, the Mac Gillacuddys, the O'Keefes, the O'Mahonys, the O'Driscolls, the Mac Carthy Reagh, the O'Callaghans, and Mac Donoghs, but all the lands owned for at least 180 years by the younger branches of the Ormond Butlers, the Lords Barry, and De Courcy of Kinsale, much of the Earl of Desmond's lands and the lands of Lord Kerry, and large tracts in Meath long in the possession of the Chevers' family. Beyond all doubt the injudicious revival of those obsolete claims was one of the principal causes of the rebellion which desolated Ireland between 1579 and 1583. The commotions in a few months became so dangerous that Queen Elizabeth ordered Sir Peter to desist from his searches, and to return to England. He did so for a time, but came back and had a grant of Idrone in Carlow, but died, as I have said, at New Ross in 1575, *s.p.*, when that barony passed to his cousin Sir George.

John O'Donovan declares, in his notes to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, that Sir Peter Carew's claims were based on forgeries by Hooker; and he quotes an inquisition taken at Cork in the reign of Edward III., before De Lucy, Lord Justice of Ireland, to ascertain whether the claims of Thomas Carew to certain lands in Cork, grounded on his assertion that he was the heir of Robert Fitz Stephen, were just and valid. The jurors, according to O'Donovan, found that these claims could not be valid, "because Fitz Stephen was a bastard, and died without issue" (vide *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. i., p. 1737, note). But Sir John Maclean rightly observes that John O'Donovan's sweeping charges of forgery, &c., against Sir Peter Carew's later claims, in 1568, are unwarrantable, because that the State Papers show that his Carew ancestors were magnates and owners of large estates in Ireland, in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. Moreover John O'Donovan omits to state the circumstances under which the Inquisition of 5 Edw. III. was taken. De Lucy, the Lord Justice, had himself acquired lands in Desmond, and he quarrelled with the lately created Earl of Desmond, who had obtained an enfeoffment from Thomas de Carew of Dunemarke Castle, and lands, which had been part of Henry II.'s grant to Fitz Stephen. De Lucy charged Desmond with disloyalty and encroachments on the lands of old Anglo-Irish magnates; and it is said that the jurors on this Inquisition were compelled by the Lord Justice to bring in an unjust verdict, in order to give him an opportunity of seizing the Earl's lands and imprisoning him. That some injustice was done is very likely, for in a year or

two, the king ordered the release of the Earl, restored him to his estates, and, in 1355, made him Lord Justice of Ireland for life. O'Donovan further omits all mention of the royal order (made many years before this untrustworthy Inquisition of 5 Edw. III. was taken), acknowledging the territorial rights of Maurice de Carew as the representative of Milo de Cogan as well as of Robert Fitz Stephen. The high authority of John O'Donovan on the Irish language and on Irish archæology, and the genealogy of the native tribes, must not blind us to the historical fact which he disregards, although it is indisputably proved by English and Irish chronicles and records, viz. that quite apart from any claims, rightly or wrongly, made by the Carews as the representatives of Fitz Stephen, they had claims on Irish lands that could not be disputed in early times. The Annals of Innisfallen, as we have seen, stated that the castles of Dunkerron and Dun-na-mbarc and Cappanacushy and Ardtuillighe were built by Carew, the nephew and heir of Raymond Le Gros in 1215; and although Sir George Carew, of 1600, may have exaggerated when he stated (*Lambeth MSS.*) that Lixnaw Castle was built by a Marquis of Carew, *temp.* Richard II., it is highly probable that it was built by the same William de Carew to guard the Kerry territory granted to his uncle Raymond by King Dermot Mac Carthy, and that William's son Raymond de Carew, or his cousin Raymond Fitz Griffin, of whom more hereafter, may have resided there. An inquisition, taken in 1307 at Carlow, finds that Nicholas de Carew (fourth in descent from William) held the barony of Idrone, and was chief lord of Dunleckny and Leighlin. His son and heir, by the daughter of Digon, Lord of Idrone, was John de Carew, who married Eleanor, daughter and co-heiress, with her sister Maria, wife of John de Meriet, of William de Mohun, owner of Mohuns Ottery in Devonshire, and through his descent from Strongbow and Eva, owner of Grange Mohun and other lands in Wexford, Kildare, and Kilkenny. (See Sweetman's *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland*, vol. ii., pp. 15, 447, 544). The De Meriets appear to have died childless, and their estates to have passed to the Carews. (*Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 221.)

Amongst the knights and barons holding estates in Ireland and England summoned to the parliament at Westminster in 1361, we find John de Carew, Roger de Clifford, and John de Tibetot (v. *Grace's Annals*, ed. for the Irish Archæological Society, 1842, App.). In 1298 Raymond de Carew and the heirs of Thomas de Clare, ancestors of the above-mentioned De Clifford and De Tibetot, were feudal tenants on the lands of the father of the first Earl of Desmond, on his lands of Dungarvan. On May 3rd, 1305, the king wrote to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer in Dublin, granting pardon to Maurice de Carew, on account of his good military services in Scotland, of arrears due out of the lands which he held *in capite* in Desmond. The monastic charters and other ecclesiastical documents, calendared by Mr. J. T. Gilbert, *r.s.a.*, for the Rolls Publications, and Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum*, testify to the number

of Carew nephews, grandnephews, and greatnephews of Raymond Le Gros, Geraldines like himself of the senior branch, living in Leinster and Munster in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Archdall, on the authority of Ware, says that one of the Carews founded a Carmelite monastery at Leighlin Bridge, and that Raymond Carew granted the church of Stacklorgan to the priory of Christ Church, Dublin (*Monasticon*, pp. 38-154). Mr. Gilbert calendars the following to St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin:—Grant by William de Carew of Glancullen and Tilechstelan, for his own and his father's soul, and for the soul of Raymond Fitz William (Le Gros). Amongst the witnesses to this grant were Raymond de Carew, and Walter Fitz Raymond, evidently father and son, and probably son and grandson of the grantor William de Carew. A confirmatory grant of Tilechstelan by Walter Fitz Raymond, "*pro anima patris mei*," and for the souls of his and his wife's children and ancestors. Witnesses Meyler Fitz Henry, Meyler Fitz Meyler, Richard de Carew, and others. Grant to Dunbrody Abbey from William son of Milo de Cogan of Ballykeroc. Amongst the witnesses are Raymond de Carew and Martin Le Poer. Amongst the grants to St. Thomas Monastery, Dublin, are the following:—Grant of lands in Wexford, "*qui fuit Baldwini de Carew super Slane*," by Raymond Le Gros and his wife Basilia. Grant by Basilia "*filia Gilberti Comitis*" for the souls of her father and her brother (Strongbow) "*et domini mei Reimundi (Le Gros) et antecessorum et parentum et amicorum meorum*." A later grant by Geoffrey Fitz Robert, "*et Basilia filia Gilberti Comitis, sponsa mea, pro animabus nostris, et pro animabus omnium parentum nostrorum, antecessorum et successorum nostrorum*." Grant by Stephen, son of Odo Carew, of the church of Trummor in Cork diocese.

One of the most extraordinary assertions of modern pedigree-makers is that each Fitz Raymond of those old charters must have been a son of Raymond Le Gros, as though none of his five or six brothers' sons would or could ever have been called after him. The old Scandinavians had a superstitious belief (not extinct in France to this day) that a child called after a great man would have a great destiny. And quite apart from this old superstition, we might naturally expect several of Raymond Le Gros' nephews and grandnephews would bear his baptismal name. The State Papers and monastic records show that they did so, and Raymond continued a Christian name in the Carew, Fitz Maurice, and De Caunteton families for generations, as we shall see more fully hereafter. Mabel, sister of Raymond Le Gros, Odo, and Griffin, married, not as Archdall and Lodge say, a De Cantelupe, but a De Caunteton, and the name of her son Raymond de Caunteton appears in monastic grants mentioning his uncle Raymond Fitz William. I was misled by Lodge on this surname, until Mr. Burtchaell kindly pointed out to me that the name of Mabel's husband, in the grants, was written Caunteton. The Cantelupe name, altered into Cauntelon, Cantelo, and Cantillon, was in Kerry from

1200, and held in that century a high position in Clanmaurice, but is and was quite distinct from that of Caunteton. The strange disregard of the indisputable and commonplace fact that many of the nephews of Raymond Le Gros bore his baptismal name, and that their sons would, in accordance with the custom of their time, call themselves Fitz Raymond has led genealogists to suppose that the Maurice, who was the founder of the Fitz Maurice family, must have been a son of Raymond Le Gros, instead of the son of one of his Carew or Fitz Griffin nephews who bore his baptismal name of Raymond. It is only reasonable to suppose that he was the son of a Raymond de Carew or a Raymond Fitz Griffin, of whose existence we have historical proof, rather than of a son of their uncle Raymond Le Gros, for which son's existence we really have no trustworthy evidence at all—nothing but as I have said a vague tradition which arose out of the preference of the Irish tribes (amongst whom the Fitz Maurices from the first constantly intermarried) for a direct distinguished ancestor like Raymond Le Gros, to one of his kindred who had not left such a mark in history. Amongst the old Irish tribes, illegitimacy, as John O'Donovan tells us, was no bar to a chieftainship, nor did the Anglo-Normans themselves always attach to it the discredit which followed it in later times. Had Raymond Le Gros left no Carew or Fitz Griffin (Geraldine) nephews to succeed to his Irish estates, it is possible an illegitimate son of his might have obtained them, but when we have historical and legal proof that he had several who actually did succeed to those lands, and kept a fast hold of them, as the Geraldines were wont to do, it is a mere absurdity to suppose that those lawful heirs suffered themselves to be supplanted by an unlawful one.

I am inclined to believe, for reasons which I shall give hereafter, that Raymond Fitz Griffin, not Raymond de Carew, was the father of Maurice, the founder of the family of Fitz Maurice, Lords of Kerry. At the same time I believe that this Maurice was at first only a subfeudatory of his grand-uncle Odo de Carew's son William de Carew, the next heir of Raymond Le Gros. This William's English, Welsh, and Leinster lands would necessarily make him an absentee from Kerry. Ultimately, as almost always happened when the Geraldine was a sub-feudatory, Maurice became the feudal lord, and that in a very short time. The younger line of the Fitz Griffin Geraldines, from more than one cause, supplanted the elder line of Carew Geraldines at Lixnaw, and this seems to be the true explanation of the appearance of the "chief, ermine" on the Fitz Maurice coat-armour, which Lodge and Archdall say is a "certain note of cadency" (*Peerage of Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 182, ed. 1789).

The history of this Fitz Griffin line which became the Fitz Maurice one, but at a later period than is supposed, I must reserve for another occasion. At present, I will merely note one unmistakable trace of Griffin Fitz William, the famous brother of the yet more famous Raymond Le Gros, which still remains in the heart of Clanmaurice in north-west

Kerry. This is the small ruined chantry called *Teampull-na-Griffin*, which stands close to the ancient cathedral of St. Brendan at Ardfert and within a few hundred yards of the Franciscan friary founded by the first Lord of Kerry in the thirteenth century. The architecture of this chantry, as it now is, bears signs of its erection in or about 1430. But good authorities agree with me in believing that it is only a restoration, or re-erection, of a much more ancient chantry, as indeed the words in its Irish name clearly indicate. *Teampull*¹ is one of the oldest Irish names for a church, and Griffin was the Christian name of the famous brother of Raymond Le Gros. It would be strange if this little chantry escaped the fate of the Cathedral itself, which history assures us was destroyed in successive wars in 1089, and 1152, and 1180, and had to be rebuilt or restored no less than four times before 1309. And in the great overthrow of the Geraldine power in 1261, when John Fitz Thomas, the Lord Justice Dene, and a number of knights and nobles fell at Callan near Kenmare, and the Irish tribes won back Dunkerron, Cappanacushy, and Ross castles, and almost all Kerry, this chantry was sure to suffer. For Griffin Fitz William was a stern soldier, perhaps sterner than his brother Raymond. At the great fight, near Tara, with the O'Rourkes, Giraldus tells us how Griffin saved the life of his uncle Maurice, and that of Hugh de Lacy, and killed the Irish chieftain and his horse with one spear-thrust:—

“Maurice now called to his friends to make a hasty retreat, while sword encountered battle-axe, and Hugh De Lacy, twice felled to the ground, was saved by Fitz Gerald's prowess. Meanwhile the Irish rushed in great numbers from the valley at the traitor's signal, armed with two-edged broad axes, and there soon would have been an end of Maurice and Hugh had not Griffin and his small band rode up at full speed when they heard Maurice's cry for aid. O'Rourke, seeing them coming, thought that it was time to seek safety by flight, and was in the act of mounting a horse which was brought to him, when Griffin, putting spurs to his own, ran his spear through O'Rourke and the horse he was mounting” (*Giraldus*, Book i., ch. xl.)

Charges of treachery were made by both sides, but both were probably unscrupulous in war, and held alike to the old Irish rule of the “strong-hand uppermost” while the old compensation for Irish and English was that, described by Thomas Davis in his before quoted lines on the Geraldines—

“’Tis true in Strongbow's van,
By lawless force as conquerors their Irish rule began,
And oh ! through many a dark campaign they proved their prowess stern,
On Leinster's plains and Munster's vales—on king, and chief, and kern.
But noble was the cheer within the halls so rudely won,
And generous was the steel-gloved hand that had such slaughter done ! ”

¹ v. Joyce's *Irish Names*, vol. i., p. 292.

THE ANCIENT STAINED GLASS OF ST. CANICE'S
CATHEDRAL, KILKENNY.

BY MICHAEL J. C. BUCKLEY.

AMONGST the ecclesiastical edifices of Ireland, the Cathedral of St. Canice, in Kilkenny, is one of the finest examples of the architectural style of the thirteenth century.

Having been almost completely rebuilt, with the exception of the choir, during the episcopate of Bishop Hugo de Mapilton, A.D. 1251-1256, just at the end of the Norman period, when the style characterised by the round-headed arch was being replaced by the pointed form; it shows a harmony in all its parts which is rarely found in any of the churches of this country; the purity of the lines of the arcades, and the exquisite beauty of the foliage of the capitals and corbels clearly show the influence of the "Magister Operis" or "Master Mason," and his companions, members of that Guild which reared such edifices as Lincoln, Salisbury, and Chartres, in all their perfect proportions and sublimity.¹

But, foremost amongst the decorative works which ornamented the interior of the Cathedral, we must reckon the stained glass which formerly filled the windows of the choir, of which glass, fragments were discovered in the year 1846, whilst clearing out some old foundations on the north-east side of the chancel. These fragments,² along with pieces

¹ It seems now almost certain that Bishop David Hacket, of Kilkenny, who erected the finely-groined vaulting under the central tower in 1460, was also the architect of the famous Abbey of Batalha, in Portugal, where the vault of the Chapter-house is a splendid example of his skill. The ancient doorway of the Chapter-room of St. Canice's is of the same period also. This doorway, as well as the choir (vaulting, window tracery, and sedilia) of Holy Cross, in Tipperary, all bear traces of the same rich and elaborate style as we see at Batalha, as described by Murphy, and of which a finely-illustrated monograph has lately been published.

² Various coloured glass has been found amongst the fragments of St. Canice's windows. There are three varieties of white, namely, opaque, enamelled, and stained; also amber, green, blue, ruby, amethyst, and a fine shade of warm reddish purple. In consequence of their long contact with damp earth, all these pieces are much decayed, and have become as iridescent as antique Roman glass, such as is found at Silchester, and in many other *villæ*.

All the details of leaves, &c., have been executed in the same ferruginous black or brownish colour, as used at the present day, which is burned or "fired" into the substance of the glass.

Illustrations, in colours, of some of the fragments, are given in the "History of St. Canice's Cathedral," by Rev. James Graves and J. G. Prim.

Fragments of glass, similar to those found at St. Canice's, have been discovered, some years ago, whilst making excavations outside the magnificent east window of the Collegiate Church of St. Mary, at Youghal, county Cork. I have inspected these pieces, and find that they belong to the same period as the Kilkenny glass, namely, the middle of the fourteenth century. There are traces of vine-leaves on some bits, which are similar to those on the Kilkenny fragments. The fine windows of St. Mary's Choir were destroyed in the rebellion of Gerald, the 16th Earl of Desmond, A.D. 1579, when the noble church was utterly devastated.

of their "leads," are now deposited in the Museum of the Royal Society of Antiquaries in Kilkenny, where I have had the opportunity of examining them.

All the fragments appear to have been subjected to the action of fire after having been ruthlessly torn down by the Puritans during their occupation of the cathedral in the year 1650; for we find in the "Remonstrance" or protest by Bishop Williams, who was a contemporary, that the Cromwellians had "broken down all the windows" and carried away the glass, from "the great, and famous, most beautiful Cathedral Church of Saint Keney" (as he quaintly expresses it), ruining these fine productions of mediæval art in like manner as was done by Master William Dowsing, Commissioner of the Republic in the Eastern Counties of England, about the same period. Thus perished the superb windows which had been erected by Bishop Richard de Ledrede in the year 1354, when he restored the choir and its side chapels which had been injured by the fall of the central tower in 1332.¹

That these windows must have been very fine in effect is attested by the learned and judicious Bishop David Roth, in his tract, "*De Ossoriensi Diocesi*," in which he thus describes the eastern window of the choir:—"The choir of the church of St. Canice is ample and splendid enough, and adorned by a vast east window, than which I do not know of any, in all this kingdom, of greater size, or more ornamented; it is divided by two piers with solid stone columns, and is filled with translucent variegated glass, in which is most skilfully depicted the whole Life, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of the Lord: such is the elegance and splendour of this work; so highly is it ornamented and decorated, that the new Iconoclasts under King Edward VI., and, again, under Elizabeth (his sister), restrained their violent hands from these windows." This was, undoubtedly, the famous window which the Nuncio, Mgr. Rinuccini, during his residence in the city, in 1648, wished to purchase for the large sum of £700 (a vast amount in those days) in order to send it over to a church in Rome, as he seems to have foreseen its probable destruction. But as his offer was declined by Bishop Roth, we cannot now have the satisfaction of beholding this window saved and re-erected in another cathedral, as we still see the fine windows of the former Abbey of Herkenrode (in Belgium) saved from the revolutionary fury, and gleaming in their glorious tints, in the Lady Chapel of Lichfield Cathedral.

Amongst the fragments in the museum, I have observed traces of two or three different periods, namely, glass of the early 13th, the 14th, and 16th centuries, which are distinguished by their different modes of treatment. In the glass of the early portion of the 13th century we may observe that the forms of the "leaf" ornaments are all conventional in type, drawn with very heavy outlines in black, and that the "grounds"

¹ See Note 1, previous page.

are covered with "hatched" or crossed lines, thus bringing the ornamental parts into high relief by preventing the diffusion of light over all the surfaces of the "creamy" white glass on which the ornamental details are drawn. The texture of the glass, as well as the small size and the irregular shapes of the pieces, shows that they must have been got out of the circular "cakes" of vitreous material, by means of the tedious process of a heated iron point, and the use of "nippers" to break off the small jagged edges. I am of opinion that these pieces formed parts of "grisaille" windows, which were originally put up in the round arched openings of the time of Bishop Peter Malvaision, and which were allowed to remain *in situ* by Bishop de Mapilton (as we see these same openings still in the north and south sides of the chancel) when he introduced the Early English eastern window. In the fragments of fourteenth-century glass, we find the forms of the leaves of the vine, maple, and ivy treated in a "naturalistic" manner, the vine leaves especially being drawn with quintuple points, their "retreats" filled in with reddish-brown pigment; and no hatched lines on the ground; entirely different from the stiff conventional forms of the earlier glass. Some pieces bear very beautifully traced "diapers" of scroll-work etched out with the point of the brush handle, in the dark brown enamel on their surfaces. The presence of coloured (red) rosettes amongst these fragments proves their fourteenth-century origin, as such coloured portions were never admitted into the earlier "grisaille" glass. A few pieces show traces of figure-subjects; amongst these is a portion of a sleeved arm; this arm is shown as covered with cloth; the wrist is ornamented with crossed lines, or "hatching," and is tight-fitting, whilst the upper portion towards the elbow is large and "baggy," precisely like a fashionable sleeve of the present day. The "high lights" of the folds of the cloth are "wiped out" in such a manner as that they may appear gracefully shaded when seen at a distance, although exceedingly coarse and rude in effect when near to the light. The law of the diffusion of light, as it passes through glass, was well understood by these old "stainers" who executed their best works, such as we still see at Chartres, Carcassonne, York, and elsewhere, in the manner of the "shadowgraphs" of the Röntgen rays of the modern scientists. It seems to me that the fourteenth-century pieces of glass formed portions of medallions representing Scriptural scenes, and that they were inserted into the lower panels of the earlier "grisaille" windows, in the same manner as we still see the windows in the aisles of Rouen Cathedral. All the later glass seems to have been cut with the diamond, which was introduced for glaziers' work in the course of the fourteenth century.¹

¹ In the many examples of fourteenth-century glass still remaining in England, such windows appear to have been produced by French artists, as, for example, in the beautiful Jesse window of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, executed about the year 1453. The texts are in Norman-French. It contains vine-leaves of a similar type to those on the Kilkenny glass. But there also existed a large stained-glass "studio" in

The leads which secured all the glass have evidently been cast in ingots, in moulds, and then "run out" by means of a plane, into the various sizes adapted to the pieces that were used in the composition of the windows. I have also found several pieces of late glass, evidently belonging to a window of the sixteenth century, amongst these fragments. All the ornaments, &c., on these pieces are executed in "enamel" or surface colours, amongst which the tints produced by "salts" or chlorides of silver (a stain which was seldom used before 1400) largely predominate. The blue glass, which formed the skies, is of the peculiar greyish-blue which is so often seen in the windows of the Flemish school of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; this blue glass bears traces of yellow "silver" stain, by which foliage was delineated; the material is very thin in substance; it must have formed portion of a Renaissance window similar in type to the "Jonas" one at the western end of Oxford Cathedral. I consider it as having been painted in the Low Countries, and belonging to the same period as the large silver-gilt Monstrance, which Bishop Roth presented to St. Canice's Cathedral, just before the Great Rebellion. This Monstrance is of Flemish workmanship. As Bishop Roth had studied and filled important posts in the Low Countries, it is very likely that he presented this window to his cathedral; and that he likewise endowed it with richly embroidered vestments, for which Flanders was then, as now, very famous.

All the earlier glass is made and coloured according to the recipes given in the book of the monk, Theophilus, of Helmarshausen, in Hesse, written by him in A.D. 1100, which work contains the long-forgotten secrets of Greek, Roman, and Mediæval artists, respecting glass, enamels, and metal works. This book, called "*Diversarum Artium Schedula*," was published for the first time in Paris, in 1843, where it was found in the National Library in manuscript form.

I am of opinion that the glazing of the north and south sides of St. Canice's choir with "grisaille" glass (of which fragments have been found on the northern side) was thus executed in order to gain a most important artistic effect. These "grisaille" windows could be seen only laterally: whereas the east window, at the extreme end of the church, seen through the arcaded openings of the Rood Screen (which formerly existed at the entrance of the choir) could be viewed full in front. The "grisaille" windows, whilst clear enough in themselves, did not allow the rays of the sun to light up the backs of the three openings of the eastern window, but allowed the rays at certain hours of the day to throw a "pearly" reflection on the great coloured east window, of a most

Westminster about the same period, in which the stained-glass of Warwick (the Beauchamp Chapel), and the Priory Church at Great Malvern, was made by Master John Prudde, *circa* 1447. Much of the glass itself was brought from Venice, and more from Cologne. The splendid series of windows in Fairford Church (Gloucestershire) were also executed by "vitriers" in Westminster, for Master John de Thame.

luminous and delicious effect. We can still see such effect in the choir of the Cathedral of Auxerre, the lateral windows of which (as, of old, in St. Canice's) being composed half of grisaille, half of coloured glass, cast on the central windows of the apse (which are entirely filled with colour) a lovely opalescent light, like a silvery shimmering veil of fairy texture, which changes its tones as the daylight alters, and across which pearly "veil" brilliant reflections of the rich tones of the central window continually slide like showers of rubies, turquoises, emeralds, and all manner of precious stones; these exquisite effects of light cause new harmonies of colour every hour of the bright day, and the forms of the architecture seem to become changed in the ever varying beams which never seem to tire the eye; it is a "hymn of praise," upraised by the light itself in the Temple of God. Such must have been the effect in olden times in the choir of Kilkenny Cathedral, and we must not wonder at its glass having excited the artistic enthusiasm of Roth or of Rinuccini. The tiling of the floor was in perfect harmony with the glass; the walls were also coloured as in all such churches; the altar and its reredos were, undoubtedly, relieved with gilding and colour, whilst with its carved oaken stalls (which it is proposed to restore), and its storied screen with the rood, the choir must have been a splendid spectacle.

MARÉCHAL-DE-CAMP BARON DE WARREN OF CORDUFF.

BY THE REV. THOMAS WARREN.

IN order to explain the sources of information upon which the following Paper is chiefly founded, I would premise that upon the death of Baron de Warren in 1775, his Papers and correspondence were deposited among the Royal archives of Morbihan in France. These were lost sight of, until lately discovered by M. Lallement, Secretary of the *Société Polymathique* of Morbihan, who has recently published selections from them in the *Bulletin* of the Society, and to whom I am indebted for copies of that *Journal* and valuable information kindly communicated, which have enabled me to write this Paper.

The family of Warren, which is of Norman extraction, claim to have been settled in Ireland from the time of the conquest by Henry II. It is recorded by Allemand that a convent for nuns of the order of St. Augustine was founded at Killeigh, King's County, by the family, shortly after the arrival of the English in the twelfth century. From the early part of the fourteenth century the name is of frequent occurrence, under various forms, in the Patent Rolls of Ireland. Their lands were at Warrenstown, county Meath; in Kyldroght, county Kildare; and at Corduff, and other places, in county Dublin. In rank they held a prominent position among the great Anglo-Irish families, as their marriage alliances show; including such names as Bermingham, D'Arcy, Hussey, Barnewall, Plunkett, Aylmer, Archbold, Archdekin, &c.

The subject of this Paper, Richard Warren, was a son of John Warren of Corduff, Esq., who died in 1741. Richard was born about 1705, at Corduff, parish of Castleknock, and was one of a family of five sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Thomas, heir presumptive to the property, remained in Ireland, as did his sister Lucy, who was married to John Locke, of Colmanstown, Esq. The others emigrated to France, where the second sister, under the name in religion of Sister Agatha, entered a convent at Montreuil. Her brother James became a priest of the order of Franciscans, to which other members of the family in Ireland had formerly belonged. James intended to go on the Irish mission, but his wishes were not realised. Richard, the future *Maréchal-de-Camp*, at first devoted himself to commercial pursuits at Marseilles; with small success, however, his bent being in another direction. While travelling on business, he availed himself of every spare moment to note down the peculiar habits of the people, and to visit the remains of antiquity, of which he kept accurate details. After battling for some time against

adverse fortune, he finally resolved to enter upon a military career, which the events of the time seemed to favour.

At the opening of the year 1743, France found herself involved in the War of the Succession of Maria Theresa to the throne of Austria, and had arrayed against her the great powers of Europe. After the victory of the English at Dettingen, in order to avert danger and effect a useful diversion, the cabinet of Versailles conceived the project of a descent upon England.

At this time the son of James II., under the name of the Chevalier St. George, was residing at Rome. He had two sons, the elder of whom was Prince Charles Edward, then 23 years of age. The Stuarts saw their opportunity; and Louis XV., knowing the value of the co-operation of the Jacobites, communicated the nature of the project to the exiled Prince secretly. Charles Edward forthwith set out from Rome, and, on reaching France in February, 1744, found that the troops destined for the invasion of England were concentrating at Dunkirk, under the command of Marshal Saxe. The expedition in due course set sail, but immediately a fearful storm burst upon it; the ships and transports were scattered, and the whole project had to be abandoned, Marshal Saxe exclaiming, "Alas! the winds are not Jacobites." The Prince, who had joined Saxe, was recalled from the coast, but remained in France in secrecy, awaiting events.

Among the most zealous and resourceful of the Jacobites then in France was Richard Warren, who had cast in his fortune with the Prince, and was working secretly among the leading members of the party, but, in order to fit himself for any future emergency, had resolved to enter the Irish Brigade in the service of France, which corps was then in Flanders. He joined the regiment of Lally as a volunteer, having obtained the honorary rank of Captain, and found, as his comrades, his brothers William and John, who already held the rank of Captain. Both brothers fought at Fontenoy, 11th May, 1745, where the Irish Brigade turned the tide of victory against the English, and won imperishable renown. Richard Warren, however, was not in action at Fontenoy, being then engaged in important negotiations at Paris.

Prince Charles Edward, who was being used as a mere pawn in the great war game between France and England, became impatient, and resolved on striking a blow to recover the throne of England for the Stuarts, with or without the assistance of France. Louis XV., seeing this audacity, could haggle no longer, and promised him some assistance, but in a covert way, with a view to eventualities. The great difficulty was to find the necessary ships to convey the party to Scotland, as so bold a course as to give the Prince French war-vessels was not dreamt of. Two vessels, however, were obtained privately, and fitted out mainly through Anthony Walsh, a shipowner of Nantes, of Irish extraction; and in the *Elisabeth* of sixty guns, and the frigate *La Doutelle* of twenty guns, Prince

Charles Edward and his party set sail on the 14th July, 1745, from St. Nazaire.

Richard Warren, who had been travelling over the north of France, vigorously advancing the cause, now rejoined his regiment, being persuaded that the Irish Brigade would soon follow their hero. His brothers had joined the Prince; and Richard, having been appointed by the King, 10th August, 1745, a captain, detached, of De Rothe's regiment, was waiting for an opportunity to cross the channel. Meanwhile, the Prince had arrived on the west coast of Scotland in the frigate *La Doutelle*; the *Elisabeth*, on her voyage, having been engaged and disabled by an English cruiser, had been obliged to return to France. The victories gained by the Prince on landing in Scotland decided the French Cabinet to give assistance to the Jacobites without compromising the King. Two Corsairs were despatched with men and arms, and Warren was given charge of one of them, in which he arrived at Stonehaven about the middle of October. The erection of batteries on each side of the Forth was confided to him, and on the completion of these he joined the Prince at Edinburgh, where he became *Aide-de-Camp* to Lord George Murray, and, on the 12th of November, received his commission as Colonel from the Prince. He then took part in the different actions fought by the Jacobite army on its march into England, and assisted notably at the siege of Carlisle. When later on the Prince's army had to retreat, Warren was sent to Scotland to raise levies to strengthen the main body of the army at Stirling. The response of the Highlanders at this juncture was disappointing, and no resource was left but to make an appeal to Louis XV. and his Ministers for assistance, and Warren was entrusted with this delicate mission. Before leaving Scotland, the Marquis d'Eguilles, French Ambassador at the Court of the Prince, conferred upon him the rank of *Aide-de-Camp* to the King in order to facilitate his mission. On reaching Versailles he was introduced by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and had an audience of the King. After presenting the despatches from the Marquis d'Eguilles, the King was pleased to give him the commission of Colonel in the French army, under date 30th of April, 1746. He was ordered to follow the King into Flanders; but, while remaining at Paris, he was able to despatch two frigates laden with arms and ammunition, and £40,000, entrusted to Sir Thomas Sheridan, which were safely landed. Sir Thomas and his son Michael, Captain John Warren, and others, after having been engaged at Culloden, 27th April, 1746, escaped in these frigates, and arrived at Nantes. Warren's brother William also escaped, and managed to get to Ireland, whence he sailed to Holland, and thence returned to France.

The news of the disastrous defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden soon reached France. The Prince, after the battle, became a fugitive, and had to conceal himself in the glens and mountains of Scotland, trusting to Highland hospitality and fidelity, which never failed him, although

£30,000 was set upon his head. The great concern of the King and the French Court now was, how to rescue the Prince, and Colonel Richard Warren was selected to carry out this secret and perilous enterprise on his own responsibility. Two vessels were fitted out with the greatest secrecy—the frigate *L'Heureux* of thirty six guns, and the *Prince de Conti* of twenty four guns—and on these Colonel Warren, Captain Lynch, Lieutenant O'Beirne, and Michael Sheridan embarked on the 31st of August, 1746.

In the English Channel they were chased for three or four days by English cruisers, and had frequently to change their course, but at last reached the coast of Scotland. The vessels were flying the English colours; and Warren, who had provided himself with an English uniform, donned it, and went ashore, along with Sheridan, to seek for information about the Prince. After some hairbreadth escapes, they returned to the ships, and, having ascertained the whereabouts of the Prince, raised their anchors, and sailed to Lochnannagh, in Moidart, where fourteen months before the Prince had landed. Sheridan, who had fought with the Highlanders at Culloden, went ashore, was at once recognised by the peasantry, and got precise information about the Prince's retreat. Trusty messengers were despatched to inform him that French vessels were waiting to rescue him. After some unavoidable delay, the Prince and his party, now numbering about 100 persons, who resolved to escape when they had the opportunity, reached the ships, were soon on board, set sail with a fair wind on the 1st of October, managed to elude the English cruisers, and reached Roscoff, near Morlaix in Lower Brittany, where they landed on the 10th of October. The Prince sent Colonel Warren off at once to inform his brother Henry, Duke of York, and the French Court, of their safe arrival. He had an audience of the King, which lasted an hour and a half, during which the King inquired particularly about the Prince's adventures since Culloden, and the details of the perilous voyage undertaken for his rescue. The King conferred upon Warren a pension of 1200 livres, and the Prince's father made him a knight baronet for his success in rescuing the Prince, with the understanding that it was to be concealed for a time, lest it might increase the complications already existing between the French and English cabinets. The patent bears date the 9th of November, 1746, and states that it is given "for his particularly signal service" in rescuing the Prince, and "to perpetuate the memory of it to posterity," and is signed "J. R."

Congratulations poured in upon Warren from all sides, and the Prince was most grateful to him. Indeed, so late as 1769, in a letter written to Warren by his own hand, he says:—

"I shall feel all my life a just gratitude for the devotion which you have shown me on certain occasions.

"Your sincere friend,

"CHARLES R."

The French Government, having seen the Prince rescued, had not much interest in the fate of the Stuarts, and were more anxious to end the war with England. The Prince turned his mind to Spain, and even visited Madrid; but his efforts were fruitless, and he returned to Paris. Warren, at this time, had some interesting correspondence with Sir Charles Wogan at Madrid. Their fathers had been old friends, and in the letters there are touching allusions to "old Corduff" and "old Rathcoffy."

Warren now resolved to join the service in Flanders, which he did in the important position of *Aide-de-Camp* to Marshal Saxe. The Prince's brother Henry returned to Rome, where he was made a Cardinal, much to the chagrin of the Jacobites, who would have preferred seeing him in another rôle.

Having joined the army in Flanders, in February, 1747, Warren was in all the actions which took place up to the time of signing the treaty of peace at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. He assisted specially at the battle of Laffeldt, where the allies were defeated, and has left an interesting narrative of the battle which took place on the 2nd of July. (I may here state, in passing, that all the dates in this Paper are new style or according to the Gregorian Calendar, which was then in use in France). On the 20th of July Marshal Saxe's army drew near to Bergen-op-Zoom, which they invested, and, after a siege of two months, took by assault on the 15th September, 1747. A journal of the siege is among Warren's papers. The army at this time went into winter-quarters; and Warren availed himself of the leisure to keep up his extensive correspondence on the subject which lay nearest his heart—the interests of his hero, the Prince. Charles Edward was then residing in the suburbs of Paris, and occupied his time in rendering assistance to his compatriots.

On the 18th of March, 1748, Marshal Saxe was again on the war-path, and on the 9th of April, Warren informed Madame O'Brien, Countess of Lismore, that Maestricht was invested. On the 18th the trenches were opened, and on the 3rd of May the city surrendered, a suspension of arms was agreed upon, and negotiations for peace were commenced at Aix-la-Chapelle. It was understood that one of the conditions required by England, Austria, and Holland was the recognition of the House of Hanover, and the interdiction of the Stuarts from residing in France, especially of Prince Charles Edward and his posterity. James III. and his partisans were greatly irritated at this, and pressed Louis XV. to refuse it; but the personal sympathy of the King with the young Prince, and the public policy of his Ministers, were very different matters. The negotiations were advancing, and nothing remained to the Jacobites but to protest against the clause in the treaty which destroyed their pretensions for ever. A protest was accordingly drawn up; and the Countess of Lismore, who was an active spirit in all these movements, committed to Warren the dangerous mission of getting copies posted up on the Ambassador's houses and the public places in Aix-la-Chapelle. After some

most exciting episodes, Warren executed his task and returned. All, however, was of no avail; the treaty was signed, and it contained the obnoxious clause.

The King now endeavoured to persuade the Prince, who still remained in Paris, to leave voluntarily, but he refused; whereupon he was arrested on entering the Opera House, and was hustled out of Paris and France.

At the conclusion of the peace many officers were disbanded, and Warren found himself among the number. He could not, however, be idle, and at once attached himself to the Irish regiment of De Rothe, 10th January, 1748, as 2nd captain with the rank of Colonel, so that he might be available for promotion. He had friends in Marshals Saxe and Lowendal, who knew his worth. Dull garrison duty, however, was a new experience to him, and not wishing to be lost sight of, he went to Paris, and attended the Court ceremonies there, where he was well known, and his social resources highly appreciated; but, finding his small pension insufficient for Paris life, he soon rejoined his corps, which was then stationed at Caen.

It is believed by some, that during the year 1750, Prince Charles Edward visited London, and had a secret conference with some leading Jacobites. However this may have been, it is a strange coincidence that, just at this time, Warren was nominated Brigadier-General of the English troops by James the Pretender. The commission is addressed by him to "our faithful and well-beloved Sir Richard Warren, Baronet, Colonel of Infantry," and is dated at Rome, 2nd August, 1750. About the same time, Warren had asked the Court of France for leave of absence in order to go to England on business, and obtained an authorisation from the king. Mysterious delays, however, took place; his friends in London did not think it would be safe for him; and, in December, his friend Marshal Saxe died. We find him still at Caen in January, 1751, writing to the Earl of Lismore on the subject of using the title of Baronet; and on the 8th of February, Lismore informed him that James III. had authorised him to use the title. It was not till the month of August that he was able to cross to England, and there was much speculation among the Jacobites about the object of his visit.

After his return he settled at Dunkirk, where he was for a considerable time laid aside by a serious malady. He was looking forward to joining the army in Flanders, when, on the 2nd of August, 1754, on the recommendation of De Rothe, the King gave him the command of a company in De Rothe's regiment. He was preparing to join in the manœuvres of the army under the Prince de Soubise, when he was seized with fever, and was not able to join his regiment till the end of September. During the year 1755 complications arose between England and France with reference to Canada, and matters looked threatening. On the 2nd of August, 1755, Baron de Warren was made a Chevalier of the order of St. Louis; and soon after was sent on a mission to the coast of Flanders to watch the

movements of the English, and keep the French Government informed, a duty for which he was specially qualified. England was preying on French commerce at this time, and was threatening the French coasts, so that Warren was kept on the *qui vive* on the coasts of Flanders, Picardy, and Normandy, for about three years. The Seven Years' War between France and England had meantime commenced, and Warren, who, on 15th February, 1757, received a Colonel's commission, was placed as Colonel at Ostend throughout the year 1758, but on the 10th of February, 1759, the King appointed him Brigadier of Infantry in the French army.

At this time the French Treasury was not in a very flourishing condition, and officers had to rely very much on their own resources to keep up their position. Warren and his friend Fitz Gerald felt the pinch, and some of their friends suggested matrimony as the only resource, always understanding that the fair lady should have a good dowry. All went off well in the case of Fitz Gerald, who married Miss O'Connor; but Warren remained a celibate.

The French cabinet now resolved upon a descent on the English and Scotch coasts, and Warren was fixed upon as one of the general officers of the expedition, which was being fitted out in the ports of Brittany. He had charge of the embarkation of the Irish regiments of Clare, Dillon, and Rothe, at Lorient. The flotilla with the troops was to be escorted by a squadron of the fleet from Toulon, and another from Brest; but the English admiral with his fleet was on the alert. Hawke had placed one division of his fleet at Ushant, and another at Quiberon, while he patrolled the sea lying between. The English fleet attacked the French squadron from Toulon off Cape St. Vincent on the 18th of August, 1759, and almost annihilated it, so that the expedition had to depend upon the Brest squadron commanded by Admiral Conflans. The French fleet sailed from Brest on the 14th of November, reached the Bay of Quiberon on the 19th, and the expedition had no sooner got to the open sea off Belleisle, on the 20th, than it was attacked by the English. There was gallant fighting on both sides; the weather was squally, and the coast which was close at hand, was dangerous, and the action ended in the French fleet and expedition being scattered and almost destroyed.

After this, Warren was stationed at St. Gildas de Rhuys, to watch the movements of the English fleet in the Bay of Quiberon. In December, the Duke d'Aiguillon recalled him, in order to be near himself at Vannes, and it was while he was stationed in this town that he received from James the Pretender the commission of Major-General of the English armies, dated 10th February, 1760.

In March he replaced at Prières the *Maréchal-de-Camp* de Redmond, in order to defend the entrance of the Vilaine. Here he had frequent intercourse with the admirals and general officers of the English fleet, in reference to the exchange of prisoners and other business of state.

In January, 1761, he was given temporary command of the county of Nantais, and upon the descent of the English upon Belleisle and its capture, he was charged with the defence of both sides of the roadstead of Brest.

In January, 1762, he again got the command of the county of Nantais, and resided there at Croisic till the peace with England. In December of this year he was informed by the Duke d'Aiguillon that, in order to reward him for his services, the King of France had granted him the rank of *Maréchal-de-Camp*, to date from 25th July, 1762.

Peace was concluded between England and France at Paris, in February, 1763; and, in the month of April, Warren was charged to represent Louis XV. in the delicate work of resuming possession of Belleisle, which the English evacuated. He acquitted himself with success in this mission, and soon after was appointed Governor of Belleisle and the adjoining islands. This important post he occupied till the time of his death, a period of about twelve years. After taking command of the island, he was fully employed in repairing, as far as possible, the damage done by the war and the English occupation. He interested himself much in the condition of the peasantry, and succeeded in inducing the King to renounce his proprietary rights in their favour, on their paying a small Crown rent, thus constituting them peasant proprietors. The island is 11 miles in length, and 6 miles in breadth, and the lands were divided among 560 families. In 1765 he also settled on the island 77 families of Acadians, French inhabitants of Nova Scotia, who had refused to fight against France, and who had been detained as prisoners by the English during the war. Many useful public works were undertaken by the Governor's orders, and he acted towards the inhabitants as a father. But his career was ended by death on the 21st of June, 1775, after a short illness, causing profound grief among the inhabitants of Belleisle and his numerous friends, by whom he was loved and esteemed. Fidelity to the Stuarts had been with him a passion, and the dream of his life had been their restoration to the throne of England.

This brief outline of his career may serve to redeem his name from oblivion in his native land, and show that he is entitled to be enrolled in the ranks of distinguished Irishmen.

He was buried at Palais, the capital of Belleisle, with all pomp and ceremony, and the record in the parish register, translated, is as follows:—

“ On the 22nd of June, 1775, was interred, in the cemetery, the body of Messire Richard-Auguste de Warren, Baron of Corduff, and other places, Knight-Baronet of Great Britain, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, *Maréchal-de-Camp* of the armies of the King, and Governor of Belleisle, aged about 70 years, who died yesterday, after having received the sacraments.”

Miscellanea.

Omey, County Galway.—Being disappointed, through stress of weather, in my endeavour to revisit Ardoileán last July, I turned aside into the more accessible island of Omey, where I knew I should find further traces of that interesting personality St. Féichín of Fore. The remains consist of a chapel, marked "Templefeheen" on the O.S. Map (Galway, Sheet 21), on the north side of the island; and a well, marked "Toberfeheen," on the east side, north of an inlet which cuts deeply into the land.

The chapel is about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile west of a modern but disused church which stands out conspicuously above the north side of the island. Very little of the old building is now to be seen, and I should have entirely missed it had not a native pointed it out to me; it has been filled up and covered in with drifted sand so thoroughly that only a portion of the top of the east gable is visible. This exposed portion consists of undressed stones (some are *naturally* squared), roughly coursed, and well mortared with good shell mortar: the dimensions are—length, 7 feet 6 inches; thickness, 2 feet 7 inches; height, 1 foot 3 inches above ground. My guide told me that about 6 feet deep in the sand there was a window in this gable which he remembered seeing in his boyhood.

The well is now choked with blown sand; but part of the depression is to be seen lined with stones, 2 feet wide and now about 1 foot deep. Around it is built a circular wall, 8 feet in internal diameter, approached by a passage at the S.W. side. This wall is dry-built, but the sand is blown into the interstices between the stones, giving it the appearance of being mortared. The passage is 1 foot 6 inches across, defined by two walls 3 courses high, 9 feet 3 inches long. The highest point of the enclosing wall is at the N.E. side, about 5 feet high. Outside this there is an altar formed by a projection in the masonry, covered with large spherical pebbles. Inside, at the same point of the wall as the altar, are two projecting stones, one over the other, on which votive offerings are deposited as on shelves. I found one rag on the altar outside: inside, on the upper shelf, is a common glass bead necklace with a couple of metal religious emblems, and a twisted cord of black and white thread; on the lower are numerous rags kept in place by pebbles, also a candle. Elsewhere in the wall is an iron knife much corroded, and a large fragment of sacking. There is also a limpet shell in the enclosure, which Aran analogies suggest may be used as a drinking-cup. Devotees are in the habit of spending the night beside the altar. It is said that nine years ago the sea rose and inundated the district, but left the well untouched and uninjured.—R. A. S. MACALISTER, M.A.

Similarity of the Forts and Traditions of Ireland and Central Europe.—The following abstract of a letter of Mr. William C. Borlase, of London (the first volume of whose valuable work on Irish cromlechs is now in print), commenting on "Prehistoric Stone Forts of Central Clare" in our *Journal*, may prove of interest to students of early Irish lore:—

"The likeness of Irish and Scotch forts to those of Central Europe is no mere coincidence. Virchow¹ notices it in the case of the Scotch forts, being unaware of the equally striking resemblance in those of Ireland. They are landmarks of the unwritten history of the movements of tribes, from the Neolithic Age to the dispersal of the Hunnish confederation through North-Western Europe, across which they extend in a broad band towards the S.E., having their centre in the Hercynian Highlands. Archæology shows one end of the chain of events; the Sagas, read with the later Byzantine writers, from Procopius down (550-900), the other, showing that the 'Bolgar,' *i.e.* the confederates of the retreating Huns (Rugii, Heruli, Iotungi, Alani, Bitugures, Cutugures, or Cotragi, &c.)² passed northward to the coast lands—'imi Oceani recessus,'³ figuring as 'Bolg,' or 'Iotun,' in various legends.

"The connexion of N. W. Europe with the Ægean Sea, by the Danube, was established in the Bronze Age (*circa* 1250 B.C.), as shown by the gold ornaments found at Corinth,⁴ the Balkans, Poitiers, and Ireland, and by forms of pottery and bronze from Hungary to Ireland. When we add the plans of forts from the later Bronze Age to the Iron Age, the conclusion is irresistible that the lands from the far N. W. to the Black Sea, were constantly traversed, during successive ages, by restless tribes with similar customs, and therefore probably of the same racial stock.

"The forts of Antrim are of a peculiar plan, *e.g.* Dunaghy, but this is found in Bohemia, Hungary, and Bosnia,⁵ *e.g.* Gorlitz and the Schlossberg, near Benau Fridersdorf. Passing southward, the circular stone fort of Radelstein, Bohemia,⁶ is singularly like those of Aran and Clare. It is to be observed that the curious architectural detail of constructing a wall in sections terminating vertically, was practised alike by the fort builders of Tiryns, Mycenæ, and Western Ireland.⁷ Geiselberg, in Bosnia,⁸ is equally like the fort at Downpatrick.

"Upon the Baltic coasts, again, we have the 'Bauerberge,' on the Island of Mohne, near Oesel,⁹ which closely resembles Ballykinvarga,

¹ "Zeitschrift für Ethnol.," 1870, p. 257.

² Procopius, Agathias, and Leo Diaconos.

³ Sidon. Apoll., 8, 9.

⁴ Lindenschmit, "Museum in Mainz," 1858.

⁵ Mason's "Survey," Dundermot; "Neues Lausitzisches," vol. lviii., page 228; Much, "Prehist. Atlas," plate lxxxiv.

⁶ Much, "Prehist. Atlas," plate lxxxvi.

⁷ See page 155, *supra*.

⁸ Radimski, "Prähist. Fundstätten."

⁹ Kruse, "Nekrolivonica," plate lxii., fig. 1.

county Clare, in plan, and the prevalence of the word 'dangan' is noteworthy along the Gulf of Riga. These forts are of Finnish origin, and the similarity of the names 'Galindæ,' near the Vistula, and 'Gaileoin' (Gailiuid), in Ireland, may be more than accidental.

"In West Prussia we find the Pomorians ('Folk on the shore') dwelling in early times, and there remain stone 'burgwalls' and earth-forts (*e.g.* Silmsee), and westward, towards the German Ocean, double- and triple-banked forts of earth and stone. The 'Hune Schans,' on the Udeler Meer, Guelderland,¹ in the Netherlands, and the 'Heidenstatt,' on the Weser (the last with a dolmen near it), are typical 'raths.'

"Sweden possesses 'ringmurs' like the cliff cathairs of North Wales and Ireland, and has structures like Irish cashels, and, like them, sometimes used for interment. A good example occurs in Öland.²

"We may consider these various types as, in many cases, constructed by Celtic-speaking tribes, passing from N.-W. Europe, southward and eastward from a centre near the Rhine.³ There were probably Celtic settlements north of the Black Sea; Posidonius and Plutarch connect the Cimmerii with the Cimbri, whoever they were; and Plutarch⁴ speaks of Celto-Scyths, on the Pontus Euxinus. The Cotragi formed an important contingent in the army of Attila (430-453): fable said they were led by a doe, which occurs in Irish romance. In the succeeding century we find a tribe of this name dwelling in Northern Ireland, and giving their name to 'Cary' barony, in Antrim, we find 'Catterick Bridge,' in Yorkshire, identified with κατορακτονιον of Ptolemy. Miliuc names St. Patrick 'Cothraighe,' apparently in an opprobrious sense, and this word is compared to 'Caturigos' by Dr. Whitley Stokes.⁵ The Irish 'Cothraighe' were settled at Usnach, and a rock, 'Carraig Cotrigi,' is stated to be the centre of Ireland.⁶ Mac Firbis placed the 'Tuath Cathraighe' Firbolgs in Southern Hy Many, and makes the 'Cathragii' and 'Bolg Tuath' descendants of Genann the Firbolg.⁷ The Cotragian 'Huns,' as the Byzantines called even the non-Mongolian allies of Attila, are inseparably connected with the Bulgares and Bolgar. Agathias (sixth century) calls the Cotrigi 'Hunnica natio'; Leo Diaconos (ninth century), 'Cotragorum coloni Bulgari.' Comparing these facts, the writer can neither agree with those who find in Ireland the habitat of every event in her earliest tradition, nor with those who would plunge the whole into the vortex of Aryan mythology, but rather believes that Celto-Scyths, from the Bronze Age to the fourth century, passed by the central water-ways

¹ Jannsen's "Over the Western Fatherland" (1844), p. 72.

² "Samlingar för Nordens Fornälskare," vol. i., plate xxxiii., fig. 90.

³ "Schräder, edit. Jevons," p. 429.

⁴ "Marius," chap. xi.

⁵ "Book of Armagh."

⁶ "Tripartite Life of St. Patrick."

⁷ See note 2, page 144, *supra*.

from the Palus Mæotis to our Islands, bringing with them traditions of history and building.

"Though the ancient Irish books chiefly date from the twelfth century onwards, we find earlier traces of their 'sagas,' the St. Gall glosses (eighth or ninth century), allude to Dian Cecht, the divine physician of the Tuatha De Danann; and a hymn, in the 'Book of Armagh,' refers to the story of Dermot and Grania. To criticise the value of these legends, we must first ask ourselves what such names as 'Partholan,' 'Nemed' (or 'Nemec,' as Nennius writes it), 'Bolg,' &c., meant in the sixth or seventh century. '*Partholan*' is found in the '*Weissobrunner Codex*' (eighth century), where *Lancpartolant* is Italy;¹ '*Nemed*,' or *Nemec*, is the name used by the Slaves, and later by Byzantine writers, for the Germans. Note that the enemies of both tribes are Fomorian, perhaps the 'Pomorian' Slaves of West Prussia. '*Bolg*,' or *Firbolg*, *Bolgar*, or *Boulgares*, used irrespective of nationality,² for the confederates of Attila, two of whose advisers are Onegesius, or *Hunugusus* (compare 'Oengus' and 'Ungust' of the Picts and Scots), and Scotta. The account given by Procopius of the Heruli, or *Bolgares*, is curiously similar to the legend of the *Firbolgs*—both travel from the Baltic to the Palus; both are reduced to serfdom by the Greeks; both rebel and slay their king; both send to Scandinavia for a prince. The Heruli and Rugii, in their plundering expeditions over the Alps, had to pass *Emona*, or *Eman*. There was a *Temair* in Thuringia as well as in Meath, and an *Uznach*, on Lake Zurich, as well as in Westmeath."³

Weasel Folk-lore in Munster.—Some curious beliefs with regard to weasels prevail in the Shannon district. The persistency of these animals in pursuit of their prey impressed equally the author of the "Flight of Dermot and Grania" (p. 99, where the messenger of Fin "flies like a weasel" after the culprits), and the modern peasantry. At Attyfin, county Limerick, one of the older workmen used to tell

¹ 'Lancpartolant,' meaning 'Lombardie'; and 'Partholan,' 'a man of the land of the Bardi.'

² Zeuss, "Die Deutschen," p. 710.

³ We cannot, in this abstract, give all the references cited by the author, nor the arguments used, but the above will enable our Members to see the very curious coincidences between the remains and legends of our island and the Continent. It is, however, doubtful, whether any large unrecorded colony settled in our island after the days of Attila and St. Patrick, but small bands of warriors may easily have done so, and brought many tales into our folk-lore, while Irish raids into the borders of the Roman empire may have had their counterpart on the Baltic. Britain barred the short-sea routes after the first century, at which date the Ganganoi, or Gennann *Firbolgs*, were already in Western Ireland, thus marking a minimum date for the settlement of the *Irish* 'Cathraighe.' While a stone mould for casting a two-looped bronze spear, of beautiful design, found in Caherknockgerrane, at the head of Galway Bay ("Archæologia," vol. xv., page 394; plate xxiv., figs. 1 and 2), implies an early date for such structures, which are evidently rather a feature of the Celtic race as a whole, than of any little bands of immigrants in the fourth or fifth century.—T. J. WESTROPP.

how, on one occasion, while mowing a large meadow, the men found a nest of young weasels, which they saved and placed in a tuft of hay in a bush. One of the mowers, a short time afterwards, looked back, and saw two grown weasels putting something green into the tin of milk for the men's drink. He told his fellows, who watched, and saw the animals search and find their young, which they put in a place of safety, returned and, with some difficulty, upset the poisoned milk.

A similar legend was asserted at Carnelly, county Clare. Mrs. O'Callaghan (*Member*) was told by a mower there that he killed a young weasel in the grass, and his wife "saw the old ones spit in his sour milk." She wanted to throw it away, but he would not believe her, and drank it. A short time afterwards (probably from the sour milk, and being overheated) he got violent gripes, and gave himself up for lost, the doctor having much difficulty to get him to take any remedy.

Another Limerick labourer, named Butler, stated that, when a boy, he "killed a nest" of these creatures, and was pursued some miles by the irate parents, up on to the table of a farmer, who was at dinner, and who, with his sons, had some difficulty in killing, with their knives, the revengeful little beasts, which entirely confined their attacks to the culprit.

I hope some of our Members in other parts of Ireland will be able to supplement these scanty notes, especially as to the nature of weasel poison.—T. J. W.

Ornamented Bone-flake from Slieve-na-Caillighe.—I was recently so fortunate as to find some fragments of a bone flake bearing incised markings of an ornamental nature in Cairn H of the Slieve-na-Caillighe series. Enough of these markings survived when the fragments were cemented together to make it possible to reconstruct the ornamentation



Fig. 1.—Bone Flake from Slieve-na-Caillighe.

of the missing part of the flake with a good deal of probability of being correct; and fig. 1 shows the flake and my attempted restoration of its rather complicated ornament.

The latter is of no mean order, and although its execution has not been carried out with geometrical accuracy, it is excessively graceful, and

has been carefully designed and thought-out by one who was evidently no novice at work of this kind. Fig. 2 shows the design as geometrically reconstructed for the sake of comparison.

On the back of this flake there is no ornament save a line which runs round it parallel to the edge.

Most of the flakes which this interesting cairn¹ has yielded are curved towards one side, but as my fragments give no indication of such curvature, I have left the restored part straight.

According to Conwell² the number of fragments of bone flakes recovered from cairn H cannot be much less than 5000, of which no less than ninety-one were engraved by compass "with circles, curves, ornamental puncturings," &c., twelve being decorated on both sides.

I understand that these ornamental flakes are not now forthcoming—which is greatly to be regretted—as they, undoubtedly, form a very important link in the history of the decorative Art of this country.

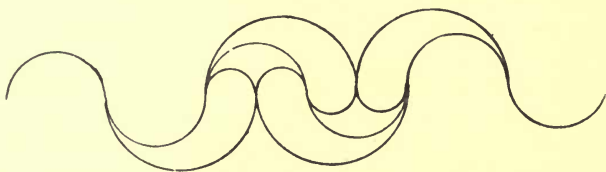


Fig. 2.—Design on Bone Flake, geometrically reconstructed.

It may be well to mention here that I have found pieces of iron, bronze (rings), a mellow bead of blue and white glass, and a transparent greenish glass dumb-bell bead, both the latter being very small, at different times in this cairn, which seem to show that if they do not belong to a secondary interment, its date cannot be very remote. The finding of such a large number of flakes in one cairn is very remarkable, and it is difficult to arrive at any conclusion as to what they were used for. Similar flakes have been found in only two other cairns of this series, viz. L and E₂, and I once saw two or three in a curiosity shop in Dublin which were stated to have been found in a cairn, I think, at Croghan, but I am not quite certain about the name.

Should others have been found elsewhere, it would be satisfactory to have notices of the circumstances of their discovery published, as it is to such descriptions that we must look, if the use of these curious bone flakes is ever to become known.—E. CROFTON ROTHERAM.

¹ During last winter the roofing that formerly covered part of the western chamber of cairn H fell in.

² "Tomb of Ollamh Fodhla," p. 53.

Notices of Books.

[NOTE.—Those Works marked * are by Members of the Society.]

* *The Annals of Clonmacnoise*. Edited by the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., LL.D., M.R.I.A. (Dublin: Printed at the University Press, 1896.)

THE publication of the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, under the auspices of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, must be regarded as an important addition to Celtic literature. The name of the accomplished and well-known scholar, Father Denis Murphy, under whose editorial care the volume has been issued, must prove a strong recommendation of the work to the educated world. It is unnecessary to add that his notes are worthy of their learned author. His Preface to the work will be read with a deep and melancholy interest; it is dated 1st January, 1896. But scarcely were our skies flushed with the earliest glow of summer, when Father Murphy was numbered with the dead, leaving behind him a fame which shall be cherished by all sections of his countrymen.

The learned Editor points out in the Preface that there "is nothing in the book itself" to show why it should be called the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*. But the references to Clonmacnoise which they contain are, as might be expected, very numerous and interesting, and so, too, are those which have reference to "St. Queran," as its celebrated founder is styled. The *Annals of Clonmacnoise* are referred to by the Four Masters. Hence it would seem that even though the title were purely conventional, it has, at least, the sanction of a remote antiquity. But O'Curry reminds us that the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, referred to by the Four Masters, came down only to the year 1227; and as the entries in the volume before us come down to 1408, he thinks the volumes cannot be identical.

Of the original work, which was written in Irish, there is now no extant copy; even the name of the author is unknown. He is referred to, however, in terms of respect and praise. He is styled "an authentic author, and worthy prelate of the Church, that would say nothing but the truth"; and again he is styled "a great Latinist and Scholar."

The work now issued is the translation of the original work, completed on the 20th April, 1627, by Conla Mac Geoghegan. It was made in the castle of Lysmoynne, county Westmeath, for Terence Coghlan, his half-brother. To him also he dedicates the volume in the following quaint form:—

"To the worthy and of great expectation young gentleman, Mr. Terence

Coghlan, his brother, Conell Mac Geoghegan, wisheth long health, with good success in all his affairs."

Of Mac Geoghegan's fitness to give a faithful translation no question has been raised; and though the style and phraseology is that of the Elizabethan period, it is not unintelligible. The quaint phraseology of the period tends rather to give a piquancy to the narrative, and clothe it with an interest which it might lose in a more modern garb. Like the original Irish ms., the original translation is lost; but fortunately it had been copied by a man of recognised ability, Tadg O'Daly, A.D. 1684. The Trinity College copy of that work, in O'Daly's own handwriting, is the work which is now placed before the public.

According to O'Daly, those Annals purpose to give the history of Ireland "from the creation of the world until the Conquest"; "alsoe of certain things which happened in this kingdom after the Conquest, until A.D. 1408."

O'Curry points to certain historical inaccuracies which it contains. In the absence of the original work, it may be impossible to decide whether those errors are to be attributed to the original author, or to the translator.

In his Preface, Mac Geoghegan attributes the compilation of the Psalter of Cashel to Brian Boroimhe, though all know that it was composed by Cormac, the King Bishop of Cashel, one hundred years before the time of Brian. But the inaccuracies seem to be few. There were, however, some considerable omissions from the original. The translator himself refers to certain omissions occasioned by the loss of leaves, which were lost or stolen. Other omissions there were, because the translator could not decipher certain passages which had grown illegible from being "long shut up and unused." This is very ingenuously mentioned by the translator. He says, "There are soe many leaves lost or stolen out of the ould Irish book which I translate, that I doe not know howe to handle it."

The records in those Annals are usually "brief," says O'Curry, "but they sometimes preserve details of singular interest not to be found in any other of our Annals."

With reference to the mission of St. Paladius in Ireland, we find the following interesting record:—

"Some writers say that St. James Zebedius, the apostle, came to this land; others say that Palladius, Bishop, was sent there by Pope Celestine before St. Patrick, but he had not such good success for the conversion of this land as St. Patrick had, for he converted to the faith but five parishes onely, which were in Leinster," &c.

The *Chronicon Scotorum* makes no reference to the Irish mission of Paladius; but under date 430, his Irish mission is referred to by the Four Masters, who tell us that he "baptised a few persons in Ireland, and three wooden churches were erected by him."

The writer wisely extends a wide latitude to disputants regarding the birthplace of St. Patrick. Having stated that he was, according to some, a "Welshman," he continues:—"The Frenchman says that he was of his country; the Scotchman affirmeth him to be of his kingdom; and the Englishman claimeth him to be an Englishman: for my part it is not my meaning to give a verdict against any right either of them may have in so noble a Prelate in a matter disputable and undiscussed, whom I know each of them would esteem, that soe ritche a jewell as St. Patrick was, would be a great loss, upon soe slight an evidence as I can show."

In connexion with St. Kieran are also lengthened and interesting details of the life of St. Columba.

"He wrote," he says, "three hundred books with his own hand. They were all New Testaments, left a book to each of his churches in the kingdom"; and, as Father Murphy observes, it is supposed that the *Book of Kells*, now preserved at Trinity College, Dublin, and regarded "as one of the finest specimens of the art of illumination," is one of the fruits of his labour; "which books," continues the annalist, "have a strange property, which is, that if they, or any of them, had sunk to the bottom of the deepest waters, they would not lose one letter, sign, or character of them, which I have seen partly myself, of that book of them which is at Durrow," &c. This important entry is quoted in full by Miss Stokes, in her work on *Early Art in Ireland*.

The references to William Fitz Adelm De Burgo, A.D. 1204, are noteworthy.

After giving the Annalist's details of De Burgo's terrible and impenitent death, we have the following statement:—

"These, and many other reproachful words, my author layeth down in old books which I was loth to translate, because they were uttered by him for the disgrace of soe worthy and noble a man as William Burke was; and left out other his reproachful words, which he (as I conceive) rather declared of an *Evil Will* he did beare towards the said William than any other just cause."

But the record of De Burgo's death, as we have it from the Four Masters, is given in similar reproachful words, and the *Annals of Lough Cé* refer to him as the "slayer of all Erinn." And we find that the picture of De Burgo drawn by the pen of the court historian, Cambrensis, is quite as unfavourable as those left us by our Irish Annalists. Though we may assume that the character of the man was somewhat unfavourably represented, we cannot regard it as a misrepresentation, or as a misleading outline. Even Hanmer, in his chronicle, has nothing favourable to record of his memory. He states:—"He was a man that did no honour to the King, neither good to the country; whom every good man in his lifetime detested, and all Irish chronicles after his death have defamed."

In the light of such evidence we cannot accept Mac Geoghagan's defence of De Burgo; nor can we assume with him that the annalist's delineation of his character was prompted by an "Evil Will." O'Donovan gives, perhaps, the true motives which prompted Mac Geoghagan's defence, namely, his family connexion with the De Burgos.

We find several ecclesiastical events to which other annalists make no reference, noted in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*. Their importance and interest merit special notice.

We find a very laudatory notice of the death of "Cathal O'Malone, Archbishop of the O'Neales and Connaughtmen," under date the 8th of February, 1206. We find no reference to his life or death, either in the *Four Masters*, or the *Annals of Lough Cé*.

A Council, or Convocation of the Clergy at Tuam, A.D. 1210, was a noteworthy event. The object of this Council, as set forth by our annalist under that date, enables us to see it in a still more interesting light.

"There was a great Convocation of the clergy of Connaught before the Bushopp of Twayme to make constitutions for the taking away the termine lands, or Cowarb lands, and annexing them to the Bishopricks of the diocese where they lay; where the Cowarb of St. Patrick, the Cowarb of St. Brandon, the Cowarb of St. Queran, and the Cowarb of St. Fechine, with many others appeared." We have failed to find any record of this Synod either in the *Four Masters*, or in the *Annals of Lough Cé*. And yet the encroachment of the laity on the Church temporalities, and the peculiar claims made by the Primate at the period, would make additional details desirable. Many additional quotations of this character might be given which cast a very interesting sidelight on our history.

The author's reference to the nature and purpose of the Brehon Laws is well worth the reader's attention. Recording the death of Moyle Issa Roe Mac Egan, A.D. 1317, he refers to him as "the best learned in Ireland in the Brehon Law, in Irish called "Fenechus."

He continues:—"This Fenechus, or Brehon Law, is none other than the civil law, which the Brehons had to themselves in an obscure and unknown language, which none could understand except those that studied in the open schools they had; whereof some were judges, and others were admitted to plead as barristers, and for their fees, costs and all, received the 11th part of the thing in demand of the party of whome it was ordered, the looser paid no costs.

"The Brehons of Ireland were divided into several tribes and families—the Mac Kiegans, O'Deorans, O'Bresleans, and M'Tholies. Every country had its peculiar Brehon dwelling within itself, and had power to decide the cases of that country, and to maintaine their controversies against their neibor countries, by which they held their lands of the lord of the country where they dwelt. This was before the lawes of

England were of full force in this country or land, and before the kingdom was divided into shires."

We have not referred to the graphic pictures of the continual struggles of chiefs and petty kings, which we find in those pages. Those sanguinary struggles did not commence with the coming of the English; but the disorders were intensified and perpetuated by their arrival. It should not be forgotten, however, that the mediæval history of most European countries is the history of disorder; and those who speak with extreme severity of the continued struggles of the Irish of the period, might, with advantage, impress on their memories our annalist's remark, that "there reigned more dissensions, strifes, warres, and debates between Englishmen themselves in the beginning of the Conquest of the kingdome than between the Irishmen."

The *Annals of Clonmacnoise* must prove a valuable and a welcome aid to all who are desirous of extending or perfecting their knowledge of our history. The type and printing reflect much credit on the University Press; and the character of the notes with which it is enriched, and the care with which the text of the old manuscript has been reproduced, are worthy of the memory and fame of the accomplished Editor. Our Antiquaries may well be congratulated on the publication of a work so interesting and important.—J. F.

Proceedings.

THE THIRD GENERAL MEETING of the Society, for the year 1896, was held in the Ulster Hall, Omagh, on Monday, the 8th of June, 1896, at 12 o'clock, noon;

THOMAS DREW, R.H.A., F.R.I.B.A., P.R.I.A.I., *President*, in the Chair.

The following attended the Meetings and Excursions:—

Fellows:—The Rev. George R. Buick, M.A., LL.D., M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*; Lavens M. Ewart, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*; Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*; the Rev. James O'Lavery, P.P., M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*; Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Hon. General Secretary and Treasurer*; George Coffey, B.A.I., M.R.I.A.; the Rev. J. F. M. French, M.R.I.A.; Dr. G. E. J. Greene, M.R.I.A., F.L.S.; Deputy Surgeon-General King, M.A., M.B., M.R.I.A.; S. K. Kirker; the Rev. W. T. Latimer, B.A., *Hon. Secretary for East Tyrone*; James Mills, M.R.I.A.; William R. Molloy, M.R.I.A.; M. M. Murphy, M.R.I.A.; George Norman, M.D., F.R.M.S.; William R. Scott, M.A.

Members:—The Rev. A. W. Ardagh, M.A.; the Rev. E. D. Atkinson, LL.B.; Miss Atkinson; J. B. Cassin Bray; M. Buggy; William Marshall Campbell; John Carolan, J.P.; James Coleman; Miss M. Cunningham; S. A. D'Arcy, L.R.C.P. & S.; D. Griffith Davies, B.A.; Frederick Franklin, F.R.I.A.I.; James Frost, M.R.I.A., J.P.; Major G. F. Gamble, J.P.; the Rev. R. M. M'Cheyne Gilmour; Mrs. J. Greene; Francis Guilbride, J.P.; Thomas Hall; W. J. Hardy, LL.D., D.I.R.I.C.; Thomas Hayes, C.I.R.I.C.; James Heron, B.E., J.P.; Miss Hughes; the Ven. Archdeacon Jameson, M.A.; Miss King; the Rev. W. O'Neill Lindesay, M.A.; the Rev. Owen Mac Cartan, P.P.; the Rev. John Macmillan, M.A.; the Very Rev. Alexander Mac Mullan, P.P., V.G.; the Rev. James H. Maconachie, B.A.; Brian Mac Sheehy, LL.D.; R. T. Martin; Thomas Mayne; the Rev. J. E. Moffatt, M.D.; Charles Mullin, *Hon. Secretary for West Tyrone*; Dr. E. P. O'Farrell, L.R.C.S.E.; J. E. Palmer; Mervyn S. Patterson; W. H. Patterson, M.R.I.A.; Alexander Patton, M.D.; S. A. Quansmith; the Rev. Joseph Rapmund, C.C.; Miss Richardson; John Robertson; Mrs. J. F. Shackleton; George Shackleton; Mrs. Simpson; E. Weber Smyth, J.P.; Mrs. E. Weber Smyth; Miss Nora Steen; Alexander Tate, M.I.C.E.; W. Grove White, LL.B.; the Rev. A. S. Woodward, M.A.; the Rev. Robert Workman.

Eighteen Associates were enrolled for the Meeting and Excursions.

The Minutes of the previous Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Candidates, recommended by the Council, were declared duly elected:—

FELLOWS.

Bigger, Francis Joseph, M.R.I.A. (*Member*, 1888), Ardrie, Belfast: proposed by Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Hon. General Secretary*.

Colles, Richard, B.A. (Dubl.), J.P., Millmount, Kilkenny: proposed by G. D. Burtchaell, M.A., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

M'Donnell, Daniel, M.A., M.D., 17, Cherrymount, Crumlin-road, Belfast: proposed by the Rev. John Tohill, Adm.

MEMBERS.

Acheson, John, J.P., Portadown: proposed by the Rev. W. T. Latimer, B.A., *Fellow*.

Bolger, Rev. David, c.c., The Manse, Wexford: proposed by Dr. G. E. J. Greene, M.A., F.L.S., *Fellow*.

Byrne, Edward A., Water-street, Newry: proposed by Robert A. Mullan, B.A.

Coyne, James Aloysius, B.A., District Inspector of National Schools, Tralee: proposed by E. S. Cromie.

Eyre, John, 11, Grove Park, Rathmines: proposed by John Cooke, M.A., *Fellow*.

Greene, Herbert Wilson, M.A., Pembroke College, Oxford: proposed by the Ven. Archdeacon Gorman, M.A.

Greene, Mrs. T., Millbrook, Mageny: proposed by Thomas Greene, LL.B., J.P.

Hamill, Robert H., Bessbrooke House, Analore, Clones: proposed by the Rev. James Maconochie, B.A.

Hickey, Garrett A., M.D., Priory-st., New Ross: proposed by Dr. G. E. J. Greene, M.A., F.L.S., *Fellow*.

Hobson, C. J., Carlow: proposed by the Rev. Canon Hewson, B.A.

Kenny, Rev. James, c.c., Newtownbarry: proposed by Dr. G. E. J. Greene, M.A., F.L.S., *Fellow*.

Kermode, P. M. C., F.S.A. (Scot.), Hill Side, Ramsey, Isle of Man: proposed by R. A. S. Macalister, M.A.

Little, Philip Francis, jun., 6, New Brighton, Monkstown, Co. Dublin: proposed by E. R. M'C. Dix.

Lloyd, Mrs., Mullingar: proposed by Thomas Hayes, c.i., R.I.C.

Lowry, S. C. W., Manager, Ulster Bank, Downpatrick: proposed by Samuel Hastings.

Malley, Mrs. George Orme, Mountjoy-square, Dublin: proposed by the Rev. Leslie A. Handy, M.A.

Meara, Rev. J. R., Newtownbarry: proposed by Francis Guilbride, J.P.

Molony, James Barry, Solicitor, Bindon-street, Ennis: proposed by R. W. Christie.

O'Dea, Rev. Denis, c.c., Kilkee: proposed by H. C. Cullinan, LL.B., *Fellow*.

O'Hennessy, Bartholomew, Kilkee: proposed by H. C. Cullinan, LL.B., *Fellow*.

Sullivan, R. J., M.A., LL.B., D.I., R.I.C., Bantry, Co. Cork: proposed by the Rev. P. Hurley, P.P.

Tatlow, John Tissington, Solicitor, Delbrook, Dundrum, Co. Dublin: proposed by Ramsay Colles, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.

Turtle, Frederick Locke, The Villa, Aghalee, Lurgan: proposed by Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

Walsh, John Edward, M.A. (Dubl.), Barrister-at-Law, J.P., Fahan, Londonderry: proposed by W. C. Stubbs, M.A.

Webster, Henry, M. INST. C.E., Co. Surveyor, Belvidere House, Wexford: proposed by J. J. Perceval, *Fellow*.

The Honorary Secretary submitted the following :—

“REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

“A Requisition was received by the Hon. Secretary, signed by thirteen Fellows and Members, requesting the Council to take into consideration the following :—

1. ‘That suitable Book-cases and Shelving be placed in the Library attached to the Museum in Kilkenny, sufficient to hold our Books, the Transactions of this Society, as also the Transactions of the various other Societies now in our possession, and that may be sent to us from time to time.

2. ‘That a new flue be made in the Reading-room, as the present flue is not only dangerous but useless.

3. ‘That the Proceedings of the various Societies, at present stored in our Library in Kilkenny, be suitably bound with an inexpensive cloth binding, and that the continuation volumes of the various Proceedings which have recently been sent to our office in Dublin be sent to the Library in Kilkenny, so as to make the sets complete, and that all said publications from this forward be addressed to and retained in the Library in Kilkenny, and suitably bound year by year.

4. ‘That all Fellows and Members of the Society not in arrear with their subscription be at liberty to borrow from one to three volumes at a time from said Library, and that they be at liberty to retain same for any time not exceeding one month, and until said three volumes are returned they shall not be entitled to borrow any other books. And should any Member fail to return any of said volumes, he shall be obliged to procure same at his own expense, or be reported at the next General Meeting of the Society, and fined a sum necessary to replace said volumes.

5. ‘That all books lent shall be entered in a book kept in the Library for that purpose, and the Member borrowing same shall sign in said book an acknowledgment that he has received same, and a docket shall be placed in the book-case where said books have been taken out of, with the names of the books so lent, and the name of the person who has borrowed them.

6. ‘That said Library and Museum in Kilkenny be opened and kept open from one to three o’clock every Saturday in the year, as soon as the books have been properly classified and bound, and the Reading-room put in order.’

“The above was very carefully considered by the Council, when it was resolved to place the following statement in the hands of the Members :—

“The desirability of having all the Papers bound is apparent, and the Hon. Secretary has had this put in hands; two boxes were packed and forwarded to Messrs. Galwey & Co., the Society’s binders. The list of Papers forwarded by Mr. Langrishe for binding are as follows :—

1. ‘History of the County of Monaghan’ (Shirley). 5 parts.
2. ‘People’s History of Ireland’ (Cusack). 8 parts.¹
3. ‘Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.’ 17 parts.
Parts 7, New Series, and 6, vol. i., 3rd Series, *are wanting*.

¹ Part No. 8 not received. Part No. 7 is in duplicate.

- There are in all 6 parts of the above wanting down to 1892.

"The box with the foregoing was sent on the 12th of May, 1896.

10. 'Ulster Journal of Archæology.'

1853-1862. 9 volumes, in 4 parts each. The title-pages and indices *are wanting* for vols. 5, 7, and 9.

(There are duplicates to page 40, title, and index to vol. 4. Also duplicates of the following seven Nos., not sent up, viz. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, and 35.)

11. Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society.

Vols. 3 to 9 (1850-1881). Part 2 of vol. 4 (1852-1855) *is wanting*.

Extra Volume, 1865.

Extra Volumes, 'Visitation of Norfolk' also, and 'Pedes Finium,' paged separately.

12. Architectural and Archæological Society of County Buckingham.

Seven volumes (1854-1892). *The following parts are wanting*:—Vol. 1, part 3; vol. 3, parts 1-7; vol. 5, parts 1, 3, 6, and 8; vol. 6, part 5; vol. 7, all but part 1.

13. 'Collections of the Surrey Archæological Society.'

Vols. 1 to 9 (1856-1888). Vol. 4 *is wanting*.

There are second copies on hand of the following:—Vol. 3 (1865); vol. 5, part 1; vol. 6, part 1; vol. 7, part 3; vol. 9, part 1.

14. 'Archæologia Cambrensis.'

1st Series, 1 vol. (1846) 2nd, or New Series (1852-1854), vols. 3, 4, and 5. 3rd Series, vols. 1 to 15 (1855-1869), and Extra Volume (1861). 4th Series, vols. 1 to 14, and Extra Volume (1883). 5th Series, vols. 1 to 9 (1884-1892). Of these the following *are wanting*:—1st Series, vols. 2, 3, and 4. 2nd Series, vols. 1 and 2. 3rd Series, vol. 2, No. 5, January, 1856. Vol. 6, Nos. 23 and 24 (1860). Supplemental Volume (1861), part 2. Vol. 8 (1862), No. 30. Vol. 10 (1864), No. 38. Vol. 11 (1865), Nos. 41 and 42. 4th Series, vol. 5 (1874), Nos. 17 to 20. Vol. 10 (1879), No. 39. 5th Series, vol. 1 (1884), No. 2. Vol. 2 (1885), No. 8. Vol. 3 (1886), Nos. 9, 10, and 11. Vol. 4 (1887), Nos. 13, 15, and 16. Vol. 5 (1888), Nos. 17, 18, and 19. Vol. 6 (1889), Nos. 21 to 24. Vol. 7 (1890), Nos. 25 to 28. Vol. 8 (1891), Nos. 29 to 32 (the whole 3 vols.). Vol. 9 (1892), Nos. 35 and 36.

15. 'The Cambrian Journal.'

1st Series, vols. 2, 3, and 4 (1855-1857). Vol. 1 (1854) *is wanting*. 2nd Series, vols. 1 to 8 (1858-1865). Vol. 4 (September, 1861), No. 16; vol. v. (September, 1862), No. 19; Vol. 7 (1864), No. 27; and Nos. 28, 29, and 31, vol. 8 (1865), *are wanting*.

16. 'Journal of the British Archæological Association.'

Vols. 13 to 28¹ (1857-1872, except vols. 18 (1862) and 19 (1863), *which are wanting*).

Vols. 29 to 39 are reserved to go in Box No. 3; a volume for each year (1873-1883), of which parts 2, 3, and 4, of vol. 39, *are wanting*.

"During the time Kilkenny was the headquarters of the Society, its chief executive officer lived in the locality, and books were lent out; but after a trial of some years the Kilkenny executive gave up the practice, as many of the books borrowed were not returned, with the result that the

¹ Vol. 28 not received.

most valuable of the bound books were lost to the Society, and a remnant only has come into the possession of the Council. A glance at the list furnished by Mr. Langrishe will show how imperfect the unbound sets are. With this experience before them, the Council cannot sanction the establishment of a *lending* library in Kilkenny.

"In connexion with this application, the Council desire to note that the altered conditions of the Society, since it has become a metropolitan Society of first rank compared with what it was while only a provincial Society, have not been taken into account. Its headquarters are now in Dublin, and not at Kilkenny; and this alone has been a great factor in the permanent establishment of the Society as one of the principal institutions of the kind in the kingdom. The requisition not only ignores this, but desires to again constitute Kilkenny the headquarters, with a branch, or office, in Dublin. The impracticability of the proposal is obvious, and need not be enlarged on.

"As it is apparent that these Papers are only of very limited use at Kilkenny, and that the rooms in which they are housed are unsuitable for their preservation, it is clear that they should be kept at the headquarters of the Society in Dublin where there is already a suitable place for their reception, and for the new materials accruing.

"The collection of these books was undertaken in the first instance by the executive officers of the Society to enable them to carry on efficiently the work in which they were engaged, and to become acquainted, through them, with what was being done by similar Societies, and to assist the Editing Committee in bringing out the *Journal*. The Council have therefore directed them to be brought to the Council Room, 7, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin, and kept there by the officers of the Society, for reference by such Members as may wish to consult them, where they will be of the greatest use to the greatest number."

The Rev. W. T. Latimer, B.A., *Fellow*, moved the adoption of the Report. He said he thought it was only reasonable that the books should be stored in Dublin, where they would be available to the great majority of the Members of the Society.

Mr. Thomas Mayne seconded the motion, which was supported by Mr. Tate, and adopted unanimously.

The Hon. Secretary stated that, at a meeting of the Council of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, held at the Society's Rooms, 7, St. Stephen's-green, Dublin, on the 29th May last, it was unanimously resolved—

"That it be recommended to the Society to sanction the transfer of the Museum of Antiquities, at present in Kilkenny, to the Science and Art Museum, Dublin, on deposit, on the conditions that the specimens are never to be removed from Dublin; that they be properly housed and cared for; and that, wherever feasible, such specimens shall be marked as from the Museum of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Kilkenny."

He explained that in the interests of the Society at large such a transfer would be highly desirable.

Mr. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*, moved "That the action of the Council be approved of."

The Rev. Dr. Buick, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*, ex-Moderator of the General Assembly, seconded the motion. He said there was an absolute necessity for dealing with this question in a satisfactory way, and at once. He went some years ago to Kilkenny to see the Museum, and he found it in a disgraceful condition. At that time the Kilkenny Members were greatly opposed to the Society's dealing in any proper way with the Museum. The Kilkenny people desired to retain it in connexion with their own town, and that was quite natural, and he was sure they would all have agreed to let them retain it provided they had taken any little measure of trouble, and gone to some little expense, to keep it in proper order. The Kilkenny people, however, took no interest in it, and they allowed it to get into a condition that did not do any credit to the Society. Some of the articles in the Museum belonged to the Kilkenny district, and were of more value locally than anywhere else, but, in addition, there was a large number of exhibits of national interest. There were also in that Museum, as proved by experts' reports, a series of articles taken from the Dunbell rath, which were of incalculable value, as they supplied information concerning part of a subject which was wanting, he might say, everywhere else. The finds from that rath would alone justify the suggested transfer from Kilkenny to Dublin. Dublin was the proper place for these articles, and he entertained little doubt that if they were put under the control of the Science and Art Department, as suggested, they would be put in proper order, suitably classified, and so kept that they would be of educational value. The collection, as it at present existed, was of no educational value to the ordinary public. No doubt men well versed in archaeological knowledge could make something out of them. But this Society wanted to achieve more than that. They aimed at educating the public generally, and there could be no doubt that until this Museum was put in proper order, it would be of no educational value whatever to the public. This was the reason why, in his view, the Society should approve of the Report of the Council, and, so far as they could, strengthen the hands of that body. The Kilkenny collection would supply a vacancy in the Archaeological Section of the Dublin Department. The Dublin building was within easy reach of the public generally, and everything contained in it would come under the notice of the public to a great extent, and would prove of more educational value than if placed in any other town in Ireland. He went in heartily for the transfer of the Museum, as well as the Library, to Dublin.

The President said it cost the Society about £30 a-year to keep this

Museum in its present condition. The place was not well kept. If the whole of the subscriptions from Kilkenny were taken from the Society and applied to the maintenance of the Museum, they would not defray its cost. The municipality of that city, unlike other municipalities, would not in any way aid the Museum. He approved of the view of the Council that it was not justifiable to spend the money of the Society at large to maintain a Museum for a few Members in Kilkenny.

In answer to questions put by a Member, the President said he did not think they could at the present give an estimate of the value of the articles in the Kilkenny Museum. A great many articles in it were worth little or nothing, and others would be found to have been badly preserved.

The Motion was unanimously adopted.

The President referred to the great loss the Society had sustained by the death of the Rev. Denis Murphy, s.j., one of the Vice-Presidents, who was one of the most active Members of the Council and of the Editing Committee, and whose presence and assistance on the Excursions would be greatly missed.

The Meeting then adjourned.

EXCURSIONS.

FIRST DAY.

MONDAY, 8th June, 1896.

Luncheon was partaken of at the White Hart Hotel at 2 p.m.

A large number of the Members visited the new Presbyterian Church and the new Roman Catholic Church.

A Garden Party, given at a later hour in the afternoon by Mr. Charles Scott, J.P., and Mrs. Scott, of Lisnamallard, in honour of the visit of the Society, was largely attended by Members of the Society and residents in the district.

Mr. Scott's valuable and well-arranged Collection of Antiquities was examined with great interest by the Members.

The Members dined at the White Hart Hotel at 6 p.m., after which an Evening Meeting was held in the Ulster Hall at 8 p.m., the PRESIDENT in the Chair, at which the following Papers, read, or to be read, in

connexion with the Third Quarterly Meeting, were referred to the Council:—

“Sketch of the History of County Tyrone,” by Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A.,
Vice-President.

“The Anglo-Normans in Ulster—their Architectural remains, Ecclesiastical and Military,” by James J. Phillips.

“Notes on the Places to be Visited during the Excursions,” by W. F. Wakeman,
Hon. Fellow.

“Note on Ferns Cathedral,” by Dr. G. E. J. Greene, M.A., F.L.S., *Fellow, Hon. Secretary for North Wexford.*

“A Crannoge near Clones,” by S. A. D’Arcy, L.R.C.P. & s.

SECOND DAY.

TUESDAY, 9th June, 1896.

The party started at 8.30 a.m., in wagonettes, from the White Hart Hotel, to visit Knockmany, and arrived there at 11 a.m. They were met by the Misses Gervais, sisters of Mr. F. G. Gervais, the owner, and they kindly led the way to the summit of a high hill, from which a scene of remarkable beauty is commanded. On the top are the remains of a chambered tumulus, some of the remaining stones of which bear inscribed ornament. Here Mr. Milligan read a Paper on the principal antiquarian features of the district.

Leaving Knockmany, the Members drove to Augher, a little village about two miles north-east of Clogher. The only object of interest is the castle, beautifully situated on the margin of a lake within a well-wooded demesne. The proprietor, Capt. J. J. O’F. Carmichael-Ferrall, R.N., very kindly threw the place open to the Members, and gave them the pleasure of inspecting some relics.

Shortly after 2 p.m., Clogher, the seat of one of the oldest bishoprics in Ireland, was reached. Luncheon was served in the Courthouse, after which the Cathedral was visited. It stands on the summit of the hill on which the village is built, and the former Episcopal Palace is close by, standing in an enclosed demesne of nearly 600 acres. The Palace, the building of which was commenced by Bishop Lord John Beresford, afterwards Primate, was completed by Bishop Tottenham in 1823, and is now the property of Mr. J. Ellison-Macartney, formerly M.P. for the county Tyrone. Mr. and Mrs. Macartney were present on the arrival of the party in the village, and they very kindly threw open the beautiful grounds attached to the demesne to the visitors. A great earthen fort, the supposed seat of the chiefs or princes of Errigal, was visited. The party was entertained to tea at the Palace by Mr. and Mrs. Macartney, after which the picture-gallery, containing one of the

finest collections in Ireland, was visited. The history of the more important pictures was explained at length by the host.

On the road to Aughentaine, the site of William Carleton's birth-place was passed. Aughentaine old Castle was visited, by permission of Colonel Knox-Browne, D.L., who very kindly acted as guide, and exhibited a stone of a peculiar shape which was dug up near the ruins a few days before. Several pieces of leather were firmly attached to the centre of it, and it appeared to be the head of an old stone hammer.

The party reached Omagh a little before 7 p.m., and dinner was partaken of at the White Hart and at the Royal Arms Hotels.

After dinner a Meeting was held in the Ulster Hall, where an exhibition of antiquities was shown. Mr. Milligan read a "Sketch of the History of the County Tyrone," and took the opportunity of stating that those who were not Members of the Royal Society of Antiquaries probably did not know that Provincial Meetings of the Society were of comparatively recent date. The change was made with a view of increasing public interest in Irish history and antiquities, in which it had been most successful. Another important object aimed at was to gain the co-operation of all classes towards the preservation of ancient monuments, which, from ignorance, were often ruthlessly injured or entirely destroyed. Theirs was one of the few organisations in Ireland where people of different religions and politics can meet on a common platform without dread of friction, in itself a most desirable object.

Other Papers having been read, a vote of thanks to the authors brought the proceedings to a close.

THIRD DAY.

WEDNESDAY, 10th June, 1896.

The party left Omagh by the 8.35 a.m. train, and arrived in Enniskillen shortly after 9 a.m. Here they were met by Mr. Thomas Plunkett, M.B.I.A., *Hon. Local Secretary for Fermanagh*. The first place visited was the Fort Hill. It commands a view of much beauty, and overlooks the town. The earthwork, it is presumed, was constructed by the Enniskilleners to command the East Bridge, which was the only approach to the town on that side. Attention was next attracted to the tower of the Protestant church, which is one of the oldest structures in the town. Having inspected other interesting features of the town, the Members passed through the grounds of Portora Royal School, and joined the special steamer which was waiting beneath the ruined walls of Portora Castle, to convey them to Belleek.

Steaming down Lough Erne, the famous Devenish, or Ox Island,

was soon reached, and the Members alighted to visit the sacred spot. All the antiquities on the island were inspected, not the least interesting of which was the Round Tower, one of the finest, though not the largest, of the ecclesiastical Round Towers of Ireland. It is 83 feet in height. The tower was recently struck with lightning. All the features having been examined, lunch was served on board at 1 p.m., after which the journey was continued through Lough Erne and its numerous islands.

On reaching the village of Belleek, a short time was spent examining the Pottery, by permission of Mr. Robert Sweeny, Chairman of the Company. Conveyances were in waiting to convey the Members to Ballyshannon. The celebrated Salmon Leap was observed, and the Excursion was brought to a close by the drive to Bundoran.

FOURTH DAY.

THURSDAY, 11th June, 1896.

The first place of note passed on the route to Sligo was Tullaghan, near which there is a plain specimen of an early stone cross, which was found after a storm upon the neighbouring shore. After a short drive Clifoney was reached. From the ridge of Cooldrumman, a little on the north side of Drumcliffe, there is a splendid view of mountain scenery. The Benbulbin range, 1724 feet high, rises above, while beyond is Truskmore, 2115 feet high, and many others ranging from 1000 feet upwards. At Drumcliffe were seen the stump of a Round Tower, the fine sculptured Cross, and the plain shaft of another Cross. What remains of the Round Tower is about 40 feet high. It is said to have been struck by lightning in the year 1396, and there is a local tradition that it will ultimately fall on the wisest man who passes it. Our fellows, however, passed without mishap. The Protestant Church there, it is believed, was erected on the site of the ancient church founded by St. Columcille. The cross is 13 feet high, and 3 feet 8 inches across the arms, beautifully sculptured on all sides with Scriptural scenes and Celtic interlacing work.

On arrival at Sligo the Members had dinner, after which they assembled at the Abbey. After a full inspection the Members proceeded to the river side, where boats were in waiting to convey them to Lough Gill. The holy well of Tober Nalt, situated in a very romantic spot, at the west extremity of the lake, was first visited. Close by it is an altar, said to have been erected in the penal times, where Mass was celebrated. The lake has many islands, beautifully wooded. One, called Church Island, contains the ruins of a church. It is said to have been the seat of a Celtic monastery, which was burned

down in the year 1416. On Cottage Island, which also contains the ruins of a church, tea was provided. Then, crossing to the north shore, the party landed, and walked through Hazlewood Demesne, returning by boat to Sligo.

FIFTH DAY.

FRIDAY, 12th June, 1896.

Conveyances were ready to start for the Deer Park, a distance of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles, at 9 a.m. Here is situated the great megalithic structure, locally called the Giant's Grave, or Irish Stonehenge, and also the remains of a cashel. The return journey was made so as to reach Sligo at 1 p.m., when luncheon was ready. Immediately afterwards, or at 2 p.m., the drive was continued to Carrowmore, a distance of about three miles, to examine the cromlechs and stone circles. The party left Carrowmore at 4.40 p.m., for Knocknarea, when an ascent was made to the great cairn on its summit, called Miscaun Meave. The Members returned to Sligo for dinner. A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. S. F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*, for the manner in which he had carried out the arrangements in connexion with the Excursions.

SIXTH DAY.

SATURDAY, 13th June, 1896.

The Members paid a visit to the Cathedral, which is a fine structure in the Byzantine style of architecture. It has a good peal of bells, presented by the late Peter O'Connor, Esq., J.P. The old parish Church of St. John was also visited.

DESCRIPTIVE SKETCH OF PLACES VISITED IN CONNEXION WITH THE ULSTER MEETING.¹

COUNTY TYRONE.

OMAGH.²

NO better place could be chosen for an Ulster Meeting than Omagh ; it stands, not alone in the centre of the county of which it is the chief town, but is in almost the centre of the province. It is an important junction on the Great Northern Railway, and easy of access from every quarter ; and is also the Military Depôt for the north-west.

There was a Columban Monastery founded here in the year 792, which was converted into a house of the Third Order of Franciscans in the year 1464. It was the best endowed of any religious house in Tyrone. No remains survive of this Monastery, although it stood here until the close of the sixteenth century. A castle of O'Neill's also stood here, for it is stated that in the year 1498 O'Neill fortified the castles of Omey and Kinnaird, and that the Earl of Kildare, the Lord Deputy, marched against him and razed the castle of Omey to the ground, and compelled O'Neill to submit to the King's authority.

The names of Abbey-street and Castle-street indicate that such buildings at one time existed in the vicinity of these streets. The name of a suburb Gortmore, the Great Gort or Garden of the Monastery, which adjoins the supposed site of the Monastery, gives some support to the evidence in favour of the locality of the house.

Omagh is situated on a hill, around the eastern side of which flows the river Struel, which after passing Strabane is known as the Foyle, until it discharges into the lough of same name at Culmore below Derry. It is a good trout and salmon river, and the conservators have a salmon hatchery on the river, near to Newtownstewart, where thousands of young fish are hatched. From time immemorial this river has been celebrated for its fine pearls, which are principally found in that part of the river lying between Omagh and Strabane.

Though there are no remains of antiquity in Omagh, if we except the old bridge still standing, across which James II. passed on his way to

¹ By Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President, Hon. Provincial Secretary for Ulster.*

² O'Donovan derives the name Omagh from Oğmağ, a level plain.

Derry, yet within a radius of about thirteen miles there are a considerable number. One mile from Newtownstewart, and eight from Omagh, there is a fine cromleac, locally called Clogh Ogle. Near the old Church of Upper Badoney, above Plumbridge, are three cromleacs, one with cup markings, also a bullaun stone in the churchyard with two basins.

In the district of Broghderg, about thirteen miles from Omagh, stands the only inscribed Ogham stone known in Ulster, *in situ*. Professor Rhys examined the Broghderg stone, and described it in a late number of the *Journal*. At Aghnahoo, near to Castlederg, there is a large Souterraine and also a Cromleac, as well as several standing stones. At Knockmany, ten miles from Omagh, is an inscribed stone of a very interesting kind; it stands on the summit of the hill. Thus the districts around Omagh are not devoid of ancient monuments.

CLOGHER.

Clogher is the seat of one of the oldest bishoprics in Ireland, founded by St. Patrick. St. Macartin was its first bishop; he died A.D. 506. The Cathedral stands on the summit of the hill on which the village is built, and the Episcopal Palace is close by, standing in an enclosed demesne of almost 600 acres. The Palace which was commenced by Bishop Beresford before he became Primate was completed by Bishop Tottenham in 1823, and is now the property of J. Ellison-Macartney, Esq., formerly M.P. for county Tyrone. Within the demesne is a great earthen fort, the "Regia" of Ptolemy, and supposed seat of the Chiefs or Princes of Errigal. William Carleton was born near to Clogher, and the ruined remains of his birthplace will be passed on the road to Aughentain, on the return journey to Omagh.

Many of the places referred to in his tales are situated in this locality, and the originals of many of his characters are still well known in the neighbourhood. Clogher returned two members to the Irish House of Commons before the Union. In 1629, Charles I. issued letters patent, making it a corporation to be governed by a portreeve and twelve burgesses. The name, Clogh-or, stone of gold, is supposed to be derived from a stone covered with gold and worshipped in pagan times. As late as 1490, it is said to have been kept at the right of the entrance into the church, and that traces of the gold then adhered to it.

KNOCKMANY.

This hill is referred to by Carleton in one of his tales as the scene of an encounter between Finn Mac Cool and a Scotch giant. It commands a very extensive view, and from the inscribed stone on its summit, and the frequent reference to it, it was probably a moat or meeting place of the people in pagan times, for which its position eminently fits it.

AUGHER.

This village is situated two miles north-east of Clogher. The only object of interest is the castle, beautifully situated on the margin of a lake, within a well wooded demesne. In 1601, the then castle was taken from the Irish by Lord Mountjoy, Sir Henry Docwra, and Sir A. Chichester. It was restored to the Earl of Tyrone; was abandoned by Sir Cormac O'Neill, though his family continued to live there till 1611. At this time Sir Thomas Ridgeway, treasurer at war, obtained a grant of land here on an agreement to settle twenty English or Scottish artificers or tradesmen, and set apart a site for a market place, school, church, and castle, or bawn. In 1641, a garrison was stationed here, which was attacked by the Irish insurgents, who attempted to storm it but were driven off and dispersed. In 1688-90, it was again in hands of the Irish. Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Lloyd, second in command at Enniskillen, burnt the fortifications of Augher, and drove back into Enniskillen a great haul of cattle belonging to the Irish. The castle was dismantled by the Irish Parliament, and remained so till 1832, when the late Sir James Richardson Bunbury, Bart., repaired it, and built the modern house adjoining it. After his death it was sold to the present owner. A cannon ball, musket ball, and skull have been found in the grounds, and a pike head, quern stone, and bones at Tully, where the attacking battery was placed in 1641.

LOUGH ERNE AND BALLYSHANNON EXCURSION.¹

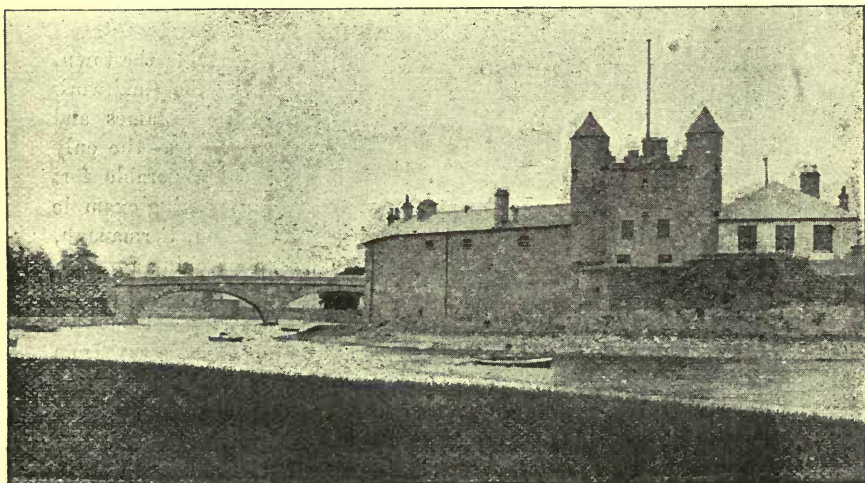
ENNISKILLEN.

ENNISKILLEN is supposed to have its name from a tiny islet close to the East Bridge of the town, within which Cethlenn, or Kehlen, wife of Balor of the mighty blows, a hero of the mythic period of Irish history, was entombed. Hence *Enis-Cethlenn*, "the Island of Cethlenn." This lady fought at the second battle of Moytura, and mortally wounded Dagda, the king of the Tuatha De Danann.



There can be no question that for the tourist, who would visit some of the most picturesque and archæologically rich districts in Ireland, Enniskillen forms a most convenient centre.

The town itself cannot be considered of ancient date. It seems to have been founded, about the year 1610, by Sir William Cole, who had



Enniskillen Castle and Bridge. (From a Photograph by Mr. R. J. Welch.)

received from the Crown a grant of some of the territory then recently forfeited by the clan Maguire. For ages a strong and lofty castle,

¹ By W. F. Wakeman, *Hon. Fellow.*

which for importance was second to none in the district, stood upon the island, and constituted the principal stronghold of the Maguires, Lords of Fermanagh. From ancient maps, still extant, no other structure would appear to have been in its vicinity. During the reign of Elizabeth the castle of Enniskillen would seem to have been, not unfrequently, a bone of contention between the English and Irish. On one memorable occasion, during the absence of its chieftain, the hold was surprised and captured by an English force; but Maguire succeeded in hemming them in so completely that, through famine, the intruders were eventually obliged to capitulate on honourable terms, life and liberty being spared—a concession, under similar circumstances, rather unusual in Ireland, and indeed elsewhere, during the racial struggles of the Middle Ages.

Much of the castle, to this day, remains staunch and strong. The original quadrangular keep, though shorn of a story, is still extant. The curtain-wall and towers, facing the lake, and figured in the town seal as the arms of Enniskillen, are evidently those referred to in a Report, A.D. 1611, printed in the Carew Papers:—

“Enishkellin.—There is a fair strong wall, newly erected, of lime and stone, 26 foot high, with flankers, parapet, and a walk on the top of the wall, built by Captain William Colle (Cole), constable thereof.” Thus the old castle would appear to be, like the townsmen and surrounding inhabitants, about half English or Scotch, and half Irish. It was formerly surrounded by a moat of considerable depth, and furnished with a drawbridge.

Archæologists and lovers of glorious scenery, before leaving the town, should pay a visit, however short, to the Fort Hill. The earthwork there was constructed by the Enniskilleners, during the James and Williamite struggle, to command the East Bridge, which was the only approach to the town on that side. Until lately the venerable fort retained much of its grim pristine aspect, and was an interesting example of its class and period. Here the defenders of Enniskillen, Fermanagh, and of Ulster generally, were wont to muster, before marching forth in battle array, to attack the enemy.

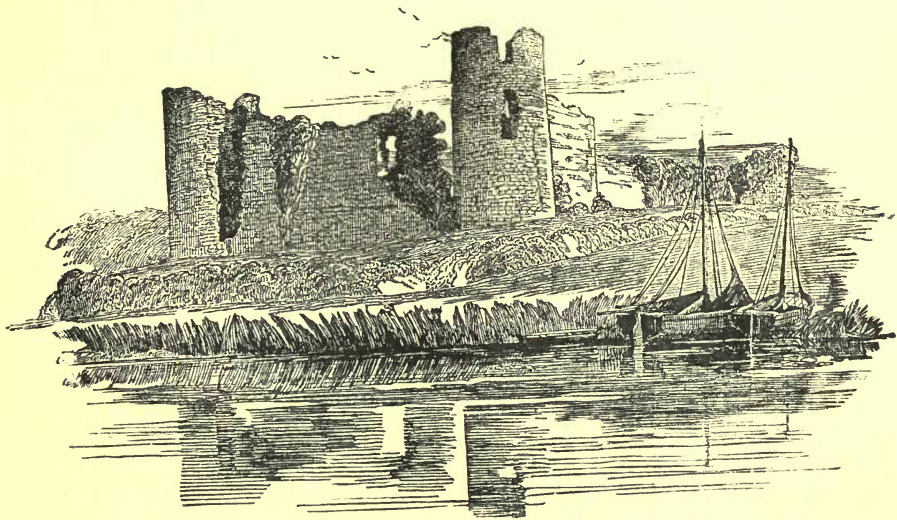
A stone fort at the other extremity of the town, called “the Redoubt,” is said to have been largely constructed of material carried away from the monastic buildings on Devenish. Of these a word presently.

There is little more to be pointed to on the island by which the attention of the general archæologist might be attracted.

The tower of the Protestant church, however, is not without interest. It is probably, if we except portion of the castle, the oldest structure remaining above ground in the town. Over its ample porch occurs a window of three small lights, separated by stone mullions. Surmounting these, upon a quadrangular flag, is an *AGNUS DEI*, and the date 1637. This is very likely the latest example of the old pointed style remaining in Ireland.

PORTORA CASTLE.

Let us at once take to our boat, and proceed with the course of the current seaward. We are soon in Portora stream, the Royal School of Enniskillen, a foundation of the reign of Charles I., crowning the western eminence. In De Danann and Fírbolgie times this narrow passage must have been the scene of many deadly contests. During recent dredging operations its bed was found to be nearly, as it were, paved with arms and ornaments composed of flint, stone, or bronze. The metallic remains consisted chiefly of exquisitely formed spear and javelin heads, composed of a species of bronze, often, from its brightness, described as "golden." With them were discovered a large number of exquisitely cast leaf-shaped swords, of the so-called "Greek" pattern,



Portora Castle, Co. Fermanagh.

as also a considerable variety of bronze celts and paalstaves. It may be observed that several of the stone remains were of exceptional character and beautiful workmanship.

It seems a pity that the objects of this important discovery were not kept together. What an interesting display would such an unique "find" present in one of the rooms of the town-hall, not more than ten, or fifteen, minutes' walk from the scene of their prolonged, but, fortunately, not final submersion.

When nearing the western mouth of the stream, a beautiful sheet of water meets the eye. This is the opening into Lower Lough Erne.

Immediately on the left, tower the "flankers" of Portora Castle, of which structure we learn, from an inquisition of the time of Charles I., quoted by the Rev. George Hill, that "Sir William Cole erected upon the tate called Lurgaveigh, *alias* Learganaffeagh, *alias* Porttdorie, one fort, or bawn, of lyme and stone, &c., &c.; and hath likewise erected, adjoining thereto, one castle, or capital messuage of lyme and stone."

These remain more or less fairly preserved (see *Journal*, vol vi., Fourth Series, July, 1883, No. 5, p. 152).

It is not known whether Sir William Cole (who by-the-by was direct ancestor to the present Earl of Enniskillen) ever resided in this structure; he probably occupied Maguire's Castle of Enniskillen, of which he was governor. It is certain, however, that Bishop Spottiswood of Clogher dwelt here for a considerable time. Portora Castle is the ruin of a very representative building of its kind, and would well repay a visit.

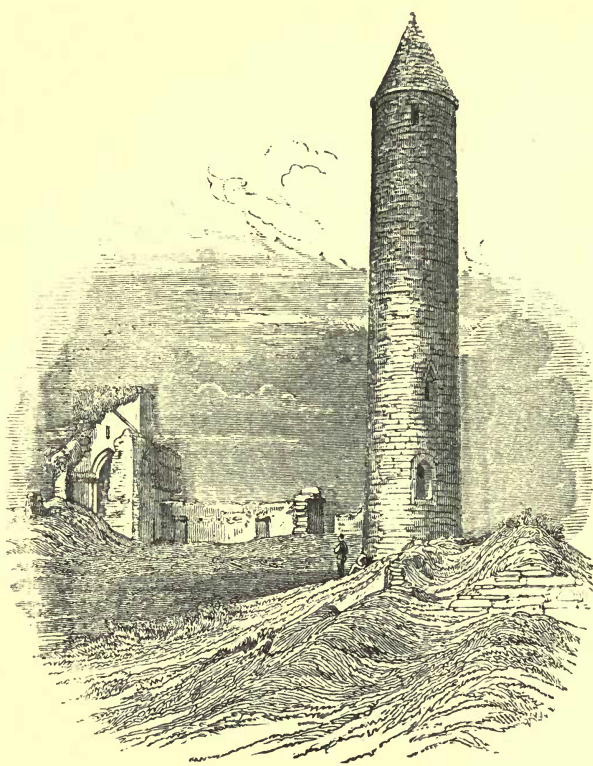
DEVENISH.

A short distance ahead is the famous Devenish, or *Ox Island*. Early in the sixth century a monastic establishment, which subsequently became very famous, was here founded by St. Molaise, called also Laserian, and now, by the people, Molush. All the antiquities remaining on this intensely interesting island have already been exhaustively described and illustrated in the pages of this *Journal* (1874, p. 59) by W. F. Wakeman, who for eighteen years resided in the neighbourhood; see also a second Paper by Mr. Wakeman, in which he illustrates and describes a very curious stone cross, and an elaborately carved monumental slab (see illustrations on pages 284 and 285), unearthed in the cemetery during recent operations carried out under the direction of the Board of Works.

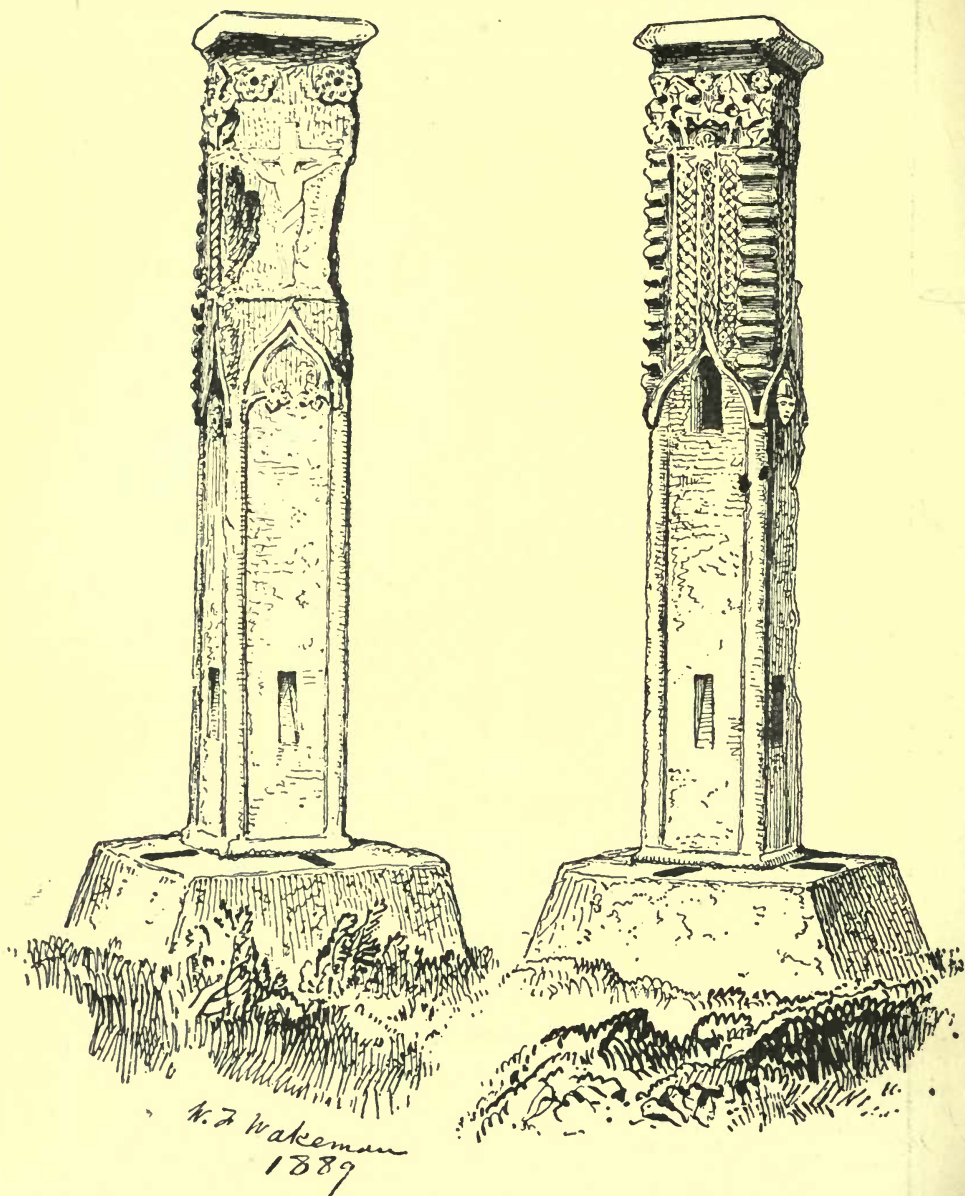
It will not be necessary here to give more than a list, accompanied by a few passing remarks, of the various monuments which remain on Devenish to the delight and admiration of all archæologists who may be fortunate enough to visit that sacred spot.

I. TEACH MOLAISE, or the "House of St. Molaise," a so-called "Cyclopean" building, now much dilapidated, but which, in the memory of some people still living, stood nearly perfect, retaining even the greater portion of its stone roof. Note that the stones bearing Hiberno-Romanesque carvings, which appear in the angles of this sixth-century structure, originally belonged to the church situated more to the east. Why they were here so misleadingly and ignorantly placed, only some present or past P. L. G.s, or other "most potent, grave, and reverend Signiors" of Enniskillen, may be able to state.

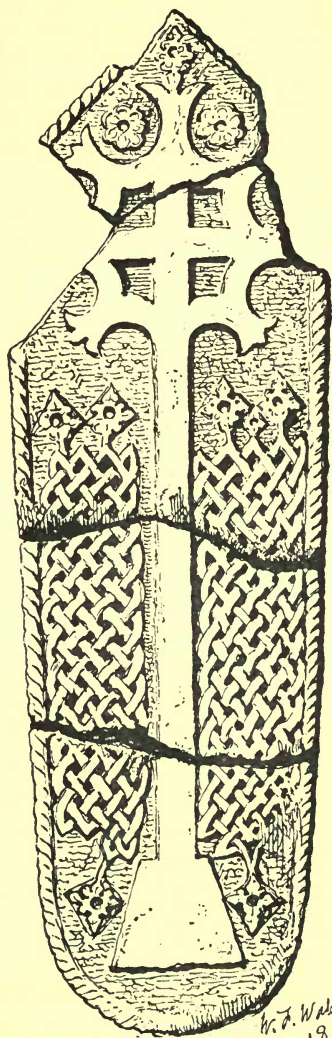
II. TEAMPULL MÓR, or the "Great Church," in the Lower Cemetery. Observe the fine round-headed windows, probably early twelfth century.



Round Tower of Devenish.



Shaft of the High Cross on Devenish, Lough Erne.



*H. J. Wakeman
1889.*

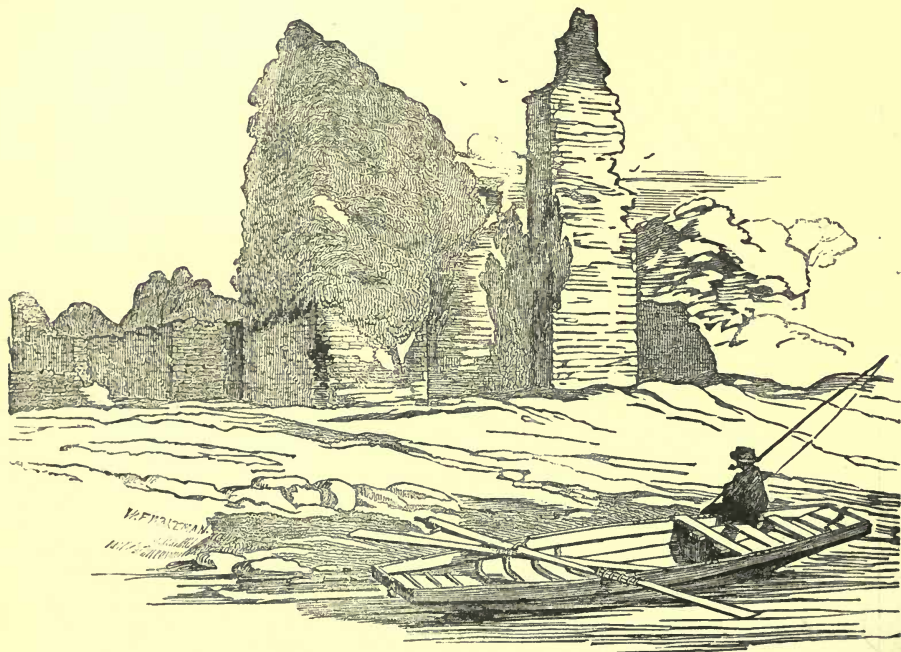
Highly-decorated Lid of Stone Coffin, Devenish.

(From a Rubbing.)

III. THE PRIORY.—See the beautifully carved Lombardic inscription within the square belfry tower.

MATHEUS O'DUBAGAN
HOC OPUS FECIT
BARTHOLOMEO O'FLANRAGAN
PRIORI DE DAMYNIS
A.D. 1449.

IV. THE Cloictheach, or ROUND TOWER BELFRY. This is usually considered to be the finest, though not the largest, of the Ecclesiastical Round Towers of Ireland; it is 83 feet in height. Observe the curious carvings of its unique cornice. (See Mr. Wakeman's Paper in *Journal*, already referred to.)



Crevinish Castle, Co. Fermanagh.

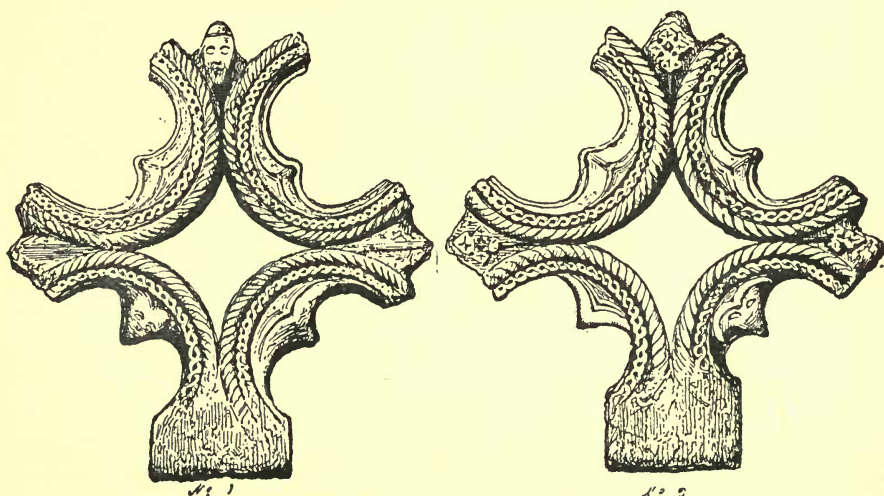
V. The large STONE CROSS (see illustration on page 284).

VI. SLAB, with Cross, and interlacing pattern (see illustration on page 285).

For illustrations and descriptions of minor objects, see Mr. Wakeman's First Paper, already pointed to.

Before concluding this slight notice of Devenish it may be well to

mention that in front of the usual landing place is a rushy shoal, in summer time an islet, called the "Friar's Leap," in the vicinity of which it is traditionally asserted the bell of the Round Tower was sunk during a time of trouble, in order to save it from the hands of the spoiler. It is said that occasionally, when touched by a cotman's pole, it has been known to emit sounds of a weird, plaintive kind. The Tower has recently been struck by lightning, and will require a scaffolding to enable workmen to repair its roof. When a scaffolding shall have been erected, the opportunity should be taken to secure a cast of the carved cornice.



Front and Back View of supposed Head of Devenish High Cross.

LOWER LOUGH ERNE.

Lough Erne now opens widely on our course, and numerous islands appear. Of these Trasna, Carn, and Ferny are the most conspicuous. Trasna was for more than a hundred years the residence of Peggy Elliott, whose portrait was given in this *Journal* some time ago by our distinguished Fellow, Mr. Milligan. At the time of his interview with Peggy, who was usually styled "Queen of Trasna," the lady was about 107 years old, yet she appeared to enjoy all her faculties.

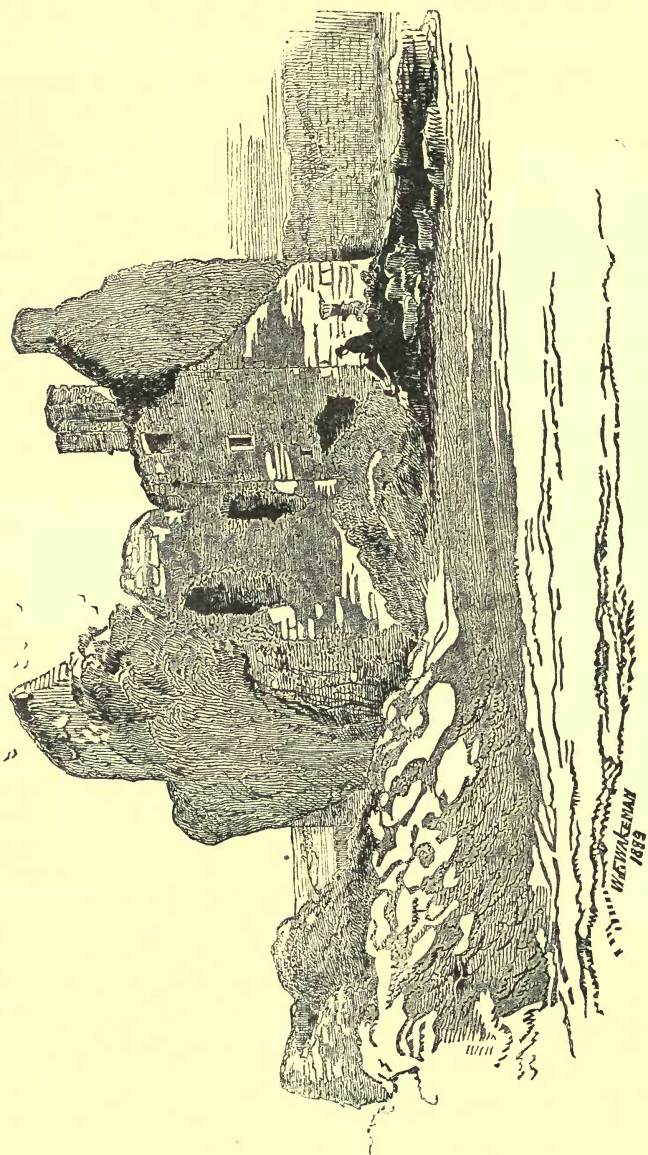
Somewhat further on we come abreast of CASTLE HUME, once a goodly residence of the family of that name, descended from Sir John Humes, or Hume, second son of Patrick, the fifth Baron of Polworth, in Scotland. The Humes in Ireland had for their original residence Tully Castle, of which structure mention will presently be made. Upon the death, in

1731, of Sir Gustavus Hume, the castle and estate passed through the female line into the possession of the Loftus family, whose descendant, the Marquis of Ely, is now their owner. A portion of Castle Hume, now used chiefly as farm offices, still remains. It is, however, destitute of any antiquarian interest. The scenery about this portion of the lake, owing to the number of richly wooded islands and headlands which constitute an ever-changing panorama as the boat glides on, is very striking. Upon yonder eminence stood, until recently, the fine mansion of ELY LODGE. The late Marquis caused the structure to be pulled down, intending to have it replaced by a more palatial residence. The stables were allowed to remain, and were fitted up as a temporary lodge, but nothing further was accomplished. Of the islands which, as has been already pointed out, here abound, all are uninhabited but one, viz. PARIS, a name for which it is difficult to account. It is occupied by a family named Spratt, some members of which have enjoyed over a century of existence. Nearly opposite Ely Lodge is Rossfad, the charming seat of Colonel Richardson.

This bend of the lake is chiefly remarkable on account of a small island called INISDACHARNE, which lies near its shore, not far from the mansion. On it stands a kind of stone fortification, which anciently commanded a shoal connecting the place with the mainland; on other sides the water is deep. We have here a kind of semi-crannog. The name Dacharne would well apply to two heaps of stones which evidently formed the material of a now utterly ruined gateway.

We now approach INISMACSAINT, or more correctly, *Inis-Muighe-samh*, "The Island of the Plain of the Sorrel." Here in the sixth century St. Nened, or Ninnedth, flourished. According to Dr. Joyce he was called Sacbruisse, i.e. *torvi oculi*. Sometimes he was known as Ninnid Leathdere, or the one-eyed. The saint, who came of the race of Enda, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, was a disciple of St. Finnian of Clonard, and was a contemporary of St. Columba. His day is stated to be the 16th of January.

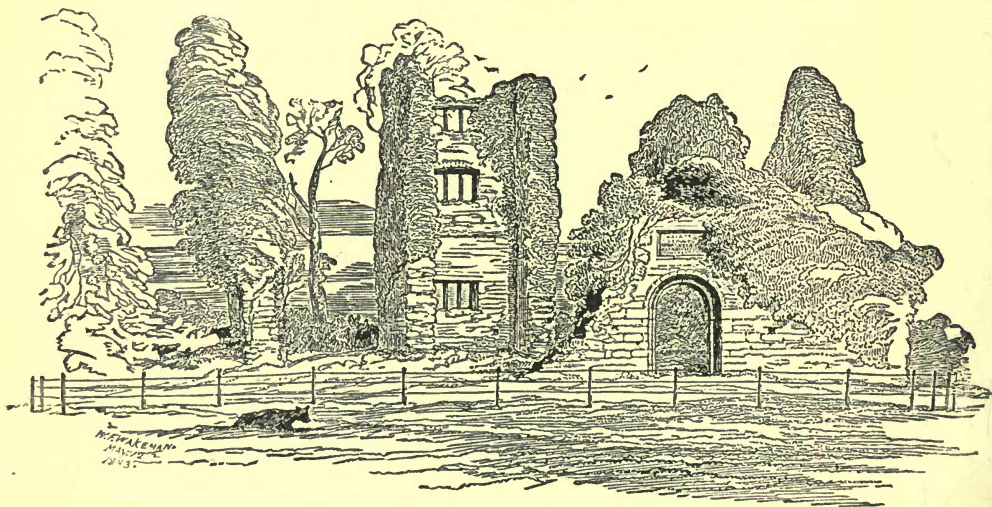
The landing places on the shores of Inismacsaint are numerous, safe, and easy of approach. Antiquaries should by all means visit the cemetery, where will be found the ruins of an eleventh or twelfth century church, and a remarkably fine and lofty stone cross. The latter is of a character rarely met with in Ireland; being quite plain, and devoid of the usual circle, binding head and arms together. Observe the diversity of style in the bases of the angles of the remaining window. Some relics of the domestic buildings of the monastery may still be traced; but their plan, owing to a state of utter ruin, is unintelligible. From the summit of an artificial mound (probably De Danann and sepulchral), situated on high ground, at a little distance from the cemetery, a very splendid view of the broad lake is obtainable.



Tully Castle, Co. Fermanagh.

TULLY CASTLE now looms grandly before us. This, as has already been intimated, was the original seat of the Humes in Ireland. The ruin, though robbed of most of its cut stones, is still an interesting architectural study. Its vaulted hall, state apartment, and diminutive dormitories to this day retain much of their individuality.

That upon the 24th of December, 1641, Rory, brother of the then Lord Maguire, invested Tully Castle, slew most of its inmates, men, women, and children, and burned the building (which by-the-by appears never to have been restored), is a matter of history. We, I believe, possess but one side of the sad tale, and should pause before giving complete credence to a narrative full of horror. Similar accounts related of other places have been inquired into by dispassionate historians, and



Castle Archdall, Co. Fermanagh.

found to be exaggerations. At any rate the times were very ruthless and barbarous, and *reprisal* appears to have been the order of the day (see *Journal*, vol. vi., Fourth Series, July, 1883, No. 55, p. 140).

Landing here is easily effected; antiquaries should visit the ruin. The view obtainable from the bold headland of Tully is rivalled in beauty and grandeur by few prospects in Ireland.

The lake is said to be here at least nine miles in breadth, by fourteen in length. It is in fact an inland sea, and in times of winter storm the waves which break upon its shoals and islets are truly marine in force and aspect. Some of these shoals have the appearance of, as it were, washed out islands. Several, as the Gull Rock, may have been in some degree artificially formed. They seem to have been crannogs of

stone, like at least a couple remaining in Lough Macnean, near Florence Court in the same county.

CASTLE AARCHDALL BAY is seen in the distance, to the right, forming a considerable stretch of island-studded water. The noble mansion which seems to rise from the shore has, for generations, been the residence of the Archdall family. (The name is now generally written Archdale.) The cradle of their race in Ireland, however, is a picturesque structure standing some distance inland from the modern house. It consists of a bawn and tower, or castle, thus alluded to by Pynnar:—"John Archdale hath 1000 acres, called *Tullana*. Upon this Proportion there is a Bawne of Lime and Stone, with three flankers, 15 feet high, &c., &c." Much of all these buildings still remain, but in a state of ruinous neglect. It seems a pity that so grand and historic a home should have been handed over to decay, abandoned to the treacherous embrace of the ever-sapping ivy, its angles made scratching posts for cattle, in short, left to Nature. There is a popular tradition that on an occasion during the "wars of Ireland" the castle was invested and partly fired



Sculptured Chamber, Mounds, Church Ruins, &c., in Deer-park, Castle Archdall.

by a body of native Irish; it was supposed at the time that the Archdall heir, then an infant, was within, in care of an Irish foster-mother, who, to save the life of her own child, who was also with her, at a critical moment threw the baby Archdall from an upper window, which is still pointed out. From this strangely exchanged "heir" it is said, all of the Archdale race in Ireland have descended.

Perhaps the least favoured scion of the family, in a worldly point of view, but the most illustrious, in the minds of the cultivated, was a poor clergyman, the author of the "Monasticon," whose grave, in the churchyard of Slane, county Meath, sometime the scene of his ministry, is still shown. (See full notice and illustrations of this castle, by W. F. Wakeman, in *Journal*, vol. vi., Fourth Series, July, 1883, No. 55.)

The Deer Park, CASTLE AARCHDALL, should be visited by all antiquaries who may have time to get there, but both it and the castle are considerably out of the route from Enniskillen to Bundoran. It would require a good long summer's day to examine them, but the time would

be most delightfully and instructively spent. At Kesh, a station on the Enniskillen and Bundoran Railway, a vehicle or more could be hired, and intending visitors might start per train either from Bundoran or Enniskillen. A glance at the contents of the Deer Park may not here be out of place. Within it will be found the remains of a magnificent prehistoric sepulchral chamber, several of the stones of which exhibit archaic scribings analagous to those observable at Dowth, Newgrange, and most notably on Slieve-na-Caillighe, near Oldcastle, county Meath. There are minor tumuli, not a few carved or cut stones of great interest, a holy fount called *Tober-na-sool*, or the "Well of the Eyes," the much shattered ruins of an extremely early church, and a yew tree (perhaps the grandest in Ireland), which there is reason to believe is over a thousand years old. The place seems to be one of the great, as yet unidentified, cemeteries of Pagan Erin. On veering eastward to make for Castle Archdall Bay, we have left nearly in our wake the precipitous mountain which overhangs Poulaphuca, *i.e.* the "Demon's Hole," or "Pool," where the water is 126 feet deep, and according to native fishermen, contains fish, probably pike, of such gigantic size and strength that no tackle as yet invented has been found capable of holding them when hooked. Gimp is as a rush, bell-wire little more effective, holding only till sawn across by the teeth of the unseen monster. Certain it is that in the neighbourhood dead pike have floated ashore, which must have weighed from sixty to seventy pounds, or upwards.

The eminence above Poulaphuca is certainly of volcanic origin, traces of lava occurring upon it. At certain seasons of the year wild swans about here most do congregate. They sail in large fleets, and though belonging to no person in particular are rarely molested, the natives having an idea that they represent the souls of holy persons, mostly nuns, who had fallen beneath the swords and axes of Scandinavian pirates, whose galleys are known to have swept Lough Erne at various intervals for ages.

We pass Inismakill, Crevinish, and other charming islets, more or less gracefully wooded, and soon arrive at one of the most interesting spots on this portion of the lough, *viz.* WHITE ISLAND: why so called no person has yet been able to determine.

Here will be found a church, in plan a simple quadrangle, measuring 45 ft. by 28 ft. externally. The style of the building is rather rude; the stones are generally but roughly hammered, not cut; many of them are simply small boulders. In its doorway, which is placed in the south-side wall, at a little distance from the western end, the architectural antiquary will find a study of surpassing interest. All its details point to a perhaps late Hiberno-Romanesque period, but it presents special peculiarities, and may in truth be considered unique.

The puzzle, however, of the building is the presence in its walls of a number of quaintly carved grotesque figures, scarcely human in

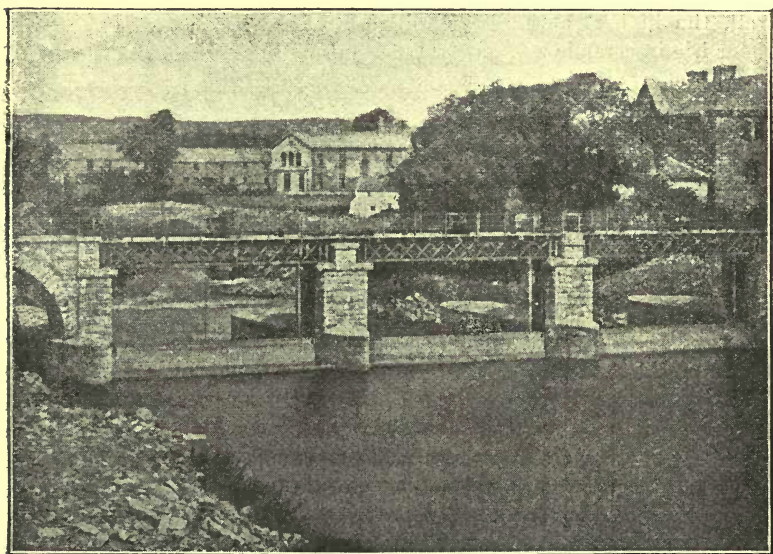
appearance, amongst the rest a well-developed *Sheelanagig* of unusually hideous aspect.

This church, and its details abundantly illustrated, will be found fully described in *Journal*, vol. v., Fourth Series, No. 42, April, 1880.

A monumental leac, bearing an inscription in Irish, may be seen within the church; this is also illustrated in the *Journal*.

Resuming our route to Belleek, we pass, in a westerly direction, slightly to the northward, Boa, the largest island in Lough Erne, and soon approach the charmingly serrated shores and picturesque heights of Castle Caldwell.

The Castle here is generally supposed to have been a monastery. The place, however, is not mentioned by Archdall in his "Monasticon



Belleek. (From a Photograph by Mr. W. Lawrence, Dublin.)

Hibernicum." The lands in 1611 were presented by King James to Sir E. Blennerhasset, whose descendants long occupied the building, whatever it was, and named it Castlehasset.

In 1671 the property was sold by Sir Augustus Blennerhasset to James Caldwell, who subsequently became a baronet. From the Caldwells the place descended to the Bloomfield family, now represented by John Caldwell Bloomfield, Esq., a gentleman well known to more than one intellectual circle. It will not be necessary to examine this quaint old residence, once rich in the possession of a valuable museum of Irish antiquities, and other objects of interest, collected by the Caldwells and Bloomfields from time to time.

BELLEEK.

At Belleek (*The Mouth of the Ford of the Flagstone*), the termination of our aquatic trip for the day, the archæologist need not expect to find much calculated to excite his interest. Nevertheless, the scene of the "Falls," and of the venerable bridge and its surroundings is such as to cause a slightly qualified sketcher to regret his artistic weakness, so that if the craving of one taste be starved that of the other will find much to revel in. Of a castle which once stood at Belleek the origin is unknown, and scarcely a vestige of the structure remains. The present glory of Belleek is Ireland's first and far-famed pottery, founded some years ago under the auspices of Messrs. Bloomfield and M'Birney.

In prehistoric days the people of Erin, according to Canon Greenwell, the highest authority on the subject, far excelled those of the sister isle in ceramic art. Let us hope that a similar remark may apply to Irish efforts in the near future.

BALLYSHANNON.

At Ballyshannon (pronounced by the natives *Ballyshanny*), or "the mouth of the Ford of Seanaigh" (a man's name), and in its immediate neighbourhood, much is to be seen.

The objects, or places of especial interest, may thus be enumerated:—

I. The Abbey of Assaroe should be first seen. According to some accounts it owes its foundation to Roderick O'Cananan, Prince of Tyrconnell, in A.D. 1178. By the "Four Masters," however, its origin is attributed to Flaherty O'Muldorrey, Lord of Kinelconnell, in A.D. 1184. It was dedicated to God and St. Bernard, for monks of the Cistercian order. Little of its former magnificence now remains. The poet, William Allingham, who knew the ruin well, thus faithfully describes its present condition:—

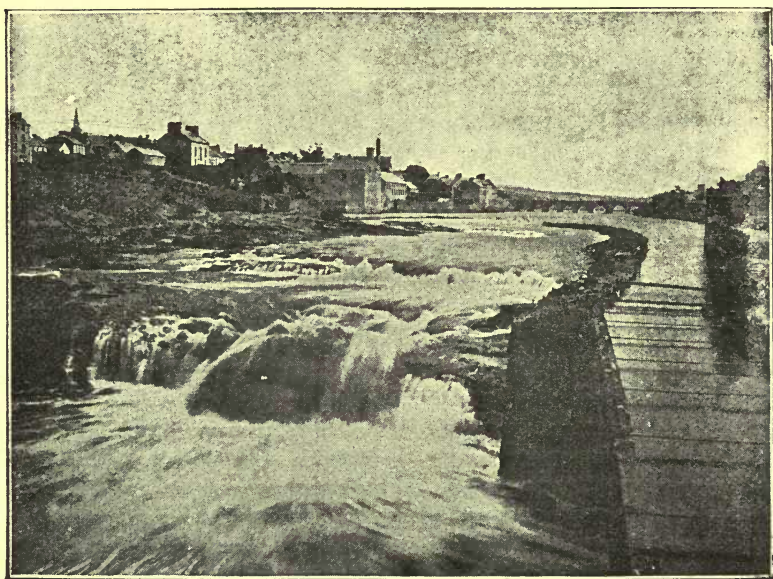
"Grey, grey is Abbey Assaroe by Ballyshannon town,
It has neither doors nor window, its walls are broken down,
The carven stones lie scattered in brier and nettle bed,
The only feet are those that come at burial of the dead."

The remaining walls are literally featureless, but the masonry is of the best description, and shows how well Irishmen could build in the twelfth century.

In "Guthrie's Gazetteer," published about 1776, it is stated that "some of the gilding in the vault of the cloister is still visible." (See "Ballyshannon," &c., by Hugh Allingham, a delightful little work, descriptive of the town and its antiquities.)

There is an interesting tomb of the O'Clerys in the graveyard. In a field to the west is a Sweat-house.

II. A natural cavern, probably in some measure sculptured out by the hand of man, situated just below the abbey, should be carefully examined, as it contains features of unusual interest to the student of our archaic monuments as well as to the ecclesiologist. It is a weird and wonderful grotto, which, no doubt, was at one time a human habitation. Tradition states, and probably with truth, that St. Patrick, during his visit to Assaroe, here dwelt, using the place also as a chapel and baptistery. Certain it is, that upon an altar-like ledge of rock, jutting from one of the sides, occur two typical examples of that kind of rock-basin styled *bullán* by Irish-speaking people. Between these remarkable cavities, which, by-the-by, are triangular in section, appears



Salmon Falls, Ballyshannon. (From a Photograph by Mr. R. Welch, Belfast.)

an incised cross of the oldest Christian character found in Ireland. It is also traditionally stated, that St. Columba subsequently occupied the cave, as well he might, in preference to the discomforts of an ordinary *clochan* or souterrain.

III. According to Mr. Allingham, who is a native of Ballyshannon, of the castle nothing now remains, excepting a portion of one of the walls, about ten feet high and five feet thick, part of which is incorporated with a grain store, and part with a butter shed, on the north side of the market-yard.

“Earth buildeth upon earth, castles, and towers,
Earth says to earth—‘All shall be ours.’”

IV. But, although the grand historic fortress of the O'Donnells has all but disappeared, a much older fort still remains fairly intact, almost within bowshot of its site. This is the *Booley bawn*, or "white milking-place," a rocky projection, jutting into the water, facing the islet of Inishsamer, now known as "the Fish Island." The end of this tiny promontory is fortified by a kind of cashel and fosse extending across it. Within the enclosure may be seen a curious souterrain, constituted of dry cyclopean masonry, as old, probably, as the time of Partholan, whatever date that may be.

V. The highest land at Ballyshannon is a hill called Mullaghnashee, where the Episcopal church now stands. Upon its summit, or nearly so, was a mound, or *carn*, which was traditionally believed to have been raised in honour of *Aodh Ruadh*, or Red Hugh, king of Ireland, who was drowned in the rapids, above the falls, several centuries before the Christian era. This monument is said to have been obliterated in 1798, the site being required for the erection of a fort. Some few years ago a souterrain, most probably the regal tomb, was accidentally discovered close to the spot. This has been described by the Rev. S. G. Cochrane, rector of the parish, who examined the "find" at the time. His notice is published, at considerable length, in Colonel Vigers' work, devoted to the Preservation of Monuments of the Dead. It is a pity that a human skull, found by Mr. Cochrane within this mysterious vault, was not photographed at the time, but the remains are probably still accessible.

VI. The Falls of Assaroe have been the subject of wonder and admiration to Irish bards and chroniclers. In an ancient tale, relating to "the Banquet of Dunagay and Battle of Moira," they are thus referred to:—"The lofty, great, clear-landed, contentious, precipitate, loud-roaring, headstrong, rapid, salmonful, seamonsterful, varying, in large fish abounding, royal, and prosperous, cataract of Easruadh"!

Well may the pool have been designated "salmonful," as many as 2000 fish having been caught there in one day, and 400 in a single haul.

A little seaward from the cataract is Inishsamer, now known as Fish Island, a rock which Partholan, a mythic leader, stated by ancient chroniclers to have been a contemporary of the patriarch Abraham, is said to have selected as headquarters, while the colonists, led by him, occupied the adjacent territory.

There is nothing now remaining upon the islet to interest a visitor. It is supposed that here once stood a religious house.

But of all the shorter excursions which may be made from Ballyshannon that to KILBARRON CASTLE will, to the average stranger, prove the most exhilarating and every way enjoyable. The distance to be traversed is only about three miles. Pedestrians will find a safe, and fairly even, pathway along the Atlantic coast, at its very brink, and an excellent road is available to all who may prefer to employ a vehicle. Noticing

this castle, Petrie states:—"From the singularity of its situation, seated on a lofty, precipitous, and nearly insulated cliff, exposed to the storms and billows of the western ocean, the reader will naturally conclude that this now sadly dilapidated and time-worn ruin must have owed its origin to some rude and daring chief of old, whose occupation was war and rapine, and whose thoughts were as wild and turbulent as the waves that washed his sea-girt eagle-dwelling; and such, in their ignorance of its unpublished history, has been the conclusion formed by modern topographers, who tell us that it is supposed to have been the habitation of freebooters." How different is its true history! Here for generations thought and toiled the ollaves, bards, and antiquaries of the people of Tyrconnell, the illustrious O'Clerys, and before them the O'Sgingins. It is thought probable that the castle was originally erected by the O'Sgingins some time in the thirteenth, or following century. In 1390 it was levelled to the ground by Donnell, son of Mortogh O'Connor.

It seems shortly afterwards to have been re-erected by the O'Clerys, who here laid the foundation of a literary fame which was destined to survive the wreck of their castle and their worldly fortunes. The blow to the O'Clerys and their patrons, the princely O'Donnells, fell at the time of King James's Plantation of Ulster, but, it appears, the final dispossession of the former did not take place until A.D. 1632. The last and greatest professional work in which these illustrious scholars and patriots participated, the compilation of the "*Annals of the Four Masters*," was completed under the auspices of Fergal O'Gara, styled Lord of Coolavin, within a temporary shelter raised amongst the ruins of Donegal monastery.

It has been computed that the lands comprising the possessions of the O'Clerys would, at the present day, produce a rental little short of two thousand pounds a-year. "Alas!" writes Petrie, "it will be long till learning in the history and antiquities of our country be again thus nobly recompensed."

KILBARRON CHURCH.—Situate about half a mile from the castle is the old parish church of Kilbarron. This was a foundation of St. Columba; but the existing ruin is of comparatively late date, probably not earlier than the fourteenth century. The name of St. *Barrain*, or *Barrfionn*, who at an early period ruled over this establishment, is commemorated in the Martyrology of Donegal at May 21st.

The church is a plain substantial structure, unpossessed of any striking feature, yet an examination of its two doorways will, doubtless, interest some archæologists unused to meet with out-of-the-way edifices of its class. At Corker, not far from the church, may be visited a fine cromleac; another of enormous size occurs about half a mile north of the castle.

BUNDORAN.

The route from Ballyshannon to Bundoran (*The Bottom, or Mouth, of the Doran or Dobhar River*) exhibits little to gratify archæologists as such, but lovers of nature will be charmed with the surroundings. Bundoran has long been celebrated as one of the most delightful resorts in Ireland. The hotel accommodation is ample, and, in fact, all that could be desired. The neighbouring cliffs abound in caverns, and have an interesting natural bridge, and form a happy hunting-ground of geologists and landscape artists.

Some curious prehistoric remains of the stone-circle and "giant's grave" class occur near the end of the town in the Sligo direction. These have been figured and described by Col. Wood-Martin in his work on "Rude Stone Monuments in Co. Sligo" in the *Journal*.

Amongst the sand *dunes* of Finner, almost adjoining Bundoran, the archæologist will find a rich store for observation in an array of primitive antiquities, sepulchral mounds, giants' graves, pillar stones, circles, and caves, and at least one cromleac, still most interesting, though recently denuded of its covering-stone. These monuments, strange to say, remain unillustrated, and have scarcely been alluded to by writers on antiquarian subjects.

Here there is a new field for explorers. A few years ago the remains were much more perfect than they are at present. The late Col. Ffolliott, then the owner of the extensive rabbit warren in which they stand, when about to leave the country for a few years, gave directions to a chief caretaker, or factotum, to cause a wall to be built round a certain portion of his property, with the view of preserving the antiquities which it contained, from the operations of road-contractors and others requiring stones. It is said, that in order to prevent any mistake being made he traced out upon a map the line in which he wished the enclosure to be made.

Upon his return, the colonel embraced an early opportunity of viewing the "improvements" which he had so anxiously ordered. His surprise and horror may be imagined (for he was a gentleman of strong antiquarian feeling) when he discovered that to procure material for his wall, the workmen, as usual, left to their own judgment, or sweet will, had sledged away many of the venerable stones, and even demolished at least half of a grand chambered cairn, in the possession of which he used to be justly proud!

This cairn was found to contain a large quantity of human bones, none of which showed the action of fire. The skulls were particularly fine, and well preserved, but were smashed to pieces by a mob from Ballyshannon and Belleek, who had rushed, as to a gold mine, to the "find," and who, in their disappointment at discovering no treasure, thus vented

their rage on the poor bones. No sepulchral vessels were found, nor was there a trace of any weapon or ornament.

Of the stone circle by which the cairn was encompassed but little remains, most of it having been sledged away. Close by is a good example of a "giant's grave," but the stones seem to have suffered much through atmospheric influence, or the frosts of untold ages. This specimen does not appear to have been flagged over, a remark common to many similar structures in the north and west of Ireland. A third monument of this group is a circular rampart which appears to have had a line of stones on its side or summit, all but one or two of which have disappeared beneath the sledge hammers.

The cromleac stands, isolated, at a considerable distance from the great cairn. It is much to be regretted that the covering stone has been displaced, but it remains close by unbroken. Here were found the remains of a human skeleton in a half-burnt condition, and broken portions of a fine decorated fictile vessel, of the food-holder class. These Finner sand-hills would appear to have been used in pagan times as an extensive cemetery. Of the remaining *leagauns*, *dallauns*, or pillar-stones, one is particularly fine. It seems to bear an inscribed name which resembles *Fluitach*, whatever that may mean. The greater portion of a day, at least, might be devoted to wandering in this breezy, romantic, and, according to popular belief, fairy-haunted wilderness. By keeping a good look out between the *dunes*, especially on spots from which the sand has recently been blown away, a collector of archaic remains might interestingly increase his store by picking up waifs, such as arrowheads, scrapers, or other worked flints, hammer stones, &c. &c. He might be fortunate enough even to recover a bronze pin or other bronze object.

If time admit, a visit should by all means be made to the neighbourhood of Cliffoney, a village lying a few miles from Bundoran, on the road to Sligo. The first place of any note on the route is Tullaghan, near which locality, standing close to the roadside, may be seen a good plain specimen of an early stone cross which was found, after a storm, upon the neighbouring shore, where it had lain from time immemorial, covered and hidden by sand and shingle. The inscription which it bears is modern, and merely refers to the re-erection of the stone.

Somewhat further on may be observed, standing upon a mound, in part at least artificial, the mouldering remains of Duncairbry, *i.e.* the Fort of Cairbre. This castle was one of several belonging to the great Clan Mac Clanchy. It bears all the appearance of having been erected in the sixteenth century. The Mac Clanchy property was confiscated, like many others, in consequence of the events of 1641.

After a short drive Cliffoney is reached. Here inquiry should be made for St. Brigid's Well, a fount highly venerated in the district, and to which pilgrimages are constantly made. It is not precisely known what connexion this celebrated saint had with the well bearing her name.

The spring is covered by a dome-shaped building of stone, in every point identical with the flag-roofed dwellings which are sometimes found in our earliest cahirs and other structures of early, if not prehistoric, times. A flight of rude cross-marked steps leads down to the water. But the most remarkable feature is a stone set up against the enclosing wall, bearing an incised cross, of the very earliest Christian kind in Ireland. It is divided into panels, some of which exhibit concentric circles like those found on parts of the great pagan chambers at Newgrange, Slieve-na-Caillighe, Knockmany, and elsewhere. But the most remarkable device of all is a well-marked suastica, which occurs near its head.

In a Paper by W. F. Wakeman, entitled, "Some Remarkable Wells in the North-West of Ireland," published in this *Journal* (vol. v., Fourth Series, p. 365), will be found a full notice of this cross, and all its interesting details.

At Cliffoney, and in its immediate neighbourhood, some rude stone monuments of enormous proportions occur. These should be inquired after upon the spot, and, when found, carefully examined by antiquaries interested in archaic works. Descriptions and drawings, accompanied by measurements of all, will be found in Colonel Wood-Martin's Papers on the "Rude Stone Monuments of Sligo," published by this Society in the *Journal* (vols. vii. and viii., Fourth Series), and in the Extra Volume of the Society for 1888-1889.

COUNTY SLIGO.¹

THE northern boundary of this county in the sixteenth century was the River Erne, now it is the River Duff, which empties into the sea between Tullaghan and Cliffony. County Donegal and county Leitrim acquired the territory taken from county Sligo. The barony of Carbury, so often mentioned in Irish history during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, extends from the river Duff to Ballysadare, and within its bounds are situated all the places visited during this excursion. The scenery between Bundoran and Sligo is of an interesting character, particularly after Drumcliffe is passed.

From the Ridge of Cooldruman, a little on the north side of Drumcliffe, there is a splendid view of mountain scenery. On this ground, in the year 555, was fought a great battle, between Dermot, the King of Ireland, on the one side, and the King of Connaught and the northern chiefs on the other, on which occasion King Dermot was defeated. It is related that St. Columcille was the instigator of the battle, and that it was to do penance for it that he afterwards left Ireland for Iona. The splendid Benbulbin range of mountains, 1724 feet high, overshadows Drumcliffe. Further back is Truskmore, 2115 feet high, and many others ranging from 1000 feet and upwards.

Proceeding from Bundoran, these mountains are to the east or left hand side, and the Atlantic to the west, or on the right going towards Sligo. From Cliffony, for a distance of six miles long and two miles broad, the land is owned by the Honourable Evelyn Ashley, and formerly belonged to Lord Palmerston, who was one of the very best of landlords, and spent large sums of money in improving his property and benefiting his tenantry. He built the harbour of Mullaghmore, and the little watering-place adjoining; the former is of the greatest advantage to the fisherman, being the only safe harbour between Ballyshannon and Sligo. There is a very fine view from the summit of the hill, extending from Barnesmore beyond Donegal, to Slievealiag and the Sligo Mountains, as well as the peaks of Nephin and Croagh-Patrick, and the Stags of Broadhaven, off the Mayo coast. All these can be distinctly seen on a clear day from Mullaghmore. Close to Cliffony Lord Palmerston had a lodge, and his most intimate friend was the Rev. Malachi Brennan, the parish priest, who for a period of fifty-two years held the parish, dying in 1888, at the age of 92.

¹ By Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President, Hon. Provincial Secretary for Ulster.*

Many interesting stories are related of Father Malachi and his lordship; and antiquaries are indebted to Lord Palmerston for a timely restoration of Sligo Abbey at a period when archæology was not in such popular favour as it is at present. The first object of interest to the antiquary on leaving Bundoran is a rude and very primitive stone cross about 9 feet high, which is on our left at the village of Tullaghan, two miles from Bundoran; it stands on a raised bank close by the roadside. After passing Grange a view of Inismurray may be obtained four and a-half miles from the point of Streedagh. Grange is the best place to arrange for a boat to visit the island, which may be obtained by agreement for a sum of about thirty shillings there and back for as many as the boat will accommodate.

At DRUMCLIFFE there is a round tower, a fine sculptured cross, and a plain shaft of another cross; what remains of the round tower is about 40 feet high, probably not half what it originally was. It was struck



General View of "Giant's Grave" near Drumcliff, looking South.

by lightning in the year 1396, and never repaired. Some of the stones for building a bridge close by were taken from the round tower. There is a local tradition that it will ultimately fall on the wisest man who passes it, the sages of our party should therefore take timely warning by standing at a proper distance. It is believed the Protestant church was erected on the site of the ancient church founded by St. Columille. The cross is 13 feet high, and 3 feet 8 inches across the arms, beautifully sculptured on all sides with Scriptural scenes and Celtic interlacing work. On the west side, at the back of the village of Drumcliffe, there is a giant's grave that should be visited.

If time permit, the fine fort of Lisnalurg, at Summerhill, two miles from Sligo, may be examined. It is in a great hollow below the level of the surrounding country, and is constructed partly of earth and stones.

The fosse is very broad and deep, and water still lies in it in winter. The fort was well hidden from view of any invading force. This concealment may have been the reason for selecting the site.

SLIGO ABBEY

was built in 1252 or 1253 by Maurice Fitzgerald the justiciary, dedicated to the Holy Cross, and presented to the Dominican Order. In the history of Sligo by Dr. O'Rorke, a very full and most interesting history of the abbey is given. It was burned down in the spring of 1414. It was restored in a style of great magnificence shortly afterwards by the Prior Bryan Mac Donogh, who was a member of the great county Sligo family of that name, and through whose influence the means were raised for the restoration. It is in the Gothic style of architecture, and the cloisters are considered very handsome. There is a fine mural monument on the south wall, near the east window, to Sir Donogh O'Connor, and his wife Lady Desmond. The cemetery extended over a considerable area, now covered by streets and houses, and was the burying-place of the chief families of Lower Connaught, as well as of the family of O'Connor Sligo.

LOUGH GILL.

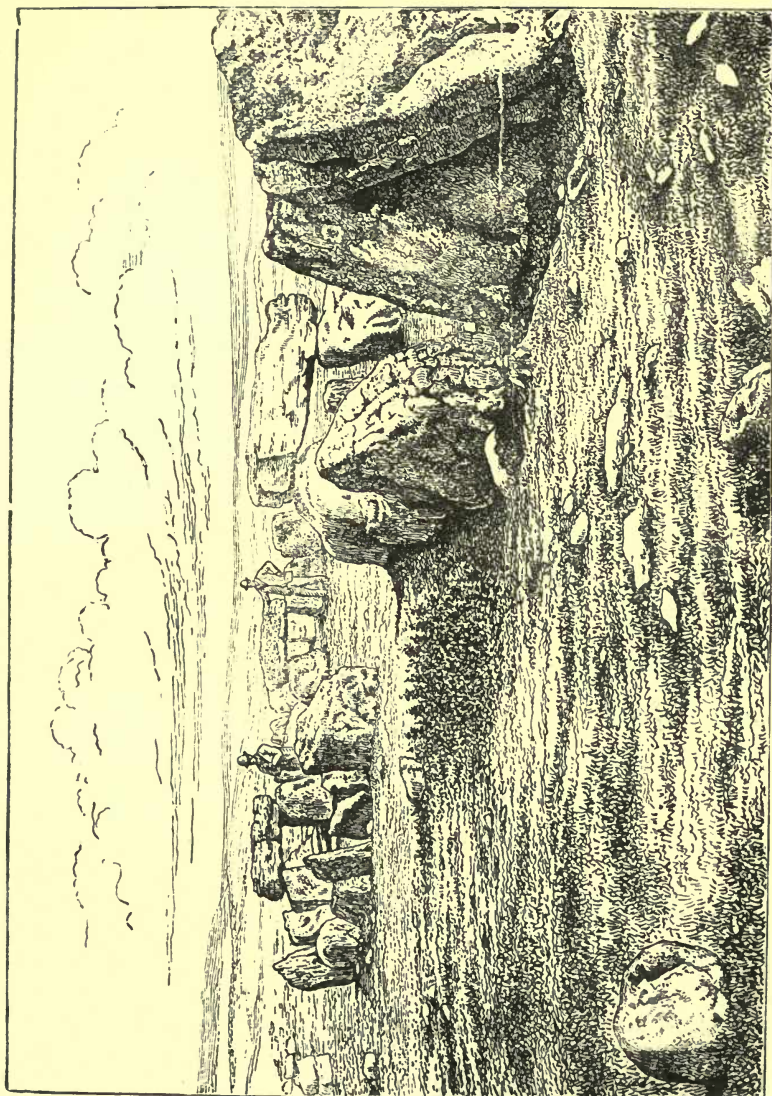
The scenery of Lough Gill is very little inferior to Killarney, but on a smaller scale; it is about five miles long, and one to two broad. The greater portion of it is in county Sligo, but a considerable portion lies in the county Leitrim. The holy well of Tober Nalt is situated in a very romantic spot, and close by it is an altar said to have been erected in the Penal times, where Mass was celebrated. A pattern is held here on the last Sunday of July, locally known as Garland Sunday.

The lake has many islands beautifully wooded; one called Church Island, was the seat of a Celtic monastery which was burned down in the year 1416, when many valuable manuscripts were destroyed.

"GIANT'S GRAVE," DEERPARK.

About four and a-half miles from Sligo, on the road leading to Manorhamilton, at Fivemileburn, townland of Magheraghanrush, is the entrance to the Deerpark, the property of Owen Wynne, Esq., Hazlewood.

On the summit of the hill within the park, about 500 feet above the sea, is a great Pagan sepulchre, over 100 feet long, and 28 feet broad at the widest part. It is formed by rude stones set on end, outlining a structure with various compartments, something like the outline of a giant figure, in a line east and west. It has three opes or trilithons, one at the western, and two at the eastern end. This monument is very fully described in Colonel Wood-Martin's work, "Rude Stone Monuments of



General View of the Deepark Monument, looking East. (From a Photograph by R. B. McNeilly.)

County Sligo" (page 130), published by the Society as an extra volume, to which the reader should refer. There is another giant's grave on a smaller scale, about three hundred paces from the one described, on the southern face of the hill. Close by the latter are the ruins of a cashel 100 feet in diameter inside measurement, averaging from 11 to 13 feet in thickness of wall. The foundation of the entrance door is still *in situ*, and within there is a souterrain or underground chamber with the roofing off. The walls around the Deerpark were largely built with stones from this cashel, which must have been an imposing residence, and in keeping with the sepulchral monument on the summit.

CARROWMORE.

This townland is situated about three English miles from Sligo, in the direction of Knocknarea. It is celebrated for the great number of stone monuments scattered over it, covering an area of about one mile in



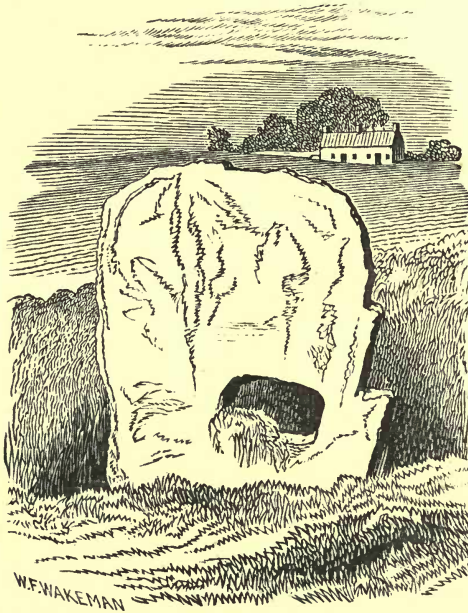
General View of No. 13 Monument, Carrowmore, looking S.W.—a Cromleac.
(Height, 6 feet.)

length by about half a mile in breadth. Within this area Colonel Wood-Martin says there are some seventy megalithic remains, consisting of stone carns with sepulchral chambers; cromleacs standing alone, and cromleacs with single, and others with two or three, circles of stones around them; circles without any sepulchre appearing in the centre; cists standing alone; caltrags, tumuli, carns, &c. It is believed that at one time there may probably have been two hundred monuments instead of the seventy that now remain, as very many have disappeared since Dr. Petrie visited it in 1837.

The monuments are now under the protection of the Board of Works, and it is hoped no further destruction of these interesting relics of prehistoric times will take place. The Well of Tobernavean, or the

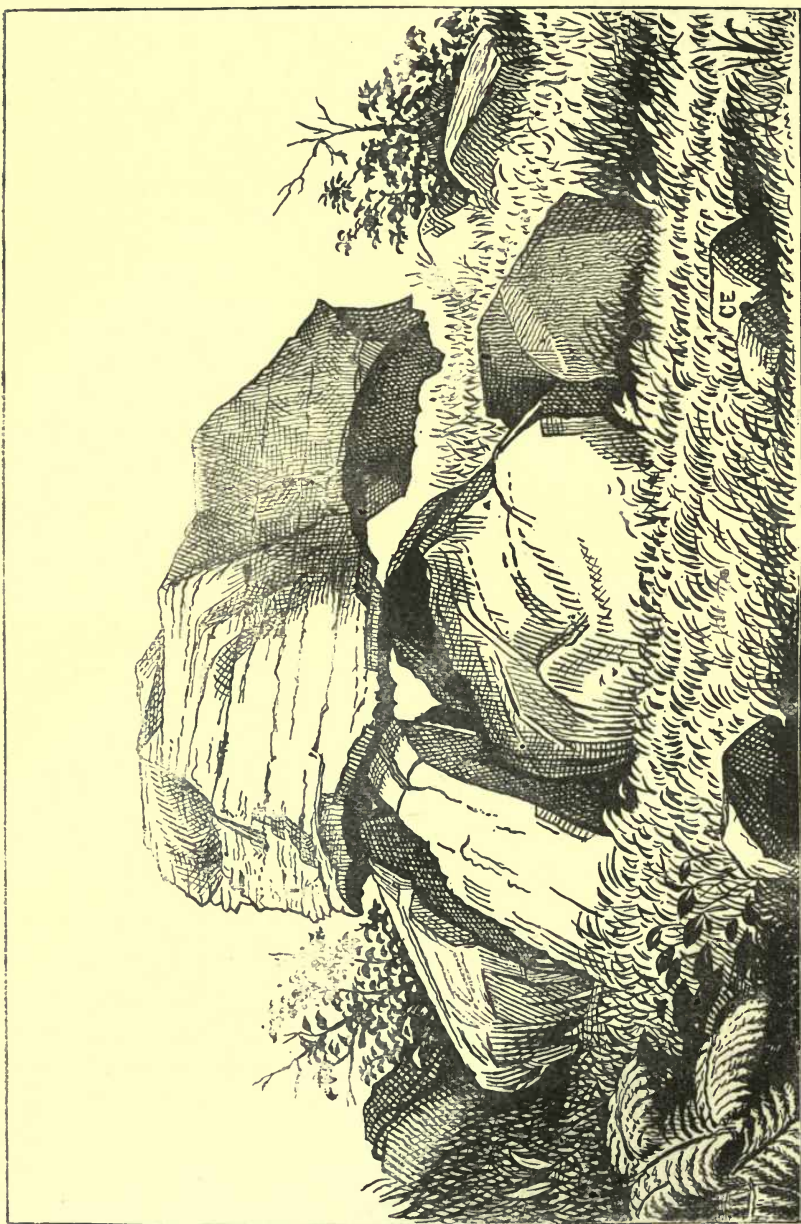
Warriors' Well, referred to in the account of the battle of North Moytura, is an interesting object ; the water springs up from the limestone soil and forms a small rivulet of extremely pure and cool water, which flows towards the sea, passing about a hundred yards from its source a very peculiar holed-stone, called *Cloch-bhreac*, or speckled-stone. It is 9 feet high and 10 feet broad above ground, with a hole 3 feet by 2 feet through which a man can creep. It marks the junction of three parishes into which this district was divided formerly.

The Hill of Knocknarea stands between Sligo Bay and that of Ballysadare, and forms a very striking view to the mariner when passing



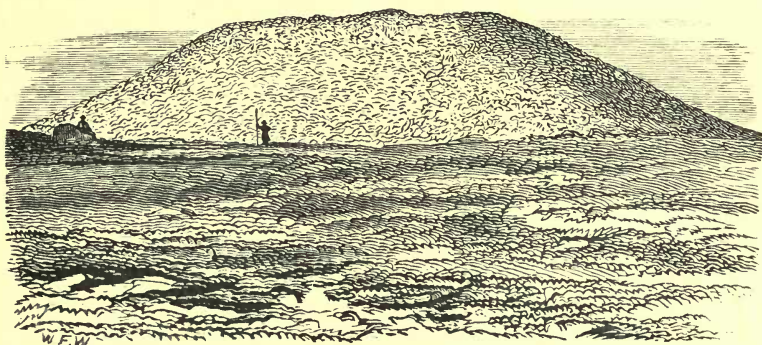
“Holed” Stone, called *Cloch-bhreac*, or *Cloch-lia*, at Tobernavean, near Sligo.

along this coast, with the Great Cairn on its summit, called Misgaun Meadhbh, pronounced Mescaun Meav. The great Queen of Connaught, Meave, so celebrated in Irish history a little before the Christian era, was buried at Rathcroghan, in county Roscommon. But it is quite possible that tradition, which has associated her name with this cairn, may be right, and that it is a cenotaph erected in her own territory on this commanding site to the great warrior queen. Around it are a number of minor sepulchral monuments well worthy being inspected by the members. The view from here is one not likely to be forgotten ; it must be seen to be understood. No word painting can convey to the mind



General View of *Leaba-na-bhyán*, or the "Kissing-stone," looking North—a Cromleac at Carrowmore. (Height, 7 feet.)

the impressions made by the magnificent panorama of ocean, mountain, lake, and river, that is presented from this hill whose base is washed by the Atlantic, and whose summit stands 1078 feet above, with Meave's Cairn piled 34 feet higher still. What a royal, what an everlasting monument. From here we see to farthest Donegal, with Slieve Liag in the foreground, all the mountain ranges from the Moy to the Erne, with the prow of Benbulbin pointing to the Atlantic like a huge iron-clad ram ready to be launched. Slieve Dacane and Sligo lie before us, and Collooney, with its beautiful church, and still more beautiful steeple, and away beyond, Ballymote and Keishcorran, pointing to the Curlews further back; the peaks of Nephin and Croagh Patrick in distant Mayo peeping up above a belt of clouds like islands in an ocean.



General View of *Misgaun Meav*, on the Summit of Knocknarea, looking West.
(From a Photograph by R. B. McNeilly.)

If we close our eyes to all these brilliant pictures, and look back through the centuries of our history to the scenes that were enacted, and the deeds that were done, within sight of Misgaun Meav, what a host of heroes, saints, and warriors will pass before us. What Witch of Endor could raise from the misty past such a host as we shall see. The De Danann and Fomorian first appear in deadly conflict. The heaps of warriors slain are buried, and piled over them is the cairn and cromleac. Next filing past the strand below us the hosts of Connaught, led by Eoghan Bel, the pagan warrior king. They are met by the fierce warriors of the north in shock of battle; the river Sligeach runs with blood, and the north-erns win the fight. A little later and a western host again crosses the Fearset right before us for Cooldruman of Drumcliffe. Here they meet the sons of Nial, brought by Columcille as allies to face the chariots and footmen of Dermot, King of Tara, who fly scattered and destroyed before the armies of the north and west. A little later a scene of a novel kind appears: the saints of Ireland meet at Ballysadare to welcome

holy Columcille from the convention of Drumceat—his last visit to his native land.

Now appears a woful sight for Erin, a fleet of fifty ships with a raven on their flag, steering for Inismurray, which they destroy, and proceed to Sligo. Confused hosts of Anglo-Normans next appear, De Courcies, De Laeys, De Burgos, and Fitzgeralds, they pass and repass, and subject the land to their sway. The O'Donnells from the north with their kerne and galloglasses pass and repass in our field of view, still later the gallant Hugh, the victor of the Curlews; Coote and his Cromwellians appear before us at Collooney, and the fire of burning castles is clearly seen from where we stand.

The noble Sarsfield and his host pass before us to the north, and return again. We view from here the north and west, the highway of the ages, and some of those who in the past travelled thereon. Those times have passed and gone, some of their memorials are left to us their descendants, which it is our duty to preserve and hand down to future ages as mementoes of our country's history, chequered though it has been. The mission of this Society is to preserve, not to destroy, and to unite in the bonds of friendship all its members to benefit in every way our common country.

NOTE.—Dr. O'Rorke, in his valuable History of county Sligo, argues with very considerable force, that the cromleacs, carns, and stone circles in Carrowmore, were erected after the battle of Sligo, fought in 537, between Owen Bel, last Pagan king of Connaught, and the Cinel Eoghan, and Cinel Conal of the north. His idea is that the carn on Knocknarea was erected by the Connaught Army over their dead chief, who was buried standing with his javelin in his hand, and his face to the north. It is related that the northerns came and took his body away and buried him with his face down at Aenach Locha Gille, or the Aenach of L. Gill on the north side of the Sligo river.

The writer has long thought that the giant's grave in the Deerpark would answer this description, overlooking as it does the upper portion of that lake, and may have been the burying-place referred to.

DESCRIPTIVE SKETCH¹ OF PLACES VISITED DURING
EXCURSION TO KING'S COUNTY ON 3RD AUGUST.

TULLAMORE.

THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES selected Tullamore and its neighbourhood as the scene of its August Excursion. That town is unlike the majority of Irish towns in this fact that it possesses no ancient history—there is not a notice of Tullamore on the Down Survey Maps, A.D. 1655—and yet it is surrounded by a regular ring of spots hallowed by the most venerable memories. Let us gather them into a connected list. Round about Tullamore there lie Croghan Hill and Philipstown, the ancient Dengen, as it was called, or island fortress of the O'Connors of Offaly, on the north-east; Rahue or Rathhugh, on the north, the seat of St. Aedh, or St. Hugh, one of the most venerated contemporaries of St. Columba, and of St. Molaise, of Devenish, in Lough Erne. Then, towards the west, partly in Westmeath and partly in King's County, we have the celebrated Durrow, the special foundation of St. Columba, which must be carefully distinguished from another Durrow in the Queen's County. A few miles S.W. appears Rahan, the monastery of St. Carthach, *alias* St. Mochuda, afterwards Bishop of Lismore, another saint and teacher of the sixth century. Towards the south, we have Lynally, the famous monastery of St. Colman; and then towards the S.E., Killeigh (pronounced Killy), the foundation of St. Sencheall, who died of a pestilence of jaundice in 548. A circle drawn round Tullamore, with a radius of ten miles, would include all these places of ancient fame and record. As for Tullamore itself, it necessarily contains no really ancient monuments, as the town owes its existence to the family of Moore of Croghan Castle, to whom the site was granted by Queen Elizabeth. Sir John Moore, of Croghan Castle, which stood at the foot of Croghan Hill, was son-in-law to Primate Adam Loftus, and in 1599 got a grant of lands previously belonging to the Molloyes, chiefs of Ballycowan. The great-grandson of Sir John Moore was created Lord Tullamore in 1715, being one of the first peers made by George I. when he ascended the throne. Among the original grants made to Sir John Moore, as recorded in Archdall's "Lodge,"

¹ By the Rev. Canon Stokes, D.D., *Member of Council.*

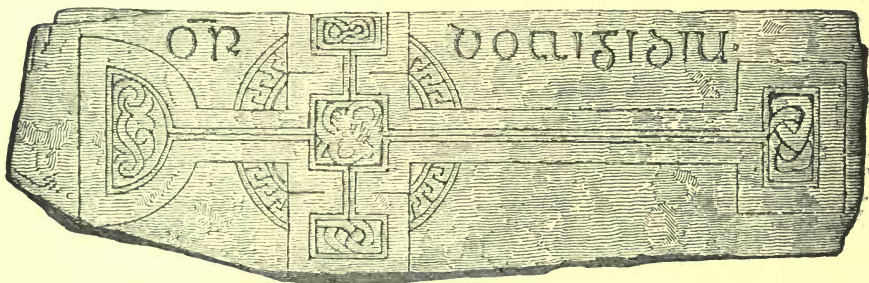
was that of the town, castle, and lands of Tullamore, or Towllaghmore, as it was then called, or the Great Hill; hence the name of the town. The Moore family, about 1710, fixed their seat at Redwood, which belonged, till 1690, to a Mr. John Forth and a Mr. Edward Crofton, and that continued to be the name of the demesne, now called Charleville, till Lodge's time, about 1750. Soon after that time the family of Moore expired in the male line, and the property passed in the female line to the Bury family of the county Limerick. The name of Redwood was then changed to Charleville. A new residence made under that name was built early in the present century by the well-known Mr. Johnston, who was also the architect of the Church of St. Catherine, in Tullamore, and the family was again ennobled under the same title. The present town of Tullamore dates from a great fire which happened about 1785, and arose out of the starting of an immense balloon which fell upon the thatched cabins of which the town was then wholly composed, and completely destroyed them, showing how it was that the ancient Celtic monasteries, which were composed of the same materials, were so often and so easily burned. Under the auspices of the Charleville family, Tullamore soon arose like a phoenix out of its ashes, and by the year 1802, when Coote's Survey of the King's County was published, had made great strides in trade. The completely modern character of Tullamore is shown from this fact, that in Lodge's "Peerage," edited by Archdall, and published in 1754, the seat of the Tullamore family is described as Redwood, five miles from Philipstown, and thirty-seven from Dublin, while Tullamore is not mentioned at all, though at the same time it is evident that a village, at least, must have existed on the site of the present Tullamore as early as the reign of James I., since Sir John Moore, of Croghan, then got a patent for holding a fair at Tullamore. The parish of Tullamore is called Kilbride. It was originally dependent, in ecclesiastical matters, upon Durrow Abbey, the monks of which appear to have served the chapel of Kilbride, the remains of which still exist about two miles from the town by the side of the canal. The site of Tullamore is interesting, because it marks the point where the ancient kingdoms of Meath and Leinster touched one another. The boundary line ran between Tullamore and Philipstown. The former was in Meath kingdom, the latter in the kingdom of Leinster. The boundaries of Ballycowan barony on the east mark the limits of Meath and Leinster, as they still mark the boundaries of Meath and Kildare dioceses. It is interesting, indeed, to remark that the boundaries of Meath kingdom are still accurately retained in those of the present diocese of Meath. The district anciently called Fercall embraces all the places visited. It was part of the great central forest of Ireland, was subject to the family of Molloy, or O'Molloy, of Ballycowan, as chieftains, and marked the southern limits of the Meath kingdom. Let us now proceed to describe the points visited.

I.—DURROW.

Durrow, St. Columba's famous and favourite Irish monastery, is about four miles from Tullamore. Before the times of St. Columba, the site was called Ros Grencha, and Drum-Cain, or Dorsum Amœnum, Pleasant ridge, as St. Columba himself tells us: *cp.* Reeves, "Adamnan," pp. 269, 271, 275. St. Columba with his keen love of natural beauty called it Dair-Magh, *i.e.* Plain of the Oaks, or Campus Roboris, as Adamnan and Bede latinise the name. Durrow, Derry, and Kildare, are three famous churches, which still retain the Celtic name for the oak in their present English forms. St. Columba received the site as a gift from the local prince of Tefia, Hugh, or Aedh, son of Brendan, after his conversion to Christianity ("Annals of Clonmacnoise," p. 95, Dublin, 1896). Here St. Columba founded his famous monastery about A.D. 553. It was, doubtless, originally built of the oaks which grew so abundantly on the spot. Both Dr. Reeves, in his "Adamnan," pp. 215-217, and Petrie, in his "Round Towers," think that the words of Adamnan, in his "Life of Columba," iii. 15, imply that a round tower was also built in Durrow during St. Columba's lifetime. But if this was the case, no trace of it now exists. The fate of Durrow was, as Dr. Reeves and the "Annals of Clonmacnoise" show, much the same as the other Celtic monasteries. The Durrow monks were of a warlike turn, and as the result, it was often attacked and burned even by the neighbouring tribes, but was as often restored. At the same time if the monks of Durrow could fight, they could also study; and their learning is abundantly shown in the celebrated Epistle of Cummián, an alumnus of Durrow, to the abbot Segienus of Iona, vindicating the Roman calculation as to Easter in opposition to the Columban view. This Epistle filling 12 pp. of Ussher's "Sylloge Epistolarum Hibernicarum," is an extraordinary monument of the wide research which prevailed at Durrow about A.D. 630 (see Ussher's works, iv. pp. 432-444). We first hear of a stone church at Durrow in the year 1019, when it was taken by assault by a neighbouring chieftain. At the time of the Norman invasion, Hugh de Lacy seized Durrow, and proceeded to erect a castle there. About that period the Celtic monks were changed by the Anglo-Normans into Augustinian monks, just as happened at Christ Church, Dublin, and elsewhere.

The last Abbot of Durrow of whom the Four Masters speak was Dermot O'Rafferty, who died in 1190. In 1223, the ruler of Durrow was called the Prior (see "Annals of Clonmacnoise," p. 233), and was endowed with a rentcharge by a local Anglo-Norman magnate, Symon Clifford, who built a castle at Rahan. The conduct of Hugh de Lacy in interfering with ancient burial rights in Durrow Abbey, aroused such resentment among the Celtic population that he was murdered on the spot by two members of well-known septs—a Fox and an O'Breen, July 25th, 1186 ("Ireland and Anglo-Norman Church," pp. 168, 169). The castle which De Lacy erected was probably of earth and timber, and stood on the spot now occupied by a large moat or mound near

the present residence. A stone castle was erected near the same spot in 1213 by the English under John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, at the same time as he erected the castles of Clonmacnoise, Athlone, and Randown (*cf.* "Annals of Clonmacnoise," by Father Murphy, p. 227, and "Ireland and Anglo-Norman Church," pp. 242-247). The monastery seems to have been much neglected during the years A.D. 1200-1500, as the "Annals of Clonmacnoise" (p. 96) tell us that the celebrated "Book of Durrow" was then entrusted, about A.D. 1400, to an ignorant man who used it as a charm for curing sick cows, pouring water upon it which he administered to the animals. Under Henry VIII. the abbey was suppressed, and in 1560 handed over to Nicholas Herbert who was endowed with the lands and tithes, though the "Annals of Lough Cé" speak of it as existing till 1582, when they tell of a homicide committed by one of the O'Connors within its sacred walls. The castle, built by the Bishop of Norwich, continued to be inhabited, as we find the Earl of Ormond writing from it in 1599. This castle seems to have fallen into ruin during the seventeenth century.



About 1770, Mr. Stepney, to whom the property had descended from the Herberts, erected, with the stones of the old castle, the present mansion-house, which Lord Norbury, the ancestor of the present proprietor, further enlarged and improved early in this century. There is a curious story illustrating the continuity of Irish life. De Lacy was murdered because he disregarded Celtic ideas and customs. In 1770, Mr. Stepney interfered in the same way with the burial rights in St. Columba's cemetery, and was obliged to desist. In 1836, Lord Norbury wished to impose some restrictions on ancient burial customs in the cemetery, and on free access to the well of St. Columba. The Lord Norbury of that date was murdered in January, 1839. Ancient customs and Celtic memories are dangerous grounds in Ireland (*cf.* O'Connor's "Letter on Durrow," in Westmeath Ordnance Survey Letters in Royal Irish Academy). And now as to what is to be seen of the ancient Abbey:—

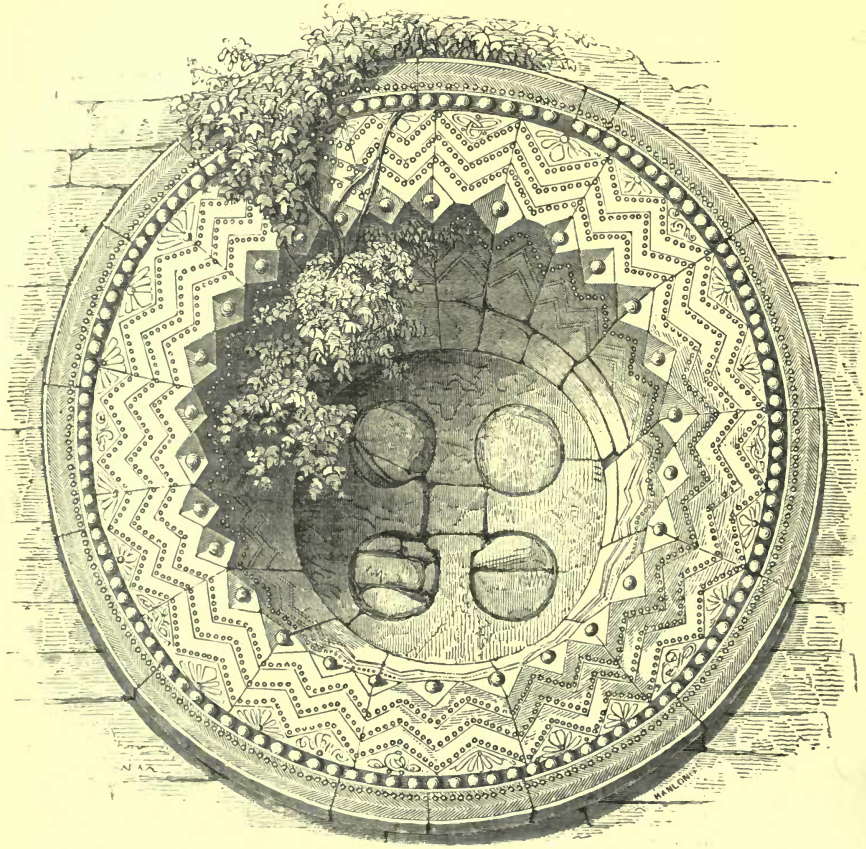
1. There is the church which is doubtless the same substantially as the ancient building. A stone church was erected about A.D. 1000, as we have seen. This was doubtless improved after

1172 A.D. At the suppression, A.D. 1540, it was turned into a parish church. According to an inquisition in the Record Office, dated 28th December, 1568, the site of Durrowe Columbcille contained half an acre on which were the unroofed stone walls of the church of the late monastery, one hall, and other edifices. According to Archbishop Ussher's report in 1621, the church and chancel were still in ruins, like most of the Meath churches. It was doubtless restored in Strafford's time, before 1641. Bishop Dopping, in his report of 1693, tells us the church and chancel had been lately in repair, but were then no longer so. It was, however, patched up for use during the last century, and again about the year 1802, the walls of the old ruinous church being again utilised. (O'Connor, "On Durrow parish in Ordnance Survey Letters for Westmeath," A.D. 1837.)

2. There is the cross which, according to O'Donovan, is like those of Kells and of Moone, together with a stone which seems the base of another similar one. The existing cross is 8 or 9 feet high, and is richly carved. Miss Stokes describes it, and two inscriptions found at Durrow, in her "Christian Inscriptions," p. 56. The outer arch stones of an ancient window, built into the wall, is the only other architectural relic of ancient Durrow now existing.
3. The Monastic Well called the Well of St. Columba.
4. The Book of Durrow in Trinity College Library, which Dr. Reeves thinks an eighth-century ms. It contains an inscription stating that it was written by Columba in twelve days. Its silver cover, now lost, but in existence in the seventeenth century, had an inscription in Irish signifying that it was made in the year 916. (Reeves' "Adamnan," page 327; Ussher, in his "Antiquities of the British Churches," tells us he collated this ms. with the Vulgate: *cf.* "Annals of Clonmacnoise," pp. 95, 96.) According to a note, written by O'Clery in the fly-leaf of the ms. of the "Martyrology of Donegal," the Book of Durrow was still retained in Durrow itself till about the year 1630 (*cf.* "Introd. to Mart. Don.," by Todd and Reeves, p. xl.). Anyone who wishes easily to inspect this ancient ms. should consult Dr. Gilbert's "Facsimiles," or Dr. Abbott's "Examples of Celtic Ornament" (Dublin: Hodges & Figgis). Jones, Bishop of Meath in 1661, presented the Book of Durrow to T. C. D.
5. Of the monastery itself no buildings survive. The early Celtic monasteries and their cells were all composed of small huts made of earth and wattles. They easily yielded to decay, and left nothing behind but mounds to show where hundreds and even thousands once dwelt, as can be seen at Clonmacnoise, Inch-Cleraun, and elsewhere.

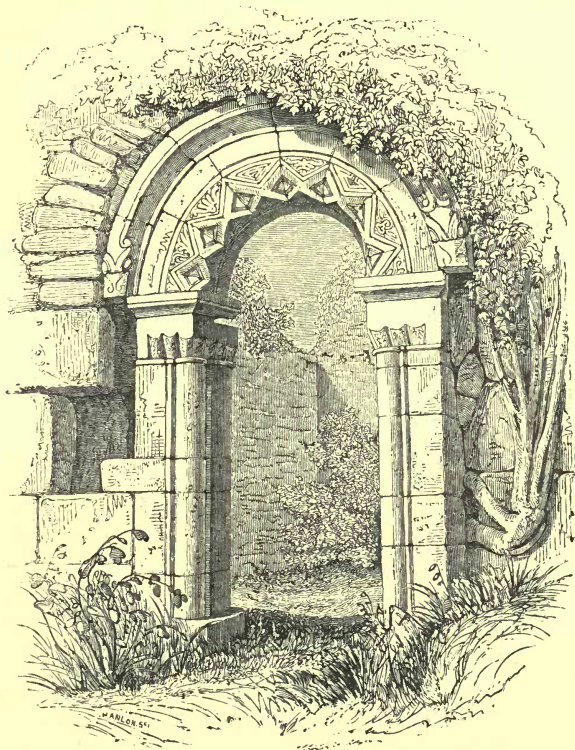
II.—RAHAN.

After Durrow the next point at which we arrive is Rahan, which, if not equal to Durrow in historical importance, surpasses it in the extent and beauty of its architectural remains. A few words must suffice for the history of Rahan, Rathain, Rathenge, or Rahin, as it is variously written. It is derived from the old Irish word *raith* = fern; and signifies a ferny spot (see Joyce, ii. 330). Rahan is first mentioned in Tirechan's notes about



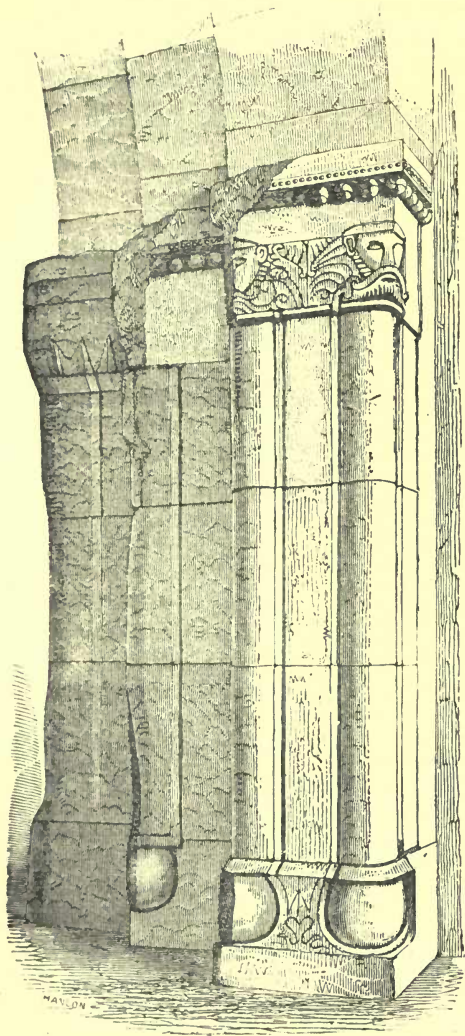
St. Patrick in the "Book of Armagh," where St. Patrick is said to have indicated the site of Rahan Church from the top of the moat of Granard, in Longford, though how the Saint could have seen so far, and through so many hills as intervene, I cannot explain. It is evident, however, that by the time when Tirechan wrote, between 650 and 700 A.D., Rahan was a flourishing monastic settlement (see Dr. Wh. Stokes' "Life of

St. Patrick," p. 311). The monastery of Rahan was founded about the same time as that of Durrow. It was founded by St. Carthach or St. Mochuda about the year 580. A king of Cornwall, named Constantine, abandoned his throne in 588, and became a monk there, whence it would seem the name Constantine became a favourite one with the family of Molloy, who were princes of Fercall, the district immediately around Rahan. Under St. Carthach, Rahan marvellously prospered, so that 867 monks were said to have been gathered under his rule at one time, and his followers formed one of the four great orders



into which the Irish monasteries were divided, viz.: 1, the order of Columba; 2, of Comgall; 3, of Carthach; 4, of Ailbeus of Emly: *cf.* Ussher's "Antiquities" Works, vol. vi., p. 483. The monastery of Durrow, however, became jealous of the success of Rahan, and so in 636 roused King Blaethmac to expel Carthach, who took refuge at Lismore, where he founded the see, but died the next year. We then hear nothing of Rahan for 100 years, when O'Swayne appears as Coarb of St. Carthach in 740. Petrie assigns the present church of Rahan to his time, though Lord

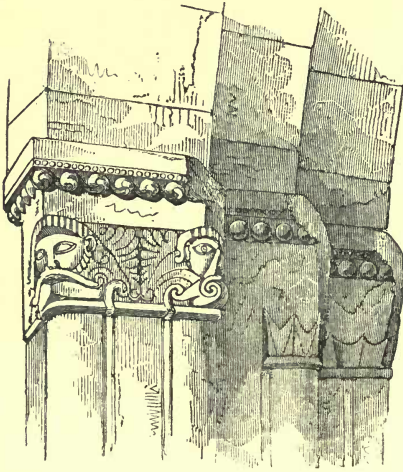
Dunraven and Miss Stokes will have it that it is a Romanesque Church of the eleventh or twelfth century. At the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion, it is probable that the Augustinian rule was introduced, as a castle of Rahan was there built by Simon Clifford, and an endowment



conferred upon the prior of the convent of Durrow; and Norman settlers never troubled Celtic institutions or orders with any endowments. O'Donovan thinks that some old vaults which he traced near the church were a portion of this castle. Rahan practically disappears from our view between 1200 and 1600. In Ussher's "Visitation Return of 1622," it is spoken of as a chapelry attached to Ardnurcher, with a ruined chapel. In Bishop Dopping's "Meath Return," the church of Rahan is described as well repaired before 1641. In his visitation of August, 1696, he found the roof covered with shingles, which he ordered to be removed to Lynally Church, where the same shingles continued till Bishop O'Beirne's time, 1820, when we find them mentioned by him in a Parliamentary return; they were doubtless a relic of the great central forest of Ireland which covered this district till later than 1600.

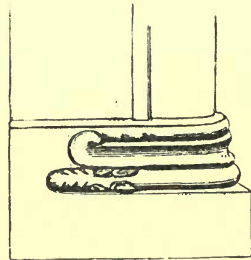
And now what is to be seen at Rahan? There are no remains of the ancient Celtic monastic buildings. As we have said of Durrow, so at Rahan, the cells of the monks were composed, like those of the Egyptian solitaries, of the most perishable materials. O'Donovan and Petrie

thought, however, that there were probably seven churches, the remains of three of which can still be seen. One church is still perfect. Petrie, in his "Round Towers," pp. 242-46, thus describes the present building:—"The chancel alone is ancient, and has suffered the loss of the east window. The chancel arch remains, and an ornamented circular window which



lighted a chamber between the chancel and the roof," where the priest resided, as at St. Columba's house at Kells; at St. Kevin's kitchen; at the stone roofed chapel of Ardrass, in Kildare, and elsewhere. The chancel is stone-roofed, as probably the entire church was originally. The ornamentation of the chancel arch is very peculiar. It "consists of three rectangular piers at each side, rounded at their angles into semicolumns which support three semicircular arches entirely unornamented, except by a

plain architrave on the external one. The capitals on which the greatest richness of ornament is found are those on the innermost of the piers on each side. These ornaments though similar in design are dissimilar in detail, and their bases differ in like manner. The height of piers in this archway, from the floor to the spring of the arches, is 6 feet 5 inches, and to the vertex of the innermost arch, 10 feet 2 inches." As to the round window (p. 316), it is "not only the most curious of its kind in the British Isles, but also the most ancient. Its ornaments are in very low relief, or, as I might say, *inciso* or in hollow. It measures about 7 feet 6 inches external diameter, and is 22 feet from the ground. The masonry throughout the whole building is of a very superior character, the stones, which are polygonal, being fitted to each other with the greatest neatness. The material used is the celebrated limestone of the district." Petrie also describes the ruins of two smaller churches, at Rahan. One is a plain oblong 39 feet by 23, with polygonal masonry of the earliest Christian type. It has a very beautiful doorway 6 feet 7 inches high to the vertex of the arch, and 2 feet 6 inches broad, remarkable for the sharpness and beauty of its ornamentation. Lord Dunraven and Miss Stokes, ii. 65,



give further details, and plates of the Rahan Churches and doorways. They give the dimensions of the used chancel as 14 feet 8 inches long by 10 feet 6 inches broad. They state that on each side of this chancel there is a round arched doorway, of good ashlar masonry. These doors are about 5 feet high and 2 feet broad. It is said that these doors led into cells, which are now destroyed.

III.—LYNALLY.

The next point of interest is Lynally and Ballycowan Castle. Let us take Lynally first. The name is variously spelled, Lynally, Lin-ally, Land-Elo, Lan-Ela (Ussher), Lann-Eala (Reeves, "Antiquities," p. 97). Lynally is now fallen into complete insignificance, and yet, in the ancient Celtic Church, it held a position fully equal to that of Durrow and Rahan, so much so, that the bishops and abbots of Connor, in Antrim, were also styled of Lynally as well, the foundation of both communities being attributed to one and the same person. This fact has caused much trouble to many antiquaries, they not understanding, as Dr. Reeves remarks, that "in ancient times it was no uncommon occurrence for two or more communities, though far removed from one another, to be subject to a common superior, provided they observed the same rule, or owned a common founder" ("Antiquities of Down and Connor," p. 98). St. Colman, a kinsman of St. Columba, was the founder of Lynally. He had spent some time at Connor, and was therefore regarded as its second founder. His name was a very common one, as it was convertible with Columbanus, with the result that Ussher celebrates no less than twenty-seven different Colmans, while O'Clery gives more than one hundred saints of that name. Our Colman, of Lynally, was a contemporary and friend of St. Columba and St. Canice, through whose influence with the king of Meath, a site was given to St. Colman about 580, in the great forest of Fercall, then called Fidh-Elo, whence Colman called the monastery which he erected Land-Elo, distant, according to Ussher, four miles from Durrow, and there St. Colman died on September 26th, 610 (Ussher, "Antiquities" Works, vol. vi., p. 530). His fame was so great in mediæval times that St. Patrick and St. Brigid are said to have prophesied of his birth and work when passing the site of Lynally (Bolland, "AA. SS. Sep.," vol. i., p. 664, and *cf.* Reeves' "Antiquities," p. 240), St. Colman was one of the second Order of Irish Saints who were much influenced by St. David of Wales, which may account for the Welsh prefix Lann in some forms of the name Lynally (Ussher, vi. 478). St. Colman erected a monastery of the usual Celtic type, which continued for some centuries. In 737 A.D., the "Annals of Clonmacnoise" tell us that Saint Brayn of Lynally died, and afterwards reports the death of other abbots in 771, 865, and 949. Lynally then sinks into insignificance till the sixteenth century, when it appears as a parish church or vicarage, forming a portion of the immense parish of Fercall. According to

Ussher's report, the church was in ruins in 1622; Dopping, in his report on Meath, made in 1693, says that Lynally Church was in good repair before 1688, but was then no longer so (*cf.* Dopping's "Report on Meath Diocese," pp. 88 and 154). In 1696, he ordered the shingled roof of Rahan to be removed to Lynally. The old ruin to which Bishop Dopping refers contains several monuments and tombstones of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, erected to the families of Molloy, Forth, Briscoe, and Crofton. There is also a monument dated 1684, erected by the Rev. Thomas Coffey, Vicar at that time. The Forths and Croftons then held Redwood, now part of Charleville. A little south of the ruins, there is a moat containing chambers of lime and stone. The new church of Lynally has been built on the site of a later church, erected in the early part of this century or the end of the last.

The ruins of Ballycowan Castle are worth a visit. They are a short distance from the old ruined church. They show the transition from a fortified castle to a modern mansion. They are dated 1626. Sir Jasper Herbert built the castle on the site of a Molloy Castle, which the Four Masters mention under A.D. 1557. He was a brother or cousin of the owner of Durrow, and a near descendant of Queen Elizabeth's settler. Yet he joined in the movement of 1641, and was included in the list of the confiscated owners. Sir Jasper Herbert, who had become a Roman Catholic, probably through his marriage, appears as such on the maps of the Down Survey of the barony of Ballycowan. In the same survey, Mr. John Briscoe appears as the owner of Shragh Castle, the ruins of which still exist.

IV.—KILLEIGH.

The next point of interest is Killeigh, which is some miles distant, and in ancient times was in a different kingdom (Leinster), as it is now in a different diocese (Kildare), forming, as it does, part of the extensive parish of Geashill. Killeigh, like all the other places in this excursion, was founded by a sixth-century saint, St. Sincheall, who died March 26th, 550, in a great pestilence which then ravaged Ireland. He is one of the few Celtic saints who appear in the Sarum Martyrology. There seem to have been two of the same name, and both attached to Killeigh, one, the elder, a bishop; the other, the younger, a presbyter. They are mentioned in the Litany of Aengus, the Culdee, as living at Killeigh, with many other bishops, monks, and pilgrims subject to their rule (*cf.* Ward's "Life of St. Rumold," p. 205). The name of the place is worth notice. Dr. Joyce (vol. i., p. 315) tells us its origin: "Its name, as used by the Irish authorities, is *Cill-achaidh* (Killahy), *i.e.* the church of the field, which has been softened down to the present form. There was, according to Colgan, another place of the same name in east Brefney; and to distinguish them, Killeigh, in the King's County, is

usually called by the Annalists, *Cill-Achaidh-Droma-Fada*, that is, Killeigh of Drumfada, from a long ridge or hill which rises immediately above the village. From this long ridge, which rises S.W. of the village, the whole of Offaly, from the hill of Croghan to the hill of Allen, near Kildare, and to the Slieve Bloom Mountains, appears all one vast plain. This plain was, in the second century, the scene of the great battle of Moyleana, A.D. 125, between Conn of the Hundred Battles, and Owen More, king of Munster, aided by his brother-in-law, Fergus, king of Spain. Owen and Fergus were slain, and according to the "Annals of Clonmacnoise," p. 59, are buried in two hillocks on this plain (*cf.* O'Curry's, "Battle of Magh Leana" and Keating's "History of Ireland," pp. 308-312, O'Mahony's edition). A glance will show that it was an ideal battle-field. Reverence for St. Sincheall did not prevent another great battle at Killeigh. We learn from the "Annals of Clonmacnoise," that, in 1078, "the people of Teffia came to the termon land of Killeigh, in Offaly, and preyed and spoiled it, and killed Gillemore O'Keyrgie, King of Carbre, with many others." About a century after St. Sincheall's time a great conference on the disputed Paschal question was held at this place. There are no remains of the ancient Celtic abbey, except the nine wells of Killeigh. In 1393, O'Connor Faly erected a monastery of Franciscans at Killeigh. Hence the remains which are now to be seen.

Lord Walter Fitzgerald gives the following description of the ruins of this Franciscan abbey in the "Journal of the Association for Preserving the Memorials of the Dead" for 1895:—"Some portions of the abbey are still standing, a part of it being incorporated in the dwelling-house of Mr. Tarleton, and some vaulted portions used as turf-sheds. Any carved work in connexion with the old abbey is carefully preserved by Mrs. Tarleton." Lord Walter then describes the monuments of O'Connor Faly, with a Latin inscription, of Charles O'Dunne (the modern Doyne) of Ballybrittas, who was wounded at the battle of the Boyne, and died and was buried at Killeigh shortly afterwards; and of Maximilian O'Dempsey, the last Viscount Clanmalier (title created 1631) who was Lord Lieutenant of the Queen's County in 1688, and died at Killeigh, November, 1690. He was the last of a long line of chieftains, who can be traced back in the "Annals of Clonmacnoise" to 1134. Archdall, in his "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 806, gives two Inquisitions about Killeigh, one taken in 1568, and the other in 1582, which give a vast number of details about Killeigh, its lands, buildings, boundaries, field-names, &c., which our local members may be able to utilise. The last Franciscan guardian of Killeigh, in the reign of Henry VIII., was named Phelim O'Connor, one of the O'Connors of Offaly. Even in the Franciscan monasteries the rules of ancient Celtic monastic accession seem to have been maintained, which ordered that, as far as possible, the rulers should be chosen from the family of the founders.

I have now given minute details about the leading points of our

Excursion. But there is a number of other interesting places which visitors can explore if they will prolong their visit for a day or two. Let me just mention them. Rahue, some few miles north of Tullamore, is a spot whose history goes back to the same sixth century as those we have already described. St. Aedh, or St. Hugh, was its founder. He was an active missionary, in the sixth century, throughout Meath when the majority of its population was still pagan. He was a native of Westmeath, having been born at Rahue, and seems to have been the patron saint of the Mac Geoghegan country and its great evangelizer. About 1630 his sacred staff is said to have been in the possession of one Peter Mac Geoghegan ("Mart. Doneg.", Introd., p. xli). Colgan tells a good deal about his activity in the islands of Lough Ree, and in the western portion of Westmeath, in the neighbourhood of Ballimore, Killare, and Drumraney, in his "Acta Sanctorum," vol. i., p. 421, whence we learn that his memory was celebrated on February 28th. The "Martyrology of Donegal," however, celebrates him on November 10th, and also connects him with Slieve League in Donegal, where, on the very highest point, there are the remains of his oratory still to be seen. There was a Convention of Ireland called at Rathhugh, in 857, to take measures to secure concord among Irishmen, as against the Danes (Keating, page 513). There are still two immense raths evidently marking the site of St. Hugh's monastery. A parish church took its place in the Middle Ages. We find, from the Fiant of Edward VI. that, in 1550, Rory O'Brien, clerk, was presented to the vicarage of St. Hugh of Rahue. Colgan tells us, in the seventeenth century, Rahue was still a parish church, though, according to Ussher, in 1621, it was but a chapelry attached to Ardnurcher; and in Dopping's Report of 1693, we are told the Chapel of Rahue was waste and in ruins since 1641 (*cf.* "Martyrology of Donegal," ed. Todd, Introd., p. xl). Kilbeggan was another ancient monastery with many traditions. Ballyboy, *alias* Frankford, *alias* Kilcormack, ten miles from Tullamore, towards Parsonstown, was the site of a Carmelite monastery, founded in 1454, by the Molloyes. This place has supplied Trinity College Library with the ms. called the Missal of Kilcormack, which shows that the tradition derived from Durrow and St. Columba, of producing elaborate mss., had not died out in the neighbourhood after 900 years had elapsed. This missal has a number of entries on its earlier pages which give a vivid glimpse into the social life of the district in the middle of the fifteenth century. These entries have been reproduced and discussed in one of the publications of the Irish Archaeological Society. They show that reverence for life, property, and sacred places had then vanished in this district.

Then again a journey of half an hour or so by train will bring a visitor to Banagher, or Athlone, whence Clonfert and Clonmacnoise, with their marvellous remains, may be reached by car or river in

a short time. The west doorway of Clonfert is one of the most marvellous, and at the same time least known pieces of ancient work in Ireland; while the crosses, Round Towers, and churches of Clonmacnoise need no description here. Clonfert and Clonmacnoise can be easily done on the one day, and still Dublin can be reached by ten o'clock at night. If three days be devoted to this excursion, the antiquities of this part of the diocese of Meath can be thoroughly explored, and at the same time some of the unknown and unvisited scenery of the Slieve Bloom Mountains can be traversed, including the Gap of Glandine, over which rises, on the south, the mountain called Arderin, 1733 feet high, the loftiest of the Slieve Bloom range. Lewis and Coote speak of a white obelisk, or Temple of the Sun, in these mountains as a curious monument of antiquity. I do not know where it is. Leap Castle was an ancient O'Carroll residence, which stood many a fierce attack in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from the Earls of Kildare. It has been now converted into the mansion of the Darby family, to whom much of the O'Carroll property was granted. Some of the ancient castellated features of the house are still carefully preserved.

The reader who wishes to collect all the ancient legends and stories concerning the ancient worthies mentioned in this Paper should consult Canon O'Hanlon's learned and interesting volumes, according to the days of the month on which they are commemorated.

EXCURSION TO KING'S COUNTY.

MONDAY, *3rd August*, 1896.

THE Society's Excursion to the places above described, was carried out on the first Monday in August. Seventy-five Fellows, Members, and Associates left Kingsbridge, Dublin, at 9.15 a.m., for Tullamore. Arriving there soon after 11 a.m., they were met by the Rev. Sterling de Courcy Williams, M.A., and other friends. Cars were waiting, and conveyed all to Durrow. The very interesting cross, church, and site of Abbey having been examined, lunch was served in Durrow Abbey, kindly lent for the purpose by H. G. Toler, Esq., D.L. The party then proceeded by Temple Kieran (where an old cross and ruins were seen) to Rahan. After seeing the churches, they were entertained at afternoon tea by Mr. and Mrs. Sherlock, of Rahan Lodge. Going on to Killeigh, the Members were again hospitably entertained by J. W. Tarleton, Esq., of Killeigh Abbey. Time did not permit a visit to Lynally.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the Rev. Mr. Williams and Miss Williams, for the trouble taken by them in connexion with the Excursion and luncheon; to Mr. Toler for kindly allowing the use of his residence; also to Mr. and Mrs. Sherlock, and Mr. and Mrs. Tarleton, for their kind hospitality.

Train was taken at Geashill, at 8 p.m., for Dublin.

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
OF IRELAND,
FOR THE YEAR 1896.

PAPERS AND PROCEEDINGS—PART IV. FOURTH QUARTER, 1896.

Papers.

ST. HUGH OF RAHUE: HIS CHURCH, HIS LIFE, AND
HIS TIMES.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR STOKES, D.D., M.R.I.A.

THE great advantages connected with our one-day Excursions throughout the country were admirably illustrated for me by the examination last summer (August, 1896) of the ancient parish church of Rahue, belonging to the saint whose life and times I propose now to describe. St. Hugh, or St. Aedh, was one of the really primitive saints of Ireland, a friend and associate of St. Columba, and the apostle of Westmeath, the central county of Ireland. Westmeath is, from an archæological and historical point of view, one of the most interesting districts of Ireland. East Meath has, indeed, more striking monuments in Tara, New Grange, and Telltown, but Westmeath surpasses it in the number of its archæological remains. There is scarcely a field in parts of Westmeath where a rath of some sort is not found; while Sir Henry Piers' "History of Westmeath," written 200 years ago, Dean Swift's poems on his Westmeath visits, Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum," and the Ordnance Survey Letters, four very different kinds of authorities, will show what a fruitful field for the investigator Westmeath offers. I shall take the subject in the following order, merely prefacing that the subject has been already touched upon by Dr. Reeves, our own

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Dr. Joyce, and by the Very Rev. A. Cogan, in his account of the Diocese of Meath.¹ I shall inquire who St. Hugh of Rahue was, and then treat of the church and parish which bear his name; and I think we shall find, in both, interesting matter, illustrating how fruitful local study might be made by our Members resident in country districts.

Where, then, some one may ask, is Rahue? It is, I answer, a district in the county Westmeath, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Tullamore, on the Tyrrell's Pass road.² It is the very next parish to Durrow, and as such necessarily came much in contact with St. Columba's celebrated religious community. Its present name is Rahue, which is simply a contraction of Rath-Hugh, which Ussher, in his "Account of Meath Diocese," makes Rathewe.³ The name bears its origin plain upon its face, and throws us back upon the ancient worthy whose personality still dominates the minds and memories of the people who live there, just as much as that of St. Columba dominates Durrow and Kells, Derry and Iona. Who, then, was St. Hugh, whose name is still embodied in the designation of this Central Ireland parish? ⁴ He was one of the genuine sixth-

¹ Cf. Joyce's "Irish Names," ii. 86-88; Very Rev. A. Cogan's "Diocese of Meath," ii. 522; and Dr. Reeves, on the "Hymnus Sancti Aidi," in *Proceedings*, Royal Irish Academy, vii. 91.

² It closely adjoins the district of the King's County, anciently called, since A.D. 500, Fercall, the great central forest of Ireland: cf. Ussher's "Works," vol. vi., p. 530.

³ This name, in still more ancient days, was elongated to Rath-Hugh Mac Bric, that is to say, the Rath of Hugh, the son of Bric. The Rathewe of Ussher is evidently an attempt to render in our English the name in its Celtic shape, Rath Aodha, by which the church and parish is called in the "Four Masters," at 771, 783, 857, 1382.

⁴ St. Hugh belonged to the clan in more modern times called the Mac Geogheghans, who owned the whole parish of Rahue and its neighbourhood, as landlords, down to the year 1650. A glance at the Down Survey maps of the barony of Moycashel will show how extensive were their estates in this neighbourhood. Even after the great confiscations, the Mac Geogheghan family retained considerable possessions, and were members of the Westmeath Grand Jury till the middle of the last century. Dr. Pococke, Bishop of Meath, described in "Archæologia," ii. 32, some Celtic antiquities found, in 1748, upon Carne, the estate of Kedah Mac Geogheghan, Esq., in Westmeath. The last remnant of their property, held in the direct male line, was sold by Ignatius Geogheghan, Esq., of London, to Lord Sunderlin, early in this century, or late in the last. A branch of the Mac Geogheghans, which was removed by Cromwell into Connaught, and settled at Bunowen, in the county Galway, changed their ancient name to O'Neill, by royal permission, when George IV. visited Ireland. But their property soon followed their ancient name, as it was sold under the Incumbered Estates Court some time afterwards. Sir Richard Nagle, who lived sixty years ago, at Jamestown House, in Moycashel barony, represented the clan in the female line, and possessed the crosier of St. Hugh, which O'Clery describes as in the possession of Peter Mac Geogheghan about 1630: cf. Brewer's "Beauties of Ireland," ii., p. 254, and the "Mart. of Donegal," ed. Todd and Reeves, Introduction, p. xli. Much information about the strange history of the Mac Geogheghans may be gleaned from the "Irish Archæol. Miscell.," vol. i., page 179; Lyons' "Grand Juries of Westmeath"; Cogan's "Diocese of Meath"; "The Annals of Clonmacnoise." O'Dugan, A.D. 1372, celebrates them in his "Topographical Poem," published by Dr. John O'Donovan, &c. The Abbé Mac Geogheghan, the Irish historian, was of this family, as were also Richard Mac Geogheghan, who defended Dunboy Castle in 1602, and Conell Mac Geogheghan, of Lismoyne, who translated the "Annals of Clonmacnoise" in 1627. The family name is now always written without the 'Mac.'

century Celtic saints of the Second Order, who helped much to propagate Christianity when a large portion of Ireland was still pagan. His birth was noble. He belonged to a branch of the royal family of that day descended from Conn of the Hundred Battles, who was famous in the second century. St. Hugh was a direct descendant of Niall of the Nine Hostages, who reigned in Ireland towards the conclusion of the fourth century, from whom, as I have elsewhere shown, Queen Victoria herself is also descended.¹ St. Columba was also drawn from the same stock. He was great-great-grandson of Niall of the Nine Hostages by one of his younger sons;² while St. Hugh was that monarch's great-great-grandson by his eldest son, Fiachach.³ His father's name was Breace or Bric, whence, in vulgar phrase, the Donegal people speak of him now as Hugh Mac Brackan, or Bishop Hugh Breakey, a form under which we should find it somewhat difficult to recognise our ancient missionary saint.⁴ O'Clery and Colgan place his birthplace in Killare, a well-known spot near the Hill of Usnach and the town of Ballymore, in Westmeath; but for reasons, which I shall state hereafter, I think he was born in Rahue.⁵ His mother was a Munster woman, born in Tipperary, in the barony of Upper or Lower Ormond, a district which, at its nearest point, is not more than ten or fifteen miles distant from Rahue.⁶

Just as it is with St. Columba, his cousin, so was it with St. Hugh. Prophecies gathered round his birth clearly modelled after Scripture fashion. A man of God, a prophet, came by his father's house one day, and foretold to a little maid that her mistress would shortly bring forth a son,

¹ "Ireland and the Celtic Church," p. 125.

² Cf. Keating, p. 372, ed. Mahony, and "Mart. of Donegal," Introduction, p. xli, note by O'Clery; "Annals of Clonmacnoise," A.D. 588.

³ Fiachach was the common ancestor of the Mac Geoghegans, chiefs of Moycashel, to which family St. Hugh belonged, and of the O'Molloys, chiefs of Ballycowan, in the King's County. The former took their name from Eochagan, one of their ancient chiefs. Kedagh Mac Geoghegan, mentioned above, who owned the estates of Jamestown and Carne, in Westmeath, married, in 1736, Anne, daughter of George Browne, Esq., of the Neale, county Mayo, who was grandfather of John, 1st Baron Kilmaine. The names of the principal estates belonging to the Mac Geoghegans, about the year 1700, were—Donore, Jamestown, Castletown-Geoghegan, Syonan, Killone, Ballyduffe, in the barony of Moycashel, in Westmeath. See Lyons' "Grand Juries of Westmeath," p. 164.

⁴ See Dr. O'Donovan's "Donegal Letters on the Parish of Kilear," in the Ordnance Survey Letters, Royal Irish Academy.

⁵ Colgan, in his "Life of St. Hugh," *AA. SS.*, Feb. 28, followed by Dr. Reeves in *Proceedings*, Royal Irish Academy, vii. 92, fixes his birthplace at Killare. Dr. O'Donovan, in his "Westmeath Letters," when treating of Killare, points out that Killare is not dedicated to St. Hugh, but to St. Bridget. Colgan tells us that the stone on which he was born was shown, in Colgan's day, in the churchyard of Killare. This, as I shall show, was an error on Colgan's part, but as he was a Donegal man, and living abroad when his great work was written, it could scarcely be expected that he would be an expert in Westmeath geography.

⁶ The dioceses of Killaloe and of Meath touch one another a few miles south of Rahue. These dioceses accurately represent the boundary of the ancient kingdoms of Meath and Munster: cf. Lewis' "Topog. Dict.," Art. on county Tipperary; Nicholson's "Irish Historical Library," Appendix, page 186; "Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church," p. 160.

who, if he were born at the morning hour, would be great in the sight of God and of man. The maid reported this speech to her mistress, and she being evidently a strong-willed and determined lady, decided that the prophet's conditions should be fulfilled. She sat down upon a large stone lying near, and though the pangs with which nature perpetually avenges the transgression of our first mother, Eve, were upon her, she avowed her determination that the child should not be born till the appointed time arrived. The ancient Life in Colgan¹ then tells us how, at his birth, the baby's head struck upon the stone whereon his mother had been sitting, and formed a hollow depression, the exact size of his head, and further informs us that the water which collects in this little hole still avails for the cure of all kinds of diseases.² Now I will ask you to bear this miraculous story in mind, as I shall have hereafter to refer specially to it.

His Life then tells us how originally he was not destined for the clerical life. He was reared up among his mother's people in northern Tipperary. It was only when his father died that he returned into Meath to claim his share in the paternal estate, of which his brothers sought to deprive him. He had lived up to this a very pure and steady life; but he at once showed that he had an Irishman's nature and temper, and was quite able to take care of himself after the fashion of his times. He went back to Rahue, his birthplace, determined to get his rights, and in order to secure his purpose the more effectually, he seized the daughter of a wealthy man living in his father's neighbourhood, and carried her off to Tipperary, as many a man, following his example, has since done, trusting that the injured and outraged family would compel his brothers to surrender his share for the sake of their own daughter. His plan of campaign was well laid, but he omitted to take cognizance of his conscience, and of the power of the Church. On his road from Rahue to the North Riding of Tipperary, he had to pass by a monastery called Rathliphthen, where a notable saint, named Illandus, lived. This Illandus³ was a

¹ Colgan's "*Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*," p. 418. Colgan fixes the composition of this Life to the ninth or tenth century for the following reason. It always speaks of Ireland as Scotia, and of the Irish language as "Scoticè," just like Adamnan: cf. Reeves' Preface to "*Adamnan*," pp. xxv and xxvi, when treating of the so-called "*Book of Kilkenny*," a thirteenth-century MS., in Marsh's Library. The Hymn of St. Aid, or St. Hugh, described by Dr. Reeves in *Proceedings*, Royal Irish Academy, vii. 92, and discovered in Switzerland, of which more hereafter, would seem to throw it back to the eighth century, as the Life contains exactly the same tradition as the Hymn about St. Hugh's power over headaches.

² The exact words of the ancient Life, chap. ii., given in Colgan, telling of his birth, are—"Et sedit supra petram mansitque in ea sedens usque ad horam matutinam contra dolores parturitionum. Hoc magnum mirabile fecit Deus in nativitate S. Aidi infantis; nam cum mater ejus hora matutina fatigata esset; caput infantis cecidit supra petram, et fecit concavum secundum similitudinem capitis, et usque hodie ille lapis ita cavatus manet et aqua quæ in eo concavo, languores omnium accidentium sanat." In another chapter the Life celebrates his power over headaches.

³ Illandus is called Iolladban in "*Mart. of Donegal*," June 10. Ussher calls him Ilundus in his "*Antiquities*," Opp., vol. vi., p. 634. The monastery which he

cousin of his own, being a descendant of Laeghaire, the King of Tara, whom St. Patrick converted. He had founded his monastery in the great forest of Fercall, over which he presided as bishop. St. Hugh, with his fair captive, stopped there for rest and refreshment, somewhere, I would suppose, in the neighbourhood of the modern Frankford, where afterwards stood the Molloy foundation of Kilcormack Abbey. St. Illandus heard a report of St. Hugh's action, and was scandalised at his cousin's conduct. He sent for him, expostulated with him, and was successful in calling him back from the dangerous paths on which he was entering. St. Hugh sent the young lady back to her friends, renounced the world, and entered the establishment of St. Illandus.

His Life, which can be read in Colgan, then tells of nothing else save his miracles and good works. He founded a monastery in the North Riding of Tipperary called Enach Midbrenin, a name and spot which I cannot identify.¹ Some of his miracles are strange enough. One of them must have been rather inconvenient for his neighbours. There was a lake in North Tipperary in which there was a crannog, or fortified island, held by a band of robbers, who plundered all the adjoining country. They could not be got rid of in any way. So the troubled people resorted to the saint, who prayed, and one fine night lake, island, robbers, and all were removed miraculously across the Shannon into Connaught; so that evidently a thousand years before Cromwell, banishment into Connaught was regarded as a fate specially reserved for troublesome customers.

St. Hugh's activity as a missionary was very great. The royal family descended from Niall of the Nine Hostages, and from Laeghaire, or Leary, of Tara, seem to have been principal agents in the conversion of Ireland. Large numbers of them devoted themselves to the work amongst their countrymen, and their high social position ensured their success. The Celts, with their strong notions of loyalty to their princes, followed them therefore, *en masse*, into the bosom of the Christian Church. We are told, in Colgan's "Life of St. Aid," of the labours of St. Hugh among the islands of Lough Ree. He visited St. Rioch's Abbey, on Inisbofin, now in ruins;² the monastery of St. Henanus, a celebrated

presided over was situated in Fercall, near the modern Frankfort and the mediæval Kilcormack Abbey. Colgan assures us that the statue of Illandus, with an episcopal mitre, was in that monastery till a few years before his own time. Cogan identifies Rathliphthen with Rathline, a chapel in the parish of Killaghy, barony of Ballyboy, in Fercall, "Diocese of Meath," ii. 514: *cf.* Archdall's "Monasticon."

¹ Archdall places this monastery in Cork, identifying it with one rejoicing in the very modern name of Strawball.

² It was plundered and burned by the Danes in 1089. What a pity that the Midland Railway offered no facilities to explore the islands of Lough Ree. St. Rioch's Monastery, on Inisbofin Island, is a type of a primitive Celtic monastery, and so is Inis-cleraun and numerous other islands; but as far as Dublin people are concerned, it might as well be situated in Lake Ontario as in Lough Ree. The Great Southern Railway have this year found out that Killarney lies at the southern end of their system. Perhaps in a few years the Midland Directors will find that Lough Ree lies only seventy miles from Dublin, and may be used as a counter attraction to Wales and the Cumberland lakes.

hermit, at Drumrainey, near Ballymore-Loughseudy, converting great multitudes throughout the county Westmeath, and specially among his own clansmen and relations, the Mac Geoghegans of Moycashel. He went north, too.

The Westmeath and Cavan lakes form a regular chain, by which an active oarsman can even still reach the waters of Lough Erne,¹ and, in those early days, when the light and portable currach was in common use, must have proved a much-used highway from the central to the north-western parts of Ireland. Now-a-days, when everyone is looking out for a new and untried route to follow and explore, I might suggest that some should make the attempt to follow St. Hugh's footsteps, and proceed by the route I have indicated, from Mullingar to Ballyshannon. For a trip right through the hills and lakes of Westmeath, Cavan, Leitrim, and Fermanagh, during weather such as we have enjoyed this summer would, I should think, prove an experience simply charming.

But to return to St. Hugh. St. Molaise was a very distinguished character in the sixth century. He was the founder of Inismurray, where his memory and image are still revered under the name of Father Molash. He was the founder also of the monastic establishment on Devenish Island, in Lough Erne, and he was the spiritual adviser and guide of the great St. Columba himself.² St. Hugh also came to Lough Erne to seek his advice, and just as, by St. Molaise's advice, St. Columba is said to have gone on his missionary expedition to Scotland, so by the same holy man's advice St. Hugh may have gone off to Slieve Liag, where there remains to this day his oratory and holy well, on the very highest summit of that wild sea-cliff.³ As St. Molaise died in 563, this proves that St. Hugh's activity must have been contemporaneous with that of St. Columba. He may, however, have been an older man, as St. Aed, or St. Hugh, died in the year 589, the very year St. Columbanus left the Hibernian Bangor for Gaul, and eight years before St. Columba, who departed this life, as I need scarcely remind you, on June 10th, 597.⁴

This long story has been told simply as an introduction to the narrative of what I found at his church of Rahue, in Westmeath, which forms an extraordinary illustration of the truth, the accuracy, and the permanent character of Celtic tradition, as well as of the vast importance of the personal visitation of our ancient sacred places, and of

¹ See the "Angler in Ireland"; Henry's "Lough Erne in 1739," edited by Sir C. King, Bart. (Dublin: M'Gee, 1892); and Piers' "History of Westmeath."

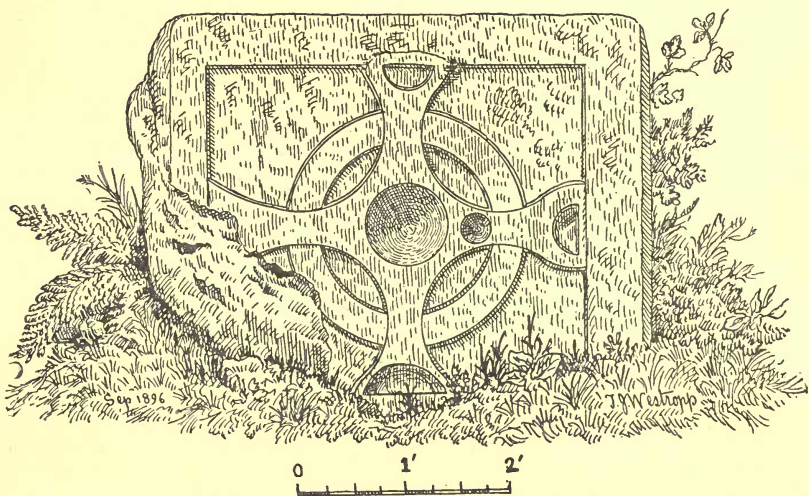
² See Reeves' "Adamnan," pp. 248, 252, 287, about St. Molaisius; and his article in Smith's "Dict. Christ. Biography."

³ A sketch of these can be seen in Father O'Hanlon's "Lives of the Irish Saints" for February 28th, p. 730.

⁴ The relics of St. Hugh seem to have been in the possession of Sir Richard Nagle sixty years ago, with other treasures of the Geoghegan clan. His staff is called, by Brewer (*l. c.*), the staff of St. Columba, but it would seem to have been that of St. Hugh, as described by O'Clery, one of the Four Masters, in the Introduction to Todd and Reeves' edition of the "Donegal Martyrology," p. xli. I wonder what has become of all these antiquities.

investigation and inquiry conducted on the very spot. But let me not frighten you lest I should go on for ever. My story will not be a long one, though my preface was very prolonged.

On August 1st, I went to Rahue with a party of friends, one or two of whom were Members of our own Society. We first climbed a very fine moat surrounded by a double line of circumvallations, and capped by a crown of aged hawthorn-trees, the descendants of those with which it once was fortified. This moat, which is a very lofty one, is situated in the townland of Kiltobber, or "Church of the Well," and may have been the residence of St. Hugh's father.¹ It is distant little more than a quarter of a mile from his ancient church. We then visited the church and churchyard, which are situated beside Rahue House, whose owner, Mr. Newburn, acted as a very intelligent guide, and



Cross-inscribed Stone, with central hollow, at Rahue.

communicated to us all the traditions of the neighbourhood. The church is a primitive oblong, about 60 feet long and 20 feet wide. The churchyard is in a state of the most terrible confusion, the tombstones lying two or three deep within a circular cashel. I am sure there must be in that churchyard some rare treasures of ancient Celtic tombstones, going back a thousand years, if the confused mass were only intelligently investigated. St. Hugh's holy well—still flowing, still used, and still revered—is situated about 250 yards east of the church; while last of all, and most interesting of all, through the kind assistance of Mr. Newburn, we lighted upon the very stone of which the

¹ Cf. G. T. Clark's "Mediæval Military Architecture" (i. 30), Stokes' "Anglo-Norman Church" (p. 6), for an explanation of the use of ancient raths as residences.

ancient Life, in Colgan, speaks as that on which St. Hugh was born, about 200 yards south-west of the churchyard. It is an immense block of stone, lying in a ditch in the same field as the holy well.¹ It is called, by the peasantry, St. Hugh's tombstone. It has a large Celtic circle and cross incised upon its face. The arms of the cross extend beyond the circle. But the most curious thing about it is this; in the very centre of the circle there is a hole, the size of the crown of a human head, with a smaller hole beside it on the right, into which the elbow is to be inserted. The local living tradition is just as Colgan reports, that if the head of a person, afflicted with headache, be placed in the larger hole, the body supported meanwhile by the right arm, the disease will be cured by St. Hugh's power. This is evidently not the gravestone, but the birthstone, of St. Hugh, which Colgan placed in the cemetery of Killare, in the same county, Westmeath.² But, then, we must remember that Colgan was a Donegal man, and might easily make a mistake between the barony of Moycashel, which was, till 1641, or 1650, the property of St. Hugh's own family, the Mac Geoghegans, and the barony of Rathconrath, which was beyond their limits.³

It is well worth while, however, to go and pay a visit to Rahue⁴ to see this ancient sixth-century cross, just like one of those in Glen-Columcille, erected by St. Columba, for the purpose of teaching the rude pagans the primary lessons of the faith. Surely, as I have just said, nothing can prove better the abiding and trustworthy character of Celtic tradition than thus to find, in the year 1896, precisely the same traditions, and the same objects, as those which Colgan reported 250 years ago, and which the ancient Life he printed described 900 years ago, still existing in exactly the same shape, and that among people who never had heard of Colgan, and have had no other instructors save oral tradition.⁵ But, perhaps, the strangest point of all

¹ Through the kind help of Mr. Westropp, I am able to present my readers with an accurate copy of it.

² O'Donovan, in his "Westmeath Letters," points out that Colgan was mistaken on this point as well as in calling the parish church of Killare by the name of St. Hugh. It was, as he notes, in reality dedicated to St. Bridget. St. Columba was also said to have been born on a stone which is still pointed out at Gartan, in Donegal: see Reeves' Preface to "Adamnan," p. lxviii.

³ The barony of Rathconrath was previously called Moy-ashel. This may have increased the confusion between Killare and Rahue, Rahue being situated in Moy-cashel, Killare in Moy-ashel barony.

⁴ The monastery of Rahue was celebrated all through the Middle Ages, from A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1500, as will be seen by notices of it in the Annals of the Four Masters, of Ulster, and of Clonmacnoise. Bishop John O'Hugrain, of Elphin, died at the monastery of Rath-Hugh in the year 1245, apparently on his way to the English Court to obtain the king's order for admission to his diocese, his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Tuam, refusing it till he presented the royal command.—Cotton's "Fasti," iv. 119.

⁵ I consider this one of the most extraordinary survivals of primitive tradition which I ever heard of. I can only compare it to one I elsewhere call attention to. Gaza was, in the fifth century, one of the most obstinately pagan of ancient cities. The Empress Eudoxia, about A.D. 400, destroyed eight temples in Gaza. The inhabi-

remains untold. Reading over, the other day, that charming work published by one of our own Members, Joyce's "Irish Names," and consulting it, as I always do on the subject of our Celtic topography, I came across a notice of Rahue, which directed me to a Paper by Dr. Reeves, on the "Hymn of St. Aid, or St. Hugh." You will find the Paper in the *Proceedings*, Royal Irish Academy, vol. vii., p. 92. This hymn once belonged to the famous Irish Monastery of Reichenau, on Lake Constance, and was published some forty years ago by Francis Joseph Mone, Director of the State Archives at Carlsruhe. This hymn was written in the eighth century, say about 750, by an Irish monk in that monastery, and it celebrates the power of St. Hugh, or St. Aid, in the very same matter of headaches, just in the same way as the ancient Life in Colgan, and the living tradition of the Rahue people celebrate it down to this day.¹

Rahue was of interest to me for another reason, and that, too, of a historical character. I knew that it had been, in modern times, the seat of a colony of Cromwell's Ironsides, all of them extreme Puritans. They belonged almost entirely to the Anabaptist sect, the most violent and determined of the English Republican party. I knew that this colony was there early in the last century, and I wished to find out if any traces of it still survived. I was not disappointed in this respect again. I found, a little beyond the ancient church of St. Hugh, the ruins of an ancient Baptist chapel. In St. Hugh's graveyard I found inscriptions in abundance, with those Scriptural names—Abraham, Isaac, Rebekah, and Sarah—in which the Puritans delighted. The Rector of Tullamore, too, told me how he had baptized some of the last descendants of these Cromwellian colonists, and then, in the Record Office, I solved the riddle which always puzzled me, which was this—What led this

tants took the image of their favourite god, Marnas, and buried it in the sandhills outside the city. Ever since a local tradition has told that a deity was there buried. In 1880 the long-hidden statue of the Cretan god, Marnas, was discovered exactly where tradition indicated: cf. Stokes on the "Acts of the Apostles," vol. i., p. 410.

¹ Mone found another *Irish* hymn on St. Aid of some fifty-two verses, to which Dr. Reeves quotes in his article. The *Latin* hymn consisted of twenty lines, in five stanzas. It ran as follows. The Latin is very rude:—

O Rex ; O Rector regminis
O cultor coeli carminis
O Persecutor murmoris
O Deus alti agminis.

Curat caput cum renibus
Meis, atque cum talibus
Cum oculis et genibus
Cum auribus et naribus.

Aid O Sanetus mech prich benibula
Poseo puro precamina
Ut refrigerat flumina
Mei capitis calida.

Cum inclitis euntibus
Cum fistulis sonantibus
Cum linguâ atque dentibus
Cum lacrimarum fontibus.

Sanctus Aid altus adjuvat
Meum caput ut liberat
Ut hoc totum perseverat
Sanum atque vigilat.

Anabaptist colony from England over to the centre of Ireland?¹ I knew, indeed, that a similar colony of Baptists had settled not very far away in and around Cloughjordan, in the North Riding of Tipperary, and that their Baptist chapel had only become extinct early in this century; but then I also knew that the North Riding of Tipperary, and the Golden Vale, were largely settled by Cromwellian officers and soldiers.

This was not, however, the case with Westmeath. The documents in the Record Office solved the difficulty. Major William Low was the son of a Dublin citizen named John Low, whose tomb, dated 1638, stands in the churchyard of Chapelizod.² Major William Low was a fierce Republican, obtained the rank of Major in Cromwell's army, and was an ardent Anabaptist. He was one of those officers who were rewarded with grants of estates in various parts of the country. His share fell in Westmeath. He obtained the pro-

¹ I found in the Subsidy Rolls and Hearth-Money Returns for 1664, in the Record Office, the names of the Puritan colonists of 1650 in the parish of Rahue. In the townland of Monrath, they were—Richard Taaffe, Jonathan Handy, William Woods. In that of Pallisbeg, Alexander Sex, William Heath. In Garryduff, Thomas Bayly, Richard Salte, Ephraim Roberts, John Griffin, Lieut. John Hawkins, John Bagnald, Michael Ogden. In Kiltobber, John Crolly, Thomas Coulson, John Lord, Rowland Robbins. In Articonnor, Robert Nightingale, Mathew Bale, Andrew Robins, John Cowper, Humphrey Stewart, Thomas Darbyshire, Robert Haunte (?), William Jacobson. In Lowestown, Edward Lowe. In Rahue, Humphrey Smith, Jeffrey Luther, Richard Barnes. In Pallasboy, Arthur Leetch, Theobald Burne, Hugh Geoghegan. In Ballyboden, Edward Carleton, William Holmes. In Derryistan, James Raikes, James Brennan. All these names are clearly English except one or two, as that of Hugh Geoghegan, who was probably one of the old inhabitants who may have nominally conformed to the ideas of the new tenants. The influence of this Anabaptist colony can be traced, in the last century, in the number of families of that persuasion recorded in Bishop Ellis's "Account of the Diocese of Meath, A.D. 1733," in the Record Office. The name of one such has now become famous in Booth's pneumatic tyres, as the Booths of Kilbeggan, and now of Stephen-street, Dublin, belonged to that colony, though not included among the Rahue tenants. It is curious to find Jeffrey Luther, of the above list, appearing as one of the sureties for the Parish Priest of Kilbeggan in 1704. It would seem as if the Anabaptists soon began to turn Roman Catholics under local influences. This was commonly the case.

² The inscription on this tomb in Chapelizod is given in Lyons' "Grand Juries," p. 148. It runs as follows:—"This tomb was erected by John Low, gent., who was born at Bewdley, in Worcestershire, and departed this life the 24th of April, 1638, and was here interred. Here also lye the bodies of Joan, wife of Major William Low; his son, who died 30 Sep., 1677; Elizabeth, wife of Ebenezer Low, son of the said William Low, who departed 12 Janv., 1677; Major William Low departed this life ye 28th of May, 1678; Joan, his daughter, departed this life ye 20th of March, 1678; Lieut. George Low, son of John Low, died ye 8th of July, 1681; Catherine, second wife of Ebenezer Low, died ye 8th of July, 1687. Ebenezer Low, Esq., repaired and enlarged this tomb, and departed this life ye 2nd of July, 1690. Here lie also the bodies of William, Elizabeth, Joan Low, Catherine Low, Ebenezer, John and Joseph Low, children of Faustin Cuppaidge, gent., by Mary his wife, daughter of Major William Low." Ebenezer Low's name occurs in the list of Irish Protestants attainted by the Parliament of 1689. He was Major William Low's eldest son. He maintained the hereditary opposition of his family to the Stuart dynasty. His father and two uncles were soldiers in Cromwell's army, and Ebenezer Low was killed at the battle of the Boyne, and interred apparently at Chapelizod. The Low family, during the last century, intermarried with the Vignoles and Pilkingtons of Westmeath. The Low family are now extinct, at least as landlords.

perty of the Mac Geoghegans in Rahue and its neighbourhood, where he built a mansion-house, now in ruins, which he called Newtown Loe.¹ If you take up that curious book, Lyons' "Grand Juries of Westmeath," you will find the Low family occupying a high position on the Grand Jury all through the last century. Now in Major William Low's will, dated 1678, the original of which is in the Record Office, you will find that he there leaves the sum of £4 per annum, charged on his real estate, for the support of a "baptized minister," to preach at Newtown to the colony of English Anabaptists which he settled in Rahue and its neighbourhood.²

Rahue, then, I conclude, played no unimportant part in ancient times towards making Celtic Ireland what it once was religiously; and the same Rahue and its history gives us a glimpse into a stirring though bloody period, which largely contributed towards the Ireland of to-day, with its manifold questions—social and political, economic and religious.

¹ The details of Major William Low's grants are given in the "12th Report of the Irish Record Commission" (1825), p. 111. The following are the denominations, omitting the number of acres in each :—Ardmorney, Ballirmacan, Newtown, Cloncraw, Kilcloghan, Ballym'hugh, Tore, Clonkeeleen, Killevally, Garriduffe, Ballisboy, Monrath, and Moynassett; Rathue, Kiltubber and Atticonnor, *alias* Tonagh, Capenrusse, Lowertown, Ballyhost, and Agheranny, Derrygolan, Ballybroader, Cappyloghy, the mill and mill-stream of Rahenmore; total, 5217 statute acres. The premises were, among other lands, granted to Major Low in 1669, created, in 1675, the manor of Newtown Killevally, with power to hold courts leet and baron, &c.; to hold a Wednesday market at Newtown Killevally and two fairs on 1st June and 12th October. A comparison of this grant with the maps of the Down Survey and the Book of Distribution, shows that Major Low got all the property of Rosse Geoghegan, who, in 1641, possessed Rahue, Kiltobber, and Atticonnor, *alias* Tonagh, and much more in addition. The Major was a Republican, but he had no objection to enjoy feudal rights, as the Patent shows. The Lows, like other Cromwellians, began to claim a Norman descent, which Lyons very properly laughed at. We have seen much the same in this generation. The creation of a manor and manorial powers implies that he had introduced a large colony of English tenants.

² See Prerogative Wills, A.D. 1678. William, the Cromwellian Major, and first proprietor of the Westmeath property, married, in 1641, Joan Hawkins: see Dr. La Touche's "Index to Dublin Will Books," p. 538. His name is there spelt 'Lowe,' and in other places 'Loe.'

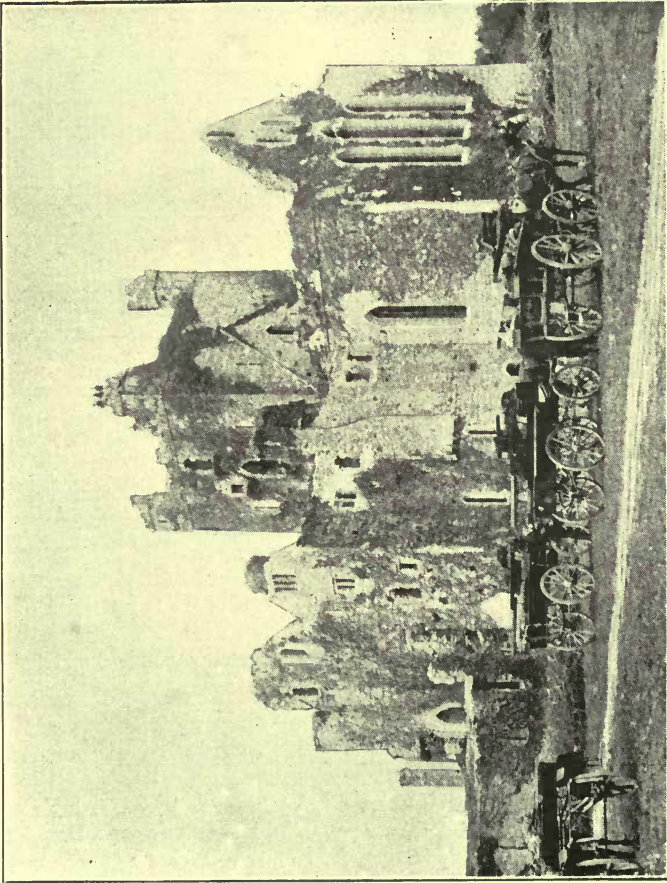
DUNBRODY AND ITS HISTORY.

BY THE REV. J. F. M. FFRENCH, M.R.I.A., FELLOW.

THE Abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul also known as the Abbey of Dunbrody (*de portu S. Mariæ*), which lies south of New Ross, is a truly magnificent pile of ruins. Its immense mass standing out against the sky, and not dwarfed by the neighbourhood of even a rising ground, has a kind of solitary grandeur about it that you will not readily find elsewhere, and a massiveness which calls up in your mind the thought, "Surely it is no wonder that men who erected such a building as that came of a race who were able to carve out principalities for themselves with their broadswords," for there is strength and power depicted in every wall and tower of that splendid building. The great central tower is still as perfect as when it proceeded from the masons' hands; it stands on arches that are magnificent in their height and noble in their proportions.

The church is nearly 200 feet long, and 140 feet in breadth. The nave has suffered much by the destruction of the greater part of the once beautiful western window, and one of its sides. The western door is fairly perfect, and in some respects peculiar. The greater part of the building is of an early English type, but you can see signs of a transition period, and that the old Norman style had not altogether lost its hold on those mighty builders. This noble Cistercian house was founded on the site of the dun or fort of some long-forgotten Irish chieftain, and on the banks of the river Barrow where it widens out into Waterford Harbour. It owns, as its founder, Hervey de Montemarisco, uncle of Strongbow, Marshal of Henry II., and Seneschal of all the lands acquired by the Earl of Pembroke in Ireland, and he, himself, according to Dr. Gilbert, the historian, became its first abbot, and there ended his days at the age of seventy-five, "his nephews, Geffroi de Marreis, and Herlewin, Bishop of Leighlin, erected to his memory a mausoleum of black Kilkenny marble ornamented with columns and surmounted by a statue of the martial abbot clothed in priest's vestments, beneath which, at the neck, was visible the cuirass of a knight. The right hand, reposing on the breast, held a chalice; while the left grasped a baton, to indicate that the abbot had once been Marshal of the Anglo-Norman army in Ireland."¹ Hervey de Montemarisco is called by Keating "Herman Morty," which shows that the Irish scribes experienced the same difficulty in rendering Norman names, that the Normans experienced in rendering Irish names; but whether we call him Hervey de Montemarisco or Herman Morty no one will deny that he was an experienced soldier and a mighty man of valour. Unfortunately, apart from that, little can be said for his personal character in his soldiering days. Giraldus Cambrensis gives him about

¹ Dr. Gilbert's "History of the Viceroy of Ireland."



DUNBRODY ABBEY FROM SOUTH-EAST.

(From a Photograph taken on the occasion of the Society's visit, April, 1896.)

as bad a character as he can, but, fortunately, we are not obliged to accept all that Cambrensis says as gospel truth, and we must remember that he was a man of strong likes and dislikes which coloured his judgment. Furthermore we must remember that the first Norman, or Welsh, invaders of Ireland, were members of the great family that we know as the Geraldines. Cambrensis was one of them; De Montemarisco was not. If he had been, doubtless, his failings would have been touched with a lighter hand, the colours would not have been laid on so heavily; and yet, poor man, did he not do all in his power to make amends for his default, for he married the Lady Nesta, daughter of Maurice Fitzgerald, and first cousin to Giraldus himself.

If De Montemarisco heard the evil things that his wife's cousin said of him, perhaps he might have handled him severely, in the same way as we are told Ralph Kelley, Archbishop of Cashel, handled Roger Cradock, Bishop of Waterford, when he administered corporal punishment to him for want of respect to his metropolitan, in holding a court, and condemning men to death, without his permission.¹ Be that as it may, the great historic character that we look upon as the founder of this abbey was a man of fine presence and personal appearance. The following description of him, given by Giraldus, may not be uninteresting:—
 “Hervey was a tall and handsome man, with grey and rather prominent eyes, a pleasant look, fine features, and a command of polished languages. His neck was so long and slender that it seemed scarcely able to support his head; his shoulders were low, and both his arms and legs were somewhat long; he had rather a broad breast, but was small and genteel in the waist, which is generally apt to swell too much, and lower down his stomach was of the same moderate proportion; his thighs, legs, and feet were well shaped for a soldier, and finely proportioned to the upper part of his body.”

Such then was the man to whom we are indebted, at all events, for the foundation idea from which this splendid pile sprung. In the division of the spoil he was granted the lands of Obarthi sur la mere, otherwise Ui Bairrche tire, here called Sur la mere to distinguish it from the Ui Bairrche on the Barrow in Slievemargy; and may not our name Dun Brody be a corruption of Dun Bairrche. We find this name still preserved for us in the barony of Bargy, county Wexford; but Hervey's lands reached far beyond that, for they extended over the greater part of the barony of Shelburne as well (and in it our abbey is situated). The lands he granted seem to have reached from what we call the pill (or inlet) of Campile to Duncannon. Weary and worn, Hervey at last began to think of the other life, and having divided a great portion of his Irish lands among his followers, according to Cambrensis he retired to Canterbury, and became a monk in the Abbey of the Holy Trinity there,

¹ Harris's "Ware," p. 533.

to which he gave in frank almain all the churches on his lands lying between Waterford and Wexford. But, even then, the enmity of his clerical cousin does not spare him, for he adds, "would to God that with his monastic garb his mind had become pious, and he had laid aside his malicious temper as well as his military habits."

How he became first Abbot of Dunbrody I know not, but we may feel well assured that Dr. Gilbert has sufficient grounds for so stating, and what more natural than that he should seek for retirement and repose in the noble house that sprung up on the lands of his own granting; and, perhaps, it was with the idea of ending his days there, that, somewhere between the years 1175 and 1178, he granted the following Foundation Charter to this house:—"Be it known to all the sons of Holy Mother Church both now and hereafter, that I, Hervey de Monte Moricii, Marshal of our Lord the King in Ireland, and Seneschal of all the Lands of Earl Richard (Strongbow), have given and conceded, and by this my present Charter have confirmed to God and Blessed Mary, Saint Benedict, and the monks of Bildewas, in pure and perpetual alms, for the health of my own soul, and those of King Henry, of Earl Richard, of my wife, and of my ancestors, for the purpose of constructing an Abbey of Cisterrians; these lands with all their appurtenances, in pasture, plain, and water, that is to say Ardithen and Crosgormok, and with the plain the grove there by the running water and so upwards by the water which is called Kempul so far as the same torrent which comes from the south part and falls into Kempul (Campile) at Malpas by the road which goes to Theachmun (Taghmon) with the aforesaid lands. I have truly given and conceded these lands, that is to say Colatrum (Killesk, or Killestrum), Cusduff, Raideru (Boderan), Koillach, Tirbegan, Lisculenan, Tirgoueran, Kuilleskerd, and Ballygoue (Ballygow), and so by the rushing stream which is in the east of Ballygoue, and in the west of Drumculip (Dungulf), so that the same stream may be the boundary of their lands as well where the same stream descends to the water of Banne (Bannow), and thence by the public road which goes from the same water by the edge of the grove as far as Ballistrage is to be the boundary between them and the Black Monks, so that the plain which is between the roads and the wood, and the wood and their own wood, may be theirs on the one part, and the plain on the other part of the wood may be that of the Black Monks. I have also given Dunmechanan and Dunbrodik with all their appurtenances and two carucates of land in the Island in the south part (part of Kilmannock) and four islands near the same lands with the fisheries (Kilmannock). Therefore I will and steadfastly confirm that the aforesaid monks of the aforesaid abbey shall hold and possess the aforesaid lands fully, without any power of re-entry, in pasture plain and water, according to their boundaries in land, in sea, in salt-pits, in fisheries, in fishing-weirs, in ponds, both for lands and grist-mills, in meadows and pastures, in roads and paths, and in all other

matters pertaining to the aforesaid lands free and quit from all secular service, exactions, and toll from my markets; also they may have material of wood for their houses, through all my forests and their own Court, and if any malefactor flies to them, he may have peace while he may be with them. These being witnesses, Joseph, Bishop of Wexford; Felix, Bishop of Ossory; the Lady Nesta (his wife); William Brun; Jordan, the Canon; Richard, the Presbyter; Roger de Puntfret; Helias Keating; Simon, the clergyman; William de Avenia; Richard, son of Hay; Nicholas, son of William Brun, and many others."

Truly not a bad bit of conveyancing, and considering how many hundred years have passed by, and how the old Norman scribes must have stumbled over the Irish names, how remarkable it is that we are still able to recognise so many. One of the grievances of an Englishman located in this country, on which he petitioned the king for leave to return to England, was that he could not pronounce the names of the places where he lived; and, sad to say, many cannot do it even now. Our Charter illustrates the almost, if not altogether, regal powers exercised by the great Norman nobles of the period.

The lands were practically erected into a barony, and were subsequently called the Barony of Dunbrody. The Abbot, as Baron, held his own Court, and exercised his own jurisdiction over his territory, and more than that, he had power to exclude the officers of the law from his precincts, for he had the right of giving sanctuary. Many of our early barons did not derive their titles from the Crown, but from the great Norman Lords Palatine under whom they held, who were kings in all but name. I do not say that De Monte Marisco was a Lord Palatine, but he certainly exercised the jurisdiction of such a lord. A curious question arises from this Charter, which is, who were the Black Monks mentioned in it? From the boundaries given, we would say that they were the monks of Tintern; but then Tintern was not founded until the year 1200 (see Ware), and the latest date given for the foundation Charter of Dunbrody is 1178 (Gilbert gives the date as 1175), twenty-five years before the foundation of Tintern Minor by William the Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, yet the Black Monks are mentioned as in full possession. Again, the monks of Tintern were not Black Monks; they were Cistercians, and the Cistercians' habit was white. In the beautiful engraving of a Cistercian monk, given in Cardinal Moran's edition of "Archdall's Monasticon," the habit is represented as all white, but I believe that was not quite correct, for a high authority tells us that "St. Alberic, one of the founders of the reformed Benedictines, otherwise Cistercians, changed the colour of the greater part of the dress, substituting white for dark brown in all but the scapular and pointed hood which he allowed to remain black as before."¹ So that neither dates nor dress will allow of

¹ "Triumphalia Chron. Mon. S. Crusis," Introd., p. 32.

these Black Monks being the monks of New Tintern. There is yet another consideration which we may bring forward against that solution of the difficulty: when the good monks of Bildewas, in Shropshire, obtained this grant of extensive lands to found a daughter house, they sent over a lay brother to inspect their new possessions, and sad was the account he gave of it; wars and tumults had left it a howling wilderness, and in order to find a refuge from the weather and a place to lay his head he was obliged to live in the trunk of an old decayed oak tree.

Now, if a house of Monmouthshire Cistercians existed at Tintern, not far off, the very first thing our English Cistercian would have done would have been to have taken up his residence among them, and he would have received succour and all the modern comforts that he might require from them; furthermore he could easily have surveyed the lands he came over to see from that point of vantage.

Who, then, were these Black Monks? They may have been a community of old Celtic monks that had lingered on; for we have some reason to believe that, at all events, some of them were vested in black; or they may have been an Irish house of Benedictines who had adopted the Cistercian rule, but had not assumed the new white Cistercian habit. Some such house must have existed in the neighbourhood, for under the date October 12th, 1232, we find the following document among the State Papers:—

“The King confirms to the Abbey of the Port of St. Mary the order of the Abbot and Chapter general of the Cistercian order regarding the Abbey of Ghinewadam reducing it on account of its poverty to a grange of the former abbey of Port St. Mary or Dunbrody in its neighbourhood.”¹ This name Ghinewadam is a very curious one, and probably owes its origin to the difficulty which the Norman scribes experienced in transcribing Irish names; but it establishes the fact that shortly after the founding of Dunbrody, there was a decayed abbey in its neighbourhood which was subsequently included within the precincts and possessions of the new foundation.

Let us now briefly examine the names that are attached to this Charter. As we find there the first mention of the founders of historic county Wexford families, we will first take the names of the Bishops Joseph and Felix; Joseph was Bishop of Wexford; both Joseph O’Hethe and Albin O’Mulloy, Bishops of Ferns, were sometimes called Bishops of Wexford. It is supposed that they had some idea of transferring the seat of the episcopate from Ferns to Wexford, as it was a much more populous and prominent town than Ferns,² and the bishopric is called the Bishopric of

¹ It has been suggested that this old abbey which was reduced to a grange because of its poverty, occupied the site where we now find the Castle of Kilhile, about a mile and a half from Dunbrody. About twenty-six years ago a seal was found there which proved to be the seal for private letters, of the Abbey of Dunbrody.

² Harris’s “Ware’s Bishops—Ferns.”

Wexford in a Bull of Pope Lucius III., addressed to John Comin, Archbishop of Dublin, dated April 13th, 1182. Joseph O'Hethe succeeded to the See in 1155, and died A.D. 1185. The next witness is Felix, Bishop of Ossory. Felix O'Dullany who was himself a Cistercian monk, and was sometimes called Abbot of Ossory, succeeded to the See in 1178, and died A.D. 1202. It was he who removed the seat of the See of Ossory from Aghaboe to Kilkenny, and founded there the Cathedral of St. Canice. William Brun and his son, Nicholas, founded the family of Browne of Mulrankin Castle. Sir Nicholas le Brunne, Lord of Mulrankin, was High Sheriff, Escheator, and Custos Pacis of the county Wexford in 1355. Then we have Helias Keating, who was the founder of the house of the Keatings of Kilcowan or Kilcoan Castle, county Wexford, Barons Kilcowan. Richard, son of Hay, was founder of the families of Slade Hay, the Hill, and Ballinkeel, county Wexford: they descend from Richard de Hay, Lord of Hay in Wales.

Ranulph, Abbot of Bildewas, was not at all enamoured of his new possessions (on which he was to found a daughter house) by the account which his agent brought. The lands were distant, difficult of access, desolate, and in an enemies' country; so he looked about for another house on which to devolve his responsibilities, and naturally enough he turned to the great Cistercian house called St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin; and to the Abbot and brethren of St. Mary's he transferred both the honour and responsibility of founding the new house; consequently, to it, Dunbrody became a daughter. The actual first settlement of the monks here was about the year 1182; at that time we may believe that St. Mary's Abbey sent its first colony to Dunbrody of twelve monks and a father (in imitation of our Lord and His twelve Apostles). This was the practice of the order when any new house was founded; and we may feel well assured that these thirteen pioneer monks felt in no small degree the weight of the burden that was cast on their shoulders; nor were they desirous of lightening it, otherwise they would not have outlined that grand conception that ended in the production of Dunbrody Abbey. We must not suppose that a building like Dunbrody could spring up in a night, like a mushroom, nor even in a lifetime. The fault of our times and the reason why we never can now produce a really great cathedral is that every one is in a hurry, and no one is willing to allow sufficient time to elapse to carry out a grand conception; every one must have every thing done and finished, if not in a few years, at least in his own lifetime. What a herculean task the original thirteen ecclesiastics, who sat down in the wilderness on the site of the abbey, had before them. They had first of all to avail themselves of their Charter, and hew and cleave wood in De Monte Marisco's forests, wherewith to build them houses to dwell in; then they had to gather together in a country that was not altogether friendly to them, a vast army of workers—masons, quarrymen, hewers and drawers of wood, burners and carters of lime, drawers of stone and

sand. They had to house all these people, to provide food for them, to guard them against marauders, and to provide for their spiritual wants; and in order to supply these wants, the little church, which was situated in the little churchyard which still exists about fifty yards south-west of the abbey, may have been first erected. There is a most interesting ancient font in the parish church of Fethard which has been known for centuries as the font of Dunbrody Abbey.

I would suggest that it was probably taken from the little church at Dunbrody, where it formerly rested under the shadow of the abbey; for except in exceptional cases, the monks were not in the habit of administering the sacrament of baptism. We should remember that an abbey such as this could never have been the fruits of the benevolence of any one man. De Monte Marisco laid the foundation stone; then the work of benevolence was taken up by his distinguished nephew Herlewin, bishop of Leighlin, who succeeded to that See in 1201, and died in 1216 or 1217. Herlewin was himself a Cistercian monk, and, next to his uncle, may be considered the prime benefactor of this abbey. He is believed to have built the great abbey church, and to have been buried in it near the high altar; but much as this house owes to the family of De Monte Marisco, it owes little less to the family of Strongbow, who, in his charters and grants, describes himself as "*Dominus Ricardus filius Comitis Gilberti*," and sometimes simply "*Comes Ricardus*." Henry II. calls him "*Comes Ricardus de Strigoil*." According to the Dunbrody Ledger MS., "*Ricardus [Fitz Gizlebert] et Hervius de Monte Mauricii fundaverunt domum de portu Sanctæ Mariæ*." Richard Fitz Gizlebert had an only surviving child, the Lady Isabella, who married the most powerful, brilliant, and accomplished noble at the Court of the English King, William, hereditary Earl Marshal of England, Earl of Pembroke in Wales, and, in right of his wife, Prince of Leinster in Ireland. "Hanmer" tells us that the surname of this family was not Marshal (that was the name of their office); he says their surname was Maxfield, and that they were descended from Walter Maxfield a Norman who was William the Conqueror's Marshal, when he invaded England. The Lady Isabella had five sons and five daughters. These five sons all became in succession Earls Marshal of England, Earls of Pembroke in Wales, and Princes of Leinster, and died without issue. Of these sons, Richard the Marshal and Walter the Marshal both largely endowed the abbey. After the death of Walter the Marshal and his younger brother Anselm in 1246, the title of Marshal of England and the lordship of the lands acquired by Strongbow in Leinster passed to Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk,¹ by reason of his marriage with Matilda, eldest daughter of William the Marshal; and his son Roger executed a deed in 1274, confirming all the former grants made to the abbey by the family, and taking it under his immediate protection.

¹ The Abbots of Dunbrody and Tintern were the Auditors of the Seneschal's accounts of the possessions of Roger Bigod in these parts.

After this, the chief mention we find of the Abbey of Dunbrody in existing records is a long and dreary lawsuit as to the title of lands, carried on year after year with the Templars, and then with the Crown, when they confiscated the Templar's lands, and finally with the Hospitallers, who acquired the Crown rights whatever they may have been, and who compromised the matter by acknowledging the right of the abbey to the lands of Kilbride, county Wexford. In 1340, Archdall mentions that Philip de Chirchull, abbot of Dunbrody, was deposed by a special commission of the order for insubordination; and William de Ross was chosen in his room. It appears that Philip de Chirchull objected to have his abbey visited, and to be obliged to render an account to Philip Wafre,¹ the abbot of the parent house of St. Mary's, Dublin. The dispute, probably, was caused by a question of jurisdiction, which might easily arise out of the transfer of founder's authority from the abbey of Bildewas to the abbey of St. Mary's, Dublin; and the Dunbrody abbot might decline to recognise the validity of that transfer; but, at all events, the abbot of the great and rich house of Dunbrody refused to acknowledge the abbot of the scarcely greater house of St. Mary's, Dublin, as his superior,² and rather than do so, he left the house altogether, and, with four of the monks who took his part strongly, he became a wanderer through the counties Waterford, Kilkenny, and Tipperary, until the secular arm was called in, and he and his companions were returned per force to their monastery; but this did not by any means terminate the dispute as to jurisdiction which had to be brought before a general Chapter of the Order held in France in 1342, when the question as to the jurisdiction of the Abbot of St. Mary's, over Dunbrody, was authoritatively settled in his favour.

The year 1348 was important in the history of this abbey; for in it King Edward III., on the representation being made to him that "the religious of this establishment did not exercise hospitality or the due distribution of alms according to the rules of their Order and charter grant," seized on all their temporalities.³ So long after the event, it would be impossible to form a just estimate of the merits of this case, as between the king and the abbey. I would be disposed to think that it was very much a continuation of the civil war between Dunbrody and St. Mary's Abbey; and the fact that, shortly after an agreement was come to between the king and the monks, the abbey was made independent of St. Mary's, seems to countenance this view of the case. Dunbrody was buried in the country. St. Mary's was close to the seat of government, and evil reports

¹ "This Philip Wafre was probably a member of the family of Le Wafre which was of much importance in Shropshire."

² St. Mary's, Dublin, was itself a daughter house of Bildewas, so that by the transfer of Dunbrody to it, contrary to the original Charter, it was made the daughter of a daughter house, which was almost sure to cause confusion.

³ The Royal Commissioners, into whose hands the King gave the Abbey and its lands, were Ralph Meyler, of Duncormuck; Sir Mathew Fitzhenry, of Kilkevan; John St. John, Sir Nicholas Devereux, of Balmagir; and David Hore, of the Pole—all representatives of notable county Wexford families.

could be easily whispered into willing ears. The abbey was rich, and in the time of Edward III. the Crown was poor. A great part of Ireland was not amenable to English law, for it was governed by native princes under Brehon law; and of the portion of Ireland that was supposed to be subjected to the English Crown, two-thirds was really governed by Lords Palatine. "Those absolute palatines made barons and knights, exercised high justice in all points within their territories, erected Courts for criminal and civil causes and for their own revenues in the same form in which the King's Courts were established at Dublin, made their own judges, seneschals, coroners, and escheators. So that the King's writs did not run in those counties, which took up more than two parts of the English colonies, but only in the Church lands lying within the same, which were called the Crosse (lands) wherein the king made a sheriff."¹ There were nine of these palatinates: Carlow, Wexford, Kilkenny, Kildare, and Leix [the lands of the five co-heiresses of the Earls Marshal]; those of Meath and Ulster, and those of the Earls of Desmond and Ormond. Under those circumstances, a rich abbey would be a tempting bait for a needy Exchequer. If it was true that the abbey had failed in hospitality and charity, they had grievously departed from the rules of the Order, which obliged them to devote a considerable portion of their possessions to the support of strangers, widows, orphans, and the poor, while visitors to their houses were to be received as Christ himself. In fact, abbeys were almost as necessary for those who wished to travel as railways are now. They were the resting-places for the sick and the weary, the refuges for the arts and sciences, and the homes of learning, scholarship, and civilisation, for many centuries before and after the Norman invasion. In consequence of the Pope's intercession, the Royal Commissioners are said to have resigned the abbey lands to the monks of Bildewas in accordance with the original Charter. But if in 1342 their lands were sequestered, in 1374 they were established on an independent footing; and by a Bull of Pope Gregory XI., the abbot was made a mitred abbot. He became a Lord of Parliament, and a guardian of the public peace in the county Wexford, with power to seize and destroy rebels on the land, and their ships at sea; so that our abbot had a marine jurisdiction, and must have had ships of his own.

We now return to the time when William de Ross, who succeeded Chirchull, was abbot, about 1341; at which date, apparently in consequence of a dispute about the boundaries of their respective territories, one of the Tintern monks was thrown into the Dunbrody abbot's prison. Many interesting particulars regarding this, and also about a curious charge brought against David Cornwallsh, who was abbot of Dunbrody in 1363, will be found in a Paper written on Dunbrody by the Rev. P. Power in the Waterford Archæological Society's *Journal*.² From the time that

¹ Leland, p. 291.

² The Abbey, in 1370, acquired the Priory of St. Saviour at Ross, with its lands and churches in Wexford. Where this priory was situated is not at all clear, some

the abbot of Dunbrody was made a peer of Parliament, we find records of his having been again and again summoned to attend his Parliamentary duties, such as the Parliaments of 1373, in Dublin; of 1377, at Tristledermot, now called Castledermot; of 1380 and 1401, in Dublin. The abbot of Dunbrody was admonished, by a special Royal writ, to observe the provisions of the celebrated statute of Kilkenny passed in 1367, which enacted that "no religious house situated among the English should henceforth receive any Irishmen to their profession, but might receive Englishmen without taking into consideration whether they were born in England or in Ireland; and that any acting otherwise, and attainted thereof, their temporalities should be seized into the hands of the king, so to remain at his pleasure."

The language and ideas of such an enactment as this seem to us very offensive and anti-Christian, but I do not think that this law arose from race hatred. I look on it merely in the light of a military precaution. The Anglo-Normans were living in very much a state of seige, in the presence of an overwhelming force of native Irish, who, if they could have united, might have easily swept them into the sea; and they dreaded the presence of anyone in their midst who might send intelligence to the enemy. I believe I am correct in stating that, for the very same reason, some of the Irish houses refused to admit "mere English" monks among them. "The communities of the Cistercian Order in England in 1324-1325, addressed a petition on this subject to Edward II., in which they represented that they received persons of every country provided they were of good character, but that the abbeys in Ireland only admitted to the Order such as were of the Irish nation."

In 1390-1, the community again got into trouble with the civil power; and David Esmond, a burgess of Wexford, was appointed to inquire into divers offences alleged to have been committed against the king's subjects by the monks. This Royal Commissioner was evidently not executing his commission to the satisfaction of the abbot, for he took a short and most effectual way of bringing the inquiry to a close by throwing Esmond into the abbey prison, where he kept him for sixteen days until he compelled him to swear he would not prosecute anyone. This to our readers will seem a very short and summary way of disposing of a Royal Commissioner; but we must remember that those were rough times, and that those old Anglo-Norman settlers

people attach St. Mary's, the parish church, to it, and say that it was served by the monks of St. Saviour's.

¹ We would look on the expression "mere Irish," when applied to the inhabitants of this country, as a term that implied contempt, but it bore no such meaning in those days. In a device for the better government of Ireland, placed before King Edward VI. in the year 1553, he is recommended to ordain "that no man be Deputy above one year; that every three years a mere Englishman be Deputy." There you see the term "mere Englishman" applied to the highest person in the realm, the representative of the King, that we call the Lord Lieutenant.

were very aggressive. We have on record a deed duly executed between Almaritius, Lord of Howth, and the Vicar of the Church of Howth, bearing date somewhere between 1231 and 1240, in which the Lord of Howth undertakes, under a penalty of forty shillings, not to lay violent hands *in future* on any clergyman unless in defending himself. (You will remark the words "in future.") We may feel sure that, in those days, it was often necessary for ecclesiastics to take strong measures to defend themselves.

It may not be uninteresting to give some idea of what an ecclesiastical prison was like. Not so very far from Dunbrody was situated the Bishop's Castle of Fethard; and in it there was a well-known ecclesiastical prison called "Gadde Black's pit." We find it mentioned in depositions taken before William Jarbard and Thomas Sigens, her Majesty's Commissioners, on the 21st March, 1569. Sir Robert Chever, Parson of Killawgey, of the "adge" of 66 "yeares or thereabouts, sworn, &c.," "he sayeth that he hard say by sundry persons the Deane Hay, had a bull from the Bushoppe of Rome upon the Deanry of ffernys and afterwards he knewe himself that he was taken prisoner by one John Purcell, then Bushoppe of ffernys and was put in 'Gadde Blacks pit' at fydderthe for that he refused not to forgoe the benefit of the said Bull."

This bishop's prison was lost sight of for many years, and was discovered, within the writer's remembrance, by the family then living in Fethard Castle. There was no apparent means of getting into the base of the tower of the castle. After searching in vain for any entrance, a door was, with great labour, quarried through the wall, and by that means admittance was obtained into what proved to be the dungeon of the castle. It was then found that prisoners were admitted by a flag being raised in the floor overhead, and when the flag was restored to its place there was no sign presented to those above of any means of entrance. Air, but scarcely a gleam of light, was obtained by means of a slit in the wall near the ceiling. Verily it well deserved its name of a black pit. At Dunbrody, there was some years since, the foundation of a circular structure which tradition called the prison, and which doubtless was of the same type as the bishop's prison at Fethard, so that we cannot at all congratulate David Esmond on the hospitality he enjoyed at Dunbrody;¹ but we must remember, the idea of making prisoners comfortable was never for a moment entertained in those days. This Royal Commissioner was a member of a notable county Wexford family, which is now represented by Sir Thomas Grattan Esmonde, of Ballinastragh, Gorey. The family is stated to have been founded by a Sir Geoffrey de Estmound or Esmonde, knight, of Huntington, in Lincolnshire, who, with his son, came to Ireland in the train of Strongbow. This family, at a very early date,

¹ "By a statute in the year 1229, the General Chapter at Citeaux directed that a strong and secure prison should be established in each abbey of the Order."

founded the castles of Rathlannan, and Johnstown, near Wexford. John Esmond became celebrated as Bishop of Ferns in the middle of the fourteenth century. Henry Esmond was Chancellor of that shire in 1310, and one of the deputation sent from the town of Wexford in 1317, headed by Sir Stephen Devereux, of Balmagir, to demand a charter for Wexford from the Earl Palatine (the Earl of Pembroke), and to that charter both he and Sir Stephen Devereux are witnesses. Henry Esmond was commanded, with the "Lord" Gilbert de Sutton, knight, of Ballykeroge, grand seneschal of the county, to provide ships in the port of Wexford for carrying the army from Ireland, under the command of Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, to join the expedition against Scotland. William Esmond of Johnstown was slain, fighting gallantly for Queen Elizabeth, as is shown by the patent creating his second son, Laurence Lord Esmond, a peer of the realm. His grandson of the same name was knight of the shire for the county Wexford in 1634.

But to return to our abbey: the majesty of the law which was offended in the person of David Esmond had to be satisfied; and in 1394, the abbot was arrested. He was subsequently pardoned on the payment of a fine of £40. In 1401, the abbot was summoned to another Parliament in Dublin, and again in the following year, in which King Henry VI. granted a confirmation of the rights and possessions of the house. We have not dwelt much on the confirmations of the rights and possessions of the abbey which it received from various monarchs, as we look on them as little more than so many means to replenish the Royal Exchequer, and support the regal officials, by means of fees and fines. It will be sufficient to say that confirmations of its rights and properties were granted by Edward III., Henry IV., as well as Henry VI.; and it was the subject of special Bulls, issued by Celestine III., dated 1195, for its establishment, and of Gregory XI., in 1374, granting to it the privileges of a mitred abbey.

Little that was eventful in the history of this monastery happened down to the year 1492. At that time we can begin to detect symptoms of the storm that was about to break over all the monastic foundations in the country, and to involve them in one common ruin. In that year the Baron of Finglass, in his "Breviate," advised the suppression of this abbey and some others "as adjoynnyng to ye Irishrie and giving more supportacion to those Irishmen than to ye King or his subjects"; and that "they (the abbeys) be given to the young Lords, knights and gentlemen, out of England which shall dwell upon same." It is evident the young Lords and knights and gentlemen were beginning to look with greedy eyes on the abbey lands, and were anxious for a pretext to seize upon them; and when the storm did break, Dunbrody was one of the first to feel its effects. In 1537, in a session of Parliament held at Limerick, an Act was passed vesting in the king Dunbrodie and its possessions, with twelve other abbeys named in the Act.

In 1544, the abbey was formally surrendered by the abbot Alexander Devereux, who was appointed the first Reformation Bishop of Ferns.

Alexander Devereux was only remarkable for the alacrity with which he flew upon the spoil. Probably he thought that when plunder was going, his relatives were entitled to a share; but unfortunately, having contracted the habit of leasing church lands at nominal rents to his relations, he kept it up when he was promoted to the Bishopric of Ferns, and seriously despoiled that See. Notwithstanding the Devereux leases, a very large estate remained in the hands of the Crown, which King Henry VIII., by his letters patent bearing date the 14th of October, in the 37th year of his reign (1546), granted to Sir Osborne Itchingham, in exchange for the manor of Netherhall, in Norfolk, which he surrendered to his Majesty. This Sir Osborne Itchingham seems to have been Marshal of the King's army in Ireland; and if any of our readers desire a detailed account of the great estate that he then acquired, we would refer them to the *Cal. Inquisitionum Cancellariæ Hiberniæ*, and to an inquisition held at New Ross in the reign of James I., 1624. From the Itchinghams, this estate passed by marriage to the Chichester family, now represented by Lord Templemore. With the confiscation, the history of Dunbrody Abbey may be said to end. The monks lingered on here, as they did in many other instances, in the neighbourhood of their old homes even to our own times. The writer of this Paper was informed by the present caretaker of the ruined Abbey of Clare Galway, that he himself received the key of the churchyard surrounding the ruins from the last of the monks.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to others who have written before on this subject, for some of the historical facts mentioned in this Paper, and more particularly to Dr. John T. Gilbert, M.R.I.A., F.S.A.

NOTE.—Surely it is in the irony of fate that the grotesque so-called restoration of this fine old Abbey, such as the building up the arches of the nave in the years 1857 and 1858, and other work of the same period, should be laid at the door of the Royal Society of Antiquaries.

These works were carried out by the late Mr. M. W. Knox, who refused to receive the advice of any qualified person, and were made at the time the subject of a vigorous protest by the Rev. James Graves, Hon. Secretary of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society, under which name our Royal Society of Antiquaries was then known.

THE SHAMROCK IN LITERATURE: A CRITICAL CHRONOLOGY.

By NATHANIEL COLGAN, M.R.I.A.

(Continued from page 226.)

THUS far the shamrock has appeared in our chronology simply as an article of food. Nothing in the literature of the subject, from Lobel in 1570 down to Mundy in 1680,¹ has so much as hinted at the use of the plant as a religious emblem or a badge of nationality; and it is only after the lapse of fully a century from the date of its first appearance in literature, that we find it mentioned in connexion with the celebration of St. Patrick's day. There are, in fact, two distinct phases in the history of the shamrock, an earlier, in which the plant appears exclusively as a food herb, a later, in which it appears as badge or emblem. These two phases are by no means separated by a sharp line of division. The earlier overlaps the later, the economic shamrock, as it may be called, gradually giving place to the emblematic.

1681.—*The Shamrock Badge makes its first appearance in Literature.*

It is in the *Journal* of Thomas Dinely, an English gentleman, who travelled in Ireland, during the reign of Charles II., that the history of the shamrock enters on this later phase. The *Journal*, which appears to have been written in 1681, has a chapter on the "Manners and Customs and Saints' days of the Irish," in which this passage occurs:—

"The 17th day of March yearly is St. Patrick's, an immoveable feast when ye Irish of all stations and conditions were crosses in their hats, some of pins, some of green ribbon, and the vulgar superstitiously wear shamroges, 3-leaved grass, which they likewise eat (they say) to cause a sweet breath. The common people and servants also demand their Patrick's groat of their masters, which they goe expressly to town, though half a dozen miles off, to spend, where sometimes it amounts to a piece of 8 or cobb a piece, and very few of the zealous are found sober at night."²

This is the earliest record of the wearing of the shamrock and of the Patrick's Cross, the cross which since then has gradually given way to the shamrock, being here spoken of by Dinely, as being of the two in more general use in his time. It may be fairly argued, of course, that the use

¹ See "Journal of Botany," vol. xxxii., p. 109 (1894), for further information about Mundy.

² See p. 183, vol. i., New Series "Journal of Kilkenny Archæological Society" (1856), where *Dinely's Journal* was first published by Evelyn Philip Shirley.

of the shamrock as a badge probably long ante-dated this first record of its appearance in that character. On the other hand, it may be argued, and, perhaps, with equal force, that the absence of any reference in previous writers, to the wearing of the shamrock is hard to reconcile with the earlier existence of the practice; at least to an extent sufficient to make it a national custom. But there is no place here for the nice balancing of conflicting probabilities such as these. That is a task which must be left to skilled antiquarians, and to them, too, it must be left to determine whether Dinely, in speaking of the superstitious use of the shamrock by the vulgar, intended to make allusion to the well-known, but apparently modern, legend of St. Patrick and the Trinity.

It is noteworthy that Dinely makes no mention of the shamrock in his paragraph on the food of the Irish, though with almost all previous English writers on the subject the plant had a place *de rigueur* in the Irish dietary, and had, indeed, been already raised in literature, if not in fact, to the rank of a staple food. Dinely, no doubt, speaks of the shamrock being eaten to cause a sweet breath; but here he probably confounds the plant with the sea-weed, *dillisk*, early recorded as eaten in Ireland for that purpose. Thus in John Ray's "Correspondence"¹ I find a letter from a Dr. Ward, dated "Kilkenny, 1696," in which he writes: "The Irish eat dillisk at all times when no other food is to be had . . . and esteem it good to cause a sweet breath."

1682.—*The Shamrock is used as a Summer Food by the Irish in the Rocky Districts of the County Clare.*

Sir Henry Piers of Tristernaght, Baronet, in his *Chorographical Description of the County of Westmeath*, written in 1682, makes a very circumstantial reference to the use of the shamrock as food, a reference which, unlike many of earlier date, has all the appearance of being original rather than a mere transcript from previous writers. The passage here given in full is taken from Vallancey's "Collectanea," in which the "Description" of Piers was first published in 1786:—

"In countries that are rocky, as in some parts of Tuomond, where corn is not to be had in great plenty . . . they have a custom every Mayday, which they count their first day of Summer, to have to their meal one formal dish, whatever else they have, which some call stirabout or hasty pudding, that is, flour and milk boiled thick, and this is holden as an argument of the good wive's good housewifery that made her corn hold out so well as to have such a dish to begin summer with; for if they can hold out so long with bread they count they can do well enough with what remains of the year till harvest, for then milk becomes plenty, and butter, new cheese, and curds and shamrocks are the food of the meaner sort for all this season."

In this passage, which appears to go far towards proving the habitual use of the shamrock for food as distinguished from its occasional use in

¹ "Ray's Correspondence."—Ray Society, London, 1848, p. 305.

times of famine or scarcity, it will be seen that the practice is connected with the rocky limestone districts of the county Clare (Thomond), though the "Description" of Piers professedly deals with Westmeath.

1686.—John Ray, the father of English Natural History, as he may be called, in his "*Historia Plantarum*," first published in 1686, makes the following reference to the shamrock under the heading: "*Trifolium pratense purpureum*," common purple trefoil or honeysuckle trefoil:—

Sunt Hiberni qui suo Shambroch (quod est *Trifolium purpureum pratense*) aluntur, celeres et robusti ut nos monuit D. Tancredus Robinson.

The Irish who nourish themselves with their Shamrock, which is the Purple meadow Trefoil, are robust and fleet of foot, as Dr. Tancred Robinson has informed us.

This passage is obviously a transcript from Henry Mundy, supplied to Ray by his friend and constant correspondent, the learned Dr. Tancred Robinson, though the source of the quotation is not pointed out in Ray's "*Historia*." As a mere transcript, this reference can in no way strengthen Mundy's assertion that the purple trefoil, *Trifolium pratense* of Linnæus, is the true food-shamrock.

1689.—*The Shamrock is firmly established as an Emblem of Ireland and the Irish.*

James Farewell, in the "*Irish Hudibras*,"¹ a satire on the Irish in the form of a travesty of the sixth book of the "*Æneid*," is our next authority in order of time. This deservedly scarce work, published anonymously in 1689, makes more frequent mention of the shamrock than any other hitherto cited, but for many reasons its evidential value is very small. In the first place, it is a work of imagination, a foul imagination, be it said, so that we may expect from the writer no slavish adherence to fact. In the next place, the shamrock throughout the narrative is arbitrarily forced to play the rôle of the talismanic *aureus ramus*, the golden branch, which smoothed Æneas's passage through the lower world; and, finally, all the references of any apparent value are obviously drawn from the older authors already quoted from. Thus much, however, the satire conclusively proves, the very close connexion existing towards the close of the seventeenth century in English minds, at least, between the Irish and the shamrock. In this coarse satire of everything Irish, religion, manners and customs, history and modes of speech, Ireland is habitually spoken of as Shamrogshire, and the mention of an Irishman seems just as naturally to suggest to the writer thoughts of the Irishman's supposed favourite food, the shamrock,

¹ The "*Irish Hudibras*, or Fingallian Prince, taken from the Sixth Book of Virgil's *Æneids* and adapted to the Present Times." (London, 1689.)

as the word Frenchman was, at one time, wont to call up thoughts of stewed frogs in the minds of Englishmen. A few couplets from the "Irish Hudibras" may be quoted in support of what has just been said. The fleet of the hero, Nees (the Irish Æneas), having anchored in Lough Erne, the mariners land and disperse in search of food, when one of them discovers (p. 5):—

"Springs, happy springs, adorn'd with Sallets,
Which Nature purposed for their Palats;
Shamroges and watergrass he shows,
Which was both meat, and Drink and Close."

This is an obvious reproduction of Spenser's "plotte of water-cresses or sham-rokes"; Spenser's *View*, indeed, is quoted in a marginal note of the author's further on.

Again, when Nees visits Shela (the Sibyl), she tells him (p. 23), how—

"Within a Wood near to this place,
There grows a Bunch of Three-leav'd-grass,
Call'd by the Boglanders, Shamrogues,
A present for the Queen of Shoges (spirits).¹

and, once again, when Nees meets the shades of the Irish heroes in the lower world, he finds them:—

"Stalking about the Bogs and Moors
Without a Rag, Trousers, or Brogues,
Picking of sorrels and sham-rogues."

The absence of any mention in this work of the use of the shamrock as a badge is rather striking, for the writer spent a considerable time in Fingal, the northern maritime district of county Dublin, and makes frequent reference to St. Patrick. Two passages, indeed, have been more than once quoted from this *Irish Hudibras* as hinting at the wearing of the shamrock, one on p. 77:—

"Nay not so much has Bryan Oge
To put in's head as one shamroge."

Another on p. 151:—

"Bring me a Bunch of Suggane Ropes
Of Shamroges and Pottado-Tops,
To make a Lawrel;"

but the context makes it extremely doubtful whether either of these is

¹ This passage has been quoted by a Nineteenth Century writer as supporting the view that the wood-sorrel was the shamrock of the ancient Irish. The name three-leaved grass, however, appears to have been exclusively applied to the meadow clovers by the old botanists, and the woodland habitat here given to the shamroge is an instance of adherence, not to fact, but to the text of the *Æneid*.

meant to convey any reference to the use of the shamrock badge. The first occurs in a complaint as to his scanty fare made by the shade of Bryan Oge (Priam) in the lower world, and probably refers to the shamrock food; the second is merely a burlesque of the classic laurel wreath, and might be taken to prove the wearing of the hay-rope (suggane) or the potato top as a national badge quite as well as the wearing of the shamrock.

1699.—Edward Lhwyd, or Lloyd, the Welsh antiquarian and botanist, on his return from an enterprising tour in the west and north of Ireland, writes a letter to Dr. Tancred Robinson bearing date December 15, 1699,¹ in which he says:—

“ Their Shamrug is the Common Clover.”

Lhwyd is quite silent as to the use of the shamrock whether as badge or as food, and does not make it quite clear what particular species of trefoil is so named by the Irish. Common clover here may mean either of the Linnæan species, *Trifolium pratense* or *T. repens*, and Lhwyd has probably left the matter vague, because he had not the means of exactly determining the species. To add further confusion to the subject, Lhwyd, in his *Irish-English Dictionary*, published in 1707 in the first volume of his *Archæologia Britannica*, Englishes *Seamrog* into wood-sorrel, while he gives, as from Plunket's MS. “Latin-Irish Dictionary” of 1662, the alternative rendering, “clover,” for the same word, *Seamrog*, which does not occur at all in Plunket's manuscript.²

IV.—When after the lapse of a quarter of a century the shamrock again makes its appearance in literature we find that it has completely assumed its modern character and associations. It has now become, as a botanical species, what it has remained up to quite recent times in all the weightier authorities, the white or Dutch clover (*Trifolium repens* of Linnæus), its emblematic appears to have already supplanted its economic use, and the legend connecting it with Saint Patrick's preaching of the doctrine of the Trinity finds what seems to be its earliest literary expression.³

¹ Published in “Philosoph. Trans.” (1712), vol. 27, p. 503.

² As showing the widespread use of Patrick's Crosses among the upper classes at this time, the following passage from Swift's “Journal” to Stella, under date 17th March, 1712–13, may be quoted here:—“The Irish folks were disappointed that the Parliament did not meet to-day because it was St. Patrick's Day, and the Mall was so full of crosses that I thought all the world was Irish.” It is worthy of note that there is no mention here of the wearing of shamrocks, which would appear to have become popular at a later date than the Patrick's Cross. The cross is still worn by children in the Dublin Liberties, where it takes the form of a paper boss, or rosette, pinned on the breast, and bearing on its surface a conspicuous cross made of green paper. But the custom is fast dying out.

³ It is not without much hesitation that I set this down as the first definite statement of the Trinity legend. I have not been able, however, to find any earlier.

1727.—*The Trinity legend of the Shamrock makes its first appearance in Literature.*

It is in Caleb Threlkeld's *Synopsis Stirpium Hibernicarum*,¹ published in Dublin, in 1727, that the modern shamrock thus makes its first appearance. The passage now to be quoted, one of the best known in the shamrock literature, occurs under the heading of *Trifolium pratense album*, the then current botanical synonym for *T. repens* of Linnæus:—

“ This plant is worn by the people in their hats on the 17th day of March yearly, which is called St. Patrick's Day, it being a current tradition that, by this three-leaved grass, he emblematically set forth to them the mystery of the Holy Trinity. However that be, when they wet their seamar-oge, they often commit excess in liquor, which is not a right keeping of a day to the Lord; error generally leading to debauchery.”

Threlkeld's opinion on matters of Irish botany is entitled to considerable respect. A native of Cumberland, he early settled in Dublin, where he practised the professions of medical doctor and dissenting minister, diverting himself for many years, to quote his own words, “ in the contemplation of vegetables.” For his Irish plant names he relies chiefly on a MS. which he attributes to the Rev. Richard Heaton, perhaps the earliest of all investigators of the Irish flora, and which seems to have been written before 1641. But he had, doubtless, the means of corroborating and supplementing this MS. by intercourse with the native herb-doctors then numerous in Dublin, to whom he makes reference more than once and sometimes not without an amusing professional acrimony.² So that we are justified in accepting with confidence Threlkeld's identification of *Trifolium repens* as the Irish Seamar-oge.

John K'Eogh, in his *Botanologia Universalis Hibernica*,³ a work treating of the medical virtues, largely imaginary, of Irish herbs, and worthless save for its full lexicon of native plant-names, corroborates Threlkeld's identification of *Trifolium repens* with the Seamar-oge. Like Threlkeld, K'Eogh is quite silent as to the use of the plant for food.

¹ With the sub-title: “ A Short Treatise of Native Plants, especially such as grow spontaneously in the vicinity of Dublin ”—a most entertaining book, even for non-botanical readers.

² For instance he makes the following note on the Royal Fern (*Osmunda*) which he was unable to discover for himself: “ I have seen fair specimens of it among the Herb-Folks in John's-lane, who are loath to discover the Place where it grows for Fear of Interlopers who may nim their profit, monopolies being natural to Self-ended men.” Herb shops were still to be seen in Dublin not many years since, amongst other places in Mark's-alley where Threlkeld himself lived and from which he dates the preface of his *Synopsis*.

³ Cork, 1735.

1737.—*The Irish make bread from the honey-scented flowers of the Purple Clover.*

The next mention of the shamrock occurs in a work, where one might least expect to find any reference to things Irish, in the *Lapland Flora*¹ of Linnæus. Glancing over this most fascinating of floras where the cold precision of science is warmed and coloured by frequent touches of human feeling and poetry, one is surprised to find in the paragraph dealing with *Trifolium pratense* or the Purple Clover the following attractive account of the shamrock-bread:—

* Hiberni suo Chambroch, quod est *Trifolium pratense* purpureum, aluntur celeres et promptissimi roboris. Confiunt enim panem e floribus hujus plantæ melleum odorem spirantibus qui magis placet quam qui ex *Spergula recensita* paratur.—("Mund. Diæt.," 125.)²

The swift and agile Irish nourish themselves with their shamrock which is the Purple Trefoil; for they make from the flowers of this plant, breathing a honeyed odour, a bread which is more pleasant than that made from the Spurrey already mentioned.

Of the spurrey bread, here unfavourably compared with the shamrock bread, Linnæus gives a particular account in an earlier passage of the same work where he tells us how the Lapps, in a failure of corn, grind the seed of *Spergula arvensis*, a troublesome corn field weed known in England by the name Spurrey, and bake from the flour a kind of black bread. From the language of this passage one might be tempted to infer that if Linnæus himself had not eaten both the shamrock-bread and the spurrey-bread, and weighed their respective merits, he had, at least, communicated with someone who had made the experiment. But I fear we cannot safely make any such inference. A comparison of the first sentence of this passage in the *Lapland Flora* with that already quoted from Henry Mundys treatise *De Aëre vitali* (1680) shows that Linnæus has copied almost *verbatim* from Mundy. As for the second sentence, I can discover no source from which Linnæus could have borrowed it, and can only hazard the opinion that the baking of bread from clover flowers breathing a honeyed odour, is an embellishment by the illustrious Swede's poetic fancy of Lobel's naked statement that the Irish made cakes of the meadow trefoil.

In the *Irish Hudibras* of William Moffet (London, 1755),³ a rhyming satire on the Irish, little inferior in coarseness to Thomas Farewell's earlier work with the same title, but far beneath it in the knowledge of

¹ "Flora Lapponica," 1st edition, Amsterdam, 1737.

² This "Mund. Diæt." is the obscure reference which, as before stated (see p. 226), Professor Fries kindly cleared up for me.

³ With the sub-title: "Hespero-neso-graphia, or a Description of the Western Isle." Moffet describes himself as "School-master."

Irish affairs shown by the writer, the shamrock is introduced as an ingredient in a Homeric feast given to his friends by the hero, the Hibernian chief Gillo. On page 10 appears a doggerel bill of fare, which is made to include horse-flesh, and winds up with these lines :—

* “ Besides all this, vast bundles came
Of Sorrel, more than I can name,
And many sheaves, I hear, there was,
Of Shamrogs and of Water-grass,
Which there for curious sallads pass.”

This reference to the shamrock is obviously a mere echo of older writers.

1772.—*The Shamrock food supplanted by the Potato.*

John Rutty, a Dublin doctor, in his “ Natural History of the County of Dublin,” published in 1772, refers to the eating of the shamrock, but, unlike previous authorities, identifies the Irish food-herb with the white clover, *Trifolium repens*. On page 88 of the first volume of his work, we have the following passage in a section dealing with the esculent vegetables of the county :—

* *Trifolium pratense album* (C.B.) White-flowered Meadow Trefoil, Hibernice, Shamrock. It is very nourishing and was much eaten by the ancient Irish, before the introduction of potatoes, giving them strength and firmness.

Though Rutty tells us that he collected his facts partly from “ authentic testimonies ” he had received of some of the practices of the ancient Irish, this passage may be set down as substantially a transcript of the reference in Ray’s *Historia Plantarum* which, as we have seen, is itself derived from the earlier work of Mundy. Rutty was induced to make the food-herb of the ancient Irish the white clover, rather than the purple clover, probably because he found that the former plant was named Seamar-oge in Threlkeld’s *Synopsis*, or was so called by the Irish of his own day. Rutty’s suggestion that the shamrock as a food was supplanted by the potato may be regarded, no doubt, as the result of some *post hoc ergo propter hoc* process of reasoning. A study of the older botanists and writers on Ireland convinced him that the shamrock was a staple vegetable food of the Irish in former days ; his personal experience showed him that it had altogether ceased to be a food in his own time, while the potato had risen to a place of chief importance in the dietary of the Irish : the inference was obvious, that the native shamrock had been supplanted by the aggressive, exotic potato.

1777.—John Lightfoot in his “ *Flora Scotica*,” published in 1777, presents us with the shamrock bread in the zenith of its development in

literature. On page 404 of his first volume we have the following note on *Trifolium pratense*, or the Purple clover :—

* In Ireland the poor people, in a scarcity of corn, make a kind of bread of the dry'd flowers of this and the preceding plant [*T. repens*] reduced to powder. They call the plant Chambroch, and esteem the bread made of it to be very wholesome and nutritive.

This short passage gives us a terse synthesis of some two centuries of the shamrock literature, or rather of that part of it which deals with the plant as a bread-stuff. From Lobel we have the bread baked from the two forms of meadow trefoil; from Fynes Moryson and Piers, its use in a scarcity of corn; from Mundy, the Latinized form of the native Irish plant-name, and the opinion as to the high nutritive value of the trefoil bread, and from Linnæus the use of the flowers. Over these materials Lightfoot has suffered his own imagination to play. He grinds the shamrock flowers to powder; foists on the Irish Mundy's pious opinion as to the nutritive value of the plant, and translating the whole body of facts and fancies from the past to the present, raises the shamrock-bread from a tradition to an actuality. While he gives *Seamrag* as the Scotch Gaelic for *Trifolium repens*, Lightfoot seems to have overlooked the fact that the supposed Irish name, Chambroch, which he applies to *T. pratense*, is nothing more than the Latinized form of this same word, *Seamrage*.

Walter Wade, M.D., in his "Catalogue of Indigenous Plants of the County Dublin," published in 1794, confirms previous identifications of the white clover (*T. repens*) with the *seamaroge* of the native Irish. Wade travelled a good deal in Ireland, and paid considerable attention to the native plant-names, so that this identification of his may be taken as corroborating Threlkeld and K'Eogh.

V.—With the end of the eighteenth century this chronology of the shamrock may fitly be brought to a close. Nineteenth century writers on the subject appear only as commentators, critics, or compilers, so that a detailed review of their numerous contributions to the shamrock literature would necessarily take us once more over the ground already traversed. With one exception, then, this Nineteenth-century literature may be passed over in silence. This exception is found in Bicheno's paper propounding the wood-sorrel theory of the shamrock, a paper which deserves more than a passing notice as having contributed not a little to intensify the existing confusion of thought on the subject.

1830.—*The Wood-sorrel Theory of the Shamrock is propounded.*

James Ebenezer Bicheno, an English botanist of considerable reputation, and sometime Secretary of the Linnæan Society, appears to have

had his attention drawn to the subject of the shamrock in the course of a lengthened tour in Ireland in the year 1829. On his return to England in the following year we find him reading before the Linnæan Society a paper bearing the rather slipshod title: "On the Plant intended by the Shamrock of Ireland."¹ Accepting the then and still commonly received opinion that *Trifolium repens*, the white or Dutch clover, is the modern shamrock badge, Bicheno, after a full discussion of authorities, in the course of which he cites Spenser, Moryson, Gerard, Wither, Threlkeld, K'Eogh, and the Irish Hudibras, comes to the conclusion that the *Oxalis Acetosella*, or wood-sorrel, must have been the original emblem of Ireland.

Reduced to its essentials, Bicheno's argument may be thus stated. An old English writer relates that the Irish willingly eat the herb shamrock, being of a sharp taste, while popular tradition assures us that the shamrock was a trifoliate plant used by St. Patrick as an emblem of the Trinity, and ever since worn by Irishmen on the 17th March, in commemoration of the saint. The original shamrock of Ireland must, consequently, have been an edible, sharp-tasted plant, with trifoliate leaves. The wood-sorrel is just such a plant as this, and its Irish name, *seamsoge*, so closely resembles, both in spelling and in sound, the Irish name, *seamroge*, given to the meadow trefoil (*Trifolium repens*), that, as Bicheno naïvely puts it, "they [*i. e.* the names] must be the same." Therefore the wood-sorrel is the original shamrock of Ireland, the plant used by St. Patrick to symbolise the Trinity for our pagan ancestors. The very obvious objection to this conclusion, that the wood-sorrel is not now worn anywhere on St. Patrick's Day, Bicheno anticipates, and ingeniously meets by a theory of substitution. Cultivation, which brought the trefoils into Ireland,² destroyed, to a great extent, the native woods, which are the habitat of the wood-sorrel, until the latter plant, becoming too scarce or local to serve as the national badge, was finally supplanted in the hats of Irishmen by *Trifolium repens*, the white clover.

It is plain from this *résumé* of Bicheno's argument, that his case for the *Oxalis* rests almost exclusively on the familiar passage from Fynes Moryson. In support of this passage he has nothing to bring forward but assumptions, assumption that the words, *seamsoge* and *seamroge*, are identical, that the meadow trefoil cannot be eaten, that the use of the shamrock badge dates from the earliest ages, that the trefoils were

¹ Published in vol. i., "Journal of Royal Institution of Great Britain," 1830-31.

² Bicheno supports this statement by a reference to Hartlib's "Legacy of Husbandry," published in 1651, which, he says, records the introduction of the clovers into Ireland in the middle of the 17th century. Mr. James Britten, F.L.S., of the British Museum, having kindly consulted for me Hartlib's work, which is not in any of the Dublin libraries, informs me that the writer merely refers to the introduction of clovers as a farmer might now introduce special strains of seed.

introduced into Ireland only so late as the middle of the seventeenth century. The course of this chronology has, it is hoped, set in a clear light the preponderance of the claims of one or other of the meadow trefoils to be considered as the true shamrock, the ancient bread-stuff of the Irish, no less than their more modern badge of nationality, so that in closing this short summary of Bicheno's ingenious plea for the wood-sorrel, it is unnecessary to say more than this, that he has altogether failed to prove his case. Regarded as an attempt to fix the species of Fynes Moryson's food-herb his reasoning is open to little objection; where he tries to do more than this he commits himself to most flagrant special pleading.

VI.—At the opening of this shamrock chronology, it was not intended to do more than present in a convenient form for reference, so much of the scattered literature of the subject as it had been found possible to bring together, without drawing largely on sources other than those available in the Dublin libraries. But readers who have had the patience to follow this historical survey to its close may fairly expect to have set before them, at least a summary of such conclusions as the literary evidence would appear to justify. While carefully abstaining then, from anything in the nature of speculation, I will state these conclusions here as briefly as possible; but before doing so, it may be well to point out how very small is the body of evidence proper to be extracted from the long array of passages quoted, from Lobel in 1570 down to Wade in 1796. In a confused massing, these various authorities may perhaps impress our judgment with all the force of a cloud of witnesses. Ranged in historical order, however, they are seen to resolve themselves for the greater part into nothing more than a manifold echo of a few authentic voices. Confining our attention, for instance, to the shamrock as a food-stuff, we find that the testimony of Lobel, Campion, Spenser, and Gerard, original, at least in the sense that the authors cannot be ascertained to have copied from previous writings, becomes little better than mere hearsay in the pages of Stanihurst, Speed, Wither, Taylor, Ware, and Farewell. Mundy, perhaps drawing on fresh sources of information, perhaps giving free play to his fancy, amplifies the tradition received from earlier writers, and passes it on to Ray, Linnæus, and Ruttty. Linnæus, in his turn, having added a touch of poetry to the tradition of Mundy, transmits it to Lightfoot, in whose hands it reaches its final stage of development.

Thus, it will be seen, the body of evidence, as distinct from pure literary tradition, is very much smaller than the number of authorities might lead us to expect. Still there appears to be enough to justify the following conclusions, which, it should be borne in mind, are based exclusively on the literary evidence, leaving altogether out of view any possible support or new light to be drawn from a study of art.

For almost a century from the date of its first appearance in literature, the shamrock presents itself solely as a bread-stuff or food-herb of the Irish, probably so used only in times of famine or scarcity of corn.

The shamrock thus used as food was one or other or, perhaps, both of the meadow clovers or trefoils, *Trifolium pratense* (Purple clover) and *T. repens* (White clover) of modern botanists.

There is no reason to believe that this shamrock food was used at any date later than 1682.

The shamrock badge, or emblem, makes its first appearance in literature in the year 1681.

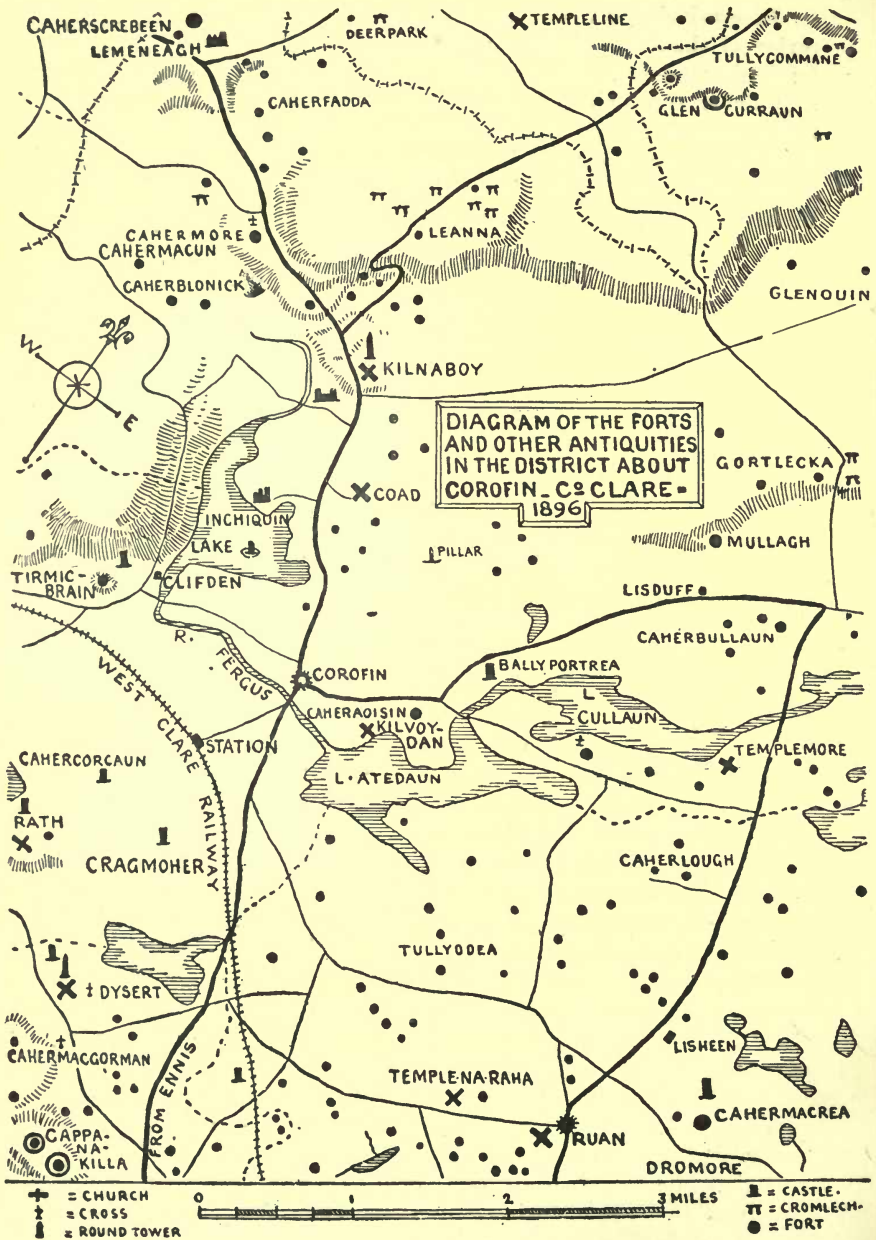
To these positive conclusions may be added the following negative conclusion:—

The Wood sorrel (*Oxalis Acetosella*) was not at any period used in Ireland as a badge or emblem, nor did it ever serve as a food with the Irish in the same sense as the meadow trefoil.

These are the conclusions which, it seems to me, may be safely drawn from a study of the shamrock literature, as we know it, down to the close of the eighteenth century; and it will be noted that they include no answer to a question which many may regard as the most interesting of all in connexion with this subject, the question: What is the botanical species of the modern shamrock or shamrock badge? An answer to this must be sought for in the later or critical literature of the shamrock, and it is outside the scope of this paper to give even so much as a catalogue of the numerous Nineteenth Century contributions to this literature. The naked results, however, of the most recent inquiries on this point, may be stated here in a few words. Two species of clover or trefoil are in almost equal favour to-day as the true shamrock, that is to say, as the proper plant to be worn by Irishmen on the 17th March. These species are *Trifolium repens* (white clover), and *T. minus* (yellow-flowered clover), the relative frequency of employment of the two, calculated from forty-five specimens, collected from twenty Irish counties, being as 8 to 7; or to put it in another way, if we take the shamrock from the hat of an Irish peasant on Saint Patrick's Day, and submit it to a botanist for examination, the chances are just 8 to 7 in favour of his identifying it as *Trifolium repens* rather than *T. minus*.¹

¹ There is a slight chance, too, that the plant may turn out to be *T. pratense* (Purple clover), or *Medicago lupulina* (Black medick). For fuller information on this question of the modern shamrock-badge, the *Irish Naturalist* for 1892-93, may be consulted—vol. i., p. 95, and vol. ii., p. 207.

In conclusion, I would once more express the hope that this critical review of the shamrock literature may serve, at least, as a starting point for further inquiry. There are still, no doubt, many missing links to be supplied in the chain of literary tradition, which in the matter of the food-s shamrock connects the Elizabethan botanists with Linnæus, nor is it unreasonable to expect that a closer study of early English writers might enable us to trace this tradition still farther backwards to pre-Elizabethan times.



Plan of Forts in the Barony of Inchiquin.

PREHISTORIC STONE FORTS OF NORTHERN CLARE.

By THOMAS J. WESTROPP, M.A., M.R.I.A., FELLOW.

*(Continued from page 157.)*PART II.—INCHIUIN (*continued*).

GLASGEIVNAGH HILL.¹—This range of hills rises gradually from the west to a steep eastern cliff; the top is a plateau of fissured crags, with here and there a shallow valley, and in the spring is very attractive, abounding in gentians, anemones, and numerous ferns and flowers. The remains on this plateau call for some notice. I carefully examined them in company with Dr. George U. Macnamara, our Local Secretary, to whose wide traditional and topographical knowledge, and constant practical help, I am much indebted for the completion of this Paper; moreover, the crags are difficult, wearisome, and, even to some extent, dangerous to traverse, and not likely to be much visited.

KNOCKAUN FORT (not to be confounded with Knockans townlands) stands on the ridge of Tullycommene, north of Cahercommene. It is not oval, as shown on the 6-inch Ordnance Survey map, but consists of a poorly built, slight wall, forming an angular enclosure on the crags. Inside is a souterrain of the usual type, two nearly parallel walls 3 feet apart, roofed by a slab about 7 feet square, and leading into an enclosure of slabs set on edge, 21 feet \times 17 feet, with a door to the south flanked by two regular blocks like seats; smaller but somewhat similar structures exist at Ballyganner.

Several interesting remains lie westward along the ridge in line with each other and Knockaun fort: a large long cromlech, which the scope of this Paper does not permit me to describe; a circular caher of well-laid slabs, levelled to a couple of feet in height, its gate facing east-south-east; a circular cairn, its middle dug out, and reputed to have more fairies than all the other forts of the hill; near it a smaller cairn or giant's grave: these crown a rounded green hill, possibly the "Tulach chumann," which gives the townland its name; a rath of earth and stones, south of it a thick-walled enclosure like a small house; finally, crossing the road, we find a small fort nearly levelled, and a larger caher, part of its western segment well preserved, with traces of a second ring nearly 300 feet in diameter. A short distance N.-E. from this is the hamlet of Castletown, with a lofty fragment of one of the

¹ Ordnance Survey (six-inch scale), Co. Clare, Sheet No. 10.

O'Loughlin's castles; passing round the hill we find north of the road:—

CAHERSAVAUN,¹ a well built fort of large blocks, which in winter forms a sort of crannoge in the temporary lough of Castletown, it surrounds a knoll on the very edge of Tullycommene, and indeed of the baronies of Inchiquin and Burren. Its gateway faced S.-E., and is destroyed.

Again ascending the ridge, we pass a late-looking enclosure, near which, in the rock, are three basins, so regular as to suggest their being artificial.

In Cappaghkennedy, east of Knockaun, is a large cairn, at the highest point of the ridge, 780 feet above the sea, with a noble view across Galway and Clare, from Loughrea and Kilmaedugh ruins to Cratloe



Cahersavaun in Winter.

and Inchiquin. Near it is a fine cromlech quite perfect, and long inhabited by poor families, though now unoccupied; at which is a block with three very small cup-markings, and two more just marked out, bearing distinct trace of having been picked, and not ground.²

CAHERMORE, or MOHER NA CARTAN, a fine caher on the borders of Cappaghkennedy and Knockans. It measures 138 feet north and south, with walls 10 feet thick and high, formed of large headers, often 2 feet 6 inches square, and 4 feet to 7 feet long.³ It has a souterrain 3 feet

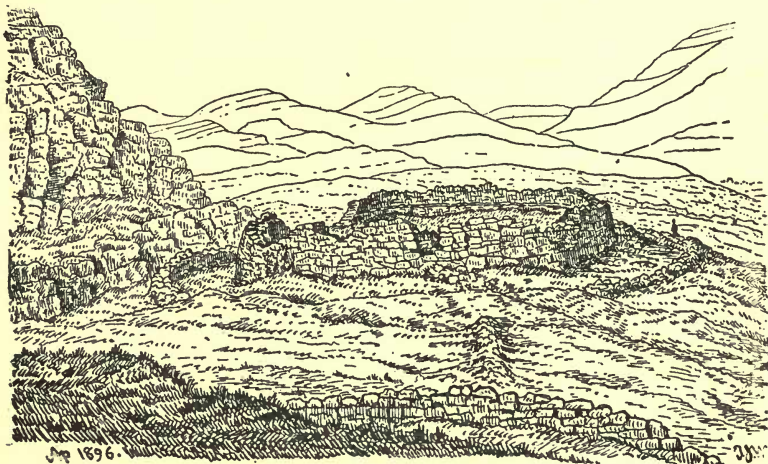
¹ A similar "crannoge caher," "quayed round with a stone wall," in a lake in county Antrim, is described in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. viii., p. 238. There is a Cahersavane in county Kerry, Sheet 89, Ordnance Survey. (See Wilkinson's "Ancient Architecture of Ireland," p. 58).

² Bullaun stones also occur with prehistoric remains at the cromlechs of Newgrove, Kiltanon, and the Mound of Magh Adhair, all near Tulla, county Clare.

³ In the "Dindseanchus" (*Revue Celtique*, xv., p. 449), Cu Roi is advised to direct the clans of Dedá to gather "pillar-stones" to build his caher.

6 inches \times 16 feet, roofed with blocks 6 feet long, level with the ground. The wall conforms to the edge of the projecting crag, jutting above the grassy depression of Mohernacartan, called, like the fort, after the Tuatha De Danann smith, Lon, who traditionally resided there, and whose legend I gave at some length in our *Journal*, 1895, p. 227. Near the south-west end of the depression, a long cromlech, much injured by fire, stands on the ridge; it was partially destroyed by a crazy lad named Mac Mahon, employed on the farm about fifteen years ago.

In the next field is a well-built, but nearly demolished, circular caher; and, nearer the waterfall, where the "Seven Streams" of Teeskagh fall into their verdant, shrubby glen, is a fort like Knockaun, called *Moherna glasha*, after the legendary cow "Glas Geivnagh"; it has some



Cahermore, Glenquin, from South.

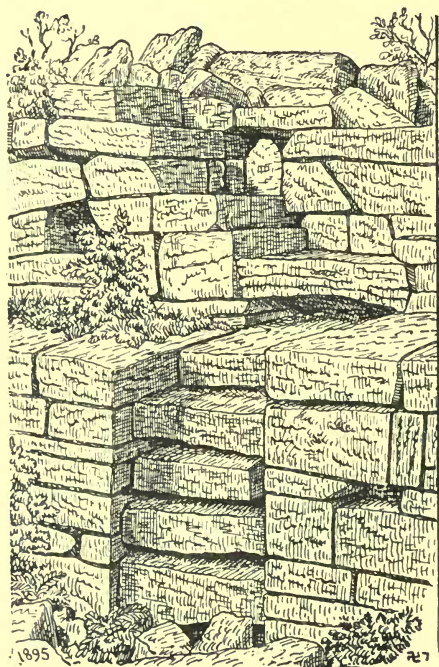
cloghauns, which probably, like the enclosure, are of no great age, the only noteworthy feature being a series of slabs set on end all round the interior with their edges to the wall. The entrance faces westward, and commands a fine view of Cahercommane and Glencurraun down the slope, with the tower of Lemeneagh far away.

GLENQUIN (110 feet \times 112 feet and 166 feet \times 170 feet,¹ sheet 10).—Under the cliffs of Glasgeivnagh, on the hill behind Mr. W. Russell's house, is the double fort of Cahermore,² looking over Glenquin valley, to its strangely terraced hills, and across all central Clare. As I saw it, with its fields and crags, blue with gentians and violets, it was one of

¹ Unless the contrary is stated my measurements are external diameters. Where two are given the first is N. and S., the second E. and W.; where four numbers are given the fort is double.

² Rev. T. Warren, *Member*, first called my attention to Glenquin fort.

the most picturesque forts in the county. It is fairly perfect, its wall 10 feet thick at base, and up to 11 feet 6 inches high, having a terrace 4 feet above the ground-level inside, varying from 1 foot 10 inches to 4 feet wide. The outer face is of good large masonry, diminishing upwards, and having filling as small as road metal, which has probably bulged it into its curious convex outline.¹ The defaced gate faces S.-E.; its lintel was 6 feet long. A souterrain lies N.-W. and S.-E. at 12 feet from the wall at the N.-W. segment. The outer ring has fallen, save to



Stone Ladder, Caherahoagh Fort.

the N.-E. where it is 4 feet thick and 5 feet high; it is not circular, but 20 feet at N., W. and S. to 29 feet at E. and S.-W. out from the inner rampart. A wall ran across this enclosure from the gate, and a house adjoined it to the south.

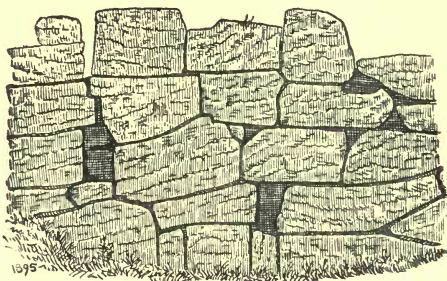
On the grassy knoll S.-W. is a small cairn "Lishaun" overlooking the narrow and cliff-girt Lough Avalla, locally called Aphoilla,

¹ This also occurs, *inter alia*, in Grianan Aileach, Staig, Duns Oghil, Conor, and Ballycarbery fort, in this country, and certain forts in Caithness and Sutherland.

and, at the foot of the slope, are the foundations of the oratory and friar's house of Templepatrick and Correen, a stream and bank enclosing the so-called "battlefield," whose history I fail to discover.

MULLAGH (129 feet to 138 feet, sheet 17), a caher of regular masonry on the hillside in Dabrien.—The walls are most perfect to N.-E., being 9 feet thick and high, with a terrace inside, 5 feet high and 2 feet 6 inches wide, and a batter of 1 in 4. Two defaced sets of steps lead up the terrace and wall at the N.; the defaced gate looks S.-E. Inside is a rock-cut tank or souterrain 33 feet from S.-W. A large earth fort, "Lisvetty," lies to the N.

CAHERAHOAGH (95 feet \times 103 feet, sheet 17), half a mile east from the last, in Caherbullaun, 3 miles N. from Corofin.—It is nearly oval in plan, slightly flattened to the E. and W. Its walls are roughly built in two sections, with small filling; the outer, 5 feet \times 9 feet high; the inner, a terrace, 3 feet 6 in. \times 5 feet high, with an interesting "stone ladder" in a recess 3 feet wide to the N.; five steps show above the rubbish, the top one having fallen, and four steps lead thence up the wall, to the left. The gate faces S.-E., and has been rebuilt about the fifteenth century, with dressed stone and mortar, retaining the old batter 1 in 12 (the outer face reset for 12 feet west and 5 feet east). The passage splays inward, from 5 feet 2 inches to 6 feet 5 inches, being 4 feet 4 inches wide, at two projecting jambs, 19 inches thick. Three inches behind these are bolt holes, showing how thin a door was used. A flight of four steps leads from the terrace up the south pier. *Caherbullaun* (82 feet), lies 58 feet to W., and *Lisduff*, a similar fort of earth and stones, in equal decay, lies beyond the road in a labyrinthine grove.



Masonry—Cahermore, Roughan.

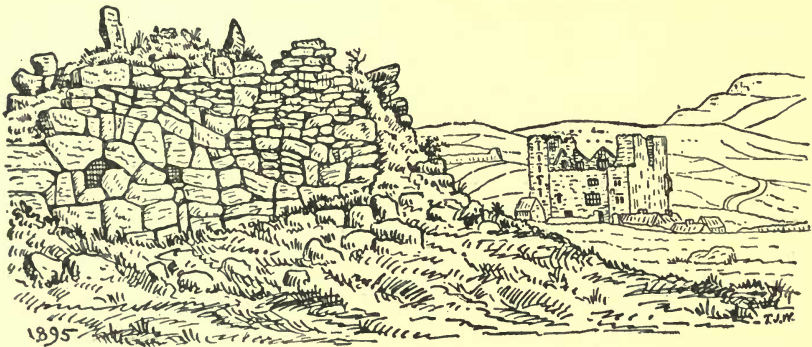
ROUGHAN (130 ft. \times 127 ft., sheet 16).—On a steep slope¹ near Kilnaboy cross and Lemeneagh gate, stands Cahermore.² Its wall is of finely fitted masonry, many of the blocks 5 feet \times 3 feet; it is 10 feet thick, 7 feet high to S., and 2 or 3 feet high to N. and E. The outer face, though perfect, shows no gate; the inner face, with much of the filling, has been removed; an inaccessible souterrain lies 17 feet from the wall to

¹ Such a site is common among Scotch forts. (See several striking examples in *Proc. Soc. Ant., Scot.*, 1895, pp. 113, 131, 137, 151.)

² The only fort fully described in the "Ord. Survey Letters on Clare," *R.I.A.*, vol. i., p. 47, copied in "Diocese of Killaloe," p. 494.

S.-E. In the next field, westward, lies the long cromlech of Ballycasheen.

CAHERSCREBEEN¹ (129 × 135 feet, sheet 16) is on the ridge behind Lemeneagh Castle, a shallow valley leads to its western face. The present wall seems built outside an older one, to enlarge the area,² and is 12 feet to 17 feet thick, and 7 feet high, with patches of good masonry, but much is built of small field stones, and much has fallen; no gate is visible; the interior is level with the top of the wall, and crossed by four foundations (N. and S.); a small hut stood in the centre, and an inaccessible souterrain 9 feet from the west. A shepherd told Dr. G. Macnamara, "it is one of the richest forts in Ireland: it has a room full of gold, another of deer's tallow, and a third of 'beor lochlanagh,' or Dane's beer."³ Pits dug by treasure-seekers appear everywhere.



Masonry—Caherscrebeen, near Lemeneagh Castle.

OTHER FORTS IN INCHQUIN.—Cappanakilla, a long ridge in Dysert, has two double⁴ forts, *Caheragaleagh* (the western, 100 feet × 60 feet, and 200 feet × 150 feet), and *Cahergurraun* (the eastern, 130 feet × 150 feet and 300 feet × 300 feet); both are overthrown and of rather small stones. The plateau has a fine outlook, extending from the spires of Ennis to Inchiquin Lake, and ends in steep crags covered with hazels. *Cahermacgorman*, levelled. *Caherclancy*, a high fort cut by the road. *Cahermacrea* (300 feet × 250 feet), quite overthrown, in a dense wood. To the S.W., is a smaller fort (130 feet), a ring of filling 6 feet high × 9 feet thick, the outer face rebuilt to protect a plantation. *Ballyharaghan*, overgrown and

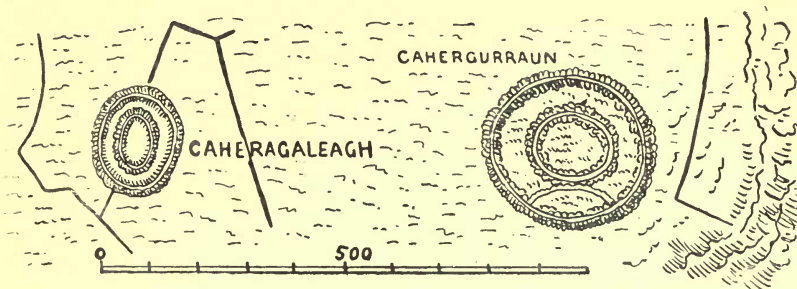
¹ Compare "Dun Scribin," north of Loch Ness, in Scotland.

² This is also noticeable at Caherbullog, near Slieve Elva, in the Burren.

³ Similarly in Bohemia the peasants tell of "giants' cellars" under the Wlader fort, "filled with treasure and wine," the fort being "pitted with the diggings of treasure-seekers."—*Proc. Soc. Ant., Scot.*, 1868-70, p. 161.

⁴ For a foreign example, see "Congrès International," Buda Pesth, vol. viii., p. 94.

featureless.¹ *Cahereen*, *Caherlough*, and *Cahervillare*, defaced. *Caheraoisin* (220 feet × 250 feet), of earth and stones, had gates to E and W., an old road leads to latter. *Cahermacatier*, of coarse blocks, much broken. *Caherblonick*, *Cahermacon* and *Caherfadda*, defaced. *Cahermore* in Killeen, S.E.



Plan of Forts on Cappanakilla. Scale, 400 feet to an inch.

from Coad, perfect but featureless, the walls 6 feet high. *Tirvicbrain*, two enclosures of doubtful age on an abrupt crag. *Roughan*, a fort at opposite end to *Cahermore* (p. 367 *supra*), featureless and overgrown.²

(To be continued.)

¹ This is one of the best examples of a stone fort in the parish of Ruan, but there are many interesting earth forts with souterrains, justifying Macgrath's epithet (in 1317): "Ruan of the grass-topped 'oans,'" *oan* being used both for cahers and caves in this barony.

² The following names are now forgotten:—In 1652, *Cahermoyle* or *Cahermeenroe*; *Cahershillagh* or *Cahernahaille* (perhaps *Parc-na-hilly*, in *Caherblonick*), in *Kilnaboy*; *Cahergar* (perhaps near *Lough Gar* and *Cahermaerea*); *Cahernamart*, and *Cahervicknea*, in *Ruan*.

Other interesting names in *Inchiquin* and its borders are:—*Caherbannagh*, in *Kilnamona*; *Cahervickaun*, in *Dysert*; *Cahergal*, *Cahernamona*, and *Cahercorcaun*, in *Rath*. (The last, called *Cragcorcaun* in "Annals of Four Masters," but *Cahercorcaun* in other documents of the period.) *Caherdermotygriffa*, in *Templemally*, on border of *Dysert*.

THE PRIORY OF INISTIOGE.

BY R. LANGRISHE, FELLOW.

THIS was the only monastic community in the county of Kilkenny, of which tradition expressly states that it was founded in the time of the early Celtic Church. It was dedicated to St. Columba, or Columbkille as he was commonly called, and also to the B. V. M.

Professor G. T. Stokes, D.D., gives a most interesting account of St. Columba, in his book on "Ireland and the Celtic Church," and says that "he is the most celebrated of saints purely and thoroughly Irish—Irish by birth—Irish by education—Irish in their life's work and devotion." He describes how St. Columba spent forty years of his life founding churches and monasteries in Ireland; therefore it may be assumed that his ministry extended to the county of Kilkenny, and that he founded the church which bears his name near Thomastown, and the community in the neighbouring village of Inistioge.

The parish of Columbkille adjoins the former town, being divided from the parish of Thomastown by the stream which flows into the Nore at the eastern end of that village, and extends along the left bank, enclosing the little parish of Famma or Brownsbarn, to the stream called Dobbyn's water, which also falls into the Nore on its left bank, about one mile from Inistioge, and forms the boundary of the latter parish.

Here the valley widens somewhat; and on the right bank a broad river-meadow, locally called an "inch," extends to the village of Inistioge, an ideal situation for a religious community seeking a retreat from the busy world, wherein to contemplate in peaceful seclusion, the bliss promised to the faithful in the world to come. It is not surprising therefore that such a site should have been occupied by a company of holy men at such an early period that no record remains of its foundation.

Dr. P. W. Joyce, in his "Irish Names of Places," states that Inistioge is written *Inis-Teoc* in the "Book of Leinster"; it may be that this name took its rise from a visit of St. Columba to this place, then, possibly, the residence of a chieftain named Teoc, on whom he prevailed to give this beautiful site, at the mouth of a deep glen, through which a small stream flows to join the Nore, whereon to build a house of God.

On the bank of this stream, well sheltered by hills, then doubtless, as now in part, covered with oak woods, and protected on the east by the broad and swiftly-flowing Nore, now stand the remains of the



INISTIOGE FROM NORTH-WEST.
(From a pen-and-ink sketch in 1816.)



INISTIOGE FROM NORTH-EAST.
(Drawn after old sketches.)



INISTIOGE FROM THE SOUTH.
(From a pen-and-ink sketch in 1816.)

Augustinian Priory of Inistioge, said to have been founded about A.D. 1210, by Thomas Fitz Anthony, Seneschal of Leinster, on the ancient Celtic site, doubtless then occupied by the successors of those whom St. Columba placed there.

Finding such a community within a few miles of his newly founded town of Thomastown, the Seneschal of Leinster, after the manner of his race, re-endowed it with the neighbouring lands which fell to him as the spoils of conquest, or possibly only confirmed the lands and rights to it which it had long held. These rights must have included a fishery on the Nore, which has lately been the subject of a Chancery suit, and which the Court held must have been in existence before the promulgation of Magna Charta, otherwise the Crown could not have regranted it after the suppression of the priory by Henry VIII. This carries us back to the period of the alleged foundation by Thomas Fitz Anthony, after which this community appears to have enjoyed as peaceful an existence as fell to the lot of any monastic brotherhood in Ireland. Not richly endowed, they have left only comparatively small buildings behind them, the existing remains of which shall now be referred to.

The most prominent, as we approach, is the quaint old keep, which is somewhat irregular in plan, being about 33 ft. square at base, and about 50 feet in height; the walls are slightly battered; and at about 40 feet from the ground, the plan is converted into an octagon by broaches springing from the quoins at a high angle. This construction is similar to that of the tower, still standing, of the former church of Knocktopher, about seven miles distant, visited on 15th May, 1894, which was built about the close of the twelfth century. There is a similar tower at Askeaton in the county of Limerick. That now under review is a massive building containing several stories.

The basement chamber is surmounted by a pointed vault about 13 feet in height to the crown from the present floor, which is some 6 feet above the former level, judging from the arch over the ancient doorway, which led into this chamber from the north transept of the church, and is now covered to the crown with *débris*. There were two stories in the basement, the holes in which the beams rested to support the intermediate loft, having formerly been visible. The vaulting appears to have been an afterthought, as there is a small window in the north face now blocked up by the haunching of the arch. The only entrance was the doorway above mentioned, so that the keep could only be approached through the church. There are three stories above the vaulted basement, which are reached by a spiral staircase in the north-west angle. The uppermost chamber contains a fireplace, showing that the keep was used as a dwelling, and probably the Prior had his quarters here. A doorway leads from the chamber immediately over the vaulting into the upper portion of the north transept, which was also lofted, and by means of which loft, access was had to the tower of the church.

The keep, or Prior's tower, was in a greatly dilapidated state until the year 1874, being split from top to bottom of both east and west sides, and seriously undermined at foot of these breaches which gaped widely there. The vaulting was also seriously breached near the crown, and in imminent danger of falling in.

As it stood on his freehold as representative of the original grantee, the late Right Hon. William Frederick Fownes Tighe conceived the idea at that time of converting it into a family mausoleum, which was accordingly carried out. The breaches were carefully built up; a doorway with suitable dressings inserted in the large one in the east face; the floor over the vault laid with cement concrete, which was also used to protect all new masonry and sills of window apes, and the basement floor laid with chiselled granite, of the fine close-grained quality found on the hill over Woodstock Park, which was also used for all the dressings. A few years afterwards, the generous and popular proprietor was laid to rest within, having lived to a green old age, deeply regretted by his numerous dependents and friends.

A glance at the accompanying plan will show that the north transept formed the connecting link between the keep and the church tower; the latter on the south, the Lady-chapel to the east, and the keep to the north; the western wall is entirely demolished, but its position can be clearly traced by the bondstones remaining where it was joined to the keep and to the belfry tower. The lines of the ceiling, which was formed on the cross struts of the north transept roof, are still visible in the plaster on the southern face of the keep immediately over the doorway above referred to, which led from the chamber in the latter immediately over the vaulting, to the upper floor which evidently existed in this transept, and which formed the only means of access to the chamber situated over the groining of the belfry tower, which does not contain an independent staircase, but is approached through a pointed doorway with cut-stone dressings, now concealed by the roof of the vestry-room. This doorway has been utilised to reach the upper lofts of the belfry tower by means of a step-ladder leading up from the top landing of the modern gallery staircase.

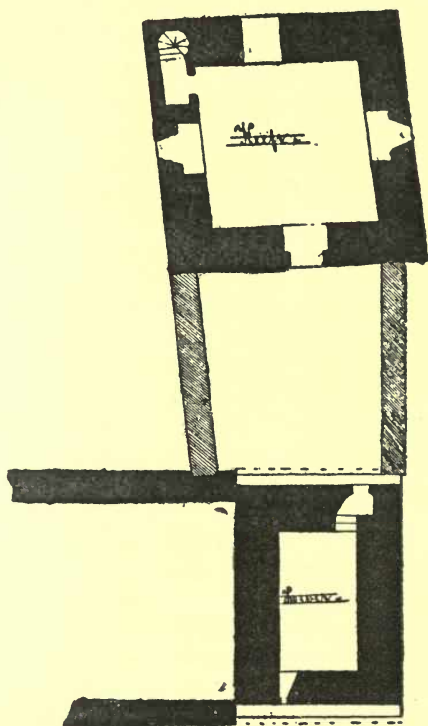
The belfry tower does not appear to have been materially altered by modern restoration, as its general aspect remains unchanged from that depicted in sketches now more than 100 years old. New stone dressings were placed in the belfry windows, and the parapets repaired, all in good taste.

This tower, as well as the cloisters, now unfortunately totally destroyed, have been attributed to Milo Fitz Gerald, commonly called Milo Baron, who was Prior at the time of the dissolution; but this must be a mistake, for the tower bears no evidence of having been erected at so late a date, and the sculptured stones belonging to the cloister which remain, are of a much earlier type.

The belfry tower is oblong in plan, measuring 31 feet 9 inches from north to south, by 22 feet from east to west, and stands upon four piers connected by pointed arches, which opened respectively into the choir, nave, and transepts; externally the walls have a slight batter, and the width is reduced by two offsets on the north and south faces, where the lines of abutment of the transept roofs can still be seen. There were two lofts above the groined vault, as in the keep. The basement is used as a baptistery, and forms also a vestibule to the modern church; the lofts above contain a fine clock, and a bell of 5 cwts., presented by the late Right Hon. W. F. F. Tighe.

In the vestibule stands a fine twelfth-century font of Somersetshire stone; the bowl is square in plan, and was evidently lined with lead originally; this was restored when it was placed here. It stands on a single circular shaft, which is encircled at foot with a well-executed rope-moulding. The modern history of this font is somewhat curious, and it may be well to record it here. Until about thirty years ago, it lay in the old and disused parish church of Kells, in this county, when at the instance of the late Rev. James Graves, the learned founder of our Society, it was presented by the then Rector of Kells, the late Rev. Christopher Darby, M.A., to the Cathedral of St.

Canice, Kilkenny. Only one side of the bowl had then any carving on it; the others had been left plain, as if the font had been intended to stand close into an angle of the church, or some other reason had caused it to be left unfinished. The Rev. James Graves, when stone-carvers were engaged at the restoration of the cathedral, got one of them to carve the other three sides with the designs now thereon. The font was then placed in the north chapel of the cathedral choir, on the sup-



Plan of Loft of Tower, North Transept, and Keep.

position that it would be more convenient to baptize children there than at the ancient font which stands in the nave. There had been a much smaller, tureen-shaped font of black marble in the cathedral choir when that portion only was used for divine service previous to the restoration; this, being thought unworthy of such a position, was procured by Mr. Graves, and placed in his own church at Inisnag.

The Kells font having been found to be superfluous, as well as anomalous in its position in St. Canice's Cathedral, it was suggested to the vestry to present it to the late Rt. Hon. W. F. F. Tighe for Inistioge church, as he had been a munificent benefactor of the cathedral; this suggestion having been cordially agreed to, the author of this Paper had the pleasure of carrying it out.

We shall now turn to the nave, which is quite small, measuring only 24 feet 8 inches from north to south, by 16 feet 10 inches, from east to west inside, the walls being about 4 feet thick. It was lighted only by one small three-light mullioned window, placed above the level of the cloister roof in the south wall; it is of early fourteenth-century type, but devoid of cusping or tracery. Beneath it and along the outer face of the southern wall are to be seen the corbels which carried the roof of the cloister. There is a low segmental-headed doorway, devoid of stone dressings, near the north-west corner which led into the conventual buildings, which extended westwards from the nave. The skew-table of the roof which covered this part of them is still to be seen in the outer face of the western gable.

The stream, which flows down the glen above referred to, runs its present course at about 50 yards from the southern face of the buildings last mentioned, and probably, as was generally the case, formed a fosse to the outer wall of the Priory on that side, with some of the buildings abutting on it, forming the southern side of the cloisters.

A few fragments of the twin shafts which carried the cloister arcades remain; these are similar in form to those at Jerpoint and Knocktopher, having a width of $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches across the shafts and connecting panel, the former being $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, and the latter $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in thickness. These are ornamented with a variety of sculptures in relief; one is a representation of the Blessed Trinity in the usual form, and is inscribed, SANCTA TRINITAS; it is unfortunately imperfect, the upper part being broken off and lost, the remaining part was found in the graveyard many years ago by the author, and placed for safety in the keep, but is now placed within the church by the wish of the members, on the occasion of the Society's visit last spring. A few other portions have been built into the walls of the adjoining Roman Catholic churchyard.

The walls of the choir were standing, and in apparently good preservation in the year 1816, when the two pen-and-ink sketches by Miss Hannah Tighe, sister of the late Rt. Hon. W. F. F. Tighe, were taken, which have been copied by permission of Lady Louisa Tighe for the

illustration of this Paper. Miss Tighe married, in 1818, Lord P. J. H. C. Stuart, only brother of the then Marquess of Bute. The south-west view, and another taken from the south-east by the Rev. Mr. Seymour in 1795, show an arcade of two arches in the south side of the choir, which must have opened into a small chapel lying to the east of the south transept, and there probably was a similar arcade opening into the Lady chapel which lies, as at Kells in this county, on the north side of the choir.

The choir appears to have been about 10 feet longer than the modern church which stands on its site, and was of similar design to many others in Ireland which were built in the thirteenth century, with three lancet lights in the east gable, several in the south wall, and three in the north side, to the east of the Lady-chapel. These windows are shown in the engravings; that from the north-east having been prepared by the author from old sketches, corrected by projection from the ground plan. About the year 1820, the Rt. Hon. W. F. F. Tighe made a lease in perpetuity to the Board of First Fruits, of the belfry tower and choir, in order that they might be restored for use as the parish church.

The mode of "restoration" adopted, which appears to have been general then, was to pull down the choir entirely, and to erect the present building in imitation of it. Unfortunately no architect seems to have known better in that degenerate period.

The Lady chapel was used as the parish church for a considerable time; Sir William Fownes, Bart., great-grandfather of the Rt. Hon. W. F. F. Tighe, was said by him to have fitted it up for that purpose; and it continued to be so used until the so-called restoration of the choir was carried out to replace it. The north-east views referred to show it roofed in, but, since 1820, it has been allowed to fall into decay; and if not attended to, there will not be much left of it in a few more years. It measures 43 feet long, by 19 feet 6 inches wide inside, and was lighted by four windows. The window to the east is of three lights and has two mullions with plain interlacing tracery; to the north were one single and two two-light windows, the single light has a cusped head, the centre window has one mullion and cusped tracery; and the dressings of the third window, which was of the same size, have entirely disappeared.

A crypt of unknown dimensions exists under the eastern portion of the modern church; it was used as a burial place by a family named Garvey that lived at Brownsford, which adjoins Woodstock to the south, but it has not been opened for a good many years, and there has not been an opportunity of investigating it. It may therefore be only an ordinary burial vault.

In Mr. G. D. Burtchaell's "Calendar of Documents relating to Kilkenny," there are some references to the Priory of Inistioge, commencing with the surrender of it to the Crown by Milo Fitz Gerald, the last Prior, who had succeeded as Bishop of Ossory in 1527, and held the Priory *in commendam*. Mr. Burtchaell's Paper on the Geraldines of

Kilkenny, published in vols. ii. and iii., 5th series, of the Proceedings of this Society, shows him to have been brother to David Fitz Gerald, Baron of Brownsford (referred to above), a neighbouring proprietor, whose castles of Brownsford and Cloneamery, the first on the right, and the second on the left, bank of the Nore, are still to be seen about two miles below Inistioge.

The Bishop is reputed to have had a residence on his brother's property close to the ruined Church of Cloneamery, which stands on a knoll or ridge, about 300 yards above the castle; and a small stream which flows close by is said, by some of the old people living near, to be called "the Bishop's Water." The bishop, in right of his see, held the townland now called Oldcourt (from the site of a castle on it said to have been built by him), which lies between Cloneamery and Kilcross, the latter being part of the lands of the Priory, now belongs to the Tighe family.

The baron, and his brother the bishop, brought a Chancery suit against the fishermen of Inistioge, before Lord Chancellor Alen, in 1544, for fishing in their several fisheries in the Nore, and obtained an injunction against them; for though the tide does flow up to Inistioge, the Act of 28 Henry VIII., c. 22, on which the fishermen appeared to rely, only permits the public to fish where the *salt* water does ebb and flow, and accordingly umpires were appointed by all the parties, who repaired to Ringwood, then called Rinode (the grassy point), where the Nore joins the Barrow, the southern limit of the fishery claimed by the baron, and there at high tide, tasted the water, and also caused it to be soddened or boiled, but could not detect any salt therein.

The following extracts have been taken from Mr. Burtchaell's Calendar:—

"1539, March 20th. Like surrender by Milo Bishop of Ossory, commendatory of the Priory of St. Columb of Enestioke in the county of Kilkenny, and by the convent of the same.

"1539, March 20th. Grant to Milo, Bishop of Ossory, late commendatory of the Priory of St. Columb of Enestioke, county Kilkenny, of a pension of £20 issuing out of the manor of Enestioke, and the churches of Enestioke, Rossynan (Rossinan), Kilbecoke (Kilbeacon), Thomaston, and Columbkille.

"1540, March 27th. Grant to John Griffan, alias M'Morchowe, conventual person of the late priory of St. Columbe of Enystioke county Kilkenny, to be curate of the church of St. Columbe, Enystioke, with a messuage and orchard, and the altarages and oblations of the parish.

"1540, April 27th. Grant to David Bossher, (Busher), conventual person of the late priory of St. Columbe of Enestioke, to be curate of the parish of St. Columbe alias Columbkille, county Kilkenny, with the altarages and oblations, and a pension of 40s. issuing out of the rectory of Dunkit.

"1540, April 27th. Grant for James Baren (qy. Fitzgerald), and

David Dobyn, conventual persons of the late priory of St. Columbe, &c., of pensions of 40s. each, issuing out of the rectories of Dunkit, Aghtearte, and St. Michael's in the county of Kilkenny.

"1541, August 1st. Lease to Richard Butler of Ferns, Esq. (afterwards first Viscount Mountgarret), of the site of the priory of St. Columbe of Enistiok, lands of Enestioke, &c., Rectories of Enistioke, Rosseshynnan (Rossinan), Kilbecoke, Thomaston, Columkylle, &c., to hold for 21 years at a rent of £64."

After making other leases from time to time, the crown finally granted the site of the priory and all its possessions, including a several fishery in the waters of the Nore, to Theobald Butler, Viscount Tulleophelim, from whom they descended to the second Duke of Ormonde, who sold them to Stephen Sweet, whose daughter and sole heiress was married to the father of Sir William Fownes, Bart., from whom they have descended to the present owner, Edward Kendrick Bunbury-Tighe, Esq., D.L. Milo, bishop of Ossory, died in 1552, and was buried in the priory, but no memorial of him remains there.

Of the other persons mentioned in the calendar, John Griffan, alias M'Morchowe, was probably a member of the M'Morrough family, which seems to have been long connected with this monastery, as a fine tombstone, unfortunately in fragments, has been unearthed by Canon Hewson, local Secretary, which commemorates a Prior of that name, and appears to be of the twelfth century. The fragments lie in different parts of the graveyard, and it is to be hoped will be put together and properly cared for in future.

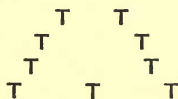
David Bossher, or Busher as the name is now written, also must have belonged to a local family of that name, which still exists in the vicinity of New Ross, not far from which place, in this county, there is a townland called Busherstown. James Baren was probably a member of the family of Baron, alias Fitzgerald, of Brownsford, and if so, was a kinsman to Milo, the last Prior. David Dobyn was most probably also a native of this neighbourhood, where his family had long been settled, and had considerable landed property in the parish of Inistioge, and in that adjoining of Columbkille, now represented by the townlands of Ballygallon and Cappagh in the former, and of Kilcullen in the latter. They seem to have shared the fate of the greater number of the proprietors of estates in the county of Kilkenny in 1691 and following years, who suffered for supporting the cause of James II.

Miscellanea.

Wooden Objects found in Peat Bogs, supposed to have been Otter Traps.—During the past summer, while some men were employed in cutting turf at Larkhill bog, county Fermanagh, at a spot about one and a-half miles north of Castle Caldwell railway station, a number of curious wooden objects were brought to the surface, and the men who found them, never having before seen any articles of the same description, concluded they were coffins of some forgotten race of dwarfs, and since the discovery, operations in that part of the bog have been discontinued, and the place regarded as uncanny.

Hearing that something unusual had been found, and that the articles were in the possession of Mr. J. C. Bloomfield, of Castle Caldwell, I was enabled, by his kind permission, to examine them and take photographs, and having visited the spot where they were found, in company with Dr. Creighton, of Ballyshannon, I had no difficulty in identifying them as belonging to the class of wooden machines known as "Otter Traps." I submitted the result of my examination and photographs to Dr. Munro, Edinburgh, who regards the discovery as possessing more than usual importance from an archæological point of view. It is his intention to deal with the discovery in its bearing with the previous examples of a like class which have been brought to light in various parts of Europe, but, in the meantime, without touching upon the still debatable question of the purpose for which these objects were intended, some particulars of the recent find may be acceptable to readers of the Society's *Journal*.

The traps, nine in number, were found, I am informed by the men who dug them out of the bog, in the following order, and at regular distances from each other² :—

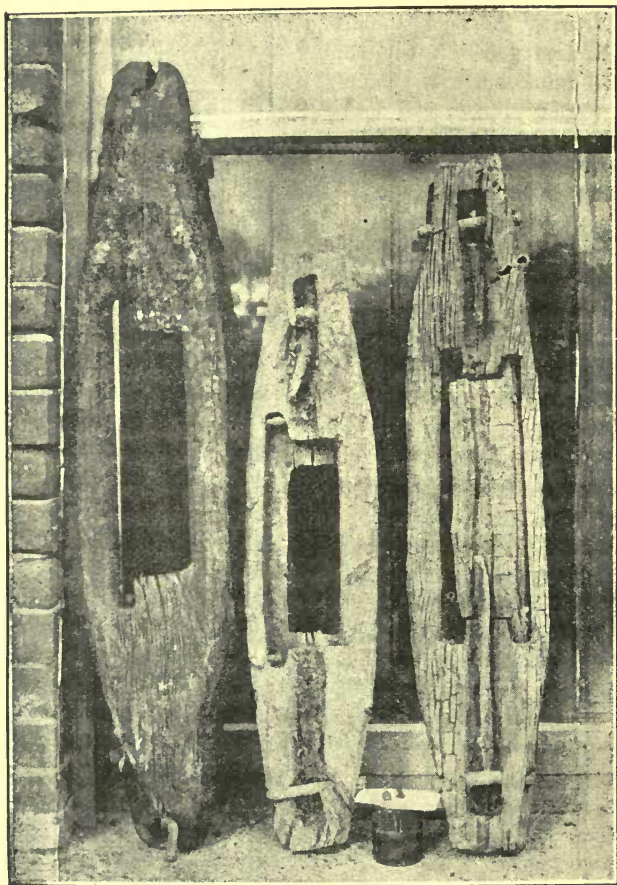


They were imbedded in the peat, in an upright position, at a varying depth of from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 feet from the surface. The bog at Larkhill is

¹ See *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* (Old Series), vol. vii., p. 165. *Journal of Proceedings*, R.S.A.I., vol. i., 5th Series, page 536. "The Lake Dwellings of Europe," by Robert Munro, M.D., pp. 179-181. "Pagan Ireland," by W. Wood-Martin, pp. 406-408.

² The traps were found, as shown at top of the diagram, 1 foot apart, gradually increasing to the three shown at foot, which were $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet between each other. Viewing diagram in upright position, the nine traps were 1 foot apart from each other.

situated in a hollow beneath a hill, and from its appearance and situation may have been the bed of a former lake; within the memory of people still living there, it was formerly much more swampy than at present. The nine traps are all identical in the main features of construction; they are composed of oak, hollowed, or dug out of one piece, as was the ancient canoe, which, in miniature, they somewhat resemble. The colour of the



Supposed Otter Traps found in Larkhill Bog.

wood is blackish, owing to their long submergence in the bog, and perhaps, to the presence of oxide of iron in the peat. Some of the traps are in more perfect condition than others. Three typical specimens have been selected for illustration. The longest one is reversed, in order to show the bevel on the under side. The cutting of these bevels, and indeed the

entire workmanship, while exhibiting a great amount of ingenuity, seems to have been executed with blunt tools of a primitive sort. In the longest example (see left-hand side of illustration), the valve which worked in the rectangular opening, has disappeared, as also in the middle example; that on the right-hand side possesses the valve intact and is particularly interesting as showing something of the mechanism of the wooden spring—a portion of which, at both ends, is *in situ*.

In common with the two specimens already found in Ireland, all those now discovered were possessed of one valve only: those having two valves are, according to Dr. Munro, peculiar to the Continent of Europe. He says:—"Looking at these objects as a whole, we see that they can be readily arranged into two classes, according as they have one or two valves, and it is remarkable, or at least suggestive, that the geographical area of the former is confined to the British Isles.¹

The following are the measurements of the largest and smallest examples now found:—

Largest Trap.—Length, 48 inches; greatest width, 9 inches, tapering at both ends, as all the traps do; rectangular opening, 17 inches \times 5; bevel on underside, 29 inches \times 8, valve absent, but a small portion of wooden spring remains; the springs, which are in a decayed state, are of hazel. The smallest trap is 35 inches in length, 8 inches broad, and 3 inches deep (the approximate depth of all the specimens found); the opening is 10 inches \times 3 and is well bevelled on the underside. In the example shown in centre of illustration, the valve which is absent appears to have been retained in position by two small wooden pins which still remain (see illustration). In the centre of each of the existing valves is a hole of oval shape, which seems to have been burned through rather than bored with a tool, and the back of valve is marked with a groove for the spring to work in. In a small piece of wood which seems to have formed part of the mechanism of the trap, portions of two small flat-headed iron bolts remain; these are shown at foot of illustration.

"Up to the present," Dr. Munro says, "eleven of these curious implements have been described and illustrated." The nine now discovered make the total twenty. It is noteworthy that the two already found in Ireland, viz., the Coolnahan implement (county Derry), figured and described in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, already referred to, and Canon Grainger's specimen, described and illustrated in the *Journal R.S.A.I.*, were the *first* recorded examples, and that the largest of the traps now found measures 7 inches in length more than that found in county Derry. It is also to be observed, that the discovery recently made presents the first instance of a *number* of these traps being found together, those

¹ "Notice of some curiously-constructed Wooden Objects," by Robert Munro, M.A., M.D., in "Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland," Jan. 12, 1891.

previously discovered having been isolated examples, found in various sites, and at long intervals of time. The following are the places and years of discovery of these traps:—

Ireland,	2 specimens, first recorded, 1859.
Germany,	3 „ 1873, 1874, 1877.
Austria (Laibach), . .	2 „ 1875, 1877.
Wales,	1 „ 1878.
Italy (Fontega), . . .	3 „ 1889, 1890.
Ireland (Co. Fermanagh),	9 „ 1896.

HUGH ALLINGHAM, M.B.I.A.

Recent finds in County Donegal.—Bronze Celt.—Some weeks ago a very perfect bronze celt was picked up in the townland of Glenmaquin, near Raphoe. It was uncovered by a farmer while digging at a depth of 18 inches below the surface. It appears to be of very fine, hard bronze, and very well preserved, measuring, in length, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and across widest part $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches. The cutting edge has a fine circular sweep, and is still almost perfect. It is now in possession of Rev. J. C. Wallace, Raphoe.

Urn.—A finely ornamented burial urn was, some time ago, uncovered in a small cist on the lands of Carrickbrack, Raphoe. The covering stone of the cist was disturbed while ploughing, and on being removed, the urn was found underneath. So far as I could learn no remains of any kind were in the cist or urn. It is now in possession of Mr. John S. Weir, J.P., Carrickbrack. It resembles very much an urn of the food-vessel type I saw described by Mr. Knowles, which was found near Ballymena. It is completely covered with ornament, of which the small photograph I am able to send will give an idea, and the base is also ornamented by circular lines round the edge, enclosing a cross-like figure within. Unfortunately, it was rather badly broken in removing the covering stone of the cist, and was put together with ordinary mortar, rather unskilfully, which completely defaces part of the ornament, and partly destroys the shape of the urn.

Graves, Stone Celts, &c.—Recently, while some visitors from Raphoe were inspecting the sand-hills at Narin, a small village on the western coast, near Glenties, they uncovered a pre-historic grave of the usual cist type, formed of upright slabs, covered with similar stones. Inside were found two very well-preserved skeletons, one beneath the other. The upper measured 5 feet 3 inches in length, and the lower appeared somewhat smaller, but was disturbed in position before being noticed, and no accurate measurement could be taken. There are, evidently, other graves in these hills, and a thorough examination of them might yield some good results. Among them, at the same time, were

picked up, two small stone celts, and a large number of flints, most of these being well chipped to arrow-heads and "scraper" patterns. The skulls of the skeletons were removed, and, with all the other objects found, are now in possession of Mr. C. Porter, Raphoe.—R. M'NULTY.

On a Find of Worked Flints in Submerged Peat at Portrush, Co. Antrim.—The west bay at Portrush has long been known as the site of an exposure of submerged peat. The winter storms of the last two years have, by washing away great quantities of sand, caused a much larger section of peat to be visible. The thickest masses of peat are at high-water mark, in one place forming a perpendicular face of nearly 6 feet high; in other places the peat shows an exposed face of 3 or 4 feet, and from that down to 1 foot or less, according to the extent to which the sea has carried away the shelving sand, which slopes from the peat down to the sea. There is also a good exposure of the peat, and numerous remains of large trees, between tide-marks; here one walks on the top of the deposited beds, which are probably thinned away by marine denudation. The beds of compact peat higher up on the beach, and which present faces of various heights, as referred to before, are overlaid by banks of sand from 15 to 20 feet high, and with vegetation on their surface. The sand is fine, and seems to be chiefly blown, but in some places a slight stratification, showing pebbles, is noticed. This sand has been deposited over the peat, but is now being removed by the action of the winds and waves. The peat is exceedingly compact, but contains sand showing that it was formed within the influence of winds carrying sand, doubtless from some sea strand. The peat could not possibly have been formed at its present level as regards sea; the land here has probably experienced a down-throw, or possibly alternations of level have taken place, and thus the sea has been enabled to encroach very considerably upon the land. The remains of a forest of large fir trees between tide-marks, at a level where such trees could not have grown, makes the matter of the down-throw very evident. In many places around our shores, submerged peat, with tree remains, is found.

On the occasion of a visit to Portrush in April, 1896, I was examining the exposed sections of peat at the west bay, when I noticed the point of a piece of flint projecting from the weathered face, and on pulling this out, it proved to be a well-formed flint-flake. A little examination with the blade of a knife showed that there were more flakes behind the one first noticed, and the result was that, in two visits, I collected about 80 flakes, about 12 cores, and a considerable quantity of chips, but no axes, scrapers, nor any examples showing secondary workmanship. With the exception of two or three outliers, the flints were confined to an area of not more than 2 feet square. They formed a flattened heap; they rested on peat, and were overlaid by about 1 foot of exceedingly compact

peat, and this in turn had been covered by about 20 feet of sand, now partially removed by sea-action. The flints were firmly packed together; in fact they were interlocked, one with another, so that when working into the face, it was sometimes difficult to get one out, until the adjoining ones had been loosened and dislodged. The whole find was evidently the heap which the old flint worker had formed at his feet while he sat at his work on the hard surface of the ground before some of the changes of level took place, which enabled a later growth of peat to come and cover up the surface, including the heap of flints.

The flints are quite unweathered, and unrolled, and have their edges as sharp as if they had been just made; their colour is quite unchanged, being the same, dull black or dark grey that freshly broken flint presents. Many of the flakes are of exceptionally large size, with great heavy butts, while others are thin and delicately formed, reminding one of the modern gun-flint makers' flakes; the cores also resemble those from which modern flakes are struck.

On the whole, the flakes and cores are much like those found in the Larne gravels, with the marked difference that instead of being rolled and weathered, they are perfectly sharp and fresh. The flakes measure from 1 inch to 5 inches long, most of them, however, being about 3 inches. I noticed that some of these flints were marked with spots or splashes of a clear vitreous glaze, exceedingly thin and transparent, as if liquid glass had been dropped or splashed upon them.

This glaze reflects the light, but seems to be without any appreciable thickness. I presume that silica in solution must have come in contact with some of the surfaces of the embedded flints, but further than this I can suggest no explanation of the matter.—W. H. PATTERSON, M.B.I.A.

Blackstairs, or Knock Branduff?—What was the Irish name of Blackstairs? I do not think O'Donovan anywhere mentions it. I shall be glad if any Member can give it, duly attested. Meanwhile I think, I can quote one authority of the sixteenth century. In our *Journal* for the years 1870–1, p. 187, will be found a reduced facsimile of an old map entitled *Baronia Udrone in Comitatu Catherloughæ*, by Gerald Mercator, published about the year 1570. An original copy lies before me. The names are, of course, anglicised, and there are many corruptions, misprints, and inaccuracies; but a little trouble would, I think, suffice to identify nearly all of them. Now, in the S.E. corner of this map, in a gap between the mountains that separate Carlow from Wexford, may be seen the name Knock Brandof. This is evidently the Irish Cnoc Bpánuib, and was intended, I think, to designate the mountain now known as Blackstairs, delineated immediately beneath it. As will be seen, the stream which forms the southern boundary of the barony, and which, joined by two other streams, enters the Barrow a little below Borris (*Bonase* on the map), is called

"Kynnagh fluv." In the Book of Distribution, compiled between the years 1661-1676, pursuant to the Act of Settlement, a transcript of which, for this barony, was printed in our *Journal* for 1860-1, pp. 198-205, this name will be found as Kynogh, having been forfeited by Gerald Kinsellagh (p. 205). It is, I think, represented in the Ordnance Survey by the name Coonogue (cuánóg, meaning here the "little inland bay" formed by the mountains), a wood and townland by the stream which issues from Scullogue Gap. This last name so spelled would seem to represent pcológ, a small farmer, but it is pronounced by the peasants "Scollagh," with the stress on the first syllable, obscure vowels, and a slight guttural termination. I think I can trace the name on the map before me as Baruas-cally, placed much too low down the stream, but on what was probably the road to the gap. This looks like a misprint for Barnascally, containing beapna, the well-known name for a gap or mountain-pass, and the existing name, Scollagh Gap, supports this view; but I have found the name in an inquisition of the reign of James I. (printed Inquisitions, Wexford, Jac. I. 3), where it is printed Barreskuller. The first part of the word may therefore have been bárr = top, or summit, as in Barravore, near the head of Glenmalure. What the latter part of the word is I hesitate to guess, but it might be pcallac = bald, bare, or (figuratively) treeless. Compare maol = bald, often applied to bare hills (Joyce, i., p. 395).

That Knock Brandof is placed in the proper position to designate the mountain now known as Blackstairs, and written for convenience in the gap which represents beapna pcallac, or bárr an pcallaig, may be further shown by comparing some of the other features and names with the modern map. We can trace the curve of the Burren round the lower part of the parish of Fennagh, to its source in Mount Leinster (Suað laigeán). Drumffey in the map is Drumfea (Drum Fíod). Reynighery is the well-known castle of the Kavenaghs, Rathnageerah (Rač na g-Caepach). Kylemonde is Killedmond (probably Coill Eumoinn); and Raghender is Rathanna (Rač-eanaig). The branch of the stream between Killedmond and Rathauna is called Ranglorum fl. This was a little puzzling at first, but it, in all probability, represents the name Sruhraungloragh (rruēpán-ḡlópač = babbling stream), now applied, perhaps misapplied, to the bridge over another little stream which joins the Barrow about a mile south of Borris (Joyce's "Names," ii. 67). I need not pursue these names any further. Enough has been done to show that Cnoc Bpanbuib was intended, by the draughtsman of this map, as the name of the mountain now known as Blackstairs. Assuming provisionally that this was the Irish name of the mountain, let us next inquire into its possible origin. Bpanbuib, of course, means a black raven, but it was an old personal name. In particular it was the name of the famous king of Leinster who conquered and killed Aedh, son of Ainmire, King of Ireland, at the battle

of Dunbolg, in the year 598, "after Aedh had gone to exact the *Borumha*." (See "Ann. Four Mast." sub anno 594, and the tract on the *bópoma*, "*Silva Gadelica*," p. 401.) Dunbolg was in the county Wicklow, between Holywood and Donard, a little to the north of Brandubh's fort, the name of which still survives in the parish of Rathbran. It would certainly be interesting if it should turn out that the original name of Blackstairs was connected with this king. In the first place it is at least a curious coincidence that the river Boro, which takes its name from the famous tribute (*bopuma*) successfully resisted by this king, has its source in this mountain. Then Brandubh was himself killed seven years after the battle of Dunbolg, at a place called Slaibre, not identified ("Ann. Four Mast.," sub anno 601: *Slabpa* = a chain, and might be applied to a mountain-chain); and it is especially worthy of note that the credit or discredit of his death is attributed to "the Archinneach of Senboithe-Sine and his own tribe." Senboithe-Sine is now Templeshanbo, a parish adjoining Scollagh Gap on the Wexford side. Templeshanbo is included in the district still known as the Duffry. Now O'Huidhrin mentions the Siol Brain people of the Dubhthoire (Duffry or black-country: see "Topographical Poems," p. 91). At first sight, one is certainly tempted to connect the Siol Brain with Brandubh, more especially as, from the entry in the "Four Masters" above-quoted, one might infer that the Duffry was the territory of Brandubh's own tribe. But the ordinary genealogies seem to negative this connexion. The Siol Brain have left their name in the barony of Shelburne; and O'Donovan, in his note to O'Huidhrin, seems to think that it is to this district O'Huidhrin refers; but, as I have remarked in my note to the "Song of Dermot" (l. 3215, p. 318), there must have been another branch of the Siol Brain in the Duffry. The name has generally been anglicised O'Byrne, but sometimes it has become O'Brien, and perhaps O'Breen. In Clyn's "Annals" the O'Brynnis or O'Bryinys of the Duffry are mentioned in the fourteenth century. According to the genealogists, however, the Siol Brain of the Duffry and of Shelburne were descended and took their name from Brann Finn, an uncle of Brian Borumha of the race of Eber (the Society's *Journal*, 1876-8, "Eoghanacht Genealogy," Part II.; also O'Curry's "MSS. Mat." p. 211); while Brandubh was reputed to be descended through Enna Ceinnsealach from Cathair Mor of the line of Erimon. We cannot, therefore, connect the Ui Brain of the Duffry with Brandubh; and by Brandubh's "own tribe," we must understand the "Four Masters" to refer to the Ui Ceinnsealaigh generally. Still we have Brandubh associated with this district both in his extraction and in his death; and if *Cnoc Opanuib* was the name of the mountain, it is probable that it was called after him. This brings me back to the question with which I started: does the name occur elsewhere than on Mercator's Map?

I have only to add that the local farmers in Wexford always speak of the mountain among themselves as "the Black Rock." They know, of

course, the name Blackstairs; and when asked its meaning, they seem to associate the name with stares or starlings, which they call "black-stares," and not with any idea of ascending steps or stairs. It is worth noting, too, that on the Carlow side of the mountain, a little to the south, there is a townland called Knockduff.—GODDARD H. ORPEN.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since writing the above I have made some further inquiries about the Irish name of Blackstairs. A man named Graham, aged 96, and living in the neighbourhood, says, that the Irish name was *Scuad dub*. I have also found in a ms. description of "Killaney Parish," giving "its meetes and boundes" (Brit. Mus. ms. Addit. 4765, f. 74), and dating some time soon after the year 1640, the name Carrigduffe applied, almost certainly, to Blackstairs. In this description the northern "meares" of the said parish are stated to begin "under y^e greate mountain and Rock called Carrigduffe, at a place called Cnakill." The latter name I cannot trace, but as the remaining boundaries can be shown to follow the same course as at present, we may fairly conclude that Cnakill was the point under Blackstairs to the north where the present boundary leaves the water-parting. From the above evidence we may infer, that for the last 250 years the mountain has been known simply as *Scuad dub*, *Carrig dub*, or *Cnoc dub*. This, however, is not inconsistent with its having been known in 1570, and previously, as *Cnoc bpanDub*.

As regards Scollagh Gap, Mr. Mills, at my request, has kindly examined the original Inquisition (Wexford, Jac. I. 3), and finds that Barreskuller is a misprint for Barneskalla, or Barneskaller, the last letter being doubtful. This shows, as I had suspected, that *beapna*, now properly translated "Gap," was the first part of the word, while the latter, now represented by "Scollagh," may very well have been *pcallaç*.—G. H. O.

On some Pre-historic Graves.—I had been told that, about sixteen years ago, while part of a field, in the townland of Sranee, or Dromore, in the barony of Moycashel, county Westmeath, was being cleared of some bushes, the workmen employed came on some stone-lined graves, in which were ashes and earthenware pots. I obtained permission from the occupier, T. Lynam, to make excavations.

The ground I examined is in a pasture field which had been formerly tilled, and is a more or less circular hill about 8 feet at the highest part above the natural level of the rest of the field. It is impossible to say if it was at any time higher, but it may have been a tumulus, lowered from some cause, as there are two others, in a good state of preservation, within half a mile of this place. The circle has been destroyed, as the mound has been nearly half cut through, by the making

of a county road ninety years ago, and whether anything was discovered during the process I have not been able to ascertain.

I commenced digging near what must have been the original centre, and was lucky to at once come on a grave, at a depth of about 1 foot under the surface, and lying due east and west. The grave was 1 foot 6 inches deep, 2 feet 4 inches long on the north side, and 2 feet on the other; it was 1 foot 6 inches wide at the top, narrowing to 1 foot at the bottom; the grave, with the exception of the bottom, was lined with stone flags about two inches thick, one on each side, while the top was formed of small flags the same thickness; these having fallen in, had let the earth fill up the grave, partially destroying its contents.

In clearing up the clay, I came half-way down on a skull, of which the occipital bone and the upper and lower jaws were missing; it was at the west end of the grave, the face looking in the same direction. At the bottom of the grave was a complete skeleton lying on the back on gravel, the knees had been drawn up to the chin, and the hands placed over the face, for the finger bones were in that position. Over, or by, the head had been placed a food-vessel of roughly-made pottery, but this and the skull had been destroyed by the falling earth, and only fragments remained. The bones were small, and seemed to be those of a youth, and they were lying with the head to the west. The skull first found had no connexion with them at all.

No weapons or implements of any kind were in the grave, except a small flake of flint which might have been used as a scraper, but it shows no sign of its having been worked; the finding of it was curious as there is no flint in the district.

At a distance of about 2 feet from the first grave I found another and much more important one. It was 3 feet 2 inches long, 2 feet wide, and 2 feet deep; the sides were formed of single stone flags about 2 inches thick, while one large one about 4 inches thick covered it, and was so heavy that it required four men to lift it. The grave contained only one skeleton in the same position as in the first, but in this case the head was pointing to the east. The skull was fairly perfect, and from its appearance, and that of the teeth and bones, the remains seemed to be those of an old man. The food-vessel was beside the head, but was broken in small pieces, some of which were large enough to show traces of a rough ornamentation. The pottery was of a coarse black clay, with a coating of red clay on the outside; it was about half-inch thick. There were no weapons or implements of any kind. A curious feature about this interment was the large flat stone 3 inches thick which covered all the skeleton except the head; it was nearly the full size inside of the grave, and seemed to have been placed on the body at the burial; and as the body decayed the stone sank down pressing the bones into the gravel at the bottom, and as it had apparently only been placed on the body as far as the chin, the skull remained above the stone at its edge; in its

descent it had broken the food-vessel. It would be interesting to know what this stone was for ; it may have been so placed to keep the body in its proper position, as the grave was much too large for it, or, perhaps, it was with the idea of preventing the spirit of the deceased from visiting its former haunts. There were traces of ashes on the stone, which looked as if a fire had been lighted on it, but there were no ashes with the remains. From its size, this may have been the grave of some chief, and the other, that of some person sacrificed at his burial.—HENRY A. S. UPTON.

Site of an unrecorded Battle in Westmeath.—Hearing that a man named King, a lime-burner, while raising stones in a field in the townland of Ballynagall, or Gallstown, in the Barony of Moycashel, had found many bones, I obtained leave from the occupier, and went to the place. It is an oblong mound, about 30 feet by 20, raised above the level of the field, about three feet or so. King, showing me where he thought bones would easily be got, I set some men to dig. About nine inches down we came on human bones, and, proceeding carefully, I got a large quantity of human remains, including five skulls, more or less perfect. The latter seemed to be those of men of large size, and some of the fragments were very thick, the teeth in the skulls, and in several jaw bones I also got were very perfect, no sign of decay being visible. From the worn state of many of the teeth, their owners would appear to have mainly lived on hard grain food. The bones were very soft, and difficult to get out whole, and it was only after a lot of trouble that I was able get a perfect skull, which I now have here. The bones were so mixed up, that it seemed to me as if a lot of bodies were heaped up, and then covered over with clay. I found no bones below 18 inches from the surface. Along with the bones I found what appears to be a rapier ; it is of iron, about two feet long, and square, tapering to a point ; the handle had rotted away ; all the bones I found in a space about 6 feet by 4 feet. From the size of leg and arm bones the men would seem to have been of large build.

The people about have a tradition that a battle was fought in the field. I think that it may have been a fight between the armies of William III. and James, for this place is near Ballymore, a castle garrisoned for James, and is also between Mullingar and Athlone—two important stations at that time—it is also in a flat plain, locally known as *Curragh*, a place very suitable for a battle. Old cannon balls were reported to have been found here, but I can find no trace of them.

There are many forts here with stone chambers, some very perfect, and I think the district is worth exploring. It must, from its situation, have been important, as it is quite close to the “Hill of Usneach,” and the hill at the back of this house (Coolatore, Moate) rises from a flat plain to a height of 660 feet ; it is known as Knockast, but I do not

think this is its original name. I sometimes get old weapons from the people about, such as stone axes and bronze spear-heads. I have also obtained a bronze brooch.—HENRY A. S. UPTON.

Old Dublin Guild Chest.—In a house in Kildare-street, Dublin, is a large oak chest having the following inscription carved on it in front:—

THE : PVBLICKE : CHIST : OF THE COR .
PARATION : OF : HOZIERS : & : KNITTERS : OF : ST
GEORGES : YELD : NEARE : DVBLIN : WILLIAM :
COLWORT : MR. : IAMES : PLVMLEY : AND
IAMES : COCKS : WARDENS : 1688 :

Its external dimensions are 1 foot 10 inches wide by 4 feet long ; and it is 1 foot 6½ inches deep internally. It is raised from the ground by two cross pieces of wood, like runners.

It contains at one end a small inner box extending from front to back, but only 9 inches deep. The lid, formed of three pieces, is attached by two long tapering hinges, and has a broad edge projecting 1½ inches on three sides, a cornice of like width surrounded the chest at the bottom. The boards of which the chest is made are over an inch thick, and dove-tailed into each other at the angles. The chest had originally three locks, but only the centre one is now in use. Mr. Edward Evans has informed me of two similar chests, one till lately at Kilmainham, still containing books, insignia, &c., and another, perhaps still at Dundrum. Mr. Evans wrote several very interesting articles about the ancient Guilds of Dublin for the *Evening Telegraph* some time ago.—E. R. M'C. DIX.

Report on Photographic Survey (continued from our *Journal*, 1895, p. 390).—The collection consists of 752 permanent photographs on interchangeable leaves ; its increase during the year is 107 (increase last year, 174). We have also recovered 81 of the missing photographs mentioned and included in last report.¹

It is regrettable that Carlow, Longford, and the very important district of Westmeath are unrepresented in our collection. A complete set of photographs of the ruins of Fore would be invaluable, if only for comparison with the admirable drawings of George Du Noyer in our possession. The following important sites may be suggested to our

¹ By an error, the total given last year appeared as 674, instead of 644 ; and among the list of donors then given, the late Mr. Robinson should have headed the list, as six more of his photographs have come to hand. Mrs. Shackleton also gave seven (instead of two) photographs, five not having been then identified.

photographers. *Prehistoric*—Grianan Aileach, Donegal; Loughcrew, Westmeath; Forts at Cahireiveen, Fahan, Caherconree, Co. Kerry; Forts at Kilfenora and Glasgeivnagh, Co. Clare; Circles at Lough Gur, Co. Limerick. *Monasteries*—Athassell, Tipperary; Lislachtin, Kerry; Moyne and Rosserk, Mayo; and Creevalea, Leitrim. *Round Towers*—Killalla, Balla, Turlough, Aghagower, Kilbenan, and Meelick in Connaught; Aghadoe, Rattoo, Kinneigh, Kilnaboy, and Ardpatrik, in Munster; and Maghera, Rams Island, and Tory Island in Ulster.

The donors, during 1896, are Mrs. Shackleton, 69. T. J. Westropp, 14. E. R. M'C. Dix, 8. Purchased by the Society, 16.

We may remind Members who do not print permanent photographs, that we are glad to get the loan of negatives, from which prints will be taken, and the negatives safely returned.

The distribution of our photographs in each county is as follows:—

Antrim, 45. Armagh, 3. Carlow, *none*. Cavan, 10. Clare, 73. Cork, 11. Donegal, 29. Down, 74. Dublin, 71. Fermanagh, 15. Galway, 63. Kerry, 11. Kildare, 15. Kilkenny, 45. King's County, 29. Leitrim, 3. Limerick, 20. Londonderry, 3. Longford (*none*). Louth, 29. Mayo, 5. Meath, 37. Monaghan, 6. Queen's County, 2. Roscommon, 27. Sligo, 27. Tipperary, 28. Tyrone, 8. Waterford, 15. Westmeath (*none*). Wexford, 29. Wicklow, 19.

Additions during 1896:—

CLARE.—*Ennis*, friary, east front. *Quin*, friary, S.-W. *Scattery Island*, cathedral, door, and window.

CORK.—*Cloyne*, round tower.

DUBLIN.—*Aderrig*, church. *Ballybrack*, cromlech. *Bullock*, castle. *Clondalkin*, round tower. *Dalkey Island*, oratory (3). *Esker*, church. *Glendruid*, cromlech. *Kill of the Grange*, church (2), bullauns, cross. *Killiney*, church (2), "sun and moon" stone. *Lucan*, church and castle. *Naul*, castle (2), church (2). *Shanganagh*, castle. *Swords*, round tower. *Tully*, church.

GALWAY.—*Clonfert*, St. Brendan's cathedral, west door.

KERRY.—*Caherdorgan*, cells in fort. *Gallerus*, oratory. *Kilmalkedar*, church (2), interior, oratory. *Skellig Rock*, St. Michael's church and cross, groups of cells from west. *Staigue Fort* (2), steps and door.

KILDARE.—*Ardrass*, St. Patrick's oratory. *Castledermot*, holed stone. *Kilcullen*, round tower. *Kildare*, round tower. *Moone* (2), cross. *Oughterard*, round tower. *Taghadoo*, round tower.

KILKENNY.—*Kilkenny*, St. Canice's cathedral and round tower (4). *Rothe's House*, street views (3.)

KING'S COUNTY.—*Durrow*, cross (2). *Rahan*, parish church, round window, pier of chancel arch ; ruined church, west door (2), east window.

LIMERICK.—*Mungret*, oratory, west door.

LONGFORD.—*Inislaraun*, churches from west, incised cross.

LOUTH.—*Carlingford*, tholsell, castle, friary. *Lenan*, castle. *Mellifont*, chapter house.

MEATH.—*Kells*, street cross ; St. Columba's House ; well. *Slane*, friary from west.

MONAGHAN.—*Clones*, round tower, cross.

ROSCOMMON.—*Boyle*, abbey, arcade. *Roscommon*, castle, Felim O'Connor's tomb, in abbey.

SLIGO.—*Ballymote*, castle. *Church Island*, church. *Dromcliff*, round tower. *Innismurray*, cashel, gateway, and Teach an alais, cloch a breca, praying-stones, Teach Molaise, Tempul na mban, Tempul na teinidh, and altoir beg, Tober na coragh. *Sligo*, friary (2).

TIPPERARY.—*Cashel*, monuments (3), castle, door. *Holycross*, abbey, from east, from west, door in cloister, owl-carving. *Kilcooley*, abbey, from east, sedile. *Roscrea*, round tower.

WEXFORD.—*Clone*, church. *Enniscorthy*, castle. *Ferns*, St. Peter's church, cross. *Lady Island*, castle. *St. Vogue's Church*, exterior. *Wexford*, Selskar abbey, arcade ; St. Mary's church ; St. Patrick's church.

WICKLOW.—*Glendalough*, gateway, round tower, St. Kevin's church, cathedral, cross ; St. Saviour's, interior and east window ; St. Mary's door ; Trinity church from N.-W. ; Rhefeart church, west door, east end, and cross.

T. J. WESTROPP, *Hon. Curator.*

The Ogham Retrospect of 1896.—In order to assist in keeping the Ogham record up to date, I propose, if all be well, annually to contribute to this *Journal* a list of Ogham inscriptions discovered, or published for the first time, throughout the year. The past year has been fruitful in this field of research, though, unfortunately, most of the finds have been fragmentary. A few are included which have not been noticed in print before, though discovered before the present year. The asterisks denote stones which have been examined by myself.

* *Legan, Gowran, Co. Kilkenny*.—Discovered, 1891; first published in *Journal*, 1896, pp. 26, 126. Reading † (disputed), LOBBI, &c.

** *Lamogue, Kells, Co. Kilkenny* (two).—First published, *ante*, pp. 26, 125. Readings † disputed. No. I, SEVERRIT, &c. No. II, DOVATUCI, &c.

Kilcumney, Idrone East, Co. Carlow.—Now a gatepost in the wood at Coppanagh, Co. Kilkenny; there discovered by the Rev. Canon Hewson. Inscription destroyed by trimming the stone to adapt it as a gatepost.

Dunhill, Middle Third, Waterford.—No particulars to hand save that it is illegible.

Garraun (Garraunmillon), Decies without Drum, Waterford (No. II).—See *Journal*, *ante*, pp. 28, 126.

* *Kilmolash, Decies without Drum, Waterford*.—Now a step under chancel-arch in old church, there discovered by Mr. M. J. Buckley. A fine pillar-stone, about 10 feet long; inscription all chipped away except]NN[near the top. One of the Ogham scores is prolonged and crossed in a singular manner.

* *Ballyeightragh, Corkaguiney, Co. Kerry* (two).—Found in the bed of a stream near the Ogham killeen of Kilfountain. No. I is a flat slab; inscription clear and perfect, MAQILIAG MAQI ERCA. No. II was unfortunately destroyed before anyone examined it. First published by myself in the *Academy*, 25th July, 1896.

* *Dingle, Corkaguiney, Co. Kerry*.—Found in a ditch at Dingle some time ago, and now in the possession of Mr. D'Arcy, of Dingle. A fragment, reading clearly]ETORIGAS. Published in the *Academy*, 25th July, 1896.

Currans, Trughanacmy, Co. Kerry.—Described in the *Kerry Sentinel*, 12th August, 1896. Inscription there given as LUGUQAM on one aris, and VELITAS or CAVIDET on the other. Discoverer, Mr. John M'Quinn.

Bushmount, Trughanacmy, Co. Kerry.—Small fragment found by Colonel Rice in a rath.

St. Ciaran's, Co. Meath.—Reported at the September Meeting of the Society, but no particulars to hand.

Pen-y-mynydd, Glamorgan.—Reading, GLUVOCA. First published in this year's *Archæologia Cambrensis*. No Latin inscription associated.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

Query.—Is there any instance of the occurrence of a multiple clochán in any of the island, or other early monastic foundations of Ireland? I have never seen one, nor can I find one marked on any published plan of early monastic remains.—R. A. S. M.

† I hope shortly to contribute my own treatment of these three difficult texts to the Society.

Notices of Books.

Stonehenge and its Earthworks. By Edgar Barclay. Demy 4to, 152 pages, 57 Illustrations, Plans, and Diagrams. Price 15s. (London: David Nutt, 270, 271, Strand, 1895.)

THIS, the latest descriptive work on Stonehenge, is the most ample yet offered. In addition to much original work in the drawings and letterpress, a summary of all the information previously published is given, with the various theories enunciated by former authorities. Many of the plans and general views of former writers are reproduced, including Camden's view, taken A.D. 1575, and a copy of the earliest existing drawing of Stonehenge, from a ms. in the British Museum of late 16th-century date, now for the first time published. There are three views by Inigo Jones, executed for his report to King James I., A.D. 1620, and four from Stukeley's monograph, who wrote in A.D. 1740, and a list of authors in chronological order, fifty-four in number, is given, with the substance of their theories on the antiquity. The whole subject is thus presented in a complete and methodical manner; this comprehensive work taking, in a great measure, the place of all that has gone before.

The accurate drawings of the author, showing the state of the monument at the present time, will, when compared with old drawings now reproduced, indicate the changes the stones have undergone in the last two or three centuries.

Mr. Barclay has been engaged for several years in the preparation of his material, and in June, 1893, he read a Paper on Stonehenge before the British Archæological Association, and in the September following published an article on the same subject in the *Illustrated Archæologist*.

In addition to the very full description of the great megalithic circle, so fully illustrated by plans and views in minute detail, the work treats of the topography of Stonehenge, the disposition of the Barrows, the nature of the avenues, the great enclosure named the *Cursus*, the lesser *Cursus*, and the solitary stone in the vicinity, with drawings and a plan of the earthworks taken from the Ordnance Survey.

In inquiring as to the meaning of this antiquity, the author says:—
“According to a tale derived from ancient chronicles, and which we meet with in Spenser's poem of the ‘Fairie Queen,’ Stonehenge is a monument erected to honour the memory of British princes massacred at Amesbury through treachery of Hengist the Saxon, a story accepted as history up

to the time when King James I. commissioned Inigo Jones to draw up an account of Stonehenge. That eminent architect was unable to accept for truth the mixture of ancient tradition and legend which till then had done service as history, and being, moreover, incredulous that ancient Britons were ever masters of sufficient skill to enable them to erect such a structure, he cast about for others more capable, and concluded that Stonehenge is a Roman work in the ancient Tuscan style, dedicated to the god *Cœlus*."

This was the first breaking away from accepted tradition, and led the way for the long series of attempts which have been made to force the ruin to yield its secrets.

Six ground plans are given of the structure as restored by Wood, Stukeley, Long, Smith, Stevens, and Fergusson, and a sketch is given of the different lines of investigation that have been followed; and their conclusions are reviewed at length.

A good deal of very complicated calculations have been made as to the dimensions of the work, some of which appear unnecessary, and the geometrical diagrams and mathematical formulæ evolved in connexion with the plotting or setting out of the structure, are a little more abstruse than the original designers could have mastered, or had any idea they would be credited with being able to comprehend.

In the concluding chapter the author may be again quoted: "The study of the proportions and manner of plotting of Stonehenge, the skill shown in construction, the introduction of foreign stones, the discovery of Roman shards and of iron, buried deep beneath the surface of the soil and within the precincts, all point to the same conclusion, viz., to intercourse with the south and to post-Roman date; whilst the connexion of the temple with the gravemounds is proof of Celtic origin."

"We have concluded, therefore, that Stonehenge belongs to a brief transitional period, and was raised by British chieftains subject to Roman influence; that the policy Agricola pursued towards the chieftains accounts for the presence of this strange structure on the Wiltshire Downs, whilst the social conditions which rendered its construction possible, can have endured but for a few years."

If all cannot agree with the views set forth by the author it will be conceded that they are stated with clearness and ability, and critics must recognise the difficulty of subverting them. The undertaking to give a sufficient account of Stonehenge has been performed, and the book remains, in addition, a valuable reference to the literature of the subject.

County Records of the Surnames of Francus, Franceis, French, in England,
A.D. 1100-1350. By A. D. Weld French. (Boston: privately
printed.)

THIS well printed book, though purporting to relate to one family alone, contains a series of records of far wider interest which we are glad to see made, so far, accessible to the public. Many charters, statutes, and inquisitions, arranged according to counties, bring us in contact not only with important events of English history, but with country life and tillage, value of stock and petty quarrels and annoyances, more important to the student of home life and manners than many a more weighty public document.

We have only room to note, almost at random, a contemporary memorandum how, at the landing of Edward II. and his ill-omened queen, Isabella, after their marriage on February 7th, 1308, the keeper of the wardrobe, who had custody of the great seal, could not make the port of Dover, and, while he beat about at sea, no writs could be sealed for some days, to the public inconvenience.

Farmers had grievances and let them be known in 1340 as well as 1895 . . . "and the sheep and lambs died, while those remaining have not their former value," has a very homely sound.

In 1232 Robert le Fraunceis makes plaint against William Radelee. That he "came to his land and made a certain ditch and cursed him, the loss by which he would not have had for 12 pence, or the shame for 2 shillings." There are some noteworthy allusions to Lord Robert de Brus, then a private citizen, and to the King of Scots as vassal of the King of England.

Proceedings.

THE FOURTH QUARTERLY MEETING of the Society was held (by permission) in the Royal Dublin Society's House, Dublin, on Monday, 28th September, at 4.30 o'clock, p.m.;

THOMAS DREW, R.H.A., F.R.I.B.A., *President*, in the Chair.

The following took part in the proceedings :—

Fellows :—William Frazer, F.R.C.S.I., M.R.I.A., HON. F.S.A. (Scot.), *Vice-President*; Colonel Philip D. Vigors, J.P., *Vice-President*; Seaton F. Milligan, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*; Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., *Hon. General Secretary and Treasurer*; Francis Joseph Bigger, M.R.I.A.; W. J. Browne, M.A., M.R.I.A.; G. D. Burtchaell, M.A., M.R.I.A.; the Rev. Maxwell H. Close, M.A., M.R.I.A.; George Coffey, B.A.I., M.R.I.A.; John Cooke, M.A.; P. M. Egan, J.P.; the Rev. J. F. M. French, M.R.I.A.; John Ribton Garstin, M.A., B.D., F.S.A., M.R.I.A.; Dr. G. E. J. Greene, M.R.I.A., F.L.S.; Deputy Surgeon-General King, M.A., M.R.I.A.; J. J. Digges La Touche, M.A., LL.D., M.R.I.A.; James Mills, M.R.I.A.; William R. Molloy, M.R.I.A.; John Moran, M.A., LL.D.; William F. Wakeman, *Hon. Fellow*; Thomas J. Westropp, M.A., M.R.I.A.; Robert Lloyd Woolcombe, M.A., LL.D., M.R.I.A.; Edward Perceval Wright, M.A., M.D., M.R.I.A.

Members :—The Rev. A. W. Ardagh, M.A.; Newton B. Ashby, *United States Consul*; Henry F. Baker; F. Elrington Ball, M.R.I.A.; Mrs. C. H. Brien; M. Buggy; the Rev. R. A. Burnett, M.A.; the Rev. W. W. Campbell, M.A., R.N.; John Carolan, J.P.; W. P. Chapman; Miss J. Clark; M. Edward Conway; the Rev. George W. S. Coulter, M.A.; Miss M. E. Cunningham; the Rev. B. C. Davidson-Houston, M.A.; E. Reginald M'C. Dix; Major G. F. Gamble; Herbert Webb Gillman, B.A.; Mrs. J. Greene; Joseph Gough; Francis Guilbride, J.P.; James Henry, M.D.; Miss Helen Hughes; the Ven. Archdeacon Jameson, M.A.; P. Weston Joyce, LL.D., M.R.I.A.; Richard J. Kelly, B.L.; P. Kenny; George Kernan; Miss K. L. King; the Rev. Timothy Lee, C.C.; Professor H. Brougham Leech, LL.D.; Miss R. K. Leech; Mrs. T. Leonard; the Rev. William O'N. Lindesay, M.A.; Colonel T. A. Lunham, M.A.; Brian Mac Sheehy, LL.D.; Francis M'Bride; Miss H. G. Manders; William M. Mitchell, R.H.A.; J. H. Moore, M.A.; D. J. O'Donoghue; Dr. E. P. O'Farrell; the Rev. Edward O'Leary, P.P.; John O'Mahony; J. J. Phillips; Miss G. Pim; S. A. Quan-Smith; Mrs. J. F. Shackleton; George Shackleton; Mrs. Simpson; Mrs. E. W. Smyth; Victor E. Smyth; the Rev. Professor Stokes, D.D., M.R.I.A.; William C. Stubbs, M.A.; Francis P. Thunder; Thomas C. Townshend; Robert White; the Rev. Canon Willcocks.

The Minutes of the Third Quarterly Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Candidates, recommended by the Council, were declared duly elected:—

FELLOWS.

Martyn, Edward, J.P., D.L., Tillyra Castle, Ardrahan, Co. Galway (*Member*, 1891): proposed by Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., *Hon. General Secretary*.

M'Crea, the Rev. D. F., M.R.I.A., Maghera, Co. Derry (*Member*, 1893): proposed by Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., *Hon. General Secretary*.

Shaw, Sir Frederick, Bart., Bushy Park, Terenure, Co. Dublin: proposed by Dr. Frazer, *Vice-President*.

MEMBERS.

Campbell, W., *Central Mail Office*, Tullamore: proposed by the Rev. Sterling de Courcy Williams, M.A.

Corcoran, P., Abbey Gate-street, Galway: proposed by John Cooke, M.A., *Fellow*.

Duncan, James, Brookvale House, Brookvale-road, Donnybrook: proposed by John Robert O'Connell, LL.D., *Fellow*.

Duncan, Mrs. James, Brookvale House, Brookvale-road, Donnybrook: proposed by John Robert O'Connell, LL.D., *Fellow*.

Evatt, George Foster, J.P., Mount Louise, Smithborough, Co. Monaghan: proposed by Dr. S. A. D'Arcy.

Falkiner, C. L., M.A., 9, Upper Merrion-street, Dublin: proposed by the Rev. Canon Stokes, D.D.

Fenton, Mrs. Susan S., St. Peter's Vicarage, 90, Westbourne-road, Birkenhead: proposed by Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., *Hon. General Secretary*.

Gault-Gamble, T. E., D.I.R.I.C., Adare, Co. Limerick: proposed by George James Hewson, M.A., *Fellow*, *Hon. Local Secretary*, Co. Limerick.

Gibson, the Rev. Thomas B., M.A., Chaplain and Head Master, King's Hospital, Dublin: proposed by Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., *Hon. General Secretary*.

Graydon, Thomas W., M.D., La Fayette Circle, Clifton, Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A.: proposed by Dr. S. A. D'Arcy.

Hamilton, S., B.A., M.B., &c., 4, Rhondda-road, Ferndale, Glamorgan: proposed by the Rev. Dr. Buick, *Vice-President*.

Hannon, P. J., Clifton House, Loughrea, Co. Galway: proposed by Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., *Hon. General Secretary*.

Hodges, the Rev. J. G., M.A., Rectory, Clonmacnoise, Banagher: proposed by the Rev. Sterling de Courcy Williams, M.A.

Kelly, Rev. John, c.c., Dalkey: proposed by Henry F. Baker.

Lindsay, the Rev. Samuel, B.A., Prospect House, Dungannon: proposed by the Rev. W. T. Latimer, B.A., *Fellow*, *Hon. Local Secretary*, East Tyrone.

M'Cully, the Rev. William J., B.A., The Manse, Carlingford: proposed by the Rev. John Mac Millan, M.A.

M'Glone, the Rev. Michael, P.P., Rosslea: proposed by Dr. S. A. D'Arcy.

Magrath, Redmond, Clanbrassil-street, Dundalk: proposed by William Tempest, J.P.

Nicolls, the Rev. G. A., B.A., The Rectory, Ballycumber, King's County: proposed by the Rev. John Humphreys, M.A.

O'Neill, Charles, 37, Great James-street, Londonderry: proposed by Charles M'Neill.

Ringwood, William, Tullyvolty, Johnstown, Co. Kilkenny: proposed by John Willoughby.

Rooney, the Rev. Thomas J., c.c., Banbridge, Co. Down: proposed by John F. Small.

Sheridan, Mrs. Elizabeth, 26, North Earl-street, Dublin: proposed by Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., *Hon. General Secretary*.

Wade, William Richard, Tullamore: proposed by the Rev. John Humphreys, M.A.

Walsh, Mrs., Newtown Rectory, Tyrell's Pass: proposed by the Rev. Sterling de Courcy Williams, M.A.

White, the Rev. Patrick W., B.A., Stonebridge Manse, Clones: proposed by Dr. S. A. D'Arcy.

White, Richard Blair, Ashton Park, Monkstown: proposed by W. Grove White.

Williams, W. D., C.E., Bellevue-terrace, Waterford: proposed by the Rev. P. Power, C.C., *Fellow*.

Willis, the Rev. J. R., B.A., Coolboy House, Tinahely, Co. Wicklow: proposed by the Rev. J. F. M. French, *Fellow*.

Wyse, Captain L. W. Bonaparte, J.P., The Manor of St. John, Waterford: proposed by M. J. Hurley, *Fellow*.

The following Paper was read, and referred to the Council:—

"St. Hugh of Rahue: his Life, Times, and Church," by the Rev. Professor Stokes, D.D., M.R.I.A.

Rev. J. Healy, LL.D., exhibited a large number of Amber-beads, recently found buried in the ground near Kells.

The Meeting then adjourned till 8 o'clock, p.m.

— EVENING MEETING.

The Society again met in the Royal Dublin Society's House at 8 o'clock, p.m.;

The PRESIDENT in the Chair.

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

"Irish Gold Lunulæ, with Illustrations," by Dr. Frazer, M.R.I.A., *Vice-President*.

"On Three Inscribed Stones—(1) at Baginbun Bay, Co. Wexford; (2) at Fethard Castle, Co. Wexford; (3) at Carew Castle, Pembrokeshire, Wales, with Illustrations," by Colonel Vigors, *Vice-President*.

The Meeting then adjourned to Wednesday evening, the 28th of October.

— WEDNESDAY, 28th October, 1896.

The Society met in the Royal Dublin Society's House at 8 o'clock, p.m.;

The PRESIDENT in the Chair.

There was a large attendance of Members and Visitors.

The following Papers were read, and referred to the Council.

"Notes on the Ruined Churches in the Western Portion of County Dublin," by E. R. M'Clintock Dix, Solicitor.

"Cup and Ring Sculpturings," by George Coffey, B.E., B.L., M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.
Illustrated by Lantern Slides.

The Meeting then adjourned to Wednesday evening, the 25th of November.

WEDNESDAY, 25th November, 1896.

The Society met in the Royal Dublin Society's House at 8 o'clock, p.m. About 250 Members and Visitors attended.

The PRESIDENT occupied the Chair.

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

- "Notes on the Kilmore Chalice," by the Rev. J. F. M. French, M.R.I.A., *Fellow*.
- "A Short Sketch of the Commoner Antiquities of our Country," by the Rev. George R. Buick, LL.D., *Vice-President for Ulster*. With Lantern Slide Illustrations.

Exhibited by Dr. Frazer, *Vice-President* :—

- Counterfeit of Bronze Sword of Gun Metal, made in Dublin, from a cast.
- Arrow Points, manufactured at the Giant's Causeway.
- Imitation of Neolithic Flint Implement; of Stone Hammer; of Stone Hammer with Perforation; of Clay Urn.

JEWISH COINS,

- Of Simon Maccabeus; of High Priest, John Hyrcanus; of Alexander Jannæus; of Herod the Great; of Herod Archelaus; of Herod Agrippa; of Pilate; of Queen Agrippina; of Antonius Felix.
- Coins of the Revolt—Simon Gearias and Elazar.
- Jewish Shekels.
- Agrippa II., with Head of Roman Emperor.
- The Tribute Money.

The Society then adjourned to Tuesday, the 12th of January, 1897.

EXCURSIONS.

FIRST DAY.

September 29th, 1896.

EXCURSION TO DALKEY, &c.

The party, numbering nearly ninety, assembled at St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, and started, in wagonettes, at 10 a.m. Kill-o'-the-Grange was reached before 11 a.m. The church, well, crosses, and bullaun were examined, under the charge of Mr. W. F. Wakeman, *Hon. Fellow*.

About 12 noon, the party were again on the road for Killiney old church. Having visited this very interesting ruin, all walked up the hill to the so-called "Druid's Judgment Seat," and thence to Killiney village. Here, again, mounting the cars, they were driven by the Vico-road to Dalkey, visiting, on the way, the ground of Judge Overend's beautifully-situated house at Sorrento.

After luncheon in the Town Hall, the party was conducted by Mr. H. F. Baker, and other Local Members, through the two remaining castles and the ruined church of Dalkey. Then passing by boat from Coliemore Harbour to Dalkey Island, the interesting church, on the island, was studied.

Returned to the mainland, all were received and entertained, at afternoon tea, by Mr. S. A. Quan-Smith, in Bullock Castle, a mediæval castle which, without being modernised, is still in repair, and is judiciously conserved by Mr. Quan-Smith. The party returned to Dublin by electric tram-cars.

SECOND DAY.

WEDNESDAY, *September 30th, 1896.*

EXCURSION TO LUCAN AND LEIXLIP.

Start was made by special train on the Lucan Steam Tramway from Parkgate-street, at 10.10 a.m.

The cars stopped at Chapelizod and a visit was paid to the Cromlech, near by, in the Phoenix Park. Then, descending to the village, the party was received in the church by the Rector.

The journey was then continued to Palmerstown where the old church was examined.

Thence to Lucan, which was reached soon after noon. A short walk southward brought the party to a dun in which is a souterrain known as the "cave." Returning to the village the journey was continued to the Spa Hotel where luncheon was provided. After lunch the party, by special permission of Captain Vesey, entered Lucan demesne and after visiting the Spa, the "Sarsfield Memorial," the old castle and adjoining church, crossed the Liffey by a private bridge near the mansion, and proceeded along a path on the north side of the Liffey to St. Katherine's, visiting the disused chapel in the demesne and "Sarsfield's stables." After seeing St. Katherine's well, the party walked on to Leixlip and, having seen its old church, which though modernised, contains many points of interest, were received at Leixlip Castle by William Mooney, Esq. After conducting them to the Salmon

Leap, Mr. Mooney lead them through the castle which, notwithstanding its early date, is still in perfect order and is all inhabited. Here the party was hospitably entertained until time obliged a return to the cars, which left for Dublin at 5.45. The party numbered about 70.

THIRD DAY.

THURSDAY, *October 1st, 1896.*

EXCURSION TO GLENDALOUGH.

Most of the Members taking part in this excursion left Harcourt-street terminus at 10 a.m. Having received another contingent at Bray, the party, now numbering nearly 60, arrived at Rathdrum at 11.30. Here cars were taken, and the nine miles drive through the Vale of Clara was made under a depressing rainfall; at Glendalough the rain ceased. Lunch was partaken of at the Royal Hotel, and the various ancient remains were visited, the chief interest being centred in the Cathedral, Round Tower, St. Kevin's Church with its collection of objects found among the churches, the "Priest's House," S. Saviour's Priory, Trinity Church, and Refert Church. Some of the party took boats across the lake to see St. Kevin's "Bed" and Temple-na-Skellig. The cars took the party back to Rathdrum for the evening train reaching Dublin at 10 p.m.

The antiquities visited at Glendalough were fully described and illustrated in the *Journal* for 1894, p. 302. A reprint of this description can be had at the price of sixpence, from the Society's publishers, Messrs. Hodges, Figgis, & Co., Ltd., Grafton-street, Dublin.

DESCRIPTIVE SKETCH OF PLACES VISITED.

DALKEY, &c.¹

IT is not necessary for the student of Irish Archæology to pass far beyond the bounds of the metropolitan county in order to find typical examples of almost every structure of antiquarian interest, in the possession of which our Isle of the West is so singularly and, admittedly, rich.

A day, or half-a-day, or sometimes, even a few hours will suffice for a visit from the city to remains of the rude-stone monument class, cromleac, circle, cairn or cave; to the primitive *teampull* or *cill*; to at least three of our round towers; to several of the grandest pre-Norman, art-laden, crosses known to the world; to stately cathedral, ruined abbey, castle or keep.

What a centre is old Dublin for the purposes of outdoor archæological study!

The following are notices of the places visited on the Excursion of the Society on the 29th September:—

1. KILL-O'-THE-GRANGE, where may be examined a primitive church, two stone crosses, a remarkable well, and a lettered *bullán* rock or stone, perhaps the most curious remain of its mysterious class to be found in Ireland.

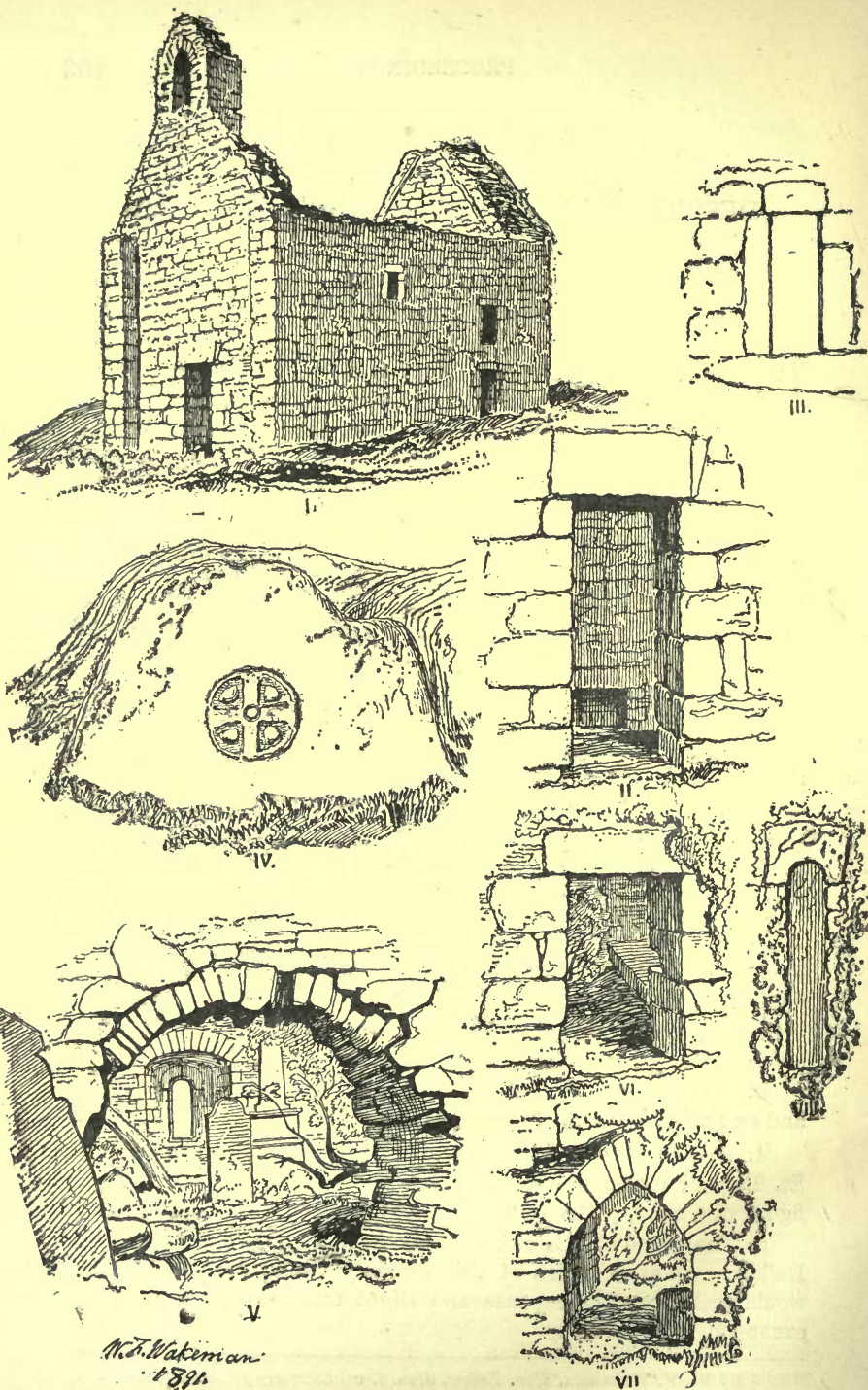
2. KILLINEY CHURCH, one of the oldest and most perfect in the kingdom. The so-called Druid's Judgment Seat; and a stone, carved with figures supposed to be emblematic of the sun and moon. It has been suggested that this was an Idol of the planet-worshipping pagan Irish.

3. DALKEY TOWN, or village, where are two tower-houses, or castles, and an ancient church.

4. DALKEY ISLAND, whereon stands a primitive church dedicated to St. Begnet, facing which occurs a rock curiously marked with the figure of a cross, probably as old as the sixth or seventh century.

5. The grand old CASTLE OF BULLOCK, situate about a mile from Dalkey. An examination of this probably twelfth-century structure would well repay the expense and slight trouble of the entire day's excursion.

¹ By W. F. Wakeman, *Hon. Fellow, Hon. Local Secretary for South Dublin.*



Churches on Dalkey Island and at Kill-o'-the-Grange, Co. Dublin.

KILL-O'-THE-GRANGE.

About one mile and three-quarters from the flourishing town of Blackrock is the site of an extremely early ecclesiastical establishment, the general history of which appears to have been lost. Its present name is Kill-o'-the-Grange, generally shortened by the neighbouring people into the monosyllable "Kill," emphatically "The Kill," *i.e.* "the church." The site was dedicated to a St. Fintan. The regal visitation of 1615 reports of the church of Clonkene, *alias* Grange (Kill-o'-the-Grange), and that of Dalkey, that their rectories appertained to the church of the Holy Trinity (Christ Church, Dublin); that Owen Ellis was curate of both; and that the churches were in repair, but their chancels in ruins.

We do not, however, require written records to prove the extreme antiquity of the place. Let us first examine the church, the original portion of which may be said to remain fairly entire, though roofless. In plan it is simply an oblong quadrangle, measuring, externally, 32 feet 9 inches in length, by 21 feet 10 inches in breadth. The terminations of the side walls, as in many other early Irish churches, extend about 11 inches beyond the face of the gables, forming plain, well-defined pilasters. The walls, which are 2 feet 11 inches in thickness at base, are composed of roughly-hammered stones of medium size, laid in somewhat irregular courses. The original doorway, which occupies a position in the west gable, measures, at present, but 4 feet 8 inches in height, but, no doubt, its lower portion is buried for some distance in the church-yard soil. The breadth at top is 2 feet 6½ inches; the width at present at base 3 feet 2 inches. Unfortunately, the original lintel is gone, its place being filled by a rudely-fashioned stone somewhat recently inserted (see fig. VI., p. 404).

As was usual with very many of our old Irish churches, a time arrived when the original square-headed western entrance just described became out of fashion. It was succeeded by a pointed doorway broken through the south side wall at a little distance from the western gable. This entrance measures at present from ground to spring of the arch 2 feet 9 inches; its width is 3 feet 3½ inches (see fig. VII., p. 404). A window, about 3 feet in height, with semicircular top cut out of a single stone should be observed as an original feature; it occurs near the eastern end of the building in the southern wall (see fig. VIII., p. 404).

The architectural history of this most instructive church is curiously illustrated by the presence of a chancel, which is evidently an addition, made, as we may presume, at a time when the original structure was already old and out of fashion. As this chancel contains an eastern window characteristic of twelfth, or, at latest, of thirteenth-century

work, we are forced to attribute to the nave, at least, a very considerable degree of antiquity. It will be observed at once that the chancel side walls do not bond into the masonry of the original church. When the extension was made it became necessary to establish a choir arch, a feat easily accomplished by hewing a passage through what had been the eastern gable, which gap was then lined with field stones, so as to form a semicircular arch of the rudest description (see fig. v., p. 404). This feature remains almost entire, and is well worthy of an examination. A perfectly similar change was made, probably towards the close of the twelfth century, in the eastern gable of the extremely early cell now styled "St. Kevin's Kitchen," at Glendalough. There, however, a stone roof appears to have been added, as well as a miniature round tower belfry upon the western end. It is probable that at the "Kill," a turret, now all but completely hidden by ivy, containing two apertures for bells, was raised upon the western gable contemporaneously with the construction of the chancel. The changes effected in St. Kevin's Kitchen, or house, are probably a century or so older than those made at the Kill. In the former we find a continuation of the cloistered idea; in the latter an arrangement for the reception of bells, which prevailed in Ireland, especially in districts of the Pale, from the thirteenth down to the sixteenth century or even later. At the time of the alterations at the Kill the use of stone roofing in the body of churches would appear to have been almost entirely abandoned. It is sometimes found in chancels of the early pointed period.

THE STONE CROSSES.

The larger of the two remaining stone crosses at the Kill was once a fine, though plain, work of its class. It is to be found in the graveyard a little to the north of the church. We have here, in all likelihood, remains of a monument erected in honour of some long-forgotten Celtic chieftain who ruled in this district centuries anterior to the first Anglo-Norman invasion of Erin. A considerable portion of the shaft is missing. This cross, and its fellow, which stands on the edge of a pathway leading from the cemetery to the high road, may have been smashed by the pagan Danes of Dublin; they are certainly older than the partial Scandinavian occupation of our eastern seaboard. The smaller cross may, possibly, be one of several by which the bounds of a sanctuary were marked. Both, undoubtedly, belong to an early period of the church in Ireland; but as they are neither sculptured nor inscribed it would be rash to assign to them any particular date.

THE WELL.

This remarkable fount, which may be found at a short distance from the church, just a little within the gate entrance to a lawn appertaining to

the "Abbey" (a picturesque and venerable residence of the Espinasse family dating from the sixteenth century), was, within my own memory, styled by some ancient people of the neighbourhood the "British Well." How it acquired this singular title must, I fear, remain a subject for conjecture. Some forty years ago I was informed on the spot that a parcel of land in the immediate neighbourhood was called by the old people "Mimoge," or "Moymoge," *i.e.* the Plain of Mogue. St. Mogue, Mædhog, Mæog, or Aedan was one of the most famous of Erin's early saints. He was a great traveller and church-founder in Britain, as well as in many parts of this country. Not a few of his Irish ecclesiastical establishments have been identified, but the exact position of others it seems now impossible to trace. It appears not unlikely that on one of his visits to Erin he was accompanied from Wales by a number of British ecclesiastics with whom he may have sojourned, for a time at least, at Clonkene, now, as we have seen, called Kill-o'-the-Grange. By the interest of Brandubh, King of Leinster, who is said to have been his half-brother, St. Aedan, or Mogue, was consecrated to the primacy of the Lagenians, and his see fixed at Ferns in the county of Wexford. There, on the 31st of January, A.D. 624, he died full of years and honours. For a highly interesting account of this saint's actions, from the pen of the late Bishop Reeves, see *Proceedings*, Royal Irish Academy. I may add that about forty years ago I was shown a holy well, situate about a couple of miles from the "Kill," in the Wicklow direction, which was said to be dedicated to St. Mogue. Whether that fount is the one referred to by Professor Stokes as *Tubber Bawn*, or otherwise, I cannot say.

The "British Well," now dry, is approached from the sward by several descending steps formed of blocks of stone. It is encompassed by a strongly constructed building, oval, or rudely circular in plan, and was probably originally covered by a roofing of flags, or boarding, of which no trace remains.

THE BULLÁN ROCK.

Just within the gate of the Espinasse lawn is a granite mass, 9 feet in length by 6 in breadth, rising slightly above the ground. This may be either a huge boulder, or portion of the "living rock." Upon its somewhat sloping surface have been artificially sunk two basin-like hollows of a class usually styled, by Irish-speaking people, *Bullán*, *i.e.*, in English, Little Pools. Remains of this kind occur in all parts of Ireland. They frequently are to be seen in apparent connexion with a considerable number of our most venerable ecclesiastical sites, and have been supposed, by some writers, to be unquestionably of Christian origin, and to have served the purpose of primitive baptismal fonts. Had they been so intended it is utterly impossible to account

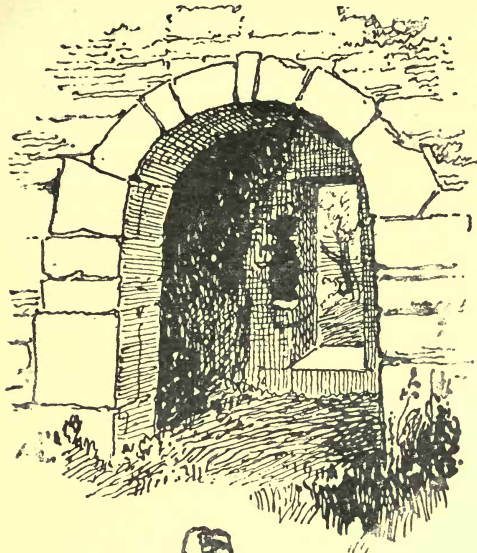
for the appearance on one rock or boulder, of ten, seven, five, four, or, as here, two basins. By some they have been held to be simply rude mortars in which churchmen of an early period had pounded or ground their grain for food. There are some absurd theories concerning their origin and uses to which it is not necessary here to refer. Certain it is that in some instances, as at Newgrange, county Meath, they occur within sepulchral chambers of a pagan period. The late Rev. James Graves has remarked that there was some probability in the view expressed by Dr. Martin that these basins had been designed for grinding or pounding operations: "He had no doubt that the clergy lived close to, if not within, the ancient parish churches. In many instances the arrangements for a loft or upper room might yet be traced at the west end of some of these ruined buildings. The stones were so extremely rude that there was a difficulty in believing them to have been used as fonts, even at the earliest period of Christianity in Ireland, and the hollows, certainly, were too small to have served for total immersion. On the contrary, however, it must be remembered, that if unsuited for baptismal purposes, many of these bulláns were also, from their depth and small size, ill-fitted for mortars. There was a suspiciously pagan aspect about this class of ancient remains."

The bulláns at the Kill are slightly unequal in size, one measuring 14, the other 13, inches in diameter; they are 14 inches in depth, and in section present the figure of an acutely-pointed inverted cone. Close beneath the smaller and lower example is an inscription, now much worn by elemental action, consisting of three letters. These characters, DOM, are, as will be acknowledged by experts in such matters, perhaps as old as any lapidary inscription of Christian times found in Ireland. They doubtless stand for DOMINI, DOMINO, or, possibly, for the words DEO OPTIMO MAXIMO. It is not, I believe, too much to assume that they were meant to purify the monument from pagan association and taint. Similar inscriptions found in Kerry have been referred to by Dr. Graves, Bishop of Limerick, Dr. Petrie, and the late Lord Dunraven, and were, by those authorities, assigned to the sixth or seventh century.

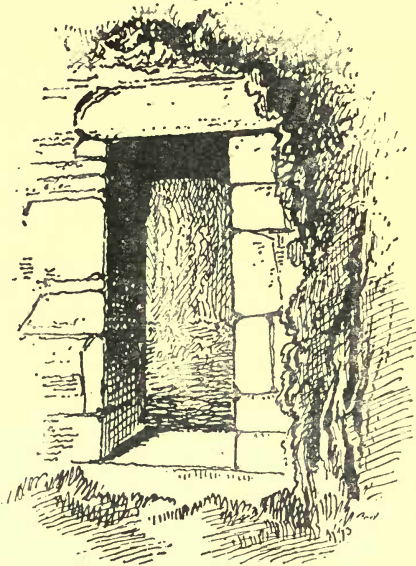
KILLINEY.

The name of this place, originally written Cill-Ingen, or Cill-ingeneinn, as explained by Dr. Joyce, refers to certain daughters of Lenin, five in number. Though the father is said to have been a person of high position, and even of royal descent, we know nothing further of him, nor of his daughters, except that the latter are recorded to rank amongst the saintly women of Ireland. They appear to have flourished some time in the seventh century of our era. Whether the older portion of the existing ruin belongs to their time, or is of their

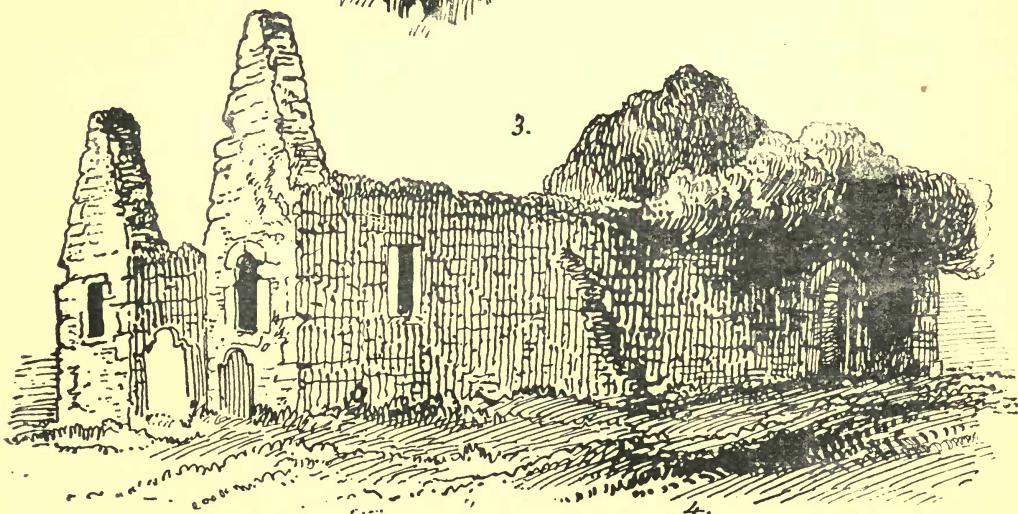
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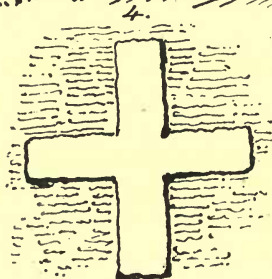
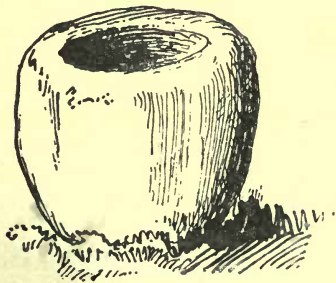
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foundation, it is not necessary here to discuss; but Petrie, in his great work on the "Ancient Architecture of Ireland," pronounced his opinion that it must be assigned to the sixth or seventh century. At any rate the church belongs to two distinct and widely separated periods, and, in an examination of the ruin as it stands, the student of Irish ecclesiastical architecture will find an interesting and highly instructive study (see fig. 3, p. 409). The original building, except wanting a roof, is still almost entire. It consists of nave and chancel connected by a semicircular arch, truly Roman in character, though the jambs of course incline in Celtic style (see fig. 1, p. 409). The extreme dimensions of the church upon the interior are 35 feet; the nave measures but 12 feet 8 inches, and the chancel 9 feet 6 inches, in breadth.

In our *Journal*, Part 2, vol. ii., Fifth Series, Second Quarter, 1892, will be found a description in detail of all the features of this venerable *Cill*, but a notice of its characteristic doorway may very fittingly be here reproduced:—It occupies a position in the centre of the west gable, is flat-headed, a splendid example of its class, measuring 6 feet 1 inch in height, by 2 feet in breadth, at the top, and 2 feet 4 inches at the base. In one respect this doorway is very remarkable, presenting, as it does, what Bishop Graves would style a "Greek cross," carved in relief upon the under side of its lintel (see fig. 4, p. 409). Only one other instance of the kind, as far as I know, can be pointed to, although at Fore, in the county Westmeath, Inismurray, county Sligo, and elsewhere, the sacred emblem may be seen sculptured over the opening on the exterior of the wall. A cross of the St. Andrew type occurs on the nether side of the lintel of Our Lady's Church, Glendalough, a structure, which there is reason to believe was erected by St. Kevin, himself, and in which, according to tradition, he was buried. In Comte Melchior de Vogüé's exquisitely illustrated work on the "Architecture of Central Syria" (a copy of which may be seen in our National Library) will be found engravings of a considerable number of crosses which occur carved over the doorways or on the friezes of churches and monastic buildings of that country. These crosses are wonderfully like those which we find similarly placed upon portions of several of our earlier, if not earliest, Irish churches.

A comparatively modern addition on the northern side of the nave, which appears to have been erected as a kind of aisle, is connected with the ancient church by several openings broken through the north side wall. It will be well to compare its architectural features with those of the original structure. (See fig. 3, p. 409.)

So much for Killiney Church; but before leaving, visitors should search for the rude and very ancient stone font (see fig. 5, p. 409), which probably still remains, though I could not find it when examining the ruins on a recent occasion.

Not many years ago, the time-stained *teampull* or *cill* under notice was approached from the main road by a rude "*boreen*," on the left-hand side of which stood a hoary thorn tree, which must have been several centuries old; beside it was a cairn, station, or altar, like those one sometimes meets with in the south or west. Both were considered by ancient people of the neighbourhood as very sacred. Alas! they have totally disappeared before the march of "*improvements*," as has also the original "*Mur*" or well-marked earthen rath by which the venerable cemetery was environed. Instead of this we find a hideous stone wall, built in the style usually adopted by the taste and feeling of Poor Law Guardians, who, all over the country, are destroying every trace of the picturesque which remained with our ancient parish churches.

THE SO-CALLED "DRUIDS' JUDGMENT SEAT."

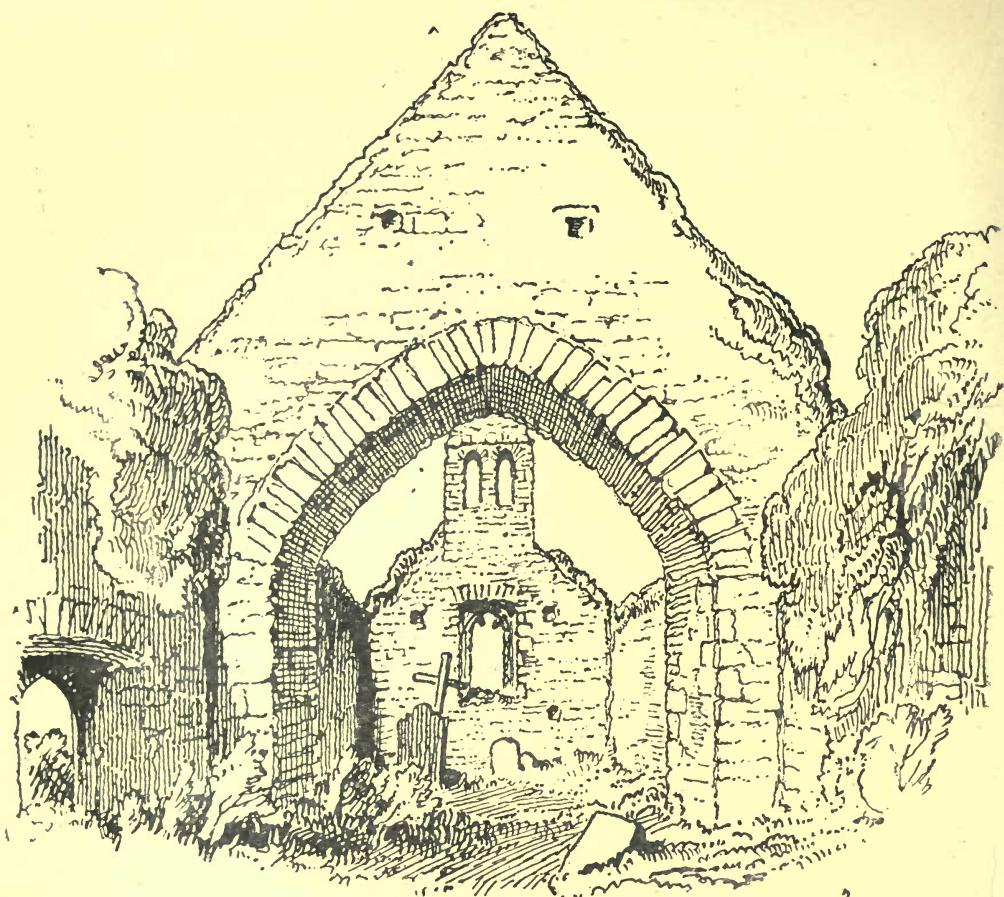
Near the summit of an eminence, not far from the church just noticed, and adjoining the Martello Tower, stands a curious pile of stones formed like an arm-chair, and approached by two rude granite steps. The "seat" was formerly surrounded by a circle of great stones, and a ditch; the former has entirely disappeared, and but few traces remain of the latter. There can be no question that the circle anciently contained a monument of some kind, probably a dolmen, or more than one, and that the so-called "Druids' Seat" is made up from portions of their ruins. In fact, it presents all the appearance of a mock antique, or what, in Ireland, is usually styled "*a folly*." It probably dates from about the middle or close of the last century, a period during which there was much speculation amongst a certain class of antiquaries concerning Druids and their mysteries, and when it was considered by not a few of the more wealthy gentry good form to establish upon their pleasure grounds a monstrosity of some kind, mock ruins of an abbey or castle, a druidical monument, or so forth.

Within the enclosure may be seen a large, detached, curiously carved stone, which probably formed one side of a dolmen, or, as we say in Ireland, a giant's grave. The circles there presented may possibly be emblematic of the sun and moon; they were so considered by some of our best archaeologists, but, after all, their precise character has yet to be sufficiently established. These remains are well worthy of a visit by the curious in doubtful antiquarian matters.

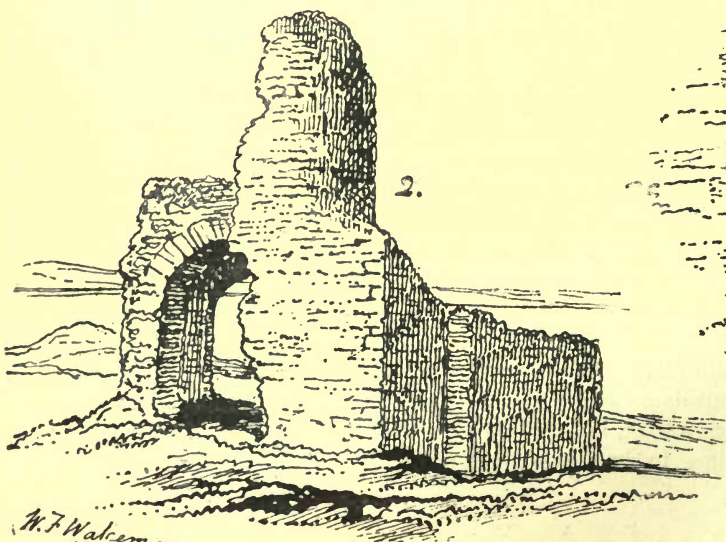
THE CHURCH OF DALKEY.

Amongst the places of scenic and archaeological interest embraced within the immediate vicinity of Dublin, perhaps not the least impressive is the once strong, flourishing, and lively town of Dalkey. It is said at one time to have possessed seven castles, and to have been

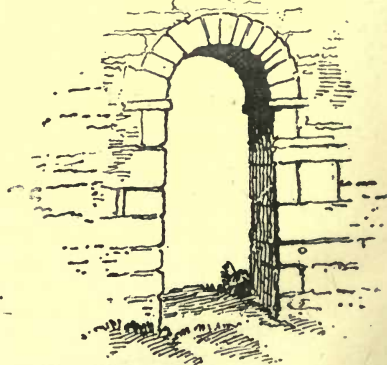
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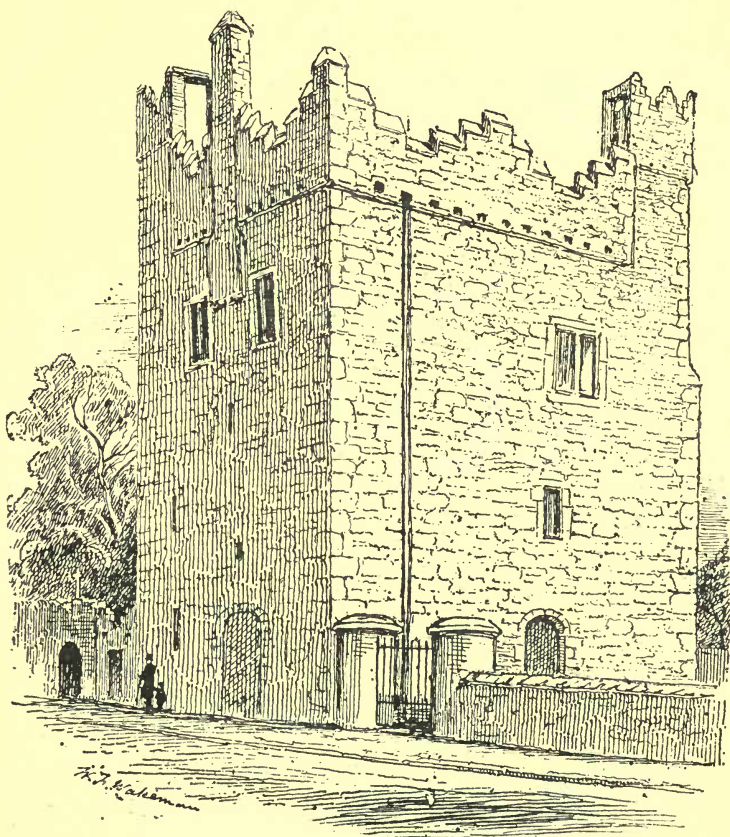
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M. F. Wakeman
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strongly walled. It still retains a very interesting, ancient, and ruined parish church, and two stately castles or towers, one of which is very properly utilised as a Town Hall. (See illustration below.)

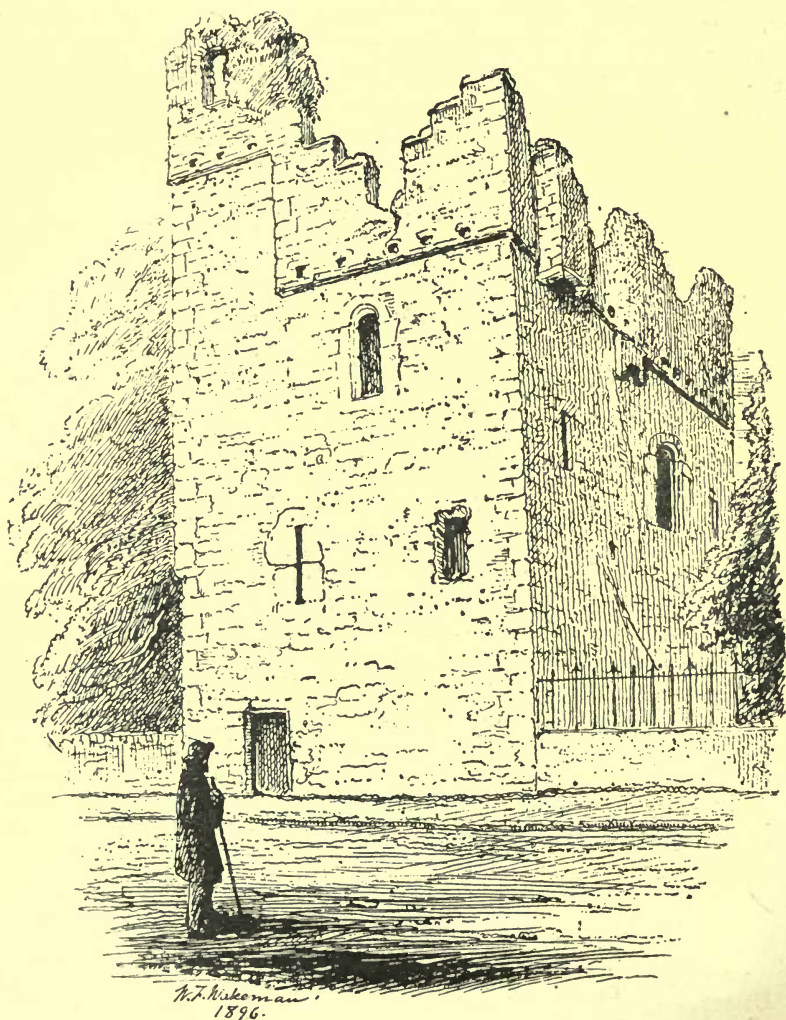
The church, which, like that on the Island, was dedicated to St. Begnet, is of very early foundation. Of the original building, however, but a small fragment, at the eastern end, containing an early Irish window, and exhibiting extremely primitive masonry, remains.



Castle at Dalkey, now used as a Town Hall.

In a former Paper I had occasion to remark that when after the arrival and settlement of the Normans in Ireland it was considered necessary to enlarge an old Irish church, the usual practice was to attach a chancel to it. Here, however, it would seem that a nave had been built at the western end of a primitive *teampull*, and the latter made to serve the purpose of a chancel. Dalkey church, as it now

stands, may be considered as a fine typical example of the kind of building usually constructed by the Anglo-Normans wherever they held sway in Ireland. It has, no doubt, been considerably remodelled



Smaller Castle at Dalkey.

from time to time. Some of its windows are late perpendicular, dating probably from the close of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. When my sketch, reproduced on page 412 (fig. 1), was made, some forty years ago, every portion of the walls could be seen. Nearly the

whole building is now allowed to remain hidden by an overgrowth of ivy.

The bell-turret here is a highly characteristic example of its kind. The cloicheach, or detached belfry, seems to have been succeeded by a miniature round tower rising sometimes from the roof, and sometimes attached to the side of the church. Two notable examples, one of which still remains, might have been seen at Glendalough. Portion of a third, until lately, stood on the church of Inis mac Nessan, now Ireland's Eye, off Howth. The last-mentioned structure, and its doorway, are shown in the illustration (figs. 2 and 3), p. 412. Belfries, like that at Dalkey, succeeded the round turrets.

Observe the extremely archaic cross or monumental stone remaining in the cemetery, near the entrance gate.

THE TOWERS OR CASTLES.

The late Mr. J. H. Parker, C.B., of Oxford, the highest authority on subjects connected with medieval domestic architecture as found in Western Europe, pronounced the two remaining Dalkey towers as older and finer than any of the same class he had met with in the sister isle. The larger and better preserved has lately been repaired and fitted up as the Town Hall. It presents all the features, barrel-arched vault, "murthering-hole," and watch-turrets, usually found in such structures in Ireland. (See illustration, p. 413.)

The smaller castle, now quite ruinous, was, no doubt, once equally fine. It stands on the roadside, towards the northern termination of the town. It fortunately has not been remodelled or improved, so all its parts are original, and will well repay investigation. The projecting bartizan, as usual, commands the doorway, which, however, is now built up (see illustration, p. 414).

A third castle or tower, of the same class as those above described, stood on the opposite side of the road, a little more to the north-west. It was long used as a smithy, but was pulled down, for sake of its materials, not many years ago.

DALKEY ISLAND.

As a spot remaining just as Nature made it, the little island of Dalkey, on a fine day, is one of the most delightful retreats which can be easily visited from Dublin. It was anciently styled *Θελγ-ἰν-ῖπ*, i. e. "Thorn Island." The modern name is of Scandinavian origin. A church which, to the delight of the antiquary, still remains nearly perfect, and, happily, totally devoid of ivy, was here erected at an early period (see fig. 1., p. 404). It was dedicated to St. Begnet, who flourished, probably, in the sixth century, but of whose history little, if anything, seems to be

known. In plan the church is a simple oblong, with a square-headed doorway in its west gable (fig. II., p. 404). The walls are of unusual height for an Irish *Cill*, and it is probable that the building was anciently divided by a wooden flooring into two apartments, the upper one serving as a dwelling for the officiating priests, or priest. From its containing a fireplace at the east end, where an altar should have stood, this church has long been a sore puzzle to not a few ecclesiologists and antiquaries. But the said fireplace is not older than the commencement of the present century, as I heard from the lips of a man who had assisted at its construction. Some thirty-five years ago it was my chance to reside in Dalkey, and, happening to become acquainted with an ancient retired mariner and fisherman of the place, I often chatted with him on the changes in the neighbourhood which he had witnessed. He informed me on one occasion how, when a youth, he had helped in the erection of the fort and Martello tower by which the island and neighbouring coast were commanded. He stated, that the masons and other workmen, finding it inconvenient, and often dangerous to cross the sound to get to their lodgings, fitted up the ancient church as a dwelling-house, and built the necessary fireplace. At the same time they altered and enlarged several of the windows.

Upon the west gable is a bell-turret which, though ancient, is evidently an addition. Observe the extended side walls forming pilasters. Fig. III., p. 404, represents an original window in south wall.

There are some traces of ancient graves round the church, but no remains of any enclosing fence can be perceived.

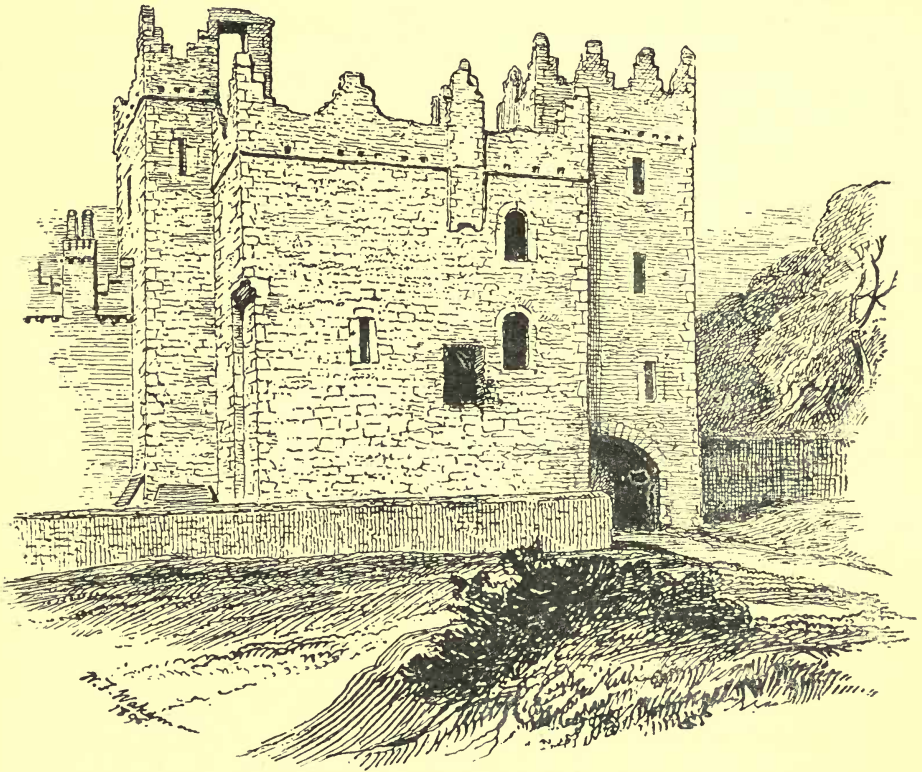
Here, of course, is a holy well, the water of which is supposed to cure sore eyes.

One of the most interesting relics of a long past observable on the island is a cross exactly similar to several discovered on sixth or seventh century churches in Syria, and figured by the Bishop of Limerick in our *Journal* (see fig. IV., p. 404).

BULLOCK CASTLE, CLOSE TO DALKEY.

This fine structure may be described as oblong in ground plan. It is two stories high, with two towers of unequal height, rising above the body of the building, at either end. The apartments between these features are large for an old castle, measuring 23 feet 6 inches by about 17 feet. Each possessed an ample fireplace, and spacious deeply-recessed windows, with semicircular heads in late twelfth or thirteenth century style. The seaward tower, upon the ground floor, contains the original doorway, and a small apartment of the kind

described by Parker as an "inner porch." From the right-hand side of the latter rises an extremely narrow spiral stair, leading to the upper rooms, and to a series of diminutive chambers in the same tower, which were probably used as bedrooms. Here also are two well-constructed "garderobes." Beneath, or through, the opposite tower, is a round-headed gateway of considerable proportions, through which access to a very spacious bawn or courtyard may be obtained.



Bullock Castle.

The upper portion of this tower, like that of its fellow, was divided into small closets, which were, no doubt, utilised as dormitories. The walls of the towers and of the main building were finished off with battlemented parapets of a kind almost peculiar to mediæval structures in Ireland, whether ecclesiastical, military, or domestic (see illustrations of this and of the Dalkey castles). An extensive bawn or court extends from the castle in the Dalkey direction; at its further angle

stood a fine square watch-tower, which was lately pulled down to make room for three mean houses.

Fortunately this, the most interesting of all the ruined castles of the county Dublin, has recently fallen into the possession of S. A. Quan-Smith, Esq., by whom it has been carefully conserved, happily not restored, or "*improved*," as is too frequently the fate of our ancient buildings, which, could stones speak, might often be expected to cry in agony and very shame, *save us from our friends!*

NOTE ADDED IN THE PRESS.

I have since been informed by H. F. Baker, Esq., of Hill View, Dalkey, that the extremely archaic cross-inscribed monumental stone referred to in p. 415, which had for a considerable time disappeared, may still be recovered. The spot where it lies buried, over a modern grave, or coffin, is known to more than one person.

Happily the font of Killiney Church has been found, and may be seen within the nave of that venerable cill.

LUCAN AND LEIXLIP.¹

LEAVING Parkgate-street, we pass Island-bridge, which leads across the river to Kilmainham and the west entrance of the Royal Hospital. Our route skirts the south wall of the Park, the Liffey being on our left, the partially-wooded slope on its south side forming a pretty background.

CROMLECH.

We reach, in a few minutes, the Chapelized Park-gate. Here we de-train, and walk a short distance into the Park, keeping to the left, and soon, on the top of a slope, called Knockmary, between the west side of the Hibernian Military School and the lodge of a Park-ranger, we reach the cromlech found, in 1838, by labourers in digging through or taking down an ancient tumulus. Under it were found two perfect skeletons, bones, strings of shells, baked clay urns, &c., some of which are now preserved in a special glass-case in the Irish Academy Room in the National Museum in Kildare-street. The cromlech still stands in its original position, but the mound was entirely levelled. There does not appear to be any marking on the stones, which are not large. The covering-stone is 1 foot thick, 3 feet 3 inches at its greatest width, and 6 feet 4 inches at its greatest length. Another cromlech was found in the neighbourhood of Chapelized, and re-erected in the Zoological Gardens, where it still remains.

CHAPELIZED.

We now descend quickly to Chapelized, entering it through the swivel gate in the Park wall, and, having gained the Main-street, turn to the right, and shortly reach the turn to the parish church. There are two approaches to it, only separated by a tall somewhat old-fashioned house, possibly the one referred to in the opening chapters of Lefanu's novel, "The House by the Churchyard," though one local tradition says that it was a house pulled down to open one of these passages to convenience Lord Donoughmore's carriage, and another tradition transfers the house to Ballyfermot, a mile south of Chapelized. Chapelized and Palmerston are both scenes in this interesting story.

The present church consists of tower and nave. The former belongs

¹ Notes on the Places visited. By E. R. M'Clintock Dix and James Mills.

probably to the 16th century, while the latter is much more modern, though originally dating about the time of Queen Anne, but rebuilt in the early part of this century. There are three old monuments or wall tablets in the church worth inspection, and some old headstones in the graveyard, including one to the Lowe family of the 17th century. There is also amongst the communion plate an old chalice.

Chapelizod was one of the manors which, at the Norman settlement, was reserved to the Crown. It continued to the fourteenth century part of the Royal Demesne. It was then alienated, and became the property of the Delafeld, and afterwards of the White, family. In the seventeenth century the Crown had again become possessed of a house here. Dalton says that it was situated to the left of the road entering the village from Dublin, on a meadow sloping to the river. It had, in his time, been pulled down, but a turret near the river indicated the position of the gardens. It was locally known as "the King's house" from having been used by William III. The turret, or small towerlike building (roofed), is still to be seen at the river's bank, though a local tradition calls this the Leper-house. During the commonwealth it was occupied by Colonel Jones. It is sketched on the Down survey as an Elizabethan mansion. After being used for some time as a vice-regal residence, it fell into decay in the last century, and was afterwards sold by the Crown. The site is now occupied by a modern house, though still called on the Ordnance Survey Map "the King's house." During the last century a considerable part of this manor was purchased to extend the Phoenix Park.

The rectorial rights of the parish church anciently belonged to the Priory of Kilmainham.

ST. LAURENCE.

On the opposite side of the river is the village of St. Laurence, deriving its name from a long forgotten Leper Hospital dedicated to that Saint. So early as 1426 the house had been closed, and the custody of it and the lands belonging to it were given by the Crown to John Warle. In 1561 it was still considered Crown land, and was leased as the "ruined chapel called St. Laurence Chapel, St. Laurence land, and the profits of the fair on St. Laurence day."

No remains of the hospital or its chapel are now known to exist.

We now return to the tram-cars, and, crossing the Liffey, proceed past St. Laurence to the village of Palmerston. On the way up the hilly road we get a peep of the western end of Chapelizod, much the prettiest view of it. Just before entering Palmerston we pass the Stewart Imbecile Asylum, once the residence of Lord Donoughmore, and then known as Palmerston House.

PALMERSTON

derives its name from Ailred the Palmer (or pilgrim), one of the Norman settlers, who founded and endowed the useful hospital of St. John the Baptist in Dublin. The land here and the tithes of the parish church formed part of the endowment of that hospital. The village has a decayed and old-time appearance. Its mills, iron foundries, and printing works are long silent. Getting out of the tram-cars we proceed down a side road at the east end of the village, on the north side, winding down to a lower village with mills, chiefly silent. Here, on the left, reached by a short lane, is the old Church of Palmerston, overlooking the river, with its ancient walls over-grown with ivy, which, to some extent, hinders a proper view being obtained of its, in part, primitive masonry. An article upon this ancient and interesting old church by Mr. Wakeman, illustrated, appears in our *Journal* (1892), p. 105.

The accompanying Plate (see next page) shows sketches, by Mr. Wakeman, of—(1) the chancel-arch; (2) the west door (now over-grown with ivy); (3) south window; (4) a very old yew which stood here some years ago, venerable enough to have been planted by the original Palmer. Fig. 5 represents the doorway of the extremely ancient church on Holm Patrick, off Skerries, Co. Dublin, which may be compared with fig. 2.

Returning to the upper village, and entering the tram-cars again, we travel on westward through the hamlet of Cursis Stream, passing many places once the demesnes or residences of noblemen or persons of high position in the last century, of which we may allude to one, Edmondsbury, the seat of Edmond S. Pery, Speaker of the Irish Commons. At length we reach

LUCAN,

an important place some centuries ago. It is frequently mentioned in the Christ Church deeds, spelt in seven different ways.

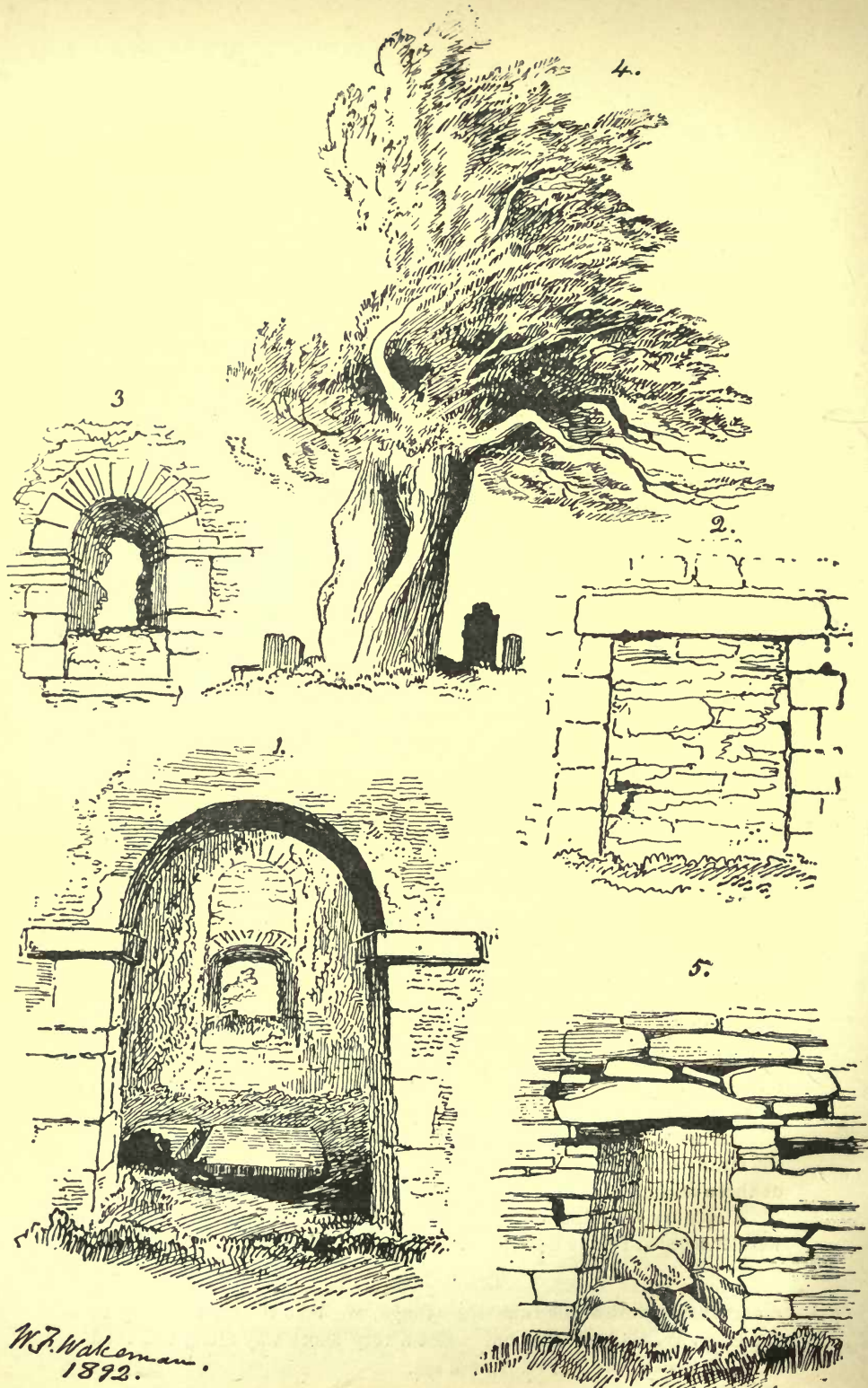
Lucan, at the Norman Settlement, fell to Alard Fitz William, who soon after conveyed his possessions to a Hampshire gentleman named Werris de Peche. Werris settled here, married the daughter of his neighbour, the Lord of Leixlip, built a castle, and propitiated the Church by erecting a Priory on the part of his land nearest to Leixlip.

Before the end of the thirteenth century, the manor had passed to the family of De Hanstead. The town, at that time, consisted of two or three dozen of houses, with a mill and a manor court.

A century later the manor was held by the De Notyngghams. These were succeeded by the Sarsfields.

THE "CAVE."

Turning southwards from the village, we take the road leading to the G. S. W. Railway Station. But a very short way along this road



W. J. Wakeman.
1892.

Palmerston Church, Co. Dublin.

we reach, on the left, a gate and stile leading into the "Petty Canon Lands," partly timbered, the property of Mrs. Shackleton, *Member*, and, clambering up the eminence to the right, we stand upon the flattened top, occupied by a large rath. Guarded by a paling on four sides, is an opening with a passage inclining downwards to a rather small entrance, which leads, at once, into a stone-walled and roofed chamber of moderate dimensions, similar to chambers in raths in other parts of the country. Opposite to the entrance another passage leads further into the interior of the rath, but is now blocked. No trace of any scribing can be found. Dalton mentions, at page 656, of his "History of the County Dublin," that this chamber was linked with six or more little circular vaults, and that several stone implements of war and husbandry were discovered, with an ancient spur and piece of carved bone, at that time in the possession of the then owner, Captain Gandon.

The chamber was a store, or treasure house, if not an actual residence, rather than a tomb or sepulchral vault, as has been sometimes supposed.

Returning to Lucan, we re-enter the tram, and proceed to the Spa Hotel.

Our party leaving the hotel, walk through the demesne (by kind permission of Captain Vesey), to view the old Lucan Church, now in ruins, visiting the Spa on the way, now revived in repute and efficacy after the unkind neglect of many years. On the way from the Spa we pass the so-called Memorial to the great Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan.¹

Of the castle there remains the oblong keep, still strong and fairly sound, but ivy-clad. It can be ascended to the roof, which is intact, but grass-covered.

The old church clings close to the castle on the south side. It consists of two parts, or, perhaps, two churches. One has its four walls standing, but is roofless. It contains a mural tablet relating to the repair of the church in 1738, by Lady Jane Butler. This part is well kept as a burying-place, and is under lock and key. The other part, or church, has only the south and west walls standing, and is overgrown with bushes.

ST. KATHERINE'S.

By the private bridge in the demesne the river can be crossed; and, walking along the path or avenue at the north side of the river, the wells of St. Katherine may be reached, and the remains of the building sometimes called "Sarsfield's Stables," with the adjoining

¹ The tradition in the owner's family does not support the popular one. The monument is, in style and form, of comparatively late date, and bears no inscription whatever. It is, more probably, merely an ornamental monument of the latter part of the last century.

chapel, now in ruins, and evidently modern, of whose history nothing is at present known.

The north-western part of the parish of Lucan was the site of the Priory founded by Werris de Peche at the beginning of the thirteenth century. It was dedicated to the saint after whom the place is still called, and was occupied by canons of the Order of St. Victor. The endowment proved insufficient to support the priory, so it was afterwards united to St. Thomas Abbey, Dublin, the chief house of the Order in Ireland. After the dissolution it was granted to, and became the residence of, Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls, under Queen Elizabeth.

No trace of the ancient Priory of St. Katherine now remains. On the county Kildare side of the lane is the modern residence called St. Catherine's. The grottos in the field adjoining are modern. The double wells (a short way up the lane leading north), both separately covered, are curious and unusual. One is evidently older than the other.

Those visiting St. Katherine's can then walk on to Leixlip. The total distance from Lucan to Leixlip is about two miles, almost entirely through the demesne.

Those who do not desire to visit St. Katherine's can, by crossing the river at the same bridge and turning to the right, leave the demesne, and take a shorter walk through the village of Lucan, visiting the curious geological formation in the limestone strata at the back of some artisans' dwellings. Close by are Messrs. Hill's woollen mills, which can be visited.

LEIXLIP.

The parish church has an old tower which can be ascended. On the outside one or more carved heads may be observed. In the side walls of the church are traces of ancient windows; within is an ancient mural tablet to Lady Ursula White. The chancel rises several steps above the nave. There are some old grave-stones in the aisles. There is some old communion plate, and the Parochial Records go back to the seventeenth century.

This church stands on the site of a priory, and is separated from the castle grounds by the Ryewater, which at this point enters the Liffey. There are remains of a weir, and perhaps a bridge, connecting priory and castle.

THE CASTLE.

Leaving the church we turn to the left, and crossing the Ryewater, turn again and enter the demesne of Leixlip Castle, now the property of William Mooney, Esq., J.P. The castle is strikingly situated on an eminence at the junction of the two rivers, Liffey and Ryewater.

The principal parts of the castle consist of two blocks at right angles, facing east and south. The east face and N.E. circular tower, though pierced by modern windows, kept in repair and occupied, are probably part of the original castle. This portion contains a room said to have been occupied by King John. The S.E. square tower and south front, though of considerable age, are of much less ancient date.

An account of this castle was written some years ago by Canon O'Rourke, of Maynooth College, but is now out of print.

SALMON LEAP.

Leixlip is a corruption of the Danish name, "Laxhlaup," or "Laxloup," and means "Salmon Leap," which famous and picturesque waterfall can be visited from the demesne. The baronies of North and South Salt take their names from the Salmon Leap also, little as it may be imagined, the Latin form, *saltus salmonis*, having become corrupted to "Salt" for brevity.

This barony, at the Norman settlement, was given to Adam de Hereford, who made Leixlip his chief manor, and no doubt erected the castle. The keep of De Hereford's twelfth century castle is probably largely preserved, though much altered and adapted in the existing castle, which is thus one of the oldest continually used houses in Ireland.

In 1570 the manor was granted to Sir Nicholas White, with two castles, a mill, two fishing places, called Salmon Leap, and other belongings. The town then was governed by a provost, and contained thirty-two holdings of burgesses, and paid a rent of £10 to the lord of the manor.

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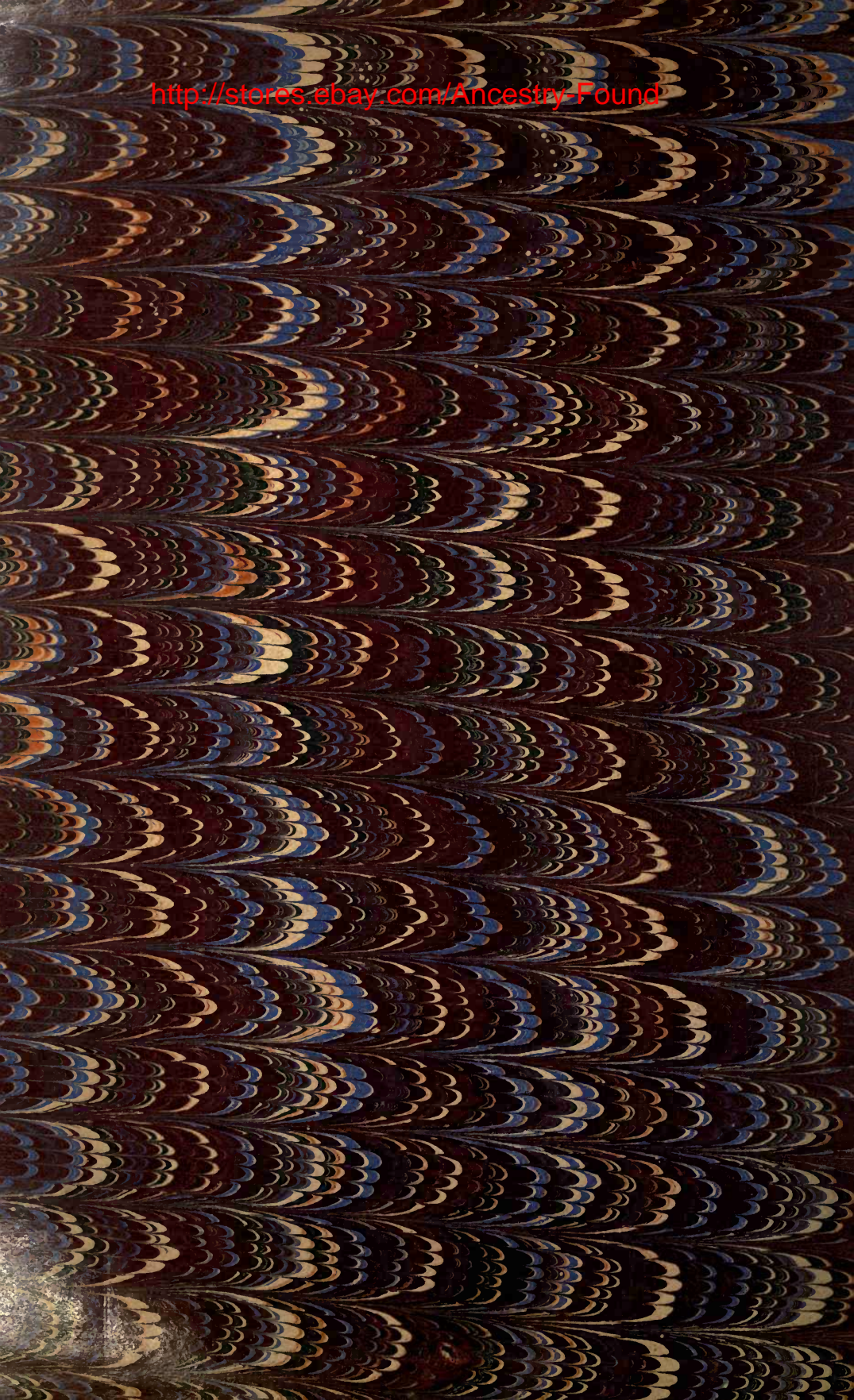
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